That is why, my friends, that is why the President of the United States has been correct in being firm in dealing with Mr. Khrushchev and not belligerent . That is why he has insisted that while he will always go an extra mile to negotiate disarmament or reduction of tensions , that he will never agree to weaken the United States unless we are sure that the Soviet Union is also reducing its military power at the same time . [Applause .

Let me tell you about disarmament . When people say , I 'm for disarmament , and when some people write to me and say Why , when Mr. Khrushchev comes over and says he 's for total disarmament why do we have to insist on inspection ? Why , they say , could n't we just do it ? Would n't that be real leadership in the world ? Would n't that be bold and imaginative ? Yes , it would , but do you know what would happen ? The moment the United States ever enters into an agreement for disarmament , which would result in increasing his strength as against ours , we do n't help the cause of peace . We hurt it , because – why is America the guardian of peace today ? Because we 're the strongest nation in the world , and the difference is : We do n't want to use our strength for anything except to keep the peace .

In other words , disarmament without inspection increases the risk of war . It 's only disarmament with inspection that will reduce the risk of war . So , I pledge to you that , with my colleague , Cabot Lodge , to whom I am going to give special assignments in this field , we will take the initiative at every opportunity to deal with Mr. Khrushchev and to work out whatever arrangement we can that will provide inspection for disarmament , for tests , for all these other items which I am discussing tonight .

The struggle for disarmament will not be an easy one . For disarmament is an ideal just as peace itself is an ideal , but it was a great son of Wisconsin , Carl Schurz , who said : Ideals are like stars , you will not succeed in touching them with your hands . But , like the seafaring man on the desert of waters , you choose them as your guides , and following them you will reach your destiny .

And I say that we can not and should not blame ourselves , our politics , our negotiators , their scientific advisers , or their instructions , for the unyielding refusal of the Soviets to make an agreement at Geneva . The time and patience which we have already expended to explore this way out of the disarmament dilemma have been full proof of our own intentions and those of the Soviets . The blame rests squarely on them .

And the Soviet Union has consistently had the initiative in the eyes of the world . At a time when our relative military strength was much higher than it is today , from 1953-55 , there was not a single top person in the entire Government working full time on disarmament . We did not come up with a single major new proposal for arms control .

And what has the United States been doing in the same year ? We have frustrated congressional attempts to develop more missiles , to harden our missile bases , to increase our defenses against Russia 's powerful submarine fleet . We have failed to propose a consistent , comprehensive , and workable plan for disarmament , based on careful preparation and technical studies . And we have been repeatedly reassured by Mr. Nixon – in glowing , sugar-coated terms – that we have nothing to worry about in arms , science , or space – that we have achieved peace without surrender – that statistics showing the Russian economy expanding faster than ours can be dismissed as mere growthmanship – and that the anti-American riots in Latin America and Japan were actually indications that the Communists were afraid to face us .

Nixon , why does n't the United States show a more flexible attitude ? Why do n't we take the first step toward disarmament ? Let me tell you what we have done . We have not only taken one step , we have not only taken two steps , but we have gone the second mile , the third mile , way down the line on disarmament . The point is : the Soviet Union is blocking the road to disarmament , blocking the road to stopping tests .

And we cared so little about arms control , that we regarded the entire effort as just another branch of psychological warfare , restricting ourselves to propaganda while Soviet armed strength increased . At the London Conference of 1957 - the first important disarmament meeting , we were represented by a man with absolutely no experience in arms control , Harold Stassen , and we sent him to the meeting without having formulated any American position . It was not until August 29 , 1957 , more than 5 months after the conference opened , that America had any position at all .

We have never adopted a comprehensive and meaningful position , and we have too often resorted instead to irresponsible grandstand plays . I have proposed a national peace agency , an arms control research institute , to prepare those studies necessary for a firm and realistic policy , to make certain our spokesmen are better prepared and better staffed at disarmament conferences , to enable us to seize the disarmament initiative . For I know we can do better .

I see him , ruthless , tough , completely a man dedicated to one purpose only - the evil purpose of conquering the world , and this is what I know : If America ever mistook his intentions and entered into a disarmament agreement , which he does not also keep with inspection , it will increase the danger of war rather than reduce it , and I 'll tell you why : We can not leave to a man who is the enemy of peace power to start a war and destroy the world . We have to have the power because we are friends of peace .

