

The arms race must be stopped - but the first fact is; it cannot be stopped by one nation alone casting down its arms. *It is a race, and the only way to stop it is to stop it.*

*Caton*

Two matters bearing directly on our peace efforts have recently become prominent in public discussion. I had not intended to mention them in this campaign. I shall not dwell on them tonight.

But there are certain facts which I feel obligated to say. *But I do not feel obligated to say -- not as a candidate for re-election to the Presidency, but as your President and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.*

There are certain facts applying to the development and testing of H-bombs that, while already published at various times and places, have seemingly escaped public notice in this latest flurry of argument.



The first fact is that long ago we 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, *now of these* this proposal was not 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,

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I mean hydrogen bombs that have very little radio-active fallout. ~~this~~

*in the development of small, clean H-bombs*

~~work~~ Our purpose is to defend our country against the possibility of long-

range hydrogen bomb missiles directed against our cities. There seems

to be no possibility to stop the arrival of ~~an~~ <sup>an intercontinental</sup> missile, except by the

employment of defensive missile<sup>a</sup> bearing small hydrogen bomb<sup>a</sup> My

*it for firing to destroy its intended target.*

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, first

development work on the H-bomb could not be detected until bombs were actually

tested. Yet such tests ~~would~~ <sup>are always, and</sup> necessarily be 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 ~~peop~~ 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 radio-active content of the atmosphere and that the

*How the H-bomb development gives one is for the purpose of protection of our own cities rather than for the purpose of increasing the destruction we can meet upon a potential enemy.*

idea that we are immediately facing a condition in which the human race will suffer deterioration or destruction because of this radio active 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. ~~This~~ all the more clearly points up the fact that to be unable to deter or defend such an ~~effort~~ <sup>attack</sup> on the part of an aggressor would spell our ~~fatal~~ - 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. <sup>to do this</sup> <sup>either</sup> because in this way we would change the possibility of self-destruction <sup>in dignified manner into slavery</sup> to practical certainty.

*Weakness invites aggression - as so far proved by our own history!*

*Stronger type arms is appearing, the...*

*So while this work has national commission and disarmament is necessary to have arms, it*

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