

as sometimes in the past, the Government of the U.S.S.R. will respond more seriously and more thoughtfully to these proposals so that responsible negotiations may be resumed.

There is in the world today an insistent demand for international agreement to lighten the burden of armaments and to reduce the threat of war, which might carry with it the terrible consequences of the large scale use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. All the governments and peoples of the world have an immense and direct interest in this question, but the few powers which possess these weapons must carry a great share of the responsibility for negotiating a disarmament agreement. I think that we all recognize that a single comprehensive agreement covering all forces and armaments, and their reduction to the levels needed for internal security, is not attainable now. In the past year we have therefore concentrated on the attempt to make a beginning with first steps of disarmament.

If disarmament proposals are meant seriously they must not be one-sided. They must not reduce the relative strength and security of any major power or group. Disarmament plans must be capable of inspection and control, and the necessary controls must be accepted. With some exceptions, which I shall note, it is a mark of progress that most of the plans before us go farther towards satisfying these criteria than ever before.

I think that these requirements are largely met for example in the working paper of August 29 tabled in the Sub-Committee by the delegations of France, United Kingdom, U.S.A. and Canada. . . .

The August 29th proposals are steps which the sponsors are willing to take immediately, in the present world situation, without setting any political conditions. If adopted, they would provide for a substantial reduction in armed forces and armaments, a cessation in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes (that is, an end to the arms race in nuclear weapons), a beginning in the reduction of the stock-piles of nuclear weapons, and a suspension of tests of nuclear weapons for two years, which could, in fact, continue and become a permanent cessation of tests of nuclear weapons.

The proposals for mutual aerial inspection, which the U.S.S.R. has sometimes denounced as nothing more than schemes to collect intelligence data, are now put forward in a flexible and accommodating way. The U.S.S.R. is offered a variety of zones in which we might make a beginning with aerial inspection. We believe that these various zones are equitable and fairly balanced. For its part, the Canadian Government has agreed, if the Soviet Government will reciprocate, to the inclusion of either the whole or a part of Canada in an equitable system of aerial inspection. This was re-affirmed only a day or two ago by the Prime Minister of Canada in his statement before the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It seems to us that our proposals deserve, at the very least, serious and thoughtful consideration before they are rejected. We cannot see that they would put the U.S.S.R. at a disadvantage compared to other major powers. We believe that with an adequate but not excessive control apparatus, these first steps of disarmament could be carried out without any loss in security to any of the countries party to the agreement. Success in these first steps would generate the confidence which could in turn lead to further disarmament. I do not say that our working paper is necessarily the last word in measures for a beginning of disarmament, and I know that any proposals of the Soviet Government to modify or adjust these suggestions would be very carefully considered. There can be no question of imposing or dictating an agreement. We can make progress only by serious and patient negotiation, and we trust that the Soviet Government will show itself willing to carry on in this spirit.

I now turn briefly to some of the proposals of the Soviet Government. I think that the differences between us on reductions of armed forces and armaments and reduction in military budgets, and perhaps even in the control and inspection of these reductions, are not so great as they once were. Serious and patient negotiations on these points could produce agreement. The U.S.S.R. has admitted in principle the possibility of aerial inspection, together with ground control posts, to safeguard against surprise attack, and we have not given up hope that mutually acceptable zones in which to begin such inspection might be agreed.

We regret very much, however, that the Soviet Government continues to put forward, as if they were serious proposals, two disarmament schemes which are uncontrollable, which do not admit of any effective inspection, and which, therefore, must be