We can not parley on the basis of equality with the Soviet unless we maintain a military position of equality with them , and that goes in the traditional weapons and in missiles and in outer space . One of the reasons why we have never been able to get an agreement on the disarmament of outer space is because we are second in outer space , and the Soviet Union will not give way their advantage . We arm to parley , and we must be strong if we are going to disarm and maintain our security .

We know what peace demands . We will always go the extra mile to strengthen peace , the extra mile to work for disarmament , the extra mile to reduce tensions , but we will always remember that the man we are dealing with and his colleagues are ruthless , fanatical aggressors and that they do not follow the rules of the game that we would like them to follow , and that we must treat them the way they are , and this means that we must never make a concession without being sure that we 're getting one in return , that we must never agree , for example , to disarmament unless we can be sure that they , too , are disarming . Why is this necessary for peace ? Because , as I said at my last stop , we 've got to remember that as long as the United States maintains its present position of being stronger than anyone who threatens the peace of the world we can be the guardians of peace ; but the moment that somebody or some nation that does not want peace - in other words , that would use war as an instrument of conquest - is stronger than we are , or thinks they are , then peace is no longer safe .

And by that time our chief negotiator had been repudiated by the administration , and publicly demoted from the White House staff . At the next important disarmament conference , the 1958 Geneva Conference on surprise attack , we were represented by a businessman who had been out of Government for 5 years , and who had assumed his duties only 5 weeks before the conference met . Almost up to the opening day of the meeting , we had prepared no position , conducted no special research , formulated no realistic or constructive proposals .

If we have the ability to meet the problem of an abundance of food , in an inspected way , that helps people of the world to realize the blessings the Lord has given them , then we assist ourselves and assist others . If we recognize that we do not have most time , that the nuclear capacity is traveling country after country , almost like a disease , until by the end of the new decade 15 , 20 , or 25 countries will have the power to destroy not merely their adversaries , but perhaps human life , and yet this a Administration has less than 100 people working in the entire Federal Government on the vital subject of disarmament and our negotiators have reflected that disinterest . [Applause .

For the peoples of all mankind rest on successful disarmament . And – we let the nations of Africa and Asia and America feel that the United States is the real obstacle to disarmament , that we are not sincere in our desire for peace – if we continue to let the Soviet Union seize the offensive in disarmament negotiations - then these emerging areas of the world may well turn away from America and the free world , and begin to look to the Communist bloc for leadership in the fight for peace . And , of course , we must also seek disarmament because the only alternative to pursuit of an effective disarmament agreement is the pursuit of our present course - the arms race , the gap , new weapons , the development of even higher orders of mutual terror resulting in the ever higher likelihood of mutual destruction .

We have not only taken one step , we have not only taken two steps , but we have gone the second mile , the third mile , way down the line on disarmament . The point is : the Soviet Union is blocking the road to disarmament , blocking the road to stopping tests . Why ? Because they want a closed society and they want no inspection .

So , anytime we make a disarmament agreement which does not have inspection , under which they can hide , we increase their strength as against ours , it increases the risk of war . That 's why I say that we stand for peace when we say , as President Eisenhower says : Yes , we will go to Geneva and discuss disarmament and stopping tests ; yes , we will go to the summit and discuss disarmament and stopping tests . Yes , but we will never agree to an agreement unless the Soviet Union is going to require inspection as well as the United States .

I know that you must never make a concession to him without getting one in return . I know that you must never agree to disarmament , for example , unless you have an ironclad agreement from him that he 's going to do likewise . I know that that kind of firmness is what leads to peace .

We have to have the power because we are friends of peace . As long as America is the strongest nation in the world , the world need not fear that there will be war , because we will use our strength to keep peace , and I think that all of us , including those who are most dedicated to peace as I am , will say that we wanted next President of the United States always to go the extra mile , as President Eisenhower has , to negotiate with Mr. Khrushchev or anybody else for disarmament . We want to go the extra mile to strengthen the United Nations and the instruments of peace , but under no circumstances do we want the next President to be a man who will be fooled , who will make concessions to him without getting concessions in return , and , above all , we do not want the next President to be one who will reduce the strength of America unless we 're absolutely sure that the enemies of peace are also reducing their strength at the same time .

Our negotiators had to leave Geneva for Washington during the conference itself to try to find out what our policy was . Again , we had failed to prepare for disarmament . We had developed no real policy or position .

