

May, 1955

THE PEOPLE AND THE PEACE

HAROLD E. STASSEN

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PEOPLE throughout the world today agree that the prospects for peace are brightening. After fifteen difficult years of war and threats of war, we can see the glimmer of dawn. This brighter picture has emerged not in one magic day of agreement, not through a miracle, but year after year through persistence, patience, and restraint.

Perhaps I can explain this more clearly. A city or a town in any state in America does not become an attractive community with clean surroundings, excellent schools, and wholesome environment through one city ordinance or one public meeting. No, such a community comes about through determined, patient, organized work.

So it is on the world scene. When you think of world conferences and their relationship to a future of peace, consider them in terms of a community where you constantly work and strive, sometimes slipping back and sometimes making progress. The most powerful factor affecting all these negotiations is the desire and determination of people to have peace.

I will never forget an experience in 1947, shortly after World War II, when I had the opportunity to travel through war-torn Europe, deep into the heart of Russia in the Ural Mountain area. As I was going through a machinery plant, I saw a worker on one side using what looked like a large American machine tool. I veered over with the interpreters to see this tool and found that it was made in Niles, Ohio. I asked the worker about his equipment, and thus our conversation began. With the permission of the government and plant representatives, I inquired if I could see his home and the school where his children went. He agreed, and we visited them both. The worker spoke of what his hopes were for: more consumer goods, better clothing, better quarters for his family, a better school. And then he added, "Peace. We can have nothing without peace."

In moving about the world, including the communist area, I found that comment invariable. The desire for peace, if it can be translated in constructive ways, is one of the bright hopes in the face of the terrible power of modern weapons. Great organized voluntary groups, by their intelligent and informed approach, have a tremendous impact on the course of their country. When thousands of P.T.A.'s inform themselves and reach conclusions, they help influence the direction their government will take.

I should like to commend the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and to extend my personal gratitude to its president, Mrs. Leonard, who as a member of the Foreign Operations Council during the past eighteen months has given unstintingly of her time, her energy, and her outstanding abilities.

As educators and parents, both in our homes and in our schools, you face a challenge of unparalleled dimensions today. H. G. Wells once commented that "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."

It is my judgment that we must rely upon our educational system, and those responsible for it at every level, to produce intelligent citizens. These are the kind of human beings who are sorely needed to carry on a patient and continuing search for the ways by which peoples around the world can arrive at a common understanding of universal human problems. They are the kind of men and women who will kindle the torch of creative thought and perpetuate the relentless hunt for the best means to employ mankind's accrued experience.

To the extent we are able effectively to enlist our knowledge about ourselves, about other peoples, and about the world we live in—to that extent will we release the great propelling forces for progress and move steadily closer to President Eisenhower's overriding objective of a lasting peace.

And Americans do want peace. Ever since President Eisenhower appointed me as his special assistant for disarmament, my office has been deluged with mail, revealing dramatically that people from every walk of life are thinking about, writing about, and talking about peace. This huge volume of mail supports the President's conviction that the American people believe something can be done about the current arms race for military supremacy.

As a man who has had long firsthand experience with the horrors of war, President Eisenhower understands the urgent necessity for trying to do away with it. As a leader of unshakable faith, vision, and courage, he is convinced that by launching a moral assault on war as an unacceptable method of settling issues among nations, the United States can become a pathfinder for peace.

At the present time I am serving in a dual capacity until completing the presentation of the President's 1956 Mutual Security Program, now before Congress. Ever since they began, Mutual Security Programs have contributed mightily to the development of an unprecedented strength and unity in the free world. Through them the job of restoring the war-torn economies of Western Europe has been completed. A sturdy foundation of collective security, capable of resisting any aggressive threat, has been created.

In the last two years programs of technical cooperation and development assistance have grown both in appropriated funds and in effectiveness. Larger numbers of foreign technicians have come to the United States to study, and more U.S. Technicians are working abroad than ever before. More than forty American universities and colleges, with their great depth of experience and know-how, are carrying out technical cooperation assignments in twenty-nine lesser developed countries around the globe.

With regard to my new assignment, when President Eisenhower appointed me as his special assistant to develop a United States policy on the question of disarmament, he handed me the most challenging assignment of my lifetime. It is, in a sense, to devise an approach on which all nations, large and small, can agree to accept reciprocal responsibility for its success.

Through the ages man has grappled with this problem. Twice in this century alone world wars have threatened the safety of the United States, and Americans have left their families and taken up arms in defense of our cherished freedoms. Each time we believed that the tragic sacrifice of lives would lead to a permanent peace. Yet only ten years since the end of the last great war, an unchecked pyramiding of arms is evident. We cannot be certain we will not have to fight again.

But we do know this. In history every hotly contested arms race has usually ended in a cruelly destructive war. We also recognize that a one-sided willingness to discard arms has only invited aggression by those nations rejecting disarmament. Thus it is clear the answer must never be unilateral weakness.

We are equally aware that modern warfare would be unimaginably destructive. Weapons have been conceived that would enable a single squadron of modern bombers in one flight to pack a wallop more deadly than all the bombs carried by all the airplanes on both sides in World War II.

The search for a sound answer to the overshadowing dilemma the world finds itself in today—the danger from modern armament counterbalanced by the need for modern armament—will take time. But I have been heartened to discover that most people who have written me and with whom I have talked have no delusions about the enormity of the task. More important, while the surface cynicism harbored by some confirmed skeptics tends to obscure the deep longing most Americans have for peace, it is a fact that most people believe that an acceptable disarmament plan is possible.

The stakes for this nation and for the Russian nation and for all mankind are so high that we must succeed in resolving this number-one question on the world agenda today. We can recall what President Eisenhower said on December 7, 1953, before the United Nations Assembly:

"The United States pledges before you—and therefore before the world—its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma, to devote its entire heart and mind to finding the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death but consecrated to his life."

Already thirty young scientists from twenty-one nations have responded to America's offer of cooperation. At the Argonne Laboratory in Chicago they are studying the countless ways of converting this new source of energy into peace power. And in August the International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy will convene in Geneva.

