

Oct 15/56

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For possible use in future speech -- re H-bomb tests.

Certain matters bearing directly on our peace efforts have recently become prominent in public discussion. I had not intended again to mention them in this campaign. I shall not dwell on them lengthily tonight. But there are certain facts in our A- and H-bomb development that I feel I should call to your attention. Most, if not all of them, have appeared, explicitly or implicitly, in prior governmental statements. But, as your President and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, I desired to assemble them for your better understanding, as you consider the important factors in the security of our country.



In communications addressed to our own people and to the world, this Administration has urged recognition of the bleak future mankind faces unless all nations, by mutual agreement, dedicate the nuclear science to the peaceful uses of man, not his destruction. We have striven -- we continue to strive -- for universal disarmament, based upon systems of mutual inspection. The arms race must be stopped -- but the first fact is: it cannot be stopped by one nation alone casting down its arms and tearing down its defenses. We will

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FOLDER H-Bomb Speech [drafts for possible use in future speech; dated Oct 15-16]

lay down these burdens not in fright -- but in mutual agreement in which we know we can trust.

The next fact is that long ago the Administration publicly proposed that the world establish systems of adequate and mutual inspection so as to enable universal disarmament programs to proceed with the world's confidence that they were being faithfully carried out. With such an inspection system established, we proposed further that all future work in the nuclear science be directed toward the peaceful uses of mankind. This would mean that all bomb development and testing would cease forthwith, with both sides knowing that the other was carrying out its bargain.

As the world knows, none of these proposals was accepted by the Soviets.

The next fact is this. Many months back our government turned its development and testing work away from the search for bigger and more destructive bombs, to the perfection of smaller and cleaner ones. By this, I mean hydrogen bombs that have very little radioactive fall-out. Our purpose in the development of small, clean H-bombs is to defend our country against the possibility of long-range hydrogen bomb missiles direct against our cities.



There seems to be no possibility to stop the arrival of an intercontinental missile, except by the employment of a defensive missile bearing a small hydrogen bomb to destroy it far from its intended target. Thus the H-bomb development going on is for the purpose of protection of our own cities rather than for the purpose of increasing the destruction we can visit upon a potential enemy. My question is simply this: Without knowing -- I repeat, without knowing that the Communists will, with us, stop the development of H-bombs, are we to allow our security to be based wholly on wishful thinking, not on our own best efforts?



Another fact to be pointed out is that, without inspection, Soviet development work on the H-bomb could not be detected until bombs were actually tested. Yet such tests are always, and necessarily, preceded by many months of preparatory work. Consequently if we, acting in good faith, stop all this work, we could, without warning, suddenly be confronted with a type of attack for which we would be, through our own neglect, woefully unprepared.

The final fact is that the mass of our best scientific conclusion holds that testing on the scale so far carried out by the Soviets and this nation has

not added materially to the radioactive content of the atmosphere and that the idea that we are immediately facing a condition in which the human race will suffer deterioration or destruction because of this radioactive danger is incorrect.



Nevertheless our government has clearly recognized that the world faces a great dilemma brought on by the fearful potentialities of a war featuring the use of A- and H-bombs. To wage such a war could have the most fearful consequences on civilization as we know it. So while this makes universal disarmament a necessity for humankind, it all the more clearly points up the fact that to be unable to deter or defend such an attack on the part of an aggressor would spell our sure destruction.

This truth provides the incentive and the mainspring for all the tireless work we have been carrying on in the field of disarmament, always featuring adequate mutual inspection. But of one thing we are determined -- we will not allow ourselves to be unable either to deter or to defeat aggression. To do this would change the possibility either of self-destruction or disgraceful surrender into slavery -- into practical certainty.

Weakness invites aggression -- as proved by our own history!

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.