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Fountain St. Church
1962

April 4, 1962

- 1) Play to win
- 2) Appropriate views of others
- 3) Disagree without being disagreeable

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Personal comments

B. Refer to Dr. Pauling's speech of two weeks ago; have read and studied his address and have had it analyzed by competent scientists and other responsible officials in the Department of Defense and with the Atomic Energy Commission.

II. My first responsibility this evening is to DELINEATE THE ISSUES.

A. Dr. Pauling touched on a large number of subjects and topics, some of which are essential to a consideration of this problem under discussion and others which are not at issue tonight.

B. Some topics mentioned by Dr. Pauling which are NOT issues:

1. We are not debating the irrationality of war.
2. We have no dispute on the horrors of war and especially the ^{potentially} dreadful results of atomic warfare.
3. Our issue is not whether the ~~ability~~ ^{have the ability} of Russians to inflict untold damage on us and whether we have the ability to ^{with devastating results} retaliate. Nor are we in disagreement on the fact that hundreds of thousands of people will die in an all-out atomic war.
4. The issue tonight is not whether disarmament is desirable or even possible of attainment.
5. We have no dispute with Dr. Pauling on the desirability of eliminating war.

Pauling's opening statement - "We live in a wonderful world + I like it."



C. Dr. Pauling gave a great deal of attention to the effects of radiation and radio-active fallout on human beings and mutations in newly formed children. Not being a geneticist nor a physicist, I can't personally dispute Dr. Pauling's statements on radiation and the effects of radio-active fallout, but I do know that many equally competent and patriotic scientists DO TAKE ISSUE with Dr. Pauling and do DISAGREE with the information ^{& Conclusions} he presented here as factual two weeks ago.

1. On Page 11 of the copy of his speech I have, Dr. Pauling said, "There is no dispute about these matters. The bombs that the Soviet Union exploded last fall will, if the human race survives, cause 1,900,000 children to be born with gross physical or mental defects...."
- BUT** Dr. Gerald W. Johnson, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy says this about Dr. Pauling's contention: "There is no dispute on the qualitative statement that carbon-14 causes genetic effects. There is, however, a great deal of dispute on the quantitative consequences. The computations of 1,900,000 children to be born with gross physical or mental defects is based on Pauling's estimate that future birth rate will be about five times the present one. I believe he uses a value of 300,000,000 per year, a genetic proportion that includes both ionization and transmutation and the influence of carbon-14 exposure to all future generations. He doesn't point out at this stage that these cases, if they occur, would be distributed over a period of 60,000 to 100,000 years."



Doesn't agree with Rosenberg.

2. Dr. Leonard Reiffel, Director of Physics Research at the Armour Research Foundation in Chicago said on March 9th: "The President's excellent speech of last Friday made clear that the tests we've now planned will add only one percent to the natural background of radioactivity in the world. To do the complete job would not bring the figure up to even two percent. The President stated that the exposure due to our currently planned tests 'will be less than 1/50 of the difference which can be experienced, due to variations in natural radioactivity simply by living in different locations in this country.' Suppose the figure was 1/25?---with survival at stake, I at least would state that that would be acceptable to say the least!---especially in the context of all the other sources of radiation in modern civilization: x-rays, flying at high altitude in jets, living in masonry buildings, etc."

Dem. of Calif.

3. Rep. Chet Holifield, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, told the House of Representatives on March 5th that "The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has been assured that the amounts of radioactive fallout from any atmospheric tests which the United States may carry on will be substantially less than the amounts produced in the last Soviet series of tests, and will not constitute a significant population hazard." (Page 3140 of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD)



4. On March 25th the American Medical Association released the results of a study on the effects of radiation on health by top American specialists in radiation medicine. Among other things this REPORT said: "Also wrapped up in the study of this 'chronic' radiation-- as opposed to 'acute' radiation from atomic accidents--is the question of damaged genes. In other words, are we now irradiating ourselves to such an extent that in a few, (or a hundred) generations, radiation-induced mutations will change the shape of the human race?

"Scientific 'purists' on the subject maintain that we are; that any radiation, no matter the amount, is damaging to the genes.

