

Pencil editing - The President

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Draft #5
November 28, 1953

DRAFT OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH
BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS



When Secretary Hammarskjold's invitation to address this General Assembly on its closing day reached me in Bermuda, I was just beginning my conferences with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France on some of the problems that beset our world.

During the remainder of the Bermuda conferences, I had constantly in mind that ahead of me lay a great honor. That honor is mine tonight as I stand here, privileged to address the General Assembly of the United Nations.

At the same time that I appreciate the honor and privilege of addressing you, I also have a sense of excitement as I look upon this assembly.

Never before in history has so much hope for so many people been gathered together in a single organization. Your deliberations and decisions during these somber years have already realized some of this hope.

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But the great tests and the great accomplishments still lie ahead.

And in the confident expectation of these accomplishments, I would use

the ^{position} ~~eminence upon~~ which, for the time being, I ^{hold} ~~stand~~, to assure you that

the Government of the United States will remain steadfast in its faith

that from this body will flow a great share of the wisdom, the courage,

and the decision which will bring to this world lasting peace for all nations,

and happiness and well being for all men.



* * *

As the brief Bermuda hours ticked away, I considered what would

be an appropriate message for me to give you today.

^{Clearly} I ~~knew~~ that it would not be ^{fitting} ~~appropriate~~ for me to take this occasion

to present to you a unilateral American report on Bermuda. Nevertheless,

I can assure you that our deliberations projected the detailed problems at

^{(2) against} hand ~~into~~ those same great vistas of universal peace and human dignity

so cleanly etched in your Charter.

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I also knew that it would not be a measure of this great opportunity
merely to recite ^{however} hopefully, pious platitudes.

I therefore decided that this occasion warranted my saying to you
some of the things that have been on the minds and hearts of myself and
my closest associates for a great many months -- thoughts I had originally
planned to say primarily to the American people.



I know that the American people share my deep belief that if a
danger exists in the world, it is a danger shared by all -- and equally,
that if a hope exists in the mind of one nation, that hope should be shared by all.

Finally, if ^{any} a ~~plan~~ ^{designed}, a proposal to ease world tensions, is to be
advanced by the United States, what more appropriate audience could there
be than the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

* * *

In a sense, I am speaking today in a language that is new -- a
language which I who have spent so much of my life in the military
profession would have preferred never to use.

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That new language is the language of atomic warfare.

* * *

On _____, the United States set off the world's first atomic test explosion at Alamogordo in New Mexico. Since that fateful day, the atomic age has moved forward at such a pace that today I consider that certain facts should be taken out of the realm of conjecture and stated officially.



I beg you to believe that the facts I shall reveal concerning the atomic power of the United States are not presented boastfully, or truculently, or threateningly. On the contrary, I, who know better than most the language of destruction, utter them with sober sadness.

This recital of atomic danger and power is necessarily stated in United States terms, for these are the incontrovertible facts which I know. You must, however, bear in mind that no area of the world, no matter how remote, could consider itself completely immune to some of the results were atomic warfare to occur on our planet.

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Since that day in _____, we have conducted 42 atomic test

explosions.

Bombs in today's stock/pile are more than
~~We are today armed with bombs, a single one of which, with an~~

30 times as explosive as was those
~~explosive equivalent of more than 500,000 tons of TNT, exceeds by more~~

~~than 30 times the power of the 1945 bombs.~~

In these eight years

~~Today,~~ our mass of atomic weapons, with its ever-increasing

annual growth, exceeds by many times the explosive equivalent of the total

of all bombs and all shells that came from every American plane and every

American gun in every theatre of war through all the years of World War II.

Any single one of the air wings of our Strategic Air Command

could deliver in one operation atomic bombs with an explosive equivalent

greater than all the bombs that fell on Germany through all the years of

World War II.

One aircraft carrier of our Navy could deliver in one sortie atomic

bombs exceeding the explosive equivalent of all the bombs and rockets dropped

by Germany on the United Kingdom through all the years of World War II.

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But the dread secret and the fearful engines of atomic might are not ours alone.

In the first place, the dread secret is shared by our friends and allies, Great Britain and Canada, whose scientific genius made a tremendous contribution to our original development and perfection of the atomic bomb.

The secret is also shared by the Soviet Union.



I am sure that it will be no surprise for you to hear that we possess very considerable evidence of the progress over the past four years of the Soviet Union's development of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons. In this period, the Soviet Union has exploded a series of atomic devices, including one involving thermo-nuclear reaction.

If at one time the United States possessed what might have been called a monopoly of atomic power, that monopoly no longer exists.

