

000699

Father Thome

St. George's

Good Freeman

BREAKING THE DISARMAMENT IMPASSE

Wonderful
Neuman H School

Drum & Bugle
corps
7th US Cavalry

Today has been a colorful, exciting day

-- full of caravans and campaign songs and

the stuff of American politics that stirs the

blood and makes the heart glad. It has been

a thrilling day for me ^{and my family} -- and, I hope for you,

too.

But when the music has gone, when the

banners have been furled and the crowds have

disappeared, you and I are still left to face

the problems of the day, to contemplate their

complexities and to search for their solutions.

Primary Agent
Truman

HELLO, FRIENDS

000700

I'M HUBERT HUMPHREY, YOUR NEIGHBOR FROM MINNESOTA.

AS YOU KNOW, I AM A CANDIDATE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC
NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

now as you know - FOR SEVERAL WEEKS I HAVE BEEN TOURING YOUR GREAT
STATE, DISCUSSING WITH YOUR CITIZENS THE ISSUES I FEEL ARE OF

VITAL CONCERN TO ALL OF US --- BETTER CARE FOR THE AGED,

EXPANSION OF OUR ECONOMY, IMPROVING ~~THE PLIGHT OF~~ OUR FAMILY

FARMERS, PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, CONSERVING AND DEVELOPING

OUR RESOURCES, STRENGTHENING OUR NATION'S DEFENSES --- THESE,

AND MANY OTHER ISSUES THAT INVOLVE YOUR EVERY DAY LIFE.

YET, THERE IS ONE ISSUE THAT OVERRIDES ALL ELSE.

ALL OF US ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE GREATEST, GRAVEST
CHALLENGE OUR NATION HAS EVER FACED --- THE CHALLENGE OF SAVING
AND SECURING THE PEACE OF THE WORLD FOR THE NEXT GENERATION,
AND THE NEXT CENTURY.

THE FATE OF OUR CHILDREN AND OUR GRANDCHILDREN ---

WHETHER THEY LIVE OR DIE, WHETHER THEY WILL BE FREE OR ENSLAVED ---

COPY

{ is tied directly to the world shaking
competitive struggle between free people
and the Communist Dictators. 00701

-2-
Of problems there are many, but the greatest
of them all, I think you will agree, is the
winning of a true and lasting peace.

The world has so long been at war or on the
verge of war that the winning of the peace has
become a sort of liturgy -- a phrase we all say
and believe in, but ~~whose~~ ^{of which} meaning we no longer
question or fully understand as we say it.

Peace
Of course, mankind has always yearned for
peace, but in the 1960's, peace takes on a new
meaning. It means the preservation of civilization
from its own destruction.

Nuclear war is
madness! The Arms Race can lead
only to ever mounting tension
& accidental war.
Yet, until disarmament is an alternative!

000702

✓ We live in a unique age. Man has gone on,
through the years, perfecting more and more deadly
and destructive weapons. Now, we appear to have
achieved the ultimate in destructiveness. . .
the power to destroy civilization itself.

✓ Fifteen years ago, man exploded the first
atomic bomb. Try to think back twenty years --
or even sixteen -- to the times before the bomb
was a reality. Would any of us ever have
dreamed that we would today, such a short time
later, consider a weapon with the explosive power
of 19,000 tons of TNT a small weapon.

✓ Yet that is the degree of destructiveness man
has achieved....38 million pounds of TNT is a small
weapon.

000703

h You may now begin to see why the winning of
a true peace takes on a special meaning -- and a
special urgency. It means the capacity to save
ourselves from total obliteration.

h In the winning of peace, therefore, the
problem of disarmament takes the central place
upon the world stage.

h As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on
Disarmament, I have had the duty of concerning
myself with this awesome problem, of struggling
with its technicalities, of groping for new avenues
of approach that might offer the hope of an
agreement between nations that they will not blow
each other into oblivion. I have served as

a U.N. Plenipotentiary Special Adviser to
the American Delegation at Geneva. I have
discussed these matters, at length

000704 with our allies in Great Britain, France
Italy, Germany - all the NATO countries
yes, + with Mr. Brusch - himself!

Today, the world stands as close to such an
agreement as it has stood since nuclear weapons
first emerged. Today, for the first time,
agreement is within sight, if we and the Russians
can grasp the opportunity and have the capacity
to bridge the remaining gaps that divide us.

Last October, in Pontiac, Michigan, I
presented the outlines of a possible solution
to the disarmament impasse. It was a four-point
program.

First, a treaty permanently banning all

nuclear tests except small underground

tests, with adequate inspections, ^{+ controls} to

enforce the treaty.

Second, a temporary moratorium on the
underground testing of the smaller
weapons that are difficult to detect.

Third, a joint research program ^{in cooperation} with the
Russians to improve the techniques
of detecting small underground
explosions. (all nations to Cooperate
U-N Conspirator)

Fourth, if the research should bear fruit,
the expansion of the treaty to include
a prohibition against the smaller
weapons tests. If it failed, the
moratorium would be ended, and the
small testing would resume.

That was last October.

In February of this year, President Eisenhower proposed to the Russians a program embodying, in principle, three of these four points. Only on the suggestion of a moratorium on small underground tests was the President's proposal silent.

The Soviet's rejected the President's proposal out of hand.

But a week ago today, they reversed themselves.