[Applause .] Secondly , we must establish an arms control research institute , working full time under the direction of the President , and they should be able to conduct the research and make the studies on which our position will be based at future conferences which must be held in the sixties , on the important subject of disarmament and on the important subject of nuclear test control , a full time institute manned by men whose mission is peace just as we maintain the Pentagon , whose mission is war . We must also give the same attention , certainly as much , and if possible more attention , to the involved and important subject of peace .

[Applause .] I do not believe that a political party which in the last 25 years has opposed housing and , minimum wage and social security , and every great domestic program which has been identified with progress in this country , which has refused to recognize our changing times around the world , which liquidated the credit which Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman built up in Latin America , which has always been indifferent of the present revolution now taking place in Africa , which has failed to maintain our military strength , which has given almost no attention to the important subject of disarmament , having less than 100 people working on it in the entire Federal Government , which has permitted us to be second , best in outer space , which has brought less foreign students to study here today than 10 years ago , which has , in other words , presided over the United States in a changing time and refused to change - I believe on November 8 the people of this country are going to take progress for the future , are going to give the leadership of this country once more to the Democrats . [Applause .

A recent independent survey concludes , and I quote it accurately , The only continuous features of our efforts in the disarmament field have been a lack of continuity in top personnel and a paucity of planning and research effort . As a result , we have been unprepared at every disarmament conference that we have attended . At a time when our relative military strength was at its height , in the mid fifties , at a time when we had the best chance to reach an agreement on control of arms , there was not a single top person in the entire Government working on this subject .

Our chief negotiator . This administration is liable on the whole series of grounds , Latin America , Africa , Asia , outer space , and here in the field of disarmament , which involves the security and peace of every person in and out of the State of Wisconsin , the head of our mission should say , We have given it very little time and attention . [Applause .

And this administration has failed to recognize the decisive nature of what science is doing to our hopes for the future . This administration has had less than 100 people working in the entire national government on the vital subject of disarmament . We have gone into every conference unprepared .

The peace movement that we have pressure deferred . I 'll tell you this Nation can accomplish , and you know this Nation can not unilaterally , but without this movement , peace requires an America that is planning , preparing , and striving for disarmament today . This administration has had less than 100 people working in the entire national government on the vital subject of disarmament , involving complex problems of surveillance , reconnaissance , seismography , atmospheric sampling and testing stations .

Such an effort requires not only long-term development loans but education , student exchanges , stepped-up Voice of America broadcasts , concerned and competent ambassadors , and a wide range of measures designed to increase the strength of freedom and stimulate the economic advance on which freedom often depends . Fourth , we will always keep on our planning the preparation for disarmament . One of the most glaring failures of the past 8 years has been our failure to prepare properly for any arms control conference since the end of the Korean war .

For peace will not come solely through the conference room and the propaganda machine . Rather the road to a world at peace runs through a revitalized and growing American economy , through the arduous construction of defenses so powerful that the Communists know that peace is their only alternative , through vast research projects to solve the complex difficulties of controlling modern arms , through carefully prepared disarmament programs to be presented by skilled and experienced negotiators , and through the exercise of a firm Presidential leadership which will never allow either our own representatives or the rest of the world to wonder what our position is , to wonder indeed , if we have any position at all , or to doubt the sincerity of our desire for disarmament . Words alone will never impress Mr. Khrushchev .

We have gone into every conference unprepared . This administration , a year ago , in order to get a position on disarmament , appointed a lawyer from Jackson State in Massachusetts , Mr. Coolidge , who had been a previous experience in the field . After 3 months , his report was dismissed and so was he , and a New York lawyer , after 5 weeks of preparation , was sent to head up our mission to the Disarmament Conference .

We must also be ready to reassume the initiative in the conduct of our foreign affairs or act to spread freedom as well as to react against the spread of communism . We must propose new and workable programs for disarmament for banning nuclear testing , for reducing tensions in the many trouble spots around the world from Berlin to the Formosa Strait , for using our resources of manpower , of thought and strength and of money , so that the world 's great industrial power of America will be able to mobilize its resources for the cause of peace , for the protection of freedom everywhere .