"An equally-eminant group maintains that up to a certain point radiation produces no noticeable effects; that there is a 'threshold' and only after the level of radiation crosses this threshold does it become dangerous.

"Although proof is lacking either way--it will take studies of several generations to produce any meaningful statistics--the threshold theory appears to be gaining."

....."Of all the radiation hazards produced by man, none has stirred more fear than fallout.

"The firey upsurge of an atomic blast sucks dirt and rocks into the boiling maelstrom where it is vaporized by the heat and carried miles into the sky by the mushroom cloud.

"Some of these dust particles, only 1/10,000 of an inch, soon condense into sand-size granules which fall downwind from the blast for a distance up to several hundred miles. This heavy fallout is



extremely 'hot' and can deliver a killing dose of radiation. However, under standard bomb testing conditions, and barring accidents, it presents no great immediate problems.

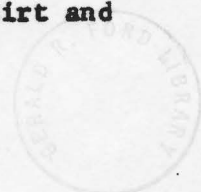
"Of far more concern to public health officials and scientists is the microscopic debris that does not condense. This can hang in the atmosphere for as long as ten years."

....."The Russian series probably will not boost overall radiation levels any higher this spring than they were in 1958 when the three-year moratorium on nuclear testing began. If this proves to be true, then there's probably not much to worry about. No harmful effects from the pre-1958 fallout have ever been objectively demonstrated.

"Perhaps the best way to put fallout into perspective is to consider it in relation to all sources of radiation.

"According to Dr. Lauriston S. Taylor, chairman of the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements, about half of the total radiation delivered to our reproductive systems comes from medical sources--almost exclusively X-rays---and 40 percent comes from background radiation. The remaining 10 percent is delivered in about equal amounts by (1) luminous watches, buttons and other such devices; (2) nuclear power plants and engines, atomic wastes, etc.; (3) fallout.

"The mere fact that man is essentially an earthbound creature subjects him to four times as much radiation as the fallout from all the nuclear devices exploded since 1945. A square mile of dirt and



rock a foot deep contains about three tons of uranium and six tons of thorium--both radioactive materials. In comparison, bomb testing by all nations up to 1958 produced about four and a half tons of fission products."

5. It appears, therefore, that I am completely justified in pointing out that competent scientists disagree with Dr. Pauling's analysis of the effects of radiation and fallout from nuclear testing on human physical development.

D. Before setting forth the ISSUES in this debate, I must also set the record straight in one more respect. *p. 15 - Old saying, "people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones"*

On Page 20 of Dr. Pauling's speech he quotes testimony of Drs. Everett and Pugh of the Weapons Evaluation Division of the Institute of Defense Analysis of the Pentagon.

Dr. Pauling said, "They ought to be reliable" in their discussion of various nuclear attacks on the U.S. under different conditions. But Dr. Pauling wasn't so reliable in quoting Drs. Everett and Pugh.

1. Page 20 of his speech was personally reviewed by Dr. George Pugh of the Weapons System Evaluation Group and he indicates that Dr. Pauling has extracted data carelessly from his report. Dr. Pugh could verify none of the numbers given by Dr. Pauling and for the specific figure of 2 million uninjured, Dr. Pugh states that this figure should read 12 million uninjured. Dr. Pugh also indicated that if one were to



direct nuclear attacks against a military target system, that the total casualty estimates would be reduced to 50% of the indicated figures in the report. The careless handling of figures by Dr. Pauling also suggests an ^{obvious misinterpretation of} ~~intellectual dishonesty~~ with the work of the original authors, Dr. Pugh and Dr. Everett.

2. On Page 26 of Dr. Pauling's speech where he discussed an atomic attack on the U.S. with fallout shelters and with people prepared, he quotes Drs. Everett and Pugh as saying, "Only 130,000,000 Americans would be dead in sixty days; thirty million injured and twenty million uninjured. So they were saying that 40,000,000 instead of 170,000,000 -- 130,000,000 dead, what would happen to the injured after sixty days. Many of them -- well -- many of them -- perhaps everybody would die anyway, but at any rate there is the forty million."
3. Dr. Pugh read this and stated again that Dr. Pauling had distorted the figures in the basic report. For the extremely heavy attack condition described, 130 million should have read 114 million. The 30 million figure for injured should have read 22 million and the 20 million uninjured should have read 44 million. These are examples of Dr. Pauling's carelessness with the data.
4. It is not pleasant to point out these inaccuracies, but we must set the record straight.