In all these endeavors there is continuously in view an unwavering determination to discover how to turn atomic bombs into atomic benefits, make nuclear power mean nuclear plenty for all mankind. The momentum of progress already achieved sets the stage for this new task.

I approach my new assignment with a deep humility and with a resolve strengthened by the knowledge that reducing the fearsome prospects of war would be the greatest legacy our generation could leave its children. It is my hope and prayer that I may in some degree justify the informal title that has been placed upon the assignment—Secretary of Peace.

FOR RELEASE AT 12:00 NOON, THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1955

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN, SPECIAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
AT THE LUNCHEON OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER
EDITORS IN THE HOTEL STATLER, APRIL 21, 1955.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

I have a new task. And I need your help.

For a number of years the most dangerous arms buildup in the history of mankind has been under way. It intensified after the outbreak of the Korean aggression. It is continuing today.

Weapons have been designed and built with such astounding force that a single squadron of modern bombers in one flight can pack a destructive power greater than all of the bombs carried by all of the airplanes in all of their flights on both sides in World War II.

The United States is not alone in knowledge of these weapons.

A concentrated center of political and military authority has been established in Moscow which appears to have under its control the largest non-wartime armies ever ruled from one point. The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the Mainland China area together have over seven million men under arms now.

Modern weapons deliverable by air are the most potent deterrent to any march of aggression by these huge armies within the European Asiatic land mass where more than two-thirds of the peoples of the world reside. In this sense under present world circumstances modern weapons are a power for peace as well as a source of danger of war.

The capacity of major nations to devastate others, and their vulnerability to destruction by others, are unparalleled in the record of this earth. There is every indication that both this capacity and vulnerability for all great nations will accentuate in future years if the pyramiding of weapons continues.

This is the black background against which I begin my endeavor to develop the basic policy of the United States on the question of disarmament for recommendation to the President.

I do not minimize the difficulty. Much of my own experiences in war and in peace deepen my realization of the size and nature of the obstacles. But the stakes for the United States, and for the Russian Nation, and for all mankind, are so high that we must succeed. I have an abiding faith that this nation, under God, before it is too late, can find an answer that is better than a grim arms race, can find an answer that will rescue civilization from the scourge of an atomic World War III, and can obtain world agreement to it.

It is abundantly clear, but should be explained again and again to all who cherish freedom, that the answer must never be our unilateral disarmament or one-sided weakness. The consequences of any isolated impotency on our part would be particularly disastrous at a time when the opposing ideology carried with it the obliteration of freedom, the denial of God, and the ruthless rule of the state over the individual human personality.

It is a fierce fact that the world has never yet found the way to establish a durable peace. Disarmament proposals, limitation of arms agreements, and reduction of force treaties are scattered through the pages of time ever overshadowed by the outbreak of war and more war.

But these centuries of failure do not foredoom our efforts now. Never before have the unique facts of today prevailed. Never before has mankind contemplated the results of war in the terms that now must be faced. These unprecedented circumstances themselves establish not only the most impelling requirements to succeed, but also the best opportunity to do so.

Nor is the record of the past quite as bleak as a generalization of labor in vain would imply.

For example, the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, limiting the naval force on the Great Lakes to three vessels of equal tonnage and armament for each nation was a conspicuous success. Signed by Richard Rush, the Acting Secretary of State, and by Sir Charles Bagot, British Minister to Washington, in the wake of the fighting of the War of 1812, this disarmament agreement was a forerunner of the longest unarmed peaceful border in the world, the over 3000-mile boundary between the United States and Canada. Both nations have enjoyed the bountiful fruits of that policy. Both would have lower living standards, less security, weaker positions in 1955, had it not been for that rewarding achievement.

Our research back through the ages has also disclosed many other interesting instances, including, for example, reported accounts that as early as 600 B.C., two and one-half thousand years ago, the Chinese states of the Yangtze Valley, after a series of wars with each other, entered into a disarmament league and established a century of peace.

Although the overall worldwide characterization of past failure is not denied, many other limited successes are recorded.

Furthermore, there are some exceptional assets which will be of great value in this new move to solve the thus far insoluble worldwide problem. May I call to your special attention six of these favorable circumstances.

Foremost I would list the fact that our nation by the decision of its people is now presided over by a man with an amazing capacity for leadership, with unparalleled experience in war, and with a profound dedication to peace -- President Dwight Eisenhower.

I have found even in remote areas of the globe a high and rising appreciation of the quality of our President and a keen interest in his views and a respect for his attitudes. I have seen at close hand in many difficult hours his poise and perception and his deep devotion to fundamental objectives. There can be no doubt of the solid support of the people of our country for the persistent search for a durable peace, a search which has been marked by a long and consistent record of efforts by the Government of the United States to obtain sound agreements for disarmament through the United Nations.

A second significant plus as we work upon the problem is the fact that this nation, with its superb caliber armed forces, its very productive resilient industrial economy, its skilled labor, effective management, and able farmers, and its brilliant assembly of scientists, has demonstrated to the entire world that it cannot be outdistanced in armament. We will negotiate from strength, real strength, now, and in potential for the indefinite future. We are completely aware that no one could truly win a modern war, but we are also confident that we would not now or ever lose a modern war.

Third, I note the development, in both of our major political parties, of an exceptional degree of understanding and skill in the conduct of foreign policy, currently dramatically emphasized in the personalities of the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Walter George.

This advanced ability and close cooperation played an important part in ending the Korean War with its explosive potential for spreading to world-wide proportions. In less than a score of years, highlighted by the statesman-like joint efforts of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg and former Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, under the Presidency of Harry Truman, a possible weakness in our political party system has been forged into a basic strength. Speeches and actions reflecting lesser vision and different values in both political parties will continue to be troublesome in foreign policy matters. But the essential tradition of both political parties working together in the national interest on the issues beyond our borders is well established and has tremendous public support. I do not believe this principle will be broken in future years.

