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

And in the confident expectation of these accomplishments, I would use the position upon which, for the time being, I 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. I knew that it would not be 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 hand into those same great vistas of universal peace and human dignity so cleanly etched in your Charter.
I also knew that it would not be a measure of this great opportunity merely to recite 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 a plan, 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.
That new language is the language of atomic warfare.

* * *

On __________, the United States set off the world's first atomic test explosion at Alamagordo 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.
Since that day in blank, we have conducted 42 atomic test explosions.

We are today armed with bombs a single one of which, with an explosive equivalent of more than 500,000 tons of TNT, exceeds by more than 30 times the power of the 1945 bombs.

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.
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 an awesome quantitative advantage, the awful arithmetic of today's atomic realities is such that two facts emerge.
First, the Soviet Union already possesses sufficient atomic
resources to inflict terrible damage upon any nation it might choose to
attack.

Second, a vast superiority in numbers of weapons, and there-
a consequent
for the capability of devastating retaliation, will not by itself prevent
prevent minerals, if threatened against the
terrible material and human damage being inflicted by an aggressor who,

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 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
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
production can guarantee one hundred percent safety for the cities and
people of any 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 a sufficient number of his bombs through to their
targets to cause grave damage.

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

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 such that
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

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

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

other forever across a trembling world.

Surely no sane member of the human race could consider such
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.
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 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
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 the United States,

Great Britain and France to negotiate with the Soviet Union an Austrian State Treaty.

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
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.
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, suddenly sprung full-blown from the obsolete colonial mold, shall have the peaceful time to learn 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.
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, however, independent one and a world of very all have. These are deeds of peace. Have arranged through organization.

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
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
with the Soviet Union 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 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 converted into the world's greatest constructive force.

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

The three Governments could then begin to make joint contributions 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.
Thus, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union 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 would be strengthen, but not for war, to back up with other nations in solving the problems of the world 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.