We must never make a concession to them without getting a concession in return . As President Eisenhower has said , the United States wants disarmament . We are willing to make all kinds of proposals for disarmament , but we are never going to disarm unless we are sure that the Soviet Union is also disarming at the same time through inspection , because if we did we would not be serving the cause of disarmament or of peace .

People have often spoken to me - my friends who are Quakers , as I am , have spoken to me - and they have said , Mr. Nixon , why does n't the United States show a more flexible attitude ? Why do n't we take the first step toward disarmament ? Let me tell you what we have done . We have not only taken one step , but we have gone the second mile , the third mile , way down the line on disarmament .

But in the recent time there is still a chance that the negotiations may result in an agreement in which testing will be discontinued by both the Soviet Union and the United States , or at least not resumed by both , assuming both have discontinued them , and that this agreement will have with it such inspection procedures . Now the chance that it is vitally important that we continue to press forward until there is obviously no chance of success is that if we can get an agreement on nuclear testing , suspension of nuclear testing , with inspection , it opens the door and paves the way for disarmament with inspection . And this must be the goal of the President of the United States , whatever party he may be from .

I 'm confident of what America can do in the years ahead , provided that Americans know the problems , face up to the challenge , and stay true to the principles that have made this country great . Now , if I might turn to one other point that I think should be covered on an occasion like this , what should be our diplomatic policy in the years ahead ? Diplomatically , the United States , as the President indicated at Baltimore this morning , must always be ready and willing to sit down at the conference table and discuss disarmament , to discuss any differences that we have with any other nation in the world , because we must work for peace constantly ; but on the other hand , let 's remember , as the President also said this morning , when it comes to disarmament we must never forget that we can take nothing on faith , because America must never give up any thing own strength unless we know that the potential enemies of freedom and of peace are also reducing their strength at the same time . In other words , we can have disarmament only with inspection , with the guarantees which the President has insisted upon and which we will insist upon in the next administration as well .

The next President must promptly send to the Congress a special message requesting the funds and the authority necessary to sixties , on the surprise attack , a full time institute manned by men whose mission is peace just as we maintain the Pentagon , whose mission is war . We must also give the same attention , certainly as much , and if possible more attention , to the involved and important subject of peace .

We had no position and we adopted that of the British . Our negotiators had to leave Geneva during the Conference itself to come to Washington to find out what our position was , and again we failed to prepare for disarmament . Throughout the consistent history of indifference and failure the arms race has continued to mount .

Mr. Nixon may now say he has been urging an acceleration of our defense all along - but in his August 10 press conference the President said he knew of no such different viewpoint by the Vice President , adding : Certainly if there is , he has n't come to me about it . What was the Security Council doing while the Nation was undergoing this experience ? Why would anyone point with pride to presiding over successive blows to our security and prestige - Indochina , Hungary , Suez , Sputnik , the riots in Venezuela , the collapse of the summit , the riots in Japan , the collapse of the Baghdad Pact , the failure of disarmament , the U-2 fiasco , and now Cuba and the Congo ? Why would anyone boast about presiding over the Security Council during the years it rejected the now accepted findings of the Gaither report , the Killian report , and the Rockefeller report - during the years it held back our missiles and frustrated our efforts in Space - during the years it failed to come up with one new idea of any importance - for Atoms for Peace was a slogan , the Eisenhower Middle East Doctrine was a farce , the open skies plan was a gesture , and the Baghdad Pact was a failure . Mr. Nixon has presided , in short , over the decline of our national security .

The hope for peace is to be firm against those who threaten the peace so that you can n't blackmail us . The hope for peace is then to go out and sit down , from a position of strength , and negotiate for disarmament for peace but always from strength and never from weakness . And that 's what Cabot Lodge and I will do .

After 3 months , his report was dismissed and so was he , and a New York lawyer , after 5 weeks of preparation , was sent to head up our mission to the Disarmament Conference . One hundred people working on one of the most important , involved , specialized fields the subject of disarmament , nuclear control . I believe we can do better , and I believe we must do better .

Why is it that you stand against the proposals for disarmament that are made by Mr. Khrushchev ? Why is it that we ca n't go more than halfway on these proposals and take some of them on faith ? I want to tell you why we ca n't . Because if the United States ever enters into a disarmament agreement with the Soviet or with any other potential aggressor which they might break and which we would keep , that would increase the danger of war rather than reduce it and that we must never do . [Applause .