Fourth, I emphasize that cooperation among the free countries in economic, military and technical programs has attained a remarkable level of accomplishment. Western Europe this year will reach a record peak of gross production equivalent to \$200 billion per year. The Marshall Plan has been a solid success. The free world as a whole is better fed and better clothed than ever before. Many serious problems remain, and more needs to be done, especially in the arc of free Asia. But the momentum of progress and the substantial accomplishment sets the stage for an extraordinary effort to devote future production resources increasingly to the service of the needs rather than the fears of mankind, the lives rather than the deaths of the young generation.

A very important statement of policy of our relationship to the world was included in President Eisenhower's letter to Secretary Dulles on April 15th anticipating the establishment of a permanent International Cooperation Administration as a semi-autonomous organization within the Department of State to administer the programs now conducted by the temporary Foreign Operations Administration. The President stated that it had come to be widely recognized that a long range continuing basis for the kind of international cooperation in development of economic and military strength represented by these programs is an integral part of our policy. I believe that a large majority of the Members of Congress and of the people of both political parties will agree with that policy enunciation by the President. It is a policy that I have been anxious to see established in the national interest long before I entered the Federal Government. During each year of the temporary annual life of the organization I directed, as we worked on problems which we knew could only be met by long-term continuing effort, I have been more certain of the need of such a long-term policy. The accomplishments of the program and the security and economic dividends which are drawn from it, not only by other peoples, but by the United States, are gradually being understood. These are especially noted when comparison is made to the economic and security situation after World War I without such a program. In no other manner can less than one per cent of our gross national production and less than five per cent of our national budget be used with comparable results.

A fifth favorable factor is reflected from the many indications that the vast millions of peoples within the Soviet Union are as desirous of peace as are the free peoples. Their form of government makes the views of the people of much less significance, but the impact of a powerful public opinion is nevertheless of some importance.

I have a vivid recollection of my visit to the Soviet Union eight years ago this month. I recall a conversation with a machine tool operator working in the heavy steel plant at Sverdlovsk deep in the heart of vast Russia in the Ural Mountains area. He was a tall, fur-hatted, thin-faced Russian. I noticed him as we were moving down through the huge tool assembly building of the plant. My first glance identification of the large machine tool at which he was working was correct. It was built by the Niles Tool Company of Hamilton, Ohio. He was engaged in adjusting the precision cutting edges. In our discussions which followed through the interpreter, and which included a visit to his home and meeting his wife and three daughters, ages nineteen, thirteen, and eleven, he told me of their peasant family background, of their problems of their work, and then of their hopes for more clothes, more room, more happiness, and "peace," he added, "we can have nothing without peace."

I am convinced that the many millions of Soviet citizens continue to hold this view.

Sixth, I would list the existence of the United Nations, with its established forums and its operating committees providing an important avenue for the consideration of proposals. The United Nations has given vigorous support to President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace plan that has helped get it under way. Today, there are scholars from twenty-one nations studying the peaceful uses of nuclear energy at the Argonne Laboratory in Chicago at the School of Nuclear Science and Engineering conducted by the United States Atomic Energy Commission. In August, the International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy meets in Geneva. This peaceful spearhead may prove to be of a crucial nature. It was approved by the United Nations Assembly as an outgrowth of the President's Atoms for Peace speech on December 8, 1953.

But let us turn from a discussion of assets to a consideration of two of the many liabilities.

It is my view that cynicism-- confirmed, congealed, compounded cynicism-- constitutes one of the most serious handicaps. This nation never can solve a difficult problem if its people conclude that it is hopeless. Nothing smothers constructive action in a free nation as completely as a heavy blanket of cynicism. It is only through the maintenance of an abiding determination, of a never failing hope, of a deep faith, that results can be obtained in the most adverse circumstances. It is very easy to be defeatist about disarmament. It is hard to blame anyone for being prone to give up the search. But if defeatism became the rule of the day in this problem, that in itself would forebode failure. I cannot today spell out the steps by which success can be attained, but I do say that success must be attained. I do promise a concentrated and consecrated, persistent and prayerful endeavor to penetrate the problem and move towards solution. I can also point out that in many other key junctures in history, the pessimists said that answers could not be found, but the people persisted with faith and answers were found. At the very birth of this nation, scoffers said the United States of America could not be thus established. Listen to what Josiah Tucker wrote in 1787:

"As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of government, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a dis-united people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains."

In Britain's darkest hour the cynics said that nation could not survive. But the British never gave up hope and it became instead their finest hour under the leadership of the spirit that could not be extinguished, Sir Winston Churchill.

Thus my plea to you today is that each of you in your own way see to it that the powerful institution which is in your charge while constantly and realistically describing the difficulties, shall not promote but shall combat the well springs of cynicism which are so easily fed in this crucial concern.

The second serious handicap that I would call to your attention is the organized effort of the communist underground in the free world. These concealed communists are a continuing double threat because they tend to mislead both the people of the free world and the rulers of the Kremlin at the same time. Success in working out the policy on disarmament and moving toward peace with surefootedness will require an accurate understanding of facts by both the people of the free world and the Government of the USSR. Currently, the covert communists around the world are engaged in an effort to deceive the people into believing that stripping the United States of its modern weapons capacity would promote peace. In fact, it would be the trap door into the most horrible war and the most destructive century of struggle and slavery.

These below-the-surface communists are currently organizing for a so-called World Peace Conference in Helsinki in May. They are actively engaged in enlisting people of prominence who are not communists to make statements that will fit with their propaganda objective. They are undoubtedly making glowing reports to the Kremlin of their success. Herein lies the double-edge danger of their work. Not only are they a handicap to the correct understanding of facts in the free world, but they also tend to divert the Politburo in Moscow from getting a correct appraisal of what will happen in the free world in the years ahead if no agreement is reached on this question of disarmament.

I am convinced, for example, that if the Soviet Union had not been misinformed and had not misappraised the reaction of the United States and the free world, the Korean War never would have been started.

In overcoming this second obstacle you can also be of great assistance. You will be the best judges of the methods you follow. For one suggestion, it would be helpful to expose by wide dissemination and repeated description the method communists use in enlisting non-communists, especially non-communists whose scientific, literary, or public position establishes news worthiness. From this source, the communists obtain many statements which front for and support their propaganda line.