They offered to agree to a program which, with one crucial exception, was identical in principle to the solution I had suggested last October, including a temporary moratorium on small weapons tests.

000707

I say, "with one crucial exception;" the
Soviets failed to designate the number of
inspections inside Russia which they would permit
in order to enforce the test ban treaty.

Thus, two main differences now separate us
from the Russians. Our official proposal to
them says nothing about a temporary moratorium
on small weapons tests. Their proposal to us
says nothing about a definite number of ~~inside-~~ ^{on-site inside}
Russia inspections. *I spoke on this in the Senate last week!*

Today I renew my proposal of last October.

I call upon our government to agree to a
moratorium of specified duration on the underground
testing of smaller weapons -- but only on condition
that the Soviets agree to an adequate number of

inspections to make a major test ban treaty safe
and enforceable.

There are those who will say there is risk
in agreeing to a moratorium that cannot be
enforced. There is danger, they point out,
that the Russians will cheat and will secretly
go on testing smaller weapons in underground
explosions that cannot be distinguished from
earthquakes.

Yes, there is risk, but I say it is a small
risk; we would have some means of detecting the
smaller explosions if the Russians went ahead
with their tests.

We would have control stations inside Russia

under the permanent test ban treaty that would
precede the moratorium.

We would continue to have the listening
stations in our own country and in the countries
of our allies.

And we would have our regular intelligence
sources.

And there is an added possibility, about which
we will know more in a matter of weeks....the
possibility of unmanned automatic detection stations
to record the signals of even the faintest explosions.

At this moment, such stations are being tested and
we will soon know more about their effectiveness.

000710

2 Yes, there is risk in a moratorium, but
the risk is small and it must be weighed against
the risk of a continued stalemate and a continued
build-up of the power of annihilation on both
sides.

Remember, my friends, the nuclear "club"
is no longer as exclusive as it once was.

France has broken down the door, and it is
only a matter of time before other nations force
entrance as well. And, as the Red China Club grows larger,
the dangers of nuclear-war-by-accident grow too,
and the difficulties of reaching and policing a
disarmament treaty multiply.

000711

Time is against us, my friends. We must
make every effort to seize the opportunity now
offered to us, before it is too late.

(National Peace
Agency)

I do not wish to mislead you or to over-
simplify the problem. Success may be within
reach, but it is not yet in our grasp. There
are a number of technical problems to be
hammered out in patient negotiations with the
Soviet. There remains the vital problem of
effective inspection -- that crucial obstacle
that has always stood in the way of agreement.

On that, of course, we must not yield. On
this point, I urge that we stand firm, and I
am confident the President will do so.

000712

But on the question of a moratorium let us not
be inflexible. Let us show a willingness to bend
a little if the Russians will do likewise.

If our President will but express America's
yearning for peace and a beginning to disarmament;
if he will but show a disposition to take a step
toward the Russians' position in return for
a concession from them, then perhaps the Summit
meeting will be crowned with success. I will join
with all other Americans, regardless of party,
in thanksgiving and gratitude.

For peace is no partisan issue. But, my friends,
the peace we want must be enduring. It must have
deep roots.

Summit
must
make
Progress
on DISARM
World needs
it!

Peace is not appeasement - it's strength!

Peace is not passive, it is active. It will
not come to those who wait for it, who are afraid
to reach out for it, who are too timid to risk little
to win much.

Nor can peace be won by slogans.

There can be no peace in a world plagued
by poverty, hunger, disease or illiteracy. The
winning of peace is far more than the controlling
of arms and weapons.

Aristotle rightly said that poverty is "the
parent of revolution and crime." Then why tolerate
it -- especially when mankind has at its hand wealth
and power of fantastic dimensions?

000714

The world cries out for leadership that will reach out for peace, that will undertake willingly the long, tedious, and costly but richly rewarding task of creating a decent world, in which peace can take root and flourish.

March 26, 1960

IS TIED DIRECTLY TO THE WORLD-SHAKING COMPETITIVE STRUGGLE BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE COMMUNIST DICTATORS IN THE KREMLIN.

yes L MANKIND HAS IT WITHIN ITS POWER TO BLOW THE WORLD TO BITS.

L SOMEHOW, SOME WAY, WITH DETERMINATION AND PERSERVERANCE, WE MUST FIND THE COURSE TO PEACE WITH JUSTICE, TO AVOID SELF-DESTRUCTION.

L THAT IS WHY I AM A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. IT IS TO THAT PURPOSE I HAVE DEDICATED MY LIFE, AND WHATEVER TALENTS GOD HAS GIVEN ME.

MY EXPERIENCE AND ROLE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE'S DISARMAMENT SUBCOMMITTEE FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS HAS PERHAPS GIVEN ME A BETTER OPPORTUNITY THAN MOST TO UNDERSTAND HOW GREAT ARE THE STAKES --- AND WHAT WE MUST DO TO ACHIEVE THE PEACE WE SEEK, WITHOUT SACRIFICING OUR HONOR, OR THE FREEDOM OF OTHER PEOPLE ANYWHERE.

L I BELIEVE DEEPLY THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE THAT PEACE, IF WE HAVE LEADERSHIP DETERMINED TO WAGE THE PEACE AS VIGOROUSLY AS WE HAVE WAGED WAR WHEN WE HAD TO IN THE PAST.

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