But , in addition to that , we will follow the firm , strong line and diplomatic policy which President Eisenhower has followed . What do I mean by that ? I mean that we will always be willing to go to the negotiations for disarmament , to negotiate for reducing tensions , but we will always recognize that in dealing with the Communist dictators or any dictators , that peace is their only alternative , and that means that they will take a mile if they will take inches .

We will never be belligerent . We 're always going to be willing to go the extra mile to negotiate disarmament or anything , but we 're never going to let into the fatal error of what has gotten us into in the past and that is let dictators think that we will not react . So , this is the way to peace , and I want you to know that we will have no political interference in keeping the peace for ourselves , for our children , and also to see to it that our children have an opportunity to grow up and have a better life even than we 've had .

We must take advantage of these new technological discoveries , and we must move forward also because the Soviet is moving forward , and we must never let this gap , which presently exists between their strength and ours , a gap in our favor , be narrowed . As a matter of fact , we must increase it , increase it until the time when we can have real disarmament with inspection - and more about that later . In addition to this , of course , we need intelligence activities , and I want to talk very frankly about intelligence tonight , because this is a matter that has been discussed during this campaign , as you will recall , in our debates .

I think that we have many arms in the arsenal , and one of course is that , and we should keep that second to none . Secondly , I hope that we can try to work out with our adversaries , the Communists , a realistic system with inspection for the lessening of arms tension , for the cessation of nuclear tests and for the beginning of disarmament , and lift that heavy burden from us all . Thirdly , I think that we should assist those countries to the south of us who are attempting to solve their staggering economic problems and help them join with us .

It is only when we have a military force strong enough to convince the Russians that they 'll never be able to gain any advantage through military strength , only when we can approach the conference table in a position of equality , only then can we hope for fruitful negotiation . Second , we must establish an arms control research institute , under the direction of the President , to undertake , coordinate , and follow through on the research , development , and policy planning needed for a workable disarmament program . Detection and monitoring systems will require new techniques of aerial reconnaissance and radar surveillance , new ones for seismic communications systems , computers , and cameras , new ways to denature plutonium and inspect power reactors , and a whole host of additional research projects .

They want to go Eisenhower 's way - and that 's our way , and that 's the way we 're going . Now , the last point that I make is one that I make particularly because I know of the great concern the people in these Quakers , communities have for the cause of disarmament . People have often spoken to me - my friends who are Quakers , as I am , have written to me - and they have said , Mr .

Now , what do I mean by that ? I mean simply that the next President should follow the course that President Eisenhower has begun , follow the course of being willing to go anyplace , anyplace in the world , in the cause of peace . Follow the course of being willing to negotiate from a position of strength with firmness , standing always for freedom , but be willing to negotiate on disarmament , on Berlin , on any of the other major differences that we have , trying to work out those differences so that we reduce the areas that might set off this disaster that all of us wish to avoid . And might I say that in this particular field we have made progress that the next years provide an opportunity to strengthen the instrumentalities that will work for peace .

The pursuit of peace is still the focus of our leadership , our energies , and our determination . And disarmament is still the most vital step on the road to a lasting peace . The great question of the 1960 's - the overriding concern of all Americans and all men - is whether , in the coming decade , the world will move toward a secure peace and the survival of mankind or whether we will move toward war and common destruction .

Yet , in the past 80 years , this subject has been virtually ignored ; we have not had a great disarmament policy . And we have not even failed to provide the effort and the leadership which the pursuit of disarmament demands . In the entire U.S. Government we have had fewer than 100 men working on the complex problems of arms control .

They would use it because their aim is to conquer the world . So , my friends , let me say this : We will work for disarmament , yes . We will work to stop tests and get an agreement , yes ; but we will never agree to anything unless we are sure they are going to keep the bargain because that 's how America has got into trouble in the past , and we are not going to make that mistake in the future .

And now ask about prestige . What do our opponents think ? Do they think that Mr. Khrushchev gains prestige for the Communists when he takes off his shoe at the United Nations and pounds the table with it ? I say no. I say that President Eisenhower gained prestige for America when with great dignity and great responsibility , he stood for peace , for disarmament , for all the things that Americans believe in. No , my friends , the test of prestige , if our prestige was low , I can assure you , would occur in the United Nations , and there what do we find ? In every instance where we 've had a test vote and listen to this - in the last 7 years , with the Soviet Union on one side and the United States on the other , we have won and the vote on the Congo we won , 70 to nothing . My friends , that 's a pretty good score in football .