Difference of
16 million
8 "
24 "



E. Having pointed out what are NOT the issues in our discussion and having explained the disagreements which other competent scientists have with Dr. Pauling on two subjects he discussed, we now must set forth the ISSUES to be considered this evening. An analysis of Dr. Pauling's address would demonstrate that we have two principle issues this evening:

1. The immediate question is whether the United States should carry out a program of nuclear testing in the atmosphere this spring in a manner and under the circumstances as proposed by President Kennedy. To that question I answer, "Yes;" Dr. Pauling said "No."
2. The other question, possibly more basic, certainly more philosophical, involves Dr. Pauling's contention that the way to achieve disarmament and to eliminate war from the world is for the citizens of the United States to write the President, Senators, and Representatives and to "apply more pressure on Washington" to "make the bomb test agreement."
3. Because Dr. Pauling implies that the major responsibility for disarmament and peace rests with the U.S., I want to consider this second issue first and then conclude by explaining why I am supporting President Kennedy on nuclear testing.

III. Dr. Pauling on IMMORALITY and other sins of U.S. and free nations:

In his address two weeks ago Dr. Pauling used the term 'immoral' on a number of occasions and was critical of certain individuals and of certain American policies.



Dr. Pauling found that nations are immoral, that war is immoral, that Dr. Teller is immoral, and that LIFE MAGAZINE in one of its articles represents the height of immorality.

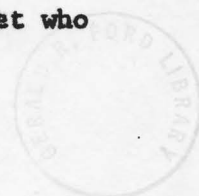
Dr. Pauling also described the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. Gilpatrick, as "this fellow who keeps speaking up." He said that Dr. Libby is a man whom he couldn't understand, that Adenauer was an old militarist. He noted approvingly a statement that the defense industries of this country are more interested in increasing their payrolls than in defense, the safety of this nation.

Dr. Pauling insisted that President Kennedy's decision to resume atmospheric testing came about because of pressures of the defense contractors, the military complex.

Significantly He also stated here two weeks ago that the United States has always lead the Soviet Union in "increased militarism" and then said, "we are contemplating another unilateral action in direction of greater militarism" and "right in the middle of a conference in Geneva."

But I have read and re-read Dr. Pauling's address, and I saw not one word about the immorality of atheistic dialectic materialism. Nor about the immorality of the Communist revolutions. Not a word on the immorality of murder and carnage in Hungary, nor about the immorality of the dictatorship of the Kremlin. I saw nothing in the address of two weeks ago about 'this fellow Khrushchev who keeps speaking up' and, incidentally, pounding the desk with his shoe. I saw nothing about this man Gromyko who few of us can understand. I read not a word about Stalin, the old militarist.

Dr. Pauling didn't mention the political commissars who are more interested in their doctrine and power than in the freedom of the world. I could find no reference to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Supreme Soviet who



is a slave of the Communist doctrine and under constant pressure to expand Communist power and influence and has even threatened to bury us.

Dr. Pauling laid little stress on the fact that the Soviet Union, not the United States, ^{violated the Test moratorium,} exploded about fifty atomic devices in the atmosphere against the desires of all mankind and while talks at Geneva were stalemated.

Nor did Dr. Pauling remind you of the militarism of the Soviet Union which is not only apparent but real -- ask the Russians, the Poles, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Hungarians, the East Germans.

IV. COMMUNISM, its principles and manifestations, must be understood in any discussion today relative to war and peace.

A. J. Edgar Hoover wrote on October 10, 1960 in "Christianity Today":

"Communism is today literally a violent hurricane, rocking not only the chanceries of the world but seeking to capture the bodies, minds, and souls of men and women everywhere."

....."Hence, there arises the ugly manifestation of Communist 'ethics' --namely, the Communist belief that morality must be subordinated to the class struggle, the inevitable conflict between communism and its opponents. What is moral? Anything which serves to destroy the enemy and promote communism. Lenin was most explicit: 'Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is creating a new Communist society.' Communist morality, of course, is rooted in total rejection of a belief in God and in the values of the Christian moral code.