The search for a sound answer to the overshadowing dilemma of the world, the need for modern armament and the danger from modern armament, will take time. May I respectfully ask that you avoid attempts to quickly prejudge or to sensationally publish presumed leaks? Will you help in your own way to maximize the assets and minimize the liabilities? Will you contribute toward feeding the faith rather than deepening the despair of mankind? The world confronts circumstances of so grave a nature that I would hope a special concept would arise from the free press of their responsibility.

In working with me on this assignment you are entitled to know and I do expressly state to you that I have one ambition and only one. It is to successfully discharge this responsibility which President Eisenhower has placed upon me, and, with humility, to justify in some degree the informal title which the free press has placed upon the assignment.

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FOR RELEASE AT 12:00 NOON, TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1955

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION JOINT LUNCHEON OF THE SECTION OF INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LAW AND THE JUNIOR BAR CONFERENCE, AT THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, AUGUST 23, 1955

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Members and Guests of the American Bar Association:

Any comprehensive review of the current world situation would seem to lead to two basic conclusions upon which every thoughtful person should reflect. Each has very significant implications for international law in the years ahead. Each requires both the professional and the civic leadership of the members of the bar around the world.

First: Any major war would result in such devastation of vast areas on each side that neither side could conceivably gain through such a war, and every nation of the world, participants and non-participants, neutral and partisan, developed and underdeveloped, would suffer a serious set-back in its way of life.

Second: A continuing peace will lead to a generation of unprecedented rapid progress in material and cultural attainments for the peoples of every nation, every race, and every continent.

May I expand just a bit on these fundamental far-reaching alternatives.

Each conclusion is directly related to the amazing advance of the scientists in the field of nuclear energy.

Weapons have been designed and fabricated with the capacity to substantially ~~disrupt~~ any city in the world in a single blow. Airplanes have been perfected and built which can carry such weapons a third of the way around the world in any direction in less than fourteen hours non-stop. Our own country has accomplished both of these developments. We are not alone in this.

A single squadron of modern bombers carrying these weapons could deliver a blow more severe than that inflicted by all of the planes in all of their attacks on both sides in World War II. The aftermath of these weapons would make the bombed and burned cities of World War II seem like attractive havens by comparison. The dislocation and chaos that would follow would inevitably have serious adverse consequences to the economies, the governmental structures, the social systems, and perhaps even the lives of the people of all nations, even though not directly struck by such blows.

Conversely, the same scientific break-throughs, the parallel development methods, and the identical refined nuclear materials, are capable of advancing the constructive energy, the productive power, the food, clothing, and shelter, the educational and cultural opportunities, the facilities for trade and travel of the peoples of the world to such an extent that the next two decades under conditions of peace could be known in history as the Decades of the Great Advance.

Which alternative shall it be? Shall we find the way to leave behind the many centuries of the rule of lawless force in international affairs and establish through agreement international laws for a lasting peace?

There are some grounds for hope for a favorable result. There are no grounds for careless over-confidence.

If a period of unparalleled peace and prosperous progress for mankind is to be our happy experience, then I believe that this year 1955, and particularly the leadership and statesmanship of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles at Geneva, will be marked by historians as a turning point.

I am sure you are all aware that the President's proposal on July 21st at Geneva to the rulers of the Soviet Union for an exchange of a blueprint of our armed forces and for opening up both countries to comprehensive reciprocal inspection with the aid of aerial photography went to the very heart of this crucial alternative before the world. It set forth in clear and practical terms a beginning for the establishment through agreement of a peace founded on sound international law.

Confidence by each major nation that it will not be attacked by another is critical in providing the climate needed for an assurance of peace. Such confidence can only arise through certain knowledge by each side, and such knowledge can only be acquired through legal methods founded on agreements. Such confidence cannot rest securely on general declarations unsupported by inspection.

The principle of definite agreement on arms and openness to inspection has been applied in central Europe in the pact of the Western European Union. It has resulted in a very broad and, I believe, durable improvement in the relationships between Germany and France and all the nations of Western Europe.

I find that it is not generally realized that those WEU agreements, hammered out through years of persistent diplomacy in the face of numerous disappointments, have within them the principles of agreed openness to inspection appropriate to the circumstances, and established a system of disclosure and verification. The agreement was signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and West Germany. It provides for the establishment of an Agency for the Control of Armaments whose duties will be (a) to satisfy itself that the undertakings of the parties not to manufacture specified types of armament are carried out, and (b) to verify the level of stocks of specified types of armament existing, in production, or being imported.

Each of the members of the Western European Union is bound by the agreement to furnish annually to the Agency, in respect of all its forces on the mainland of Europe, statements of the total quantities of specified types of armament, including atomic, biological and chemical weapons, and guided missiles, which are required in relation to its forces; the quantities of such armaments held by it at the beginning of each year; and the programs for obtaining the required number of these armaments by manufacture in its own territory or by importation.

Each member of the Union undertakes to notify the Agency the names and locations of the depots containing armaments that are subject to verification and the names and locations of the plants manufacturing such armaments or intended for such manufacture.

Each member of the Union undertakes, further, to keep the Agency informed of the quantities of specified armaments, including atomic, biological and chemical weapons and guided missiles, which are to be exported from its territory on the mainland of Europe. The Agency will be entitled to satisfy itself that the armaments referred to are in fact exported.

For the purpose of satisfying itself that the parties are not manufacturing specified types of armament, the Agency is authorized to scrutinize statistical and budgetary information and to make test checks, visits and inspections of production plants, depots and armed forces. It is expressly

stated in the agreement that the inspections made by the Agency will not be of a routine character but will be in the nature of tests carried out at irregular intervals. It is also expressly stated that due process will be provided in respect of private interests. The members of the Agency, for their checks, visits, and inspections, are to be accorded free access on demand to plants and depots, and the relevant accounts and documents are to be made available to them. The Agency and the national authorities of each State are to cooperate in the checks and inspections, and national authorities, at their own request, may take part in them.

