

[Sept. 4]
[with Senator
Pastore]

TV SCRIPT - Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

BOB COARS: This is Washington, and this is Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. Today the Assistant Majority Leader has an important guest to report on the major issue before the Senate. Now, here is Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, thank you. The major issue before the Senate and before this nation in the coming days will be the ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty that was negotiated in Moscow some weeks ago. I am sure you are all familiar with the background of this treaty, you have seen on television and in your press and in magazines the photographs or the pictures of the signing of the treaty present at that signing ceremony was our guest today. You witnessed on the television and radio the President of the United States stating why he thought this treaty was in our national interest. Let me just say one or two words before we come to our guest. Through two administrations, you might say through three, since President Truman, the Eisenhower Administration, and the Kennedy Administration an effort has been made by these three Presidents to bring some type of international control over the development of nuclear weapons. In other words, to slow down the pace of the nuclear armaments race. President Eisenhower advanced a proposal very similar to the one we have before us now. Back in 1959, the Soviet Union at that time rejected this proposal of a limited nuclear test ban treaty. President Kennedy tried once again in

1962, and with no success at that time. And during the past year, there have been continuous efforts at Geneva, Switzerland, to negotiate with the Soviet Union, and with Great Britain, and with others a nuclear test ban treaty. A prohibition on further nuclear tests in certain environments such as in the atmosphere, outer space, underwater and underground. In this year, June, it became obvious or evident that the Soviet Union was more interested in such a treaty proposal. And in the month of July, a treaty proposal was underway or under study and in the processes of negotiation in Moscow. The Undersecretary of State, Mr. Averell Harriman, an expert in American-Soviet relations went to Moscow as our chief negotiator and was able to negotiate a limited nuclear test ban treaty. By that we mean a treaty that would prohibit tests in the atmosphere and in outer space and under water. A very simple treaty a short treaty, but one that has surely brought about discussion and controversy. That treaty has been signed by the Secretary of State representing our Government. Senator Pastore who is with me today as our guest was one of the Senators along with myself that went to Moscow to witness that signing and to participate in those ceremonies. The Senator comes from Rhode Island. He is the senior Senator of that State, former Governor of the State of Rhode Island. He is presently chairman of the very important and very powerful

committee known as the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. This Committee has a special place in the Congress of the United States. It is made up of the representatives of the two houses of Congress, and, of course, it has exclusive jurisdiction over all matters relating to Atomic Energy or nuclear power or nuclear energy. Both for weapons purposes and for peaceful purposes. The Senator from R. I. has been privileged to come into contact with all of the leading scientists of our country and other nations in the field of nuclear science. He knows this issue and he knows this subject matter better than any man in the Congress of the U. S. That is my own judgment and I believe it would be affirmed by others.

Well, I am going to ask this good Senator who has been active in all of these matters as a Chairman of an important committee his reaction to the treaty. First, I will put it to you this way, Senator Pastore. From what you heard in the hearings of the three committees, the Armed Services Committee, your committee on Atomic Energy, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as we sat together in the three committees, from what you heard from the witnesses, ~~and~~ do you support or reject the treaty relating to limiting nuclear tests?

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, I categorically and unequivocally support this treaty. As a matter of fact, as you pointed out to my official capacity as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I have been following these proceedings very, very attentively and very, very

closely. As a matter of fact, we must remember that America initiated these talks way back in 1958, as you explained under President Eisenhower. Then in 1959, we laid/ ^{before} them through President Eisenhower, this suggestion that we have limited tests in so far as atmosphere is concerned. We did not go quite as far as the outer space and the under water. And then of course, in 1962, President Kennedy put this proposal before the Russians which they rejected at the time, but it's important for the people of America to understand that America took this initiative way back in 1958 under the Republican Administration, and we pursued it under the Democratic Administration, and this treaty is good for us and good for mankind.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, many people say, Senator, that it's rather peculiar that the Russians are now willing to sign this treaty when they rejected it before. What is your reaction to that sort of reasoning?

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, realizing that the Russians ^{should} have known and do know the power of destruction that can be wrought by the nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, it has always been a mystery to me why they didn't agree to it a long time ago. But I would give the genesis of this ~~change~~ change of attitude with the stiff position that President Kennedy took at the time of the Cuban affair. At that time, he told the Russians in no uncertain terms, we are going to inspect these ships that are coming into Cuba, and if you don't allow us to do it, we are going to shoot. And I think

right then and there, the Kremlin began to understand America meant what she was saying. I think that it started there. Of course, this chasm between the Red Chinese and the Russians, that had a great deal to do with it. At any rate, we had an understanding now as the President has pointed out, this is not a panacea of all of our ills. The fact of the matter is that the first step is an important one. We must bear that in mind.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would say that the observation that you have made as to why the Russians may have changed their minds is surely to the point. The Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, has his problems with China. This is an obsession with them at the present time, and rightly so, as far as they are concerned. Then the economic problems in the Soviet Union may very well be causing some re-consideration. But I believe that the point which you brought out that when Khrushchev was faced right up with American power in October, in the Cuban crisis, Mr. Khrushchev always knew we had the power, he wasn't sure we would use it. He found out then that we would use it. And, furthermore, the Russians during the years had been able to improve their own nuclear weapons arsenal so that they feel secure. They know that we are not going to attack them, and while we have nuclear superiority, by the way, I should ask, do you think we have nuclear superiority?

