

armaments could be effectively controlled. Furthermore, it is also agreed that future production of nuclear material can be subjected to extensive checks. The normal means of delivery, such as long-range planes, would naturally be covered by the plans for reduction of conventional armaments.

I might add, parenthetically, that the new and more effective instruments, such as the I.B.M. which could be used to launch a sudden nuclear attack, are also susceptible to a degree of control directly or indirectly.

Scientific developments now enable us to foresee with reasonable certainty the advent of a completely new weapons system for intercontinental warfare. The major nations of the world are devoting an increasing proportion of their research and development effort to perfecting this means for the delivery of atomic and thermonuclear weapons almost instantaneously to any part of the world. Scientists consider defence against these weapons to be possible but this would require a tremendous effort extending over many years.

Thus, the impending perfection of these new weapons of offence and the need for a completely new kind of defence against them faces all the nations of the world with the grim prospect of an arms race on a scale even vaster than those of the present. This race is only well begun and nations have not yet embarked on the enormous expenditures that would be required to produce these new weapons of offence and defence when they become available.

The experience of centuries has shown that, even if it were desirable, it would be useless to try to prevent the advance of science by national law or international agreement. Therefore, scientists will inevitably pursue the development of rockets capable of intercontinental flight, of earth satellites and even of inter-planetary rockets.

These frightening possibilities make it even more imperative that we agree soon on as comprehensive a disarmament programme, as is feasible, one which would encompass the I.B.M.

Everyone, including I think the U.S.S.R., now regrets that it was not possible to control the development of atomic weapons at an earlier time in their evolution when control was still possible. Surely we should learn something from the bitter experience of the past few years and seek now to control the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles before it is too late.

Without departing, therefore, from the essential principle of effective control, it should be possible within a relatively short time to develop agreement on a large and truly significant programme of disarmament. If this were done we would be left with the problem of nuclear weapons. I admit that it is a serious one; it would have implications, for instance, for the level of forces which should be retained and on the types of armaments which should be allowed. The point which I wish to emphasize is that right now we could develop a measure of disarmament which would substantially alter the international situation. The psychological climate, and the budgetary situation in our