

This year there is a difference in the situation. The United States will have no alternative but to oppose such a moratorium and oppose vigorously, as we did last year. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, with its complete lack of moral scruples will, I am told, not vote against a moratorium this year. Thus a vote for a moratorium, which might have been considered as "a plague on both your Houses" last year, would this year be clearly directed at the United States and those allies who stand firm against the moratorium proposition. Furthermore, we are prepared this year to accept without controls an end to above-ground testing. Your Delegation has strongly supported at Geneva the two test ban treaties we tabled there. These represent substantial forward movement in a sincere effort to find a safe way of ending tests. The Soviet Union, on the contrary, has continued adamantly to oppose any on-site inspection requirement, although we have reduced these requirements to what we sincerely believe to be the minimum tolerable limit. We had hoped that these proposals would receive your support as a member of the Western Alliance.

The Canadian Delegation at Geneva has wholeheartedly supported the Western position on this subject, as the best way to put pressure on the Soviets to change its position. We do not by any means rule out the possibility that the Soviets will once more reaffirm the position they took from 1958 until late 1961 that on-site inspection was a necessary element of a control system.

Should Canada cast its vote in favour of a moratorium this year, it will be tantamount to Canada's abandoning the Western position at Geneva on this issue. This will be seen by the Soviet Union as a successful breach of the Western position. In this event, what hope can we hold for pressures on the Soviet Union to take the extremely reasonable step we have proposed? Or to agree even to the limited treaty covering the testing environments of greatest concern, i.e., the atmosphere, outer Space and the Oceans.

I can assure you most strongly, Mr. Prime Minister, that the United States will not agree to end tests unless we have reasonably adequate assurance that the Soviet Union will not carry out such tests. A mere Soviet promise is not satisfactory either to me or to the American public. There will, in short, be no end put to testing by another moratorium resolution in the United Nations.

As I wrote in my letter of April 13, what we must do is stand together in convincing the Soviet Union that the world cannot have disarmament without inspection and that the Soviet Union cannot conduct nuclear tests with impunity and then expect the United States to hold its hand in matters essential to the security of the West.

Mr. Prime Minister, I cannot overemphasize my concern in this matter, and for the reasons I have advanced above, and in the interest of a vital Western solidarity on this testing issue, I hope you will reconsider this decision to cast an affirmative vote for a resolution which can only damage, and damage seriously, the Western position on an essential issue of Western security.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY"

I am informed that the White House does not plan to publish the foregoing letter. Furthermore, I am informed that the signed original of the letter is being pouched, and upon its arrival it will be immediately transmitted to you.

Sincerely,

IVAN B. WHITE