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Is disarmament possible?

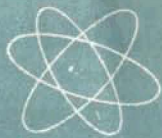
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**IS
DISARMAMENT
POSSIBLE?**

A black and white illustration of a nuclear missile. The missile is shown in profile, pointing upwards. It has a long, slender body with a conical nose cone. At the base, there are several vertical fins or stabilizers. The missile is shown rising from a textured, rocky or metallic base.

**FRIENDS
COMMITTEE
ON NATIONAL
LEGISLATION**

Mustn't the United States catch up or get ahead of the Soviet Union in the arms race *before* negotiating any further on disarmament?

The Soviet Union is not going to stand still while we catch up. Moreover, rapid technological advances make exact military equality at any given moment a mirage. If we get clearly ahead, the Soviet Union will have the same doubts that we have now about negotiating. Meanwhile, explosive tensions mount.

There is no more likelihood the arms race will stop when missiles have been perfected than when the atomic, and then the hydrogen bomb were developed. The race for anti-missile-missiles, huge underground shelters or chemical and bacteriological weapons may follow. More and more countries will become able to make nuclear weapons, countries which may be governed by extreme nationalists, dictators or adventurers. Therefore, delaying serious disarmament negotiations is futile and may be fatal.

But can we expect the Soviet Union, from its present position of strength, to negotiate any agreement that would be fair to us?

It is certainly hard for any nation to forego taking advantage of its relative strength—witness years of Soviet Union attempts to gain military and propaganda advantages in the UN disarmament negotiations. However, there are now enormous pressures for agreement:

- Each of the great power blocs knows that the other already has the power to annihilate it.
- Both sides recognize great dangers to themselves if other nations develop H-bombs.
- Even our allies are questioning whether mutual defense pacts may not be suicide pacts.
- Both sides say that they realize the utter impracticability of war with present weapons and the folly of impoverishing themselves for more and more weapons which have no sane use.
- Vast neutral areas of the world demand some assurance of peace.

If both major power blocs are really ready to reject an endless future of mutual terror, both may be ready, for the first time, to negotiate for disarmament seriously. Then surely the ingenious human mind that can split the atom and explore outer space can also devise a fair and reasonable procedure for disarmament.

How Could World Disarmament Work?

Obviously world disarmament requires far-reaching changes in relations between nations and inside nations. It must therefore be achieved in stages—all the more reason for beginning now.

One of the first steps is to reach agreement on the ultimate goal. In 1959, the 82 nations in the UN unanimously approved a resolution calling for "general and complete disarmament." But it is unclear whether the world's leaders fully understand the implications of such a goal and are ready to commit themselves to it wholeheartedly.

There are several areas in which immediate progress toward world disarmament is possible.

1. **Discontinue nuclear weapons tests.** Real progress has been made toward a treaty to end such tests. If such a treaty is signed, inspection stations manned by East-West staffs would be set up in the Soviet Union, the United States and elsewhere. This would be a fundamental breakthrough toward world peace. It would pave the way for more far-reaching steps toward general disarmament.

A test ban would be relatively easy to inspect and would halt dangers to human health and heredity from fallout. Cessation of tests would not do away with nuclear weapons now in being, but it would prevent the testing of still more destructive weapons. A test ban would prevent the many countries now on the eve of producing nuclear weapons from polluting the air by testing them and from complicating the international situation by becoming nuclear powers.

2. **Prevent surprise attack.** If nations could be assured other nations were not planning aggressive moves against them, tensions would be eased. International inspectors could be stationed at key road, rail and airport and harbor areas. Notification could be given of missile firings.

Agreement should be reached soon to place all further development of missiles, space platforms, reconnaissance satellites and similar devices under UN control. Outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only.

3. **Stop production of nuclear weapons.** The United States and Russia have already stockpiled enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other many times over. Production of fissionable material for weapons purposes should be cut off and diverted to peaceful purposes.

4. **Disengage forces in Central Europe.** Withdrawal of Soviet and U.S. military forces

and military aid from these areas would reduce explosive tensions which could start World War III. Many thoughtful Americans have recommended this course. The Soviet Union has offered to negotiate such an agreement.

Pilot demilitarization projects in tension areas, with the necessary inspection, would give the UN experience in genuine police action and show possible procedures for inspecting and enforcing eventual world disarmament.