The Agency will immediately report to the Council of the Western European Union if inspection or information from other sources reveals (a) the manufacture of armaments of a type which the member concerned has undertaken not to manufacture or (b) the existence of stocks of armament in excess of the specified figures and quantities. If the Council is satisfied that the infraction reported is not of major importance and can be remedied by prompt local action, it will so inform the Agency and the State concerned and the necessary steps will be taken. In case of other infractions the Council will invite the State concerned to provide the necessary explanation within a period determined by the Council. If the explanation given by the State concerned is considered unsatisfactory, the Council, by majority vote, will take the measures which it deems necessary in accordance with a procedure to be determined.

Quite likely in world relationships a period of many months of negotiations on this question of levels of armaments and openness to inspection will follow upon the initiative of the heads of government at Geneva and the opening of the sessions of the Subcommittee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission session on August 29th. But if the peoples of the world and the leaders under every form of government think through the situation thoroughly, there are grounds for sober optimism. It is true that the path of peace has never before been trod in a continuous and dependable manner. But this is the time that the benefits from traveling on it and the tragedy from departing off it have both assumed such new proportions that the conditions are truly without precedent. As I see it, it will be necessary that we have ever in mind these eleven interwoven principles:

1. A secure method, assured by inspection, must be found to end the competitive buildup of greater and greater armaments.
2. Restraint and patience must be practiced by every nation, especially the most powerful.
3. No nation shall attempt to take selfish advantage of the desire of another nation to avoid war.
4. The United States must maintain adequate strength for its own defense and to help deter aggression by any other nation.
5. All peoples should have and know opportunities to advance their standards of living under conditions of peace, including the peaceful civilian uses of atomic energy.
6. The economy of the United States must be kept sound and strong, with expanding conditions of living for our people.
7. We must be true to our ideals of individual dignity, human liberty, and spiritual values under God.
8. The exchange of knowledge and of peaceful goods, and the understanding of cultures, between the peoples of the world, must expand.
9. The United Nations should be supported to an increased degree in its second decade.

10. The spirit of cooperation between countries, of helping others for mutual benefits, should spread.

11. Peaceful methods of settling disagreements between nations, such as direct negotiation and mediation shall take the place of ultimatums, threats of war, and the terrible eventuality of war itself.

I invite, I urge, the lawyers of America and their fellow members of the bar in all nations to take an intelligent and indispensable part in establishing the public understanding and the practical steps for the development of international law to successfully aid the people in their determined, prayerful quest for peace.

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James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE NATIONAL TRAINING CONFERENCE FOR BOY SCOUT EXECUTIVES, HILL AUDITORIUM, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, SEPTEMBER 5, 1955.

In responding to your invitation to discuss with you on this occasion, "Youth and the Free World", may I first note that we meet here in Ann Arbor on Labor Day.

The great productive processes of a free people under a system of individual enterprise have made this nation a great power. In 1955, free labor has confidently and abundantly turned out full production for peace.

Let us never forget those dark days of war when American industry was called on to perform herculean feats of production for the defense of this nation.

Now as we work to build a secure peace, American labor has given ringing testimony to the rightness of our free economic system. Never before have more than 65 million people been gainfully employed in these United States.

We have entered an era of unprecedented peacetime prosperity. Personal income has climbed to new peaks; more people are finding better jobs; take-home pay is at record heights; and America is having its best economic year in history.

Our age has revealed a striking and often stormy tempo of change. With a stepped up pace, events that once spanned centuries have been crammed into generations.

This offers a great opportunity for genuine progress but it also presents a sterner challenge than ever before.

Will the youth of our nation and of other free countries be equipped, physically and spiritually, to meet the challenge and grasp the opportunity?

It is my feeling that a free world of people living together in harmony and assured peace will be achieved only to the extent our youth can successfully meet this challenge of change. Today, and still more in the years ahead, America and the entire world, will look to leaders who are able to think courageously, act with judgment and speed, with imagination and enterprise, and yet with patience and restraint.

The knowledge-through-experience available to nearly three million Scouts is helping effectively to prepare future citizens for a constructive role in the world-wide effort for a lasting peace with justice.

If the younger generation is to successfully live in, and lead in, the turbulent world of reality in the decades ahead, they must know what is happening around them. To state it another way, a climate must be developed which will encourage our youth to be part of the world rather than apart from the world.

Just a few weeks ago the eighth World Boy Scout Jamboree was held. Youngsters from 64 nations, representing all races and faiths, gathered together for this important assembly.

I commend you warmly, not only because of the excellent work you are performing here in the United States, but also for the exceptionally significant programs you have carried on with scouting groups from other nations in the interest of brotherhood and stronger ties among all peoples.

Just before I closed out my work as Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, a program was evolving at the request of the Guatemalan Government, with a view of furnishing useful leisure time activities for urban youth in that country.

Before launching these activities my Washington Staff consulted extensively with the Boy Scouts of America, after which a contract was negotiated for the "Boy Scouts of Guatemala". I understand that a nucleus for a volunteer staff has been assembled and a youth center is now being organized.

This is the kind of cooperative approach that is taking hold increasingly throughout the free world. For us, it is the practice of a great nation to help other free peoples to help themselves in the common quest for a more satisfying, more fruitful, and more prosperous life.

It is also a relatively new element in our foreign relations. Less than a quarter of a century ago most people drew the line of cooperation pretty well at our national borders, or at most, within the limits of the continent.

But two World Wars and a near-disastrous depression have taught some grim lessons. Now we are at a stage in history when even the most powerful nations must know they can no longer heedlessly risk the devastation of war.

Can you see why I am moved to express my belief that the youth of today will face a challenge of unprecedented proportions?

Last October the President said "Since the advent of nuclear weapons, it seems clear that there is no longer any alternative to peace ... The soldier can no longer regain a peace that is usable to the world."

War is not inevitable. History strengthens my conviction that Providence has directed man's genius to release the energy of the atom for a good purpose.

Not long ago I listened to a man talking to a scientist about the threat of the atom bomb. While he believed unswervingly in God, he could not understand why the Divine Power had permitted man to devise such an instrument. The scientist, who doubtlessly had wrestled with the same question, answered that in a few centuries our supplies of conventional fuel would be exhausted. Having to rely solely upon our hands and our body we would be faced with the bleak prospect of receding to the primitive stages from which we developed.

