

AUG 22 1986

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Admiral E. R. Zumwalt, Jr.
1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Dear Admiral Zumwalt:

Thank you for your generous offer to write a Foreword for "Scraps of Paper." I hope someday to be able to properly express my appreciation to you in person. Perhaps it will be possible for me to hand deliver to you the first copy of the book at some time in the future!

I am enclosing two copies of a draft of a Foreword for your consideration. The main point I hope to have made in the Foreword is that we need to consider what the consequences were of our first experience with disarmament, so that a repeat of the tragic outcome of our misplaced idealism will not occur at some point in the future. The study of history has little value beyond entertainment, if we cannot (or will not) use this study to help us more intelligently prepare for the future. Please revise or elaborate on this draft as you see fit. I am confident that your personal touch will render it an effective "Z-gram." From what I have read of you, you have spent most of your life swimming against the tide of the conventional wisdom of the day. Thank you for your work.

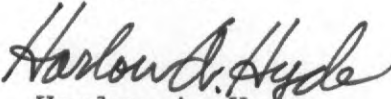
This modest effort of mine may have only a small effect, but I hope this will not be my final contribution. I am sure you realize that your help will make the book much more marketable, and your action is very selfless in this regard.

I will keep you informed as to the progress I have in obtaining a publisher.

Did you use an literary agent when you were having "On Watch" published? I am advised (warned) that I had better have one. If you used an agent, and feel it was an asset, would you advise me to contact the same agent you used?

I trust that we shall meet someday. Thank you again.

Sincerely,


Harlow A. Hyde

FOREWORD

Given the critical importance of and the intense interest in the issues surrounding the limitation of armaments which exists today, it is both surprising and distressing that our nation's previous experiences with disarmament have not been examined in detail. It is a virtually unknown fact that the United States initiated and led a multinational disarmament system, which resulted in the scrapping of more than half of our naval strength in the period between the World Wars.

At the time they were signed however the arms limitation treaties of the twenties were heralded as modern civilization's means of insuring that a holocaust such as the recently completed "War To End All Wars" would never be repeated. It is therefore more than a little ironic that less than twenty years following the signing of the Washington Treaties in 1922, all of the signatories were at war, with each other.

Since World War II the arms limitation treaties of the twenties and thirties have been forgotten. At first they were ignored because the experiences of the Second World War were considered to be prima facie evidence that the disarmament movement had been a failure. There was no need to review a movement which was thoroughly discredited.

However in recent years the record of our earlier treaties has been neglected because examining it would call into serious question many of the cherished assumptions used by those who now advocate a new attempt at achieving peace through disarmament.

Unfortunately, however, the record of human history does not support the conclusion that the tensions between nations are resolved by either the quick or most pleasant solutions. The disarmament treaties between the wars serve as monuments to this fact.

The present approach to the issue of disarmament is reminiscent of that seen in the early 1920s. There is much simplistic sloganeering, combined with a great and incessant calling for "treaties" (without any particular regard to their provisions or content), and precious little thoughtful and well reasoned consideration of the long term strategic consequences of the pacts which might be negotiated. Our experience with the disarmament treaties between the wars offers many obvious lessons for the nuclear age. The lessons are not obvious however, if we are unaware of the road we chose to take, beginning on Saturday morning November 12, 1921.

There may be a reluctance by many to have the results of the disarmament movement between the wars considered in detail. The eventual results of the period do not fit well with the philosophy of most of the so-called "thinkers" of today, whose modern "enlightened" dispositions gladly embrace the concepts that peace can be found in weakness, and that the mere existence of a strong defense makes war more probable. This mental mush is merely a type of intellectual pabulum: It goes down quite easily, but if continued as a steady diet does not provide for a very long life.

Those who genuinely seek for a peace which will last through

future generations must be willing to carefully consider the "puzzles of the past" even though they may cause us to adopt policies which are more complex, costly, and which require all of us to make a certain amount of sacrifice. For there is great truth in George Santayana's oft quoted maxim from The Life of Reason that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

In order for our nation to make a rational approach to the problem of arms limitation during the remainder of this century, we must resolve to never repeat the mistakes we made in our first great experiment with disarmament. Remembering and learning from the past is essential in this case. For if we were to allow a future series of disarmament treaties to be turned into mere "scraps of paper" the consequences for our civilization would undoubtedly be fatal.

History has given us a clear warning. Whether or not we will have sufficient wisdom to heed the warning remains to be seen.

Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.

Admiral, U. S. Navy (Ret.)