

could become a first great experiment in international scientific collaboration. It would point the way to a solution of the complex problems ahead in controlling more difficult aspects of disarmament -- because no progress in disarmament is possible without control. The establishment thus set up might also carry on positive scientific programmes in the spirit of the International Geophysical Year.

The immediate suspension of tests would have many desirable results. Nevertheless we should realize that serious risks are involved for those countries which have sought to turn their manpower to productive purposes and are forced to rely on modern arms for their security. The offer of the United States and the United Kingdom should not be underestimated. It is a daring step in a perilous international situation.

For our part, we have always pressed in this Assembly for the cessation of nuclear tests as urgently as possible. Those of us who are impatient, however, should all take stock of the extent to which the United States and the United Kingdom have changed, in the interest of reaching agreement with the Soviet Government, conditions considered only a few months ago as necessary accompaniments of the suspension of tests. No power can be expected to rush into moves of this kind without caution. If this programme is accepted by the U.S.S.R., it can lead us to the total cessation of tests, which we are all united in wanting. The U.S.S.R. is on record with offers which should make such a programme possible. There is no question, therefore, as has been suggested in this debate, of the United States and the United Kingdom attempting to impose something by marshalling a majority vote of the Assembly. Given good will and good faith, there is no reason why there should be a single test explosion after October 31, ten days from now.

Whatever declarations we might extract from the Great Powers, I do not believe we can expect any of them to scrap completely and immediately their capacity to develop and test nuclear weapons, because it will take time to establish and prove the worth of an agreement. Whether we call it a cessation, a suspension, or a discontinuance of tests, the fact is that it will of necessity be tentative until all parties concerned are assured that the control system is operating effectively.

I realize that there are those who honestly doubt that the Western Powers are in earnest and that they are seeking to provide a means of escape from any agreement on discontinuance of nuclear tests. For my part, I can say that I am by no means certain of the good intentions of the U.S.S.R., but I am prepared to accept the declarations