The discovery of nuclear energy, said the scientist, has changed all this by opening up entirely new avenues to virtually inexhaustible supplies of power, thus assuring man's future progress.

It is a plain fact that the materials which give the atom bomb its awful power can be used to create amazing plenty for mankind.

This was confirmed by the daily headlines growing out of the recently completed International Conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Here the prospects of nuclear energy as a powerful force for the benefit of mankind were most dramatically revealed.

But if atom power is to be man's ultimate benefactor, I do not believe we can arrive at that goal through inaction. We can neither be smug nor complacent, nor can we resign ourselves to head-in-the-sand hopelessness.

The dogged, patient insistence on making progress must be an essential part of America's future as it has been a vital part of our past.

It is ever present in the inspiring leadership of President Eisenhower. It must be ever present in our youth upon whom the legacy of leadership will fall.

The origin of peace is in the hearts and minds of men.

Let us see to it that our youth have strong faith in themselves, in their individual chance for greatness, in their country's moral and spiritual values, and in the future.

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James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA ASSOCIATED PRESS, BURTON HOTEL, MANKATO, MINNESOTA, 7:30 P.M., SEPTEMBER 17, 1955.

A return to my home state of Minnesota is always a source of great pleasure for me. I welcome the chance to spend some time with both friends and family.

I have looked forward particularly, to this opportunity to meet with the Minnesota Associated Press because of the extreme impact the men and women in this room will have on the future prospects of peace among the nations of the world.

As members of a free press corps your reporting of attitudes within, and among nations will have a very significant bearing on the understanding that develops between the peoples of these nations. I know you are all keenly aware of the special role you occupy as observers of the train of events moving swiftly across the world stage today.

Two basic conclusions can be drawn from the physical facts inherent in the current world situation.

Both of these conclusions should be reflected upon thoughtfully, and at length, by every citizen. Each has very exceptional implications for all mankind in the years ahead.

First: A major war would inflict devastation of a scope and over such vast areas that neither side could possibly gain through such a war, that in fact, both sides would suffer unimaginable losses of human life and widespread damage to their physical resources. No nation -- whether participant or non-participant, neutral or partisan, developed or underdeveloped -- could escape severe consequences involving a serious set-back in its way of life.

Second: If the world finds the way to live in peace the coming generation will witness unprecedented and rapid progress in material benefits and cultural advances, for every nation, on every continent, among every race on earth.

A clear knowledge of the amazing advance of scientists in the field of nuclear energy leads to these conclusions.

In the first case, weapons have been designed and fabricated with the capacity of substantially crippling any city in the world in a single blow. To deliver these weapons, airplanes have been developed which are capable of flying a third of the way around the world in any direction, in less than fourteen hours, non-stop.

This awesome combination means that a single squadron of bombers would pack a wallop greater than all of the planes, in all of their attacks on both sides in World War II.

The bomb-ravaged cities, the charred ruins, the twisted wreckage left in the wake of this kind of war would make the scars of World War II appear as minor blemishes in comparison.

In effect, if twentieth century civilization is not to slip back to a dark age, the grim shadow of war must be removed, by the light of reason.

Conversely, the same scientific break-throughs, the same refined nuclear materials hold the key to constructive energy, to productive power, to food, clothing and shelter, to educational facilities and cultural opportunities, to expanded trade and broadened travel on a scale the world has never known before.

Under conditions of peace the Atomic Age can become the Age of the Great Advance.

Which of these alternatives shall it be -- chaos or calm, suicide or sanity? Will the shiftless forces of fate win out or will it be a triumph of peace with justice?

These are the fundamental questions of our time.

If a period of unparalleled peace and prosperous progress is to be the happy experience of mankind, then I believe this year 1955, and particularly the leadership and statesmanship of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, will be recorded in history as the significant turning point.

I am sure you are all aware that the President's Proposal at Geneva with regard to reciprocal inspection went to the very heart of the quest for peace.

Directing his attention to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the President invited that nation to exchange with the United States blue prints of our respective armed forces, opening up each country for inspection by the other with the aid of aerial photography.

Each participating nation would secure knowledge which would minimize the possibilities of surprise attack. In practical terms, this concept set forth an effective beginning to fashion a reciprocal approach for a peace founded on mutual trust and confidence.

At the present time I am serving as the United States Deputy Representative on the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee which is exploring this proposal along with those suggested by other member nations.

At this time these discussions are in their very earliest stages. A solution will not be found overnight. I would commend your attention to the closing words of the Geneva disarmament proposal in which the President said, "A sound peace...with security, justice, well-being and freedom for the people of the world...can be achieved, but only by patiently and thoughtfully following a hard and sure and tested road."

These are words we shouldn't forget. It must be a "hard and sure and tested road". It must be a road paved with more than good intentions and it must be carefully charted and cautiously travelled.

As I see it, this path of peace will be trod continuously, and in a dependable manner, if we have ever in mind these eleven interwoven principles.

1. A secure method, assured by inspection, must be found to end the competitive buildup of greater and greater armaments.
2. Restraint and patience must be practiced by every nation, especially the most powerful.
3. No nation shall attempt to take selfish advantage of the desire of another nation to avoid war.
4. The United States must maintain adequate strength for its own defense and to help deter aggression by any other nation.
5. All peoples should have and know opportunities to advance their standards of living under conditions of peace, including the peaceful civilian uses of atomic energy.

6. The economy of the United States must be kept sound and strong, with expanding conditions of living for our people.

7. We must be true to our ideals of individual dignity, human liberty, and spiritual values under God.

8. The exchange of knowledge and of peaceful goods, and the understanding of cultures, between the peoples of the world, must expand.

9. The United Nations should be supported to an increased degree in its second decade.

10. The spirit of cooperation between countries, of helping others for mutual benefits, should spread.

11. Peaceful methods of settling disagreements between nations, such as direct negotiation and mediation shall take the place of ultimatums, threats of war, and the terrible eventuality of war itself.

Do not underestimate the indispensable part to be played by the press in developing an intelligent public understanding of this determined and prayerful quest for peace.