Therefore, although our earlier start has permitted us to accumulate what is today ^a ~~an awesome~~ quantitative advantage, the awful arithmetic of today's atomic realities is such that two facts emerge.

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First, the secret knowledge now shared by two nations will

can be avoided in other
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~~First, the Soviet Union~~ already possesses sufficient atomic resources ^{so that with the called} ^{two nations} to inflict terrible damage upon any nation it might choose to attack.



Second, a vast superiority in numbers of weapons, and therefore the capability of devastating retaliation, ^{a consequent} ^{comprise no} will not by itself prevent preventive, ^{of themselves against the} terrible material and human damage being inflicted by an aggressor who, ^{that could be inflicted in surprise aggression} though possessed of fewer bombs, nevertheless chose to use these bombs in an all-out surprise attack.

The United States is already embarked on ^{a large and flexible} a massive program of warning and defense systems. That program will be increased and accelerated. I shall have more to say to the people of my own country on this subject at an early date.

The massive defense of the United States is forced upon us by more than reasons of selfish national protection. Within the Continental United States lies the vast arsenal of production which, since 1947, has been at

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the service not just of the United States, but of the free world. If that arsenal were to be ~~destroyed~~, or gravely damaged, the whole free world would lie at the mercy of any powerful aggressor.



But let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for defense *of an industrial system* ~~production~~ can guarantee one hundred percent safety for the cities and people of ~~any~~ ^{the} nation. Even with the most powerful defense, an aggressor in possession of the effective minimum number of atomic bombs for a surprise attack could ~~get~~ ^{place} a sufficient number of his bombs ~~through~~ ^{on} to their ~~chosen~~ ^{chosen} targets to cause grave damage.

~~Mr. Vishinsky has told us that the Soviet Union possesses that~~
minimum number.

*Should also happen * to the * U.S. the reaction could be violent. But*

For me to say that the defense capabilities of the United States are such that they could inflict terrible losses upon an aggressor -- for me to say that the retaliation capabilities of the United States are ^{so great} such that

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such an aggressor's land would be instantly laid waste -- for me to say

that if and wherever United States forces are involved in repelling



aggression, these forces will feel free to use atomic weapons as military

all this, while fact is not the true

advantage dictates -- is not a true expression of the purpose and the hope

the U.S.A.

of America. To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of

a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed malevolently to eye each

independently
other ~~forever~~ across a trembling world.

To stand only on this built and this determination

used to be to accept, helplessly, the possibility of a destroyed

Surely no sane member of the human race could ~~consider such~~

discover victory in such destruction

~~devastation victory~~ -- if indeed military victory could be achieved by anyone.

Occasional pages of history do record the faces of the "Great

Destroyers", but the whole book of history reveals mankind's never-ending

quest for peace and mankind's God-given capacity to build.

It is with the book of history, and not with isolated pages, that the

United States will ever wish to be identified.

by country
~~it~~ wants to be constructive, not destructive.

it wants agreements, not wars, among nations,

it wants to live in

freedom itself, and confident

that every other nation be equal

equally, its right of choosing its own way of life

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*at civilization -- the discipline of good
order, justice and building character --
and the beginning again, by man, of the good
struggle toward
freedom, justice and
peace*

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my country's purpose is to help us

So ~~let us~~ move out of this dark chamber of horrors into the light,

to find a way ~~and find it we must~~ -- by which the minds of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well being.



In this quest, I know that we must not be impatient.

I know that in a world divided, such as ours today, salvation cannot be attained *in one dramatic coup* ~~at one grasp~~.

I know that many small steps will have to be taken over many months before the world can look at itself one day and truly realize that a new climate of mutually peaceful confidence is abroad in the world.

But I know, above all else, that we must start to take these steps, be they ever so small -- NOW.

* * *

The United States and its allies, Great Britain and France, have over the past months tried to take some of these steps. Let no one say

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that it is we who shun the conference table.

On the record still stands the request of the United States,
~~and its allies~~, Great Britain and France, to negotiate with the Soviet
~~Union~~ the problems of a divided Germany.



On that record still stands the request of ^{of the} ~~the~~ United States,
~~Great Britain and France to negotiate with the Soviet Union an Austrian~~
Some three nations to negotiate
State Treaty.

the same as
On ~~that~~ record still stands the request of the United States,

Great Britain and France to negotiate with the Soviet Union the problems
of Asia.

Most recently, we have received from the Soviet Union what is
in effect an acceptance of our proposal of _____ for a Four
Power meeting. Along with our allies, Great Britain and France, we

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were pleased to see that this note did not contain the unacceptable conditions previously put forward by the Soviets. Therefore, our final Bermuda communique, issued today, conveyed our agreement to meet with the Soviets at the earliest date to discuss the urgent problems at hand.



