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HUMPHREY: "Soviet Agreement To Test Ban Was Testimony to
U. S. Strength"

"The agreement by the Soviet Union to sign a limited nuclear test ban treaty is a clear demonstration of the effectiveness of the Kennedy Administration's policy of strengthening our defenses and at the same time keeping open the channels of communication," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, (D., Minn.) said Saturday night in Des Moines, Iowa.

Speaking at the annual Iowa Democratic Party's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, the Senate Democratic Whip listed Russian awareness of increasing across-the-board U.S. strength as one of the five principal reasons for the historic acceptance by the Soviet Union of a treaty which previously it had repeatedly rejected.

The five basic reasons for the Soviet Union's change of attitude were described by Senator Humphrey as follows:

1. The Russians saw United States military strength rising dramatically---including doubling our effective military power since 1960 in these key areas:
 - in nuclear warheads in the strategic alert forces.
 - naval ship construction and modernization.
 - special anti-guerilla forces (200% increase).
 2. The Russian leadership was profoundly shaken by the resolution and determination displayed by President Kennedy over the Berlin situation last year, and most dramatically in the October crisis in which Soviet missiles were forced out of Cuba.
 3. The Soviet planners---faced with mounting evidence of American determination to over-match the Soviet Union in defense research and production, and hard-pressed by the massive failure of Soviet agriculture---had strong reasons to shift important
- (MORE)

resources from nuclear development to agricultural mechanization.

4. The Russians are obsessed with the growing political and military threat of a Red China which is both fanatically governed and bent on developing nuclear capability.

5. The Russian leadership shares with the United States a deep concern over the spreading of nuclear weapons and the consequent increase in the danger of nuclear war.

Senator Humphrey went on to tell his Iowa audience that "while the test ban treaty is important in itself, it is more important that for the first time in many years the Soviet leadership has given a clear signal that it understands the great depth and massive extent of United States power and determination, and appears to be willing to come to terms with that power."

The Minnesotan cautioned against any impulse to feel that the cold war is over. "The problem of arms control and reduction remains extraordinarily difficult and complex, and we continue to face a hostile power," Senator Humphrey pointed out. "But the hostility of that power is now tempered with new respect."

Senator Humphrey concluded: "The security of the United States is paramount. We intend to continue our vital research in the field of missile development, to proceed with underground nuclear tests in the absence of an agreement with adequate inspection provisions, and to be prepared to resume testing of nuclear weapons on short order should there be a violation of the treaty."

Gov. Hughes

Leah Hawkins

Don Mitchell

E. B. Smith (Iowa State)

(Hedrickson - opponent)

Neal Smith

5th DIST

Ed Wilmore

Dave Gartner

Barney Allen

(Rockabanks)

Duke Norberg

Albert Kelly

Wm. Humphrey

Young People

Legislators

J.J. Pinson
Aug 24, 1963
Dis Moines

THE TEST BAN AND NATIONAL SECURITY

In simple, eloquent language President Kennedy has told the Nation that we are engaged in an historic and constructive debate concerning an historic and constructive opportunity in world affairs: the signing on August 5 of a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the air, in outer space, and under water.

The test ban treaty of August 5 is the first significant breakthrough in the field of arms control since World War II. Like the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, the culmination of the test ban negotiations came more rapidly than anyone would have thought likely only a few weeks before. On several previous occasions the Russians had rejected Anglo-American proposals for a limited test ban. The idea, with minor variations, came to the

forefront again on May 27 with the introduction of S. Res. 148, the Dodd-Humphrey resolution to ban all nuclear tests that contaminate the atmosphere or the oceans. Neither the Senator from Connecticut nor myself had any reason to believe that another initiative along these lines would be successful. Indeed, we more or less assumed that the Russians would reject this proposal as they had rejected others in the past. Our resolution was like the final cast of a fisherman who knows the fish are not biting but who wants to make one more try before packing up for the day. Our chief purpose was to identify those areas in the test ban negotiations where agreement was most likely, those areas in which the largest number of Senators could give their

assent without relying on Soviet "good faith" on complicated international inspection schemes.

Our pessimism about the Soviet state of mind proved unfounded, and S. Res. 148 has proved to be one of the most meaningful foreign policy suggestions to come before the 88th Congress. But this might never have happened had not the President of the United States chosen to make a major foreign policy address at a time when the Soviet leadership, for reasons of its own, was uniquely receptive to an appeal for peace based "on a series of concrete actions and effective agreements which are in the interest of all concerned." "I speak of peace," said President Kennedy at the American University on June 10, "as the necessary rational end of rational men." The President called for a change of attitudes on both sides,

for concentration on the common interests between the USSR and the United States, and for an effort to "help make the world safe for diversity." At the climax of his speech, the President declared that the United States would conduct no further nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states followed suit, and he announced that high-level discussions would soon begin in Moscow with a view to achieving a comprehensive test ban.