I urge you, each in your own way, to use the respected institution in your charge to accurately and fully describe the many difficulties involved while at the same time helping to sweep away the contaminated pools of cynicism which are so easily fed in this crucial concern.

I am reminded of a story about Abraham Lincoln, who not only held the fourth estate in high regard, but also knew full well the power of this free agency.

During a campaign address to an audience of precipitously divided political sentiments, the President was being drowned out by a calculated clamor from the followers of his political adversary.

He did not try to raise his voice above the din. Instead he directed his words solely to the reporters seated in the first row, toning down his remarks to a quiet whisper. Their curiosity aroused, the hecklers stopped their noisy chatter and tried vainly to catch Mr. Lincoln's words.

The President looked up and declared "Go on gentlemen. I do not need your ears as long as these pencils will permit me to speak to thirty millions of people."

Thus today, speaking through you to the people, it is my earnest hope you will carry a message that America stands united, strong and alert, never discouraged nor disillusioned, always patient and persevering, ever devoted and dedicated to the highest human aspiration for peace among all nations.

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James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED TRAFFIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, CLEVELAND, OHIO, 9:00 P.M., SEPTEMBER 20, 1955.

In his opening statement to the heads of Government at Geneva, President Eisenhower said "We meet here for a simple purpose. We have come to find a basis for **accommodation** which will make life safer and happier not only for the nations we represent but for people elsewhere."

The day before the Geneva meetings began, five thousand miles to the West, the people of a small town in Idaho were suddenly shrouded by darkness for a brief moment. Then the lights burned brightly once more.

This instant of darkness was needed in Arco, Idaho, for a quick changeover to a reactor furnace where atoms were being split, producing intense heat which made steam to run an electric generator.

On the following day, as the Geneva Conference convened, a copper switch was pulled near West Hilton, New York, and electricity produced by atomic energy throbbed in powerlines serving farms, homes and industry in Northeastern New York State.

These two events, although seemingly remote from one another, are inseparably bound together.

While scientific breakthroughs have transformed the atom into an instrument of productive power and constructive energy the same knowledge has made it possible to substantially disrupt any city in the world in a single blow.

The fearful realities of modern warfare have brought a grim and growing awareness that the cost of war in men, material and physical destruction would far exceed any gains that could come to the victor. There would be no victors in an atomic war! Only many, many losers!

At Geneva, after a decade of frustration, hope was revived that the awful threat of war could be pulled to a halt and replaced by world-wide cooperation for peace.

You are aware that the President's Geneva proposal to the Soviet Union pointed the way to the gateway to mutually advantageous and safeguarded measures.

The President invited the Soviet Union to exchange with the United States complete blueprints of armed forces to be verified by inspection of each country by the other with the aid of aerial photography by unarmed peaceful planes.

Knowledge secured through this friendly surveillance would enable each country to prevent the possibility of a major surprise attack by the other.

This memorable proposal is now being studied closely by the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee. It is my expectation that agreement to implement this plan, along with ground inspection measures, will be adopted after thorough review.

We should not expect results to be obtained overnight.

We must never forget the closing words of the Geneva Disarmament message, in which the President cautioned "A sound peace...with security, justice, well-being and freedom for the people of the world...can be achieved, but only by patiently and thoughtfully following a hard and sure and tested road."

At every historical crossroad the doubters have outnumbered the doers. Those who have said "it can't be done" have always been far more numerous than those who doggedly insisted "it will be done."

But I have faith it will be done because, if mankind is not to slip back to a dark age, it must be done. As the President has so forcefully and frequently reminded us "There is no longer any alternative to peace".

Thus my plea to you today is to recall how this nation has consistently penetrated every obstacle standing between our people and progress, throughout its history.

We might remember, for example, the many dangers and difficulties confronted by the pioneers of our early rail, waterway, and road system, from which has sprung the most extensive and effective network of transportation facilities in the world.

The Cumberland road pushing out irresistably from Maryland to the frontier town of Vandalia, Illinois;

The Erie Canal, linking the Hudson River and Atlantic coast ports to the Great Lakes region in the heart of an unexplored continent;

The fabled Oregon trail winding hazardously for two thousand miles across barren plains and rugged mountain passes to the Pacific Coast;

And that epochal feat of engineering, perseverance and skill needed to join a railroad striking out westward from Iowa with one coming East from California, meeting in triumph as the first trans-continental line, at Promontory, Utah.

These successful ventures did not just happen. They were years in the making, and the result was the conquest of a wilderness. Through a system of private enterprise which puts a premium on individual genius, we have developed the most powerful economic unit on earth.

In reaching our present status among the world leaders a story was written of tenacity, vision and courage. It will take the same abiding qualities to travel the Path of Peace.

As I see it, this path will be trod continuously, and in a dependable manner, if the words and actions of all nations are governed by these eleven interwoven principles.

1. A secure method, assured by inspection, must be found to end the competitive buildup of greater and greater armaments.

2. Restraint and patience must be practiced by every nation, especially the most powerful.

3. No nation shall attempt to take selfish advantage of the desire of another nation to avoid war.

4. The United States must maintain adequate strength for its own defense and to help deter aggression by any other nation.

5. All peoples should have and know opportunities to advance their standards of living under conditions of peace, including the peaceful civilian uses of atomic energy.

6. The economy of the United States must be kept sound and strong, with expanding conditions of living for our people.

7. We must be true to our ideals of individual dignity, human liberty, and spiritual values under God.

8. The exchange of knowledge and of peaceful goods, and the understanding of cultures, between the peoples of the world, must expand.

9. The United Nations should be supported to an increased degree in its second decade.

10. The spirit of cooperation between countries, of helping others for mutual benefits, should spread.

11. Peaceful methods of settling disagreements between nations, such as direct negotiation and mediation shall take the place of ultimatums, threats of war, and the terrible eventuality of war itself.

I am convinced that unbending fidelity to these principles nourishes our deepest hope for enduring peace and freedom, and furnishes the brightest outlook for the future happiness of ourselves and others.