But I can not believe that there is one person in this State or Nation who would not like to see the arms race end – the threat of war recede – and the millions now spent on weapons of destruction turned to schools and hospitals and homes and dams . With careful planning for reconversion , this would mean a period of prosperity under disarmament than it ever enjoyed in the cold war . For peace is our deepest aspiration .

But he has been standing for the right . He has been standing for peace , for real disarmament , for helping our friends abroad . All these things he has been standing for .

But in the two areas , two areas where peace can be won in the cold war and in our relations with our friends abroad this country has been ill served . Disarmament planning is the most glaring omission in the field of national security and world peace of the last 8 years . [Applause .

Only then can we prevent war by preparing for it . Only then can we pay the way to disarmament by showing Mr. Khrushchev the futility of peace through strength . But let us always remember that Mr. Khrushchev is not going to be impressed by mere words .

But the hard facts of the matter are that we have fewer than 100 people in the entire Federal Government working on these problems . And the result has been that this country has not been prepared for any disarmament , arms control or atomic testing conference that has taken place since the end of the Korean war . I have proposed in the Congress the establishment of a National Peace Agency - an Arms Control Research Institute - and the next President of the United States must take this step to pave the way for peace .

This administration , a year ago , in order to get a position on disarmament , appointed a lawyer from my own State of Massachusetts , Mr. Coolidge , who had had no previous experience in the field . After 3 months , his report was dismissed and so was he , and a New York lawyer , after 5 weeks of preparation , was sent to head up our mission to the Disarmament Conference . One hundred people working on one of the most important , involved , specialized fields the subject of disarmament , nuclear control .

They are afraid of diplomatic policies that teeter on the brink of war . They are dismayed that our negotiators have no solid plans for disarmament . And they are discouraged by a philosophy that puts its faith in swapping threats and insults with the Russians .

The arms control research institute would coordinate and direct all these research efforts , carrying them on itself or farming them out to private firms and universities . The scattered disarmament technicians , scientists , and policymakers could at last work as a unit with a central purpose and direction given by the President himself . Third - we must begin , perhaps within the framework of the arms control research institute , to plan for the reconversion of our economy from war to peace .

Halt the arms race . Let me tell you about disarmament . When people say , I 'm for disarmament , and when some people write to me and say Why , when Mr. Khrushchev comes over and says he 's for total disarmament - why do we have to insist on inspection ? Why , they say , could n't we just do it ? Would n't that be real leadership in the world ? Would n't that be bold and imaginative ? Yes , it would ; but do you know what would happen ? The moment the United States ever enters into an agreement for disarmament , which would result in increasing his strength as against ours , we do n't help the cause of peace .

It involves the lives and security of us all . I believe that we should set up an arms research institute - a peace institute - in the National Government , which will work as hard on the subject of disarmament , work as hard on the subject of peace , as our Defense Establishment does to protect us . We need to be strong , but we also need to be working toward peace .

Fourth - while we are working to dismantle the engines of destruction we must work out methods of protecting ourselves against the growing danger of accidental war , through sure methods of informing ourselves about suspicious events or accidental firings so that neither nation can make a mistake which will trigger nuclear destruction . Fifth - And most important , the fight for disarmament must command the personal attention and concern of the President of the United States . Our defense and six disarmament experts are concentrated in many important centers of Government in the State Department , the Defense Department , the AEC and others .

We did not come up with a single major new proposal in the field of arms control , and we cared so little about it that we regarded the entire effort as simply a point of our effort in psychological warfare . At the London Conference of 1957 , the first important disarmament Conference held in the fifties , and the one which came closest of any in reaching an agreement on disarmament , we sent a man who had not been active in the field , Harold Stassen , we sent him to a meeting without formulating an American position . Mr. Stassen was never able to get clear instructions at the meeting as to what our position was .

Secondly , peace requires an America that is planning , preparing , and striving for disarmament and other steps toward peace . Disarmament today is just as complicated as armaments - involving complex problems of surveillance , reconnaissance , seismography , atmospheric sampling and testing stations . A successful blueprint for a safe disarmament is as difficult to devise as a successful blueprint for modern war .

The enemy advances now by nonmilitary methods - and military methods can not prevent that advance . Disarmament planning is one of the most glaring failures of these last 8 years . There have been a series of opportunities , conferences , and proposals by other nations including the Russians .