The Government of the United States approaches this conference with hopeful sincerity. And we will bend every effort of our minds to the single purpose of emerging from that conference with tangible results toward peace, which is the only true way of lessening international tension.

We have never, and never will, propose or suggest that the Soviet Union surrender what is rightfully hers.

We will never say that the peoples of Russia are an enemy with whom we have no desire ever to deal or mingle in friendly and fruitful relationship.

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And beyond the hopeful prospect of this conference, our peaceful vision sees further opportunities for building the miraculous edifice of a world truly at peace.



We see, instead of the winter of discontent which is now settling upon Eastern Germany, occupied Austria, and the seething countries of Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, a family of free European nations, with none a threat to the other, and least of all a threat to the peoples of Russia.

We see beyond the turmoil and strife and misery of Asia and

Southeast Asia a time when these nations, ^{late} suddenly sprung full blown ~~after years of preparation for statehood~~ from the obsolete colonial mold, shall have the peaceful time to learn ~~practical~~ the techniques and responsibilities of independence, to develop their priceless natural resources, and to elevate the lot of their people.

These are not idle words or shallow visions. Behind them lies an extraordinary record of peaceful accomplishment.

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The mighty Soviet Union came into being in 1918. Since then, it has added to its sealed orbit by militant absorption _____ countries and _____ millions of people.



Since 1918, out of the overseas possessions of the United States, Great Britain, and France, has come freedom and independence for

_____ millions of people and _____ nations. *In no instance has independence come about as result of war; all have been arranged through negotiation.*
These are deeds of peace.

But I do not wish to rest our case either upon the reiteration of past proposals or the restatement of past deeds. The gravity of the time is such that every new avenue of peace, no matter how dimly discernible, should be explored.

In its resolution of November 18, 1953, this General Assembly suggested -- and I quote -- "that the Disarmament Commission study the desirability of establishing a sub-committee consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek in private an acceptable solution and report to the Disarmament Commission as soon

(atomic power)

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These are the...
The whole body of the...
world's scientific and...
peaceable interest...
to

the...
could...
be transformed into...
universal, economic...
and...
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as possible in order that the Commission may study and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than 1 September 1954. "



The United States (and ~~Great Britain~~), heeding the suggestion of the General Assembly of the United Nations, is prepared to meet privately ^{instantly} with the ~~Soviet Union~~ and other countries as myle " ^{principally involved} " to seek "an acceptable solution" to the atomic armaments race which overshadows not only the peace, but the very life, of the world.

In this great peaceful endeavor, the United States (and ~~Great Britain~~) looks beyond ^{mere} ~~simply~~ the reduction or elimination of atomic materials available for military purposes.

The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military buildup can be reversed, this greatest of destructive forces can be ^{developed into a great} ~~converted~~ into the world's greatest constructive force. ^{for the benefit of all mankind}

The United States knows that peaceful power from atomic energy is no dream of the future. It is here -- now -- today.

It has been...
should...

~~proved in a test operation...~~
~~lab, in cooperation with...~~
~~to~~

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Pending the

~~There may come a day when atomic fear will begin to disappear~~
from the minds of the peoples and the Governments of the East and the
West. ~~On that day,~~ it should be possible for the Governments of the
Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States jointly to take ~~an~~
a part
in this direction
unparalleled step for the benefit of mankind.



The three Governments could ~~then~~ begin to make joint contribu-
tions of fissionable material to an Atomic Power Authority of the United
Nations, which would be responsible for its impounding, storage, and
protection. Our scientists already know of special safe conditions under
which this fissionable material would be physically immune to seizure
by surprise attack.

The Atomic Power Authority would have the responsibility of
exploring the power-starved areas of the world in order to devise the
methods to make this fissionable material available to provide electrical
energy in those areas.

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Thus, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union

^{some of} jointly would be dedicating their strength to serve the needs rather than

the fears of the world -- to make the deserts flourish, to warm the cold,

to feed the hungry, to alleviate the misery of the world.



The United States is proud to have offered to take this step
development of plans whereby and peaceful uses of atomic

toward world peace. Against the dark background of ~~the~~ atomic ~~military~~

~~claims of the Soviet Union~~, the United States does not wish merely to

present strength, but also the desire and hope for peace.

The coming months will be fraught with fateful decisions. In

the Chanceries and military headquarters of the world; in this Assembly;

in the hearts of men everywhere, be they governors or governed, may

they be the decisions which will lead this world out of fear and into peace.

at some point in history we are
the American experiment
is being tested
and the world is watching

we are to be judged
the American
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