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FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M. (EDT),
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1955

AUTHORIZED ADVANCE FOR ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 27, 1955

THE PROMISE OF PEACE

My enthusiastic commendations and congratulations are extended to the National Industrial Conference Board for focusing this session on the Peaceful Promise of Atomic Energy. Your session is of obvious direct value to the participating industries. But it has a many times greater indirect significance.

The thorough realization of the peaceful potential of the atom, by all of those engaged in industry, in labor, and in government, in all nations and by all peoples, is one of the keystones in the building of a secure bridge of peace in the decades ahead.

Every country has figuratively open to it an undeveloped nuclear country equal in size to its present territory, which it can develop and enjoy without contending with a rival claimant.

Under these circumstances, coveting or claiming the developed territory of another nation with the inevitable risk of mutual devastation is sheer folly. This is the fundamental fact of the atomic age which is slowly penetrating the mind of men everywhere.

Considerable attention has recently been given to the potential for production of electric energy with atomic fuel. This has very great significance.

But even more beneficial results may well come from other peaceful applications of these atomic discoveries of the scientists.

As diverse examples of this rapidly opening circumference of progress, I have asked Mr. Robert Butenhoff, the Chief of the Radiation Instruments Branch of the Atomic Energy Commission, to bring a few items to your attention:

1. The Thulium portable X-ray unit.
2. The Strantium 90 battery.
3. The phosphorus 32 isotope.
4. The Lead Shield.

These new scientific advances have brought about a drastic change in man's relationship to his tools of production and his methods of progress.

These nuclear facts of life must inevitably lead to a singularly important question to which this generation - or our children - will supply the answer.

"Will the spreading of nuclear knowledge and power throughout the world be good or bad for mankind?"

We know the atom conceals within it unimaginable possibilities for both good and evil. We know that if its benign capabilities are to be effectively and constructively enlisted, we must learn how to control its terrifying destructive force.

We know that in modern war, with its grave implications of naked nuclear power, the victor and the vanquished would inherit a bleak and barren earth, stripped of much twentieth century progress.

Throughout history man has sought and found new ways to wage war, but his powers of destruction were relatively limited compared to the power he possesses today.

At the same time man has resolutely pursued new ways of improving his conditions of living, but the fruits of his quest, while substantial, were nothing compared to the tremendous resources at his command today.

In other words, man now has within his grasp, an extreme potential for death as well as life. Which then shall it be?

On December 8, 1953, before the United Nations General Assembly, President Eisenhower opened one wellspring of opportunity with the memorable proposal for the creation of an international atoms-for-peace program. All nations were invited to contribute to an international pool, under the supervision of the United Nations, so that peaceful research might proceed on a cooperative international level.

Four months later plans for the First International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy were formulated, and last August, that conference, unique in history, was held.

Seventy-two nations sent 1400 of their most distinguished atomic authorities to participate in this first great diffusion of peaceful atomic knowledge. More than 1100 scientific papers were presented for exchange and study.

The enthusiastic spirit of scientific fellowship so abundantly displayed, reflected the deep humanitarian objectives of the conference and a decisive triumph for the President's prophetic vision of Atoms-for-Peace.

It is not an isolated case. The United States, through public planning and private initiative, has moved out to attack the problem on many other fronts.

For example, two weeks ago thirty-one young scientists from twenty countries completed the first round of courses at the Argonne laboratory in Chicago, where they explored the ways by which the atom can be put into the service of humanity. These talented young people are now returning to their homelands to teach others what they have learned, and to put their knowledge to practical use.

A second seven-month course will open November 7, and a third session is scheduled to begin next March.

The United States has also developed agreements with 28 countries to supply technical assistance and guidance needed for the cooperative construction of peaceful research reactors.

In the field of medicine, radioisotopes are now being used extensively to detect and fight cancer and other malignant diseases.

In Agriculture, animal husbandry, and horticulture, tracer atoms are used to investigate the puzzle of the living process.

Of particular interest to this conference is the role of nuclear physics in industry.

In this regard, atomic by-products have been found effective for measuring engine wear, and gauging thicknesses of anything from heavy metal slabs to paper-thin sheets.

We have witnessed the discovery of new metals and the development of improved alloys. Radioactive materials assist in refining and bettering production techniques, in heat transfer, in mineral processing and in corrosion control.

The extreme importance of this kind of research can be measured by the fact that corrosion alone accounts for the loss in America of approximately four billion dollars worth of metals each year.

On this basis it is no wonder that American industry has earmarked about \$300,000,000 for atomic research in the next four years.

But this heartening promise cannot be fulfilled unless there is peace in the world.

The old concepts of arms control must be viewed and revised, in the awesome, blinding light of nuclear fission and fusion.

Every country must know this.

Every major power, including the United States and the Soviet Union, now agree that no method is yet available which can dependably detect the presence of concealed nuclear weapons or fissionable materials or account in full for such production.

The United States has mobilized a number of our able scientists, engineers, and military experts to pursue this elusive, but urgently required answer, which will assure reliable enforcement of disarmament schedules and commitments.

While these penetrating studies are being conducted, the threat of massive surprise attack must be confronted forthrightly, firmly and effectively.

As you know, as a beginning, President Eisenhower proposed to the Soviet Union at Geneva an exchange with the United States of complete blueprints of all military establishments located in each country within the context of the United Nations.

This information would be verified by peaceful unarmed planes with the aid of aerial photography and reconnaissance. Observers could report anything and everything seen and could take an unrestricted number of aerial photographs.

President Eisenhower did not present this plan as a last word but rather as a very significant beginning which would be a gateway to realistic and reliable reduction of armament and armed forces.

The President has sent a personal message to Premier Bulganin indicating this country's willingness to accept the Soviet suggestion for ground observers to be located at key points, as part of initial aerial inspection procedures.

Our ancestors withstood extreme rigors in order to conquer an unexplored wilderness. The most treacherous peaks of resistance were not too much for them and they never buckled under to fear.

Let us then face the nuclear facts of life squarely from both aspects - the fear and the favor - with the same earnestness, wisdom, courage and faith that has given us an abundant life, a precious liberty, and a rewarding pursuit of happiness.

With our actions and activities governed by these guideposts, I have a deep and abiding faith that we will win through to a durable and prosperous peace, under God, for all mankind.



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