Perhaps the science of inspection will be unable to keep pace with advancing weapons technology . But no matter how difficult the problems are , how discouraging the obstacles , how uncertain the prospect for agreement , we must , nevertheless , begin a determined , large-scale effort to prepare ourselves for disarmament - to formulate constructive and realistic proposals which have a chance of success . For the hopes of all mankind rest on successful disarmament .

I would put more people into it . I would indicate our desire not only to maintain our strength , but also to provide for orderly disarmament . Thirdly , I would hope that the United States could make for effective judgments of the events that are going to occur .

We can be proud that we are working through the United Nations to maintain the freedom to these people rather than to take it away . It 's true that President Eisenhower is n't making a fool of himself on the floor of the U.N. It 's true that he is advocating a program for disarmament , for the use of outer space , a program in addition , for the use of our surpluses through the United Nations . All of these are honest , decent proposals , which the whole world applauds .

As President Eisenhower has said , the United States wants disarmament . We are willing to make all kinds of proposals for disarmament , but we are never going to disarm unless we are sure that the Soviet Union is also disarming at the same time through inspection , because if we did we would not be serving the cause of disarmament or of peace . We would be limiting our power at a time that the only one that threatens the peace of the world would be maintaining an advantage and gaining one that he did not previously have .

If we ever have disarmament in this world , disarmament without inspection , in which the strength of the Soviet Union relative to that of the United States is increased , the risk of war increases . In other words , disarmament without inspection increases the risk of war . It 's only disarmament with inspection that will reduce the risk of war .

Yet in the past 8 years , and in my opinion this is one of the most serious indictments that can be leveled against this administration , in this vital area in the past 8 years this administration has given this problem no attention . In the entire U.S. Government we have had fewer than 100 people working on the complex subject of arms control and disarmament , less than 100 people , scattered through four of the departments of the Government . When I reminded Mr. Nixon of this in one of the debates he gave one of his usual answers .

It 's a typically specious and frivolous maneuver . We have made a good-faith effort to advance the - advance toward disarmament - and make some progress by having a meeting of the Disarmament Commission . Now , when they make a proposal like this , it 's a cynical attempt to prevent progress , that 's what it is it shows that they do n't really want disarmament .

It is impossible for us to provide for the disarmament of outer space , the disarmament of nuclear weapons , unless we are in a position of parity with the Soviet Union . This administration has less than 100 people working in the entire Federal Government on the subject of disarmament . I think we can do a better job than that .

Now , when they make a proposal like this , it 's a cynical attempt to prevent progress , that 's what it is it shows that they do n't really want disarmament . Q. Can you estimate how long your disarmament duties will keep you under this self-imposed expatriate-like sojourning status ? A. Well , it is n't really self-imposed . It is - would obviously be inappropriate for me to , as the U.S. representative to the United Nations - to engage in partisan politics .

First , it has been suggested that it is your objective to pose as a champion of disarmament . You are said to be bringing new disarmament proposals with you . If they are at all constructive and negotiable , I hope we in this country will stand ready to consider them .

Disarmament today is just as complicated as armaments - involving complex problems of surveillance , reconnaissance , seismography , atmospheric sampling and testing stations . A successful blueprint for a safe disarmament is as difficult to devise as a successful blueprint for modern war . But the hard facts of the matter are that we have fewer than 100 people in the entire Federal Government working on these problems .

Now , if I might turn to one other point that I think should be covered on an occasion like this , what should be our diplomatic policy in these years ahead ? Diplomatically , the United States , as the President indicated at Baltimore this morning , must always be ready and willing to sit down at the conference table and discuss disarmament , to discuss any differences that we have with any other nation in the world , because we must work for peace constantly ; but on the other hand , let 's remember , as the President also said this morning , when it comes to disarmament we must never forget that we can take nothing on faith , because America must never give up any of its own strength unless we know that the potential enemies of freedom and of peace are also reducing their strength at the same time . In other words , we can have disarmament only with inspection , with the guarantees which the President has insisted upon and which we will insist upon in the next administration as well . And in the negotiations that we have , as far as these guidelines are concerned , may I suggest these other things should be remembered as well ; we must be firm in our dealings with the Soviet , as I have indicated , but we must be nonbelligerent .