The President would not have made his historic speech of June 10 if he had been wholly in the dark as to Soviet intentions and attitudes. But he could only have guessed at the concrete results of his words until the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR spoke in East

Berlin on July 2. Chairman Khrushchev heaped criticism on the United States and Britain for allegedly dragging out the test ban talks and

for demanding on-site inspections which were *according to his*

interpretation tantamount to licensed espionage. But then the

LP record suddenly changed its tune: Khrushchev

drew "stormy, prolonged applause" with his

declaration that:

So long as the Western powers hinder the conclusion of an agreement regarding the prohibition of all nuclear tests, the Soviet government expresses its readiness to conclude an agreement covering the cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and under water.

Why did the government of the Soviet Union

change its mind? In my view, there are five

principal reasons why it reversed its earlier

*Why
Soviets
Signed
Treaty!*

Test Ban Treaty

FOOD FOR PEACE
PEACE COUP

decision.

Stgh
POLARIS
MINUTEMAN
Modernizing
Army
ATR

US
MILITARY
STGH

(1) First: the Russians had become aware of the dramatic increase in U.S. military strength during the past three years. They saw that the U.S. had effectively doubled its military power since 1960, particularly ^{by} equipping its strategic alert ^{air} forces with nuclear warheads, by modernizing and accelerating naval ship construction, and by a 200 percent increase in the nation's counter-guerilla forces.

Planes,
Troops

(2) Second, the Russian leadership was profoundly shaken by the resolution and determination displayed by President Kennedy over the Berlin situation last year, and most dramatically during the Cuban crisis of last October when Soviet missiles were forced out of Cuba. In my discussions with Soviet leaders in Moscow this month I was impressed with the profound chastening effect of the

Berlin
+
Cuba

President's decision in the Cuban crisis on
the thinking of Soviet leaders.

#3

(Third) the Soviet leaders have felt
increasing pressure to divert resources away
from the field of military production to the
domestic area, particularly to the field of
agriculture. They saw that they could not out-
produce the United States in weapons and missiles,
even if they sacrificed production of consumer
goods. Their continued massive failure in the
field of agriculture was all the more powerful
in the face of America's smashing triumph in
producing food not only for the nation but for
much of the hungry world. After five years of
prodding by an Iowa farmer, Roswell Garst,
Khrushchev has now acknowledged that the problems
of Soviet agriculture cannot be solved without
massive capital investment -- particularly in

Economic
Pressure

Failure
in
Agriculture

GARST

commercial fertilizer. The need for such capital has had a considerable influence on the decision to slow down the production of military weapons.

Fourth, the Soviet Union is deeply concerned about the conflict with Red China. During our talks with Premier Khrushchev in Moscow at the time of the signing of the treaty, the Soviet Premier left the unmistakable impression that the strongest reason causing him to support a test ban treaty is the conflict with China.

China

Fear of a nuclear armed China has been a major fact in creating Russian support for a test ban at this time.

Fifth, the Russian leaders share our concern over the spread of nuclear weapons and the consequent increase in the danger of nuclear weapons that would follow further proliferation.

fear of
spread
of
nuclear
weapons

In my view, this treaty represents a
clear demonstration of the effectiveness of
President Kennedy's policy of strengthening
our defenses and at the same time keeping open
the channels of communication. I believe this

treaty is of great importance to the future of
our country. While the treaty itself is

it is
important, perhaps more important that for the
first time in many years the Soviet leadership

has given a clear signal that it understands

the depth and proportions of U.S. power and

determination, and is willing to come to terms

with that power. The Soviet Union had long

known of the tremendous military power of the

U.S. What they doubted was the U.S.' willingness

to use that power. The Cuban crisis convinced them

that the U.S. will use its power when challenged.

The treaty is a significant accomplishment -- but it has not ended the cold war.

The problem of arms control and reduction remains difficult and complex in the face of a continued hostile struggle with the

Communist powers. But the hostility of the Soviet Union is now tempered with new respect.

One should not allow oneself to be deceived by those who contend that we are abandoning our security, are relying now on the Soviet Union's good intentions. This is false. The security of the United States remains paramount. We intend to continue our vital research in the field of missile development, to proceed with underground nuclear tests in the absence of an agreement with adequate inspection provisions, and to be prepared to

resume testing of nuclear weapons on short order should there be a violation of the treaty.

We will soon conclude hearings before the Senate on this treaty. It will come to the Senate floor soon after Labor Day.

The task before the Senate is now clear: it is to mobilize our resources of statesmanship and experience so as to ratify the August 5 agreement. President Kennedy has held to his oft-repeated pledge to submit to the Senate any international agreement governing the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. He has wisely enlisted the participation of a bipartisan delegation of Senators in the signing of the treaty. I am confident that we shall be worthy of the President's trust. After a careful scrutiny of

the test ban and its implications for United States security, for the standing and integrity of the free world, for the health and welfare of our fellow human beings, we shall give this treaty our overwhelming

~~assent~~ support and approval.