* * *

Steps toward world disarmament must be accompanied by efforts to bring about mutual confidence between nations. An atmosphere must be created in which friendly intercourse between governments will displace the fear and suspicion that now lead to arms competition. Political disputes in Europe, the Middle East and the Formosa Straits must be solved. Greatly increased economic assistance should be given to newly developing nations. Brain power and money presently devoted to creating weapons of mass destruction must be channeled into efforts aimed at abolishing war and improving life for all mankind.

But Is Disarmament Really Safe?

Not absolutely safe—we must make a choice between a calculated risk and an incalculable risk. We run enormous risks every day the arms race continues.

All current disarmament proposals are based on as adequate an inspection system as man can devise. This seems infinitely safer than man's present reliance on nothing but the good faith of the leaders both of his own country and of his potential enemies to preserve him through the night.

Consider how the major powers tend to become involved in every small war. Consider how the United States is preparing to fight "limited" nuclear wars with "small" nuclear weapons. Consider the temptation of the major powers to forestall each other with a knock-out blow. Consider that a shower of meteorites might force a split second decision as to whether an attack had started that required retaliatory measures. Consider that one bomber or one missile can now carry an H-bomb with destructive power greater than all the bombs dropped by all sides during all of World War II.

Faced with this extreme peril, shouldn't we embark on a crash program for world disarmament and the development of world law? Shouldn't we explore all alternatives to nuclear war, including non-violent resistance? Increasingly, thoughtful people are saying that non-

cooperation and non-violent resistance have become the only practical recourse against aggression, since modern war means mutual annihilation no matter who is the aggressor, or who is the victim, or who "wins."

How Could We Deal with International Disputes in a Disarmed World?

The pattern for dealing with disputes among human beings was fairly satisfactorily worked out long ago. Law, with police and courts for its enforcement, is the most practicable pattern yet devised. At the international level, as at every other level, the development of United Nations law-making and law-enforcing machinery will have to accompany the abolition of violence as the accepted method of settling disputes.

Think for a moment how a world of law and order would increase our security; what it would mean for small nations now being manipulated by the big powers.

But how, if we don't have armaments, can we thwart the Communists' intention to control the whole world?

Remember that world disarmament would deprive the Soviet Union of means for military aggression in the same proportion as it would deprive the United States of military means for resistance.

As a matter of fact, we haven't been very successful in thwarting the spread of Communism during the years of U.S. military superiority. Since World War II Communism has spread to over a quarter of the world's population, primarily by political and economic means.

This is likely to be the way it will continue to spread and this can't be combatted with armaments. In fact, the more our money and attention are concentrated on arms, the less likely we are to stop the spread of totalitarianism in the only way it can be stopped—namely, by helping the world's people to raise their living standards and by letting democracy sell itself to them on its merits.

The merits of democracy are apparent in a peaceful and prospering world. In a fearful and hungry world, totalitarianism flourishes.

How About My Chances of Making a Living, if Disarmament Starts?

We have a right to ask whether disarmament will cause a business depression that will rob millions of us of our livelihood.

There is no sensible reason why it should. We now spend more than \$45 billion a year for arms. This money could surely be more constructively used. Large public expenditures are needed for more schools, roads, hospitals, etc., for foreign aid to raise world living standards; they could help prevent unemployment. Gradual disarmament would permit some tax reductions which put more money into consumers' pockets. Government assistance to industries, workers and communities hard hit by the loss of defense contracts could prevent undue hardship. We must demand that government agencies be created to prepare carefully researched disarmament plans and an orderly transition from defense work to civilian work.

We Must Stop Juggling Words

We must face our common danger and put our best insights to work on our best hope for survival—disarmament, the creation of world law and the abolition of war.

International immorality has brought us to a desperate plight. In a world where we have all become the closest of neighbors, we have failed to apply to international relations the principles of law and order and the basic decencies which we know are essential at all other levels of society.

There is no easy path to sanity and security. We can be saved only by the faith that all men are brothers of the same spiritual essence, intended by God to live together without violence—and capable of doing so by the exercise of their God-given wills. In this faith we can begin to see, accept, and take first steps out of the bottomless pit into which we are sliding.

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