....."This rejection of God gives communism a demonic aspect--transforming it into a fanatical, Satanic, brutal phenomenon. Morality is not determined by ethical standards grounded in an Absolute, but in the expedient interpretations of the Party--meaning, in actual practice, the whims and desires of the ruling clique or Party leader. This leads to the terrifying doctrine that 'the end justifies the means.'"

*Annexation of
WAR
P. 34
Barrall
white and*

On January 6, 1961 Mr. Khrushchev delivered a speech entitled, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement." He analyzed three categories of wars: "world wars, local wars, and liberation wars or popular uprisings." This breakdown, he said, "is necessary to work out the correct tactics with regard to these wars."

As to world wars, he declared that "Communists are the most determined opponents" of such wars, and he asserted that "we can forestall the outbreak of a world war." Local wars, he thought, were more likely to occur in the future, but he rejected them also because a local war "may grow into a thermonuclear rocket war." But "liberation wars and popular uprisings," he predicted, "will continue to exist as long as imperialism exists." "Such wars," he asserted, "are not only admissable but inevitable ..." "We recognize such wars. We help and will help the people striving for their independence." Chairman Khrushchev then asked and answered a series of rhetorical questions about these wars of liberation. "Can such wars flare up in the future? They can. Can there be such uprisings? There can . . . In other words, can conditions be created where a people will lose their patience and rise in arms? They can. What is the attitude of the Marxists toward such uprimings? A most positive one . . ."



Then after a description of the horrors of a thermonuclear war, Khrushchev stated a significant conclusion. "The victory of socialism throughout the world," he announced, "is now near." But "for this victory, wars among states are not necessary."

Khrushchev is saying here that a major war in the nuclear age has become too dangerous to play the role of "midwife to revolution" which Communist leaders before him had always preached. At the same time, the Soviets wish to keep alive the threat of nuclear war as a means of intimidation, a form of blackmail intended to discourage the Free World from resisting Communist encroachment at other levels.

- C. Robert Strausz-Hupe, Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, points out in the NATO Journal for March 1962 that "according to Khrushchev, 'wars of national liberation' are 'good' wars. They can be fought without escalating into more violent types of international hostility. Since, according to Khrushchev, 'limited wars' escalate inevitably into big nuclear wars which the West cannot win because of Soviet nuclear power, the West has no other choice but to meet the communists on their own chosen terrain, i.e., the colonial and ex-colonial world, and leave to the communists the choice of weapons: guerrilla war, war-by-proxy, psycho-political warfare, subversion, and conspiracy."

Dr. Strausz-Hupe also said "(the Communist) accepts the totality and irreconcilability of the conflict as a fundamental fact, whereas to us it is



still a surprising notion." He concludes that "the balance of nuclear forces determines the feasibility and scope of non-nuclear conflicts."

- D. We must never forget it was Khrushchev, not Eisenhower or Kennedy, who shouted "we will bury you" and "your grandchildren will live under communism."
- E. It is not sufficient to pressure our government into disarmament or a test ban; our world isn't that simple; we must reckon with the forces of the atheistic Communist conspiracy.
- V. Contrary to Dr. Pauling's intimations, the U. S. is ^{either} not wholly or primarily responsible for the breakdown at Geneva.
- A. On Page 29 of Dr. Pauling's address he said, "You know you can get a report from a Senate Committee on the negotiations in Geneva. This report says, 'The U.S. has seemed to vacillate between the objective of wanting to conclude a treaty as soon as possible and the belief that constant progress in the negotiations is to our disadvantage.' Why? And the Kennedy government did not change. The Kennedy government too did not change in such a way as to cause us to believe that there was an honest effort being made for a treaty for both sides."
1. After ^{considerable} some effort we were able to locate the document. ^{It would have been helpful if he had more specifically identified} It is a report of the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, dated October 1960. Dr. Pauling quoted a sentence from the Preface by Senator Humphrey. The quotation is accurate but it is only



one sentence from a 2½ page statement. Senator Humphrey also said, "If the United States is plagued with ambivalence of purpose, the Soviet Union suffers from a rigidity of stance and an attitude of suspicion. The Soviet objective, moreover, has been to resist in every way the inclusion of control and inspection measures. Each step the Soviets have taken toward control and inspection and toward the admission of foreigners into the U.S.S.R. has been done so only after prolonged haggling.

"In this summary one glaring inconsistency appears in the Soviet position. With respect to the number of inspections and to the financial contribution to the establishment of the control system, the Soviet Union wants the West, i.e., the United States and the United Kingdom, to concede or pay twice as much. The Soviet Union demands two inspections in the West for every inspection in the Soviet Union. For every dollar or ruble contributed by the Soviet Union to the operation of the control system the Soviets want two dollars or two rubles to be contributed by the United States and the United Kingdom together. Yet, when it comes to the composition of the Control Commission or to the staffing of the control posts, the Soviet Union wants the ratio between the Soviet Union and the West to be equal."

- B. On Page 29 of Dr. Pauling's address he said, "The Soviet Union had agreed to allow international inspections stations on Soviet soil and said that she would allow fifteen manned by international inspectors. And we asked for nineteen. And month after month, year after year, in fact two years went by with no solution between these numbers fifteen and nineteen."



1. Unfortunately this is not the only issue, as shall be pointed out.
2. The U. S. had already compromised in arriving at the figure 19.
3. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy reported in its list of "significant dates" that on "August 21, 1958: Conference of Experts adopted a final report for consideration by Governments.

"Conference of Experts recommended the so-called "Geneva System" of detecting nuclear explosions. This system recommended a network of 180 control points. It should be noted that the American representatives, during this conference, had taken the position that 650 control points would be necessary to have adequate protection down to 1 kiloton. Through compromise with the Soviets, they settled on the 180 stations, but then had to point out the weakness between the area of 1 kiloton and 5 kilotons."

- C. Secretary of State Rusk in an address at the Geneva Disarmament Conference on March 23, 1962 outlined in detail our difficulties in dealing with the Soviets.

(use such quotations from his speech as seem appropriate)

VI. NUCLEAR TESTING in atmosphere is necessary to insure that we stay ahead in nuclear capability.

Sovets respect only strength.

- A. We must keep ahead to preserve the peace.
- B. Dr. Pauling stated that Dr. Glen Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said that we are ahead of the Soviet Union in nuclear weapons technology and that we do not need to carry out tests.



1. Dr. Seaborg has always insisted this is a political decision to be made by the President.
2. His last public statement was on "Meet The Press" (Oct. 29, 1961). One question was: "Would you say that eventually they would pull ahead of us if this situation continued?" Dr. Seaborg answered, "I think within the limit, if we tested indefinitely underground and if the Russians tested indefinitely in the atmosphere, they would pull ahead of us, particularly in the weapons-effects area, the area of the effect of weapons on weapons, which is eventually going to become a very important area--in the anti-ICBM problem as it has been termed."

C. President Kennedy in his TV address stressed this need when he said, "In many areas of nuclear weapons research, we have reached the point where our progress is stifled without experiments in every environment."

D. Ralph McGill in his syndicated column for March 31st concludes by saying: "To forgo tests is to turn control of the world over to the Russians. This will not be done, for reasons obvious to all except those who somehow believe that if we don't test, the Russians would give up their weapons. The prospect of a Russian-ruled world is one that simply cannot be accepted. The anti-test pickets could use a bit of intellectual reality--or honesty."

VII. Nuclear testing as recommended by President Kennedy is essential to our national defense and the security of the free world.



- A. Anti-missile missile
- B. Weapons Development
- C. Proof testing or system testing of operational weapons.

VIII. President set safeguards.

- A. Conducted under conditions to restrict the radioactive fallout to minimum.
- B. Will cancel tests if Soviets agree to acceptable disarmament treaty.

IX. Concluding Statement.

- A. Recognize and understand the existence of the Communistic conspiracy in the world.
- B. By every means at our disposal:
 - 1. Support the President in his decision on nuclear testing.
 - 2. Demonstrate to the Communists that public opinion in the U.S. is behind our government in a determination to be militarily strong.
 - 3. Prove to the world that there will be