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, all of the witnesses, practically all of the witnesses have taken that position, as a matter of fact, you

will recall that I categorically asked that question several times.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I recall very well.

SENATOR PASTORE: Is the balance of power in our favor? Now I asked that question of Dean Rusk, our Secretary of State, and he answered in the affirmative. We asked that question of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Taylor, and he answered in the affirmative. We asked that question of Chairman Seaborg, of the Atomic Energy Commission, and he answered in the affirmative. In my opinion, there is no question that the balance of power is in our favor.

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: And may I add that this is not merely an opinion. The Senator from R. I., Senator Pastore, is privileged to have the most confidential and most secret information of this Government, in reference to our nuclear arsenal, our weaponry, the amount that we have; I frankly don't want to know all those figures. I guess I have had them once or twice, but I like to forget them, but you have to live with those facts every day.

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, as a matter of fact, if we doodle in our Committee, we leave the paper right there, we don't take any papers out of that room with us, and there is a reason for it, because this is very critical information. As we will never know for sure just how much the Russians have and they will never know for sure just how much we have. But I think it's quite sure that

there are enough bombs in this world today that we could destroy about everything that man has built from the time of beginning. That's how serious it is. And that's the reason why we have to bring this madness to a stop, some point. And some people say "now may not be the time," and the question is when is the time, and what are the alternatives. If we reject this treaty at this moment, Hubert, what are the alternatives. Do we start testing in the atmosphere all over again? Do we put more strontium ~~90~~ 90 in the atmosphere? Do we contaminate husbandry, and our vegetation, and do we subject our population to ~~the~~ leukemia? I mean what are we aiming for? I

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think your point is again well-taken, Senator Pastore, the people who have the doubts about this treaty, think have to ask themselves about the alternatives? Some people say, for example, well the Russians may cheat under this treaty. Well, without the treaty they can go right ahead and test unlimitedly.

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, strange as this may sound, they are not going to cheat so easily.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No.

SENATOR PASTORE: Because we are going to make it our business, to maintain the safeguards that we have to have.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And to maintain our laboratories, our scientists, our technicians, so that if there is any violation we are prepared

of course, to protect our security interests. Let me ask you, Senator Pastore, as you listened to the testimony, was it your judgment that the bulk, the majority of the witnesses from the scientific community, and you are very familiar with them, that the majority of the witnesses from the scientific community, men who have helped us with the nuclear energy program, were for the treaty? Or against it?

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, there is no question about it at all, they are for it. As a matter of fact, I don't think that President Eisenhower and President Kennedy would ever/^{have} embarked upon this expedition of trying to promote a treaty unless they were quite sure that number one, we were guaranteed our security; and number two, that this was good for the American people and for the peace of the world. Certainly they would never have engaged themselves in this sort of an expedition unless they were sure of these things.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Now, you have heard the critics of this treaty say, that this treaty will leave us in a militarily inferior position. Do you agree with that?

SENATOR PASTORE: I do not agree with that. As a matter of fact, we are going to ~~keep~~ still conduct our underground testing. And we have achieved a tremendous amount of refinement in so far as our weapons are concerned. Not only that, we have the technology and the knowledge now through research to explore the field much

further if we have to, but the serious question arises---how many of these things do you have to have? And how many times do you have to be able to destroy the world? Before you reach a point of sanity in this whole very serious problem?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, now as you see it, then, Senator, what do you find the advantages for the U. S.? Obviously, there must be advantages on both sides, or a treaty wouldn't even be worth the paper its written on. But what are the advantages as you see it? What are the so-called social, political, or you might call the moral advantages of this treaty?

SENATOR PASTORE: Well, as a matter of fact, the moral advantages are so many that time doesn't permit us to explain the moral in detail. But the ~~fact~~ ^{fact} of the ~~fact~~ ^{matter} is that the balance of power is in our favor. So we hold it at this point. We keep our vigilance up. We keep testing underground in order to do the things that we must do. But most important of all, we constrict the nuclear club. It isn't as hard to make these bombs today as it used to be, and any nation that puts its mind to it, and has the electric energy can produce these bombs. And we constrict this nuclear club, and not only that we make the first step towards disarmament, now I know that you are very much interested in that. You are chairman of the Subcommittee on the Control of weapons and ~~disarmament~~, and I was privileged to be an ex officio member of your Committee, and that is

what the world is looking forward to.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You know, Senator Pastore, in the few seconds we have remaining I heard our Majority Leader on Wednesday of the past week speak on this matter and he said this treaty offers hope. It doesn't necessarily offer solution or answers, but it offers hope to humanity, a humanity that is worried about the arms race, worried about radioactive fallout, worried about the spread of these nuclear weapons, worried about the horrors of nuclear war. And I think this is so important. To me, it is sort of like a light, a small candle in the deep darkness of our present despair and uncertainty in this fearful world in which we live. And I believe that it does have risks involved as we have said so many times, but it is a risk that is worth taking, and it is a hope that is worth hoping for. I am very privileged that you could be on this program with us, because I want the people of Minnesota to hear from you, a man in whom they can place their trust. And I say that the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy would never mislead our people. Thank you.



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