1

(X) Feed Grains - PEACE Corps - Tax (Incentive
Credit
& Depreciation)
Manpower Training - ARA - Public Works
Additional Remarks by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey on the
Legislative Record of the 88th Congress

Self Appointed
Watchdog

Right on schedule--beginning in early Spring--critics
of the Administration and other self-appointed watchdogs of
the public interest begin the perennial chant, "What about
this 'Do Nothing Congress'?" The annual commotion about
Congress not meeting its responsibilities has once again
begun and the cry resounds from Capitol Hill to the National
Press Building and back again.

I do not say that certain improvements and modern-
ization in the procedures and rules of Congress are not required
by current demands on the legislative process. On many
occasions I have called for such changes and I will continue
to do so. But I also believe that the American people should
recognize that the 88th Congress has been working hard and, I
predict, will compile a legislative record that will rival any
of the past generation.

What are the three principal issues now confronting the

*Civil Rights
ARMS Control*

Nation? In my opinion they include: (1) civil rights,
(2) national security and arms control, and (3) the state
of the economy. These are matters so fundamental to the

well-being and security of our American society that they assume
a position of high priority on the national agenda. ~~It is~~ *and*

~~essential to realize that~~ these are the very three issues also

*Tough
decisions*

receiving priority attention in the 88th Congress. In other
words, Congress is now attempting to hammer out decisions and
solutions precisely in those areas which present the Nation

with the gravest and most crucial challenges. We cannot

expect that decisions and solutions of this magnitude can be

reached quickly or frivolously. ~~In fact, Congress would be~~

open to justifiable criticism if it failed to consider such

vital questions in a careful and thorough fashion.

The time of thoughtful deliberation on civil rights,

the test ban treaty, and the tax bill is rapidly ending.

The time for action is here. I predict that the next two months will see truly historic accomplishment in each of these critical areas. Seldom has any Congress in recent history been so intimately involved in issues relating so directly to the future welfare and security of the United States.

We must also consider the many other measures on which Congress will act before final adjournment of the 88th Congress. I predict that the first session of the 88th Congress will be remembered principally for forthright action on the test ban treaty, civil rights and the tax bill. But while these top priority matters have dominated the headlines, impressive progress has been made in other areas, although final action may not be completed in some of these areas until the second session.

For example, the Senate has passed the Youth Employment Act to establish a Youth Conservation Corps and a Hometown Youth Corps. The House Education and Labor Committee

Treaty
Civil
RTS
Tax Bill

Y.C.C.

has reported favorably on this bill and we are now awaiting

action by the ^{House} Rules Committee, ^{and the House itself} Other important bills

already passed by the Senate include President Kennedy's massive

program of Federal aid for public and private mental health

and retardation facilities, a comprehensive program to assist

metropolitan areas in providing adequate mass transportation

facilities, an expansion of the Area Redevelopment Administration,

the long-overdue Wilderness Bill to preserve for posterity

the untouched wilderness resources of this Nation, a National

Service Corps to enable Americans to volunteer for domestic

social service similar to the types undertaken overseas by

the Peace Corps, and important amendments to improve the

operation of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Each of

these bills that has already passed the Senate stands an

an excellent chance of also passing the House and becoming law

before the 88th Congress adjourns next Fall. Each bill

contains solid and constructive proposals designed to meet

Mental Health
ARA
Public Works
Wilderness Bill
Nat Service Corps
Mass Transit
SPACE

specific national needs. As Assistant Majority Leader of the Senate, I recite this record of accomplishment with pride and with no sense of apology.

The House of Representatives recently has completed action on a number of important measures particularly in the area of education. A much needed program of Federal assistance to medical schools has been approved by the House; Senate hearings are currently underway. The House has also completed work on the President's five year program to provide \$1.2 billion of Federal grants and loans for construction or improvement of ~~public and private~~ ^{Americas} higher education academic facilities. Included in this long-sought and long-overdue bill are funds for construction of classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and related instructional, research, or administrative facilities. The importance of this House action in the area of Federal aid to higher education cannot be overestimated.

The House has also authorized a new program of matching grants to the states to expand vocational education programs

Medical
Schools

Higher Education

Voc
Education

and to make current programs more effective. The changing nature of the job market, the elimination of many manual labor occupations, the demands for technological and industrial education are factors which make a massive expansion of vocational ^{and technical} education in this country urgent and essential. The Senate will take prompt action on this measure ~~with~~

Manpower Training
Medicare
Hospital insurance for the elderly represents the only principal area of legislation where no action has been taken to date. Primarily this is due to the priority attention accorded to the President's tax bill by the House Ways and Means Committee. Once the tax bill passes the House, I look for prompt consideration of hospital insurance proposals ~~in~~ ~~the Committee~~ in the House and Senate.

In short, this record demonstrates that much has been done and much still remains to do. In particular, measures that have passed one body must now be passed by the other House.

But I predict that almost every bill I have enumerated this evening will reach President Kennedy's desk before the 88th Congress finally adjourns. And I predict that this final record will be one that the Democratic Party can take to the people with pride and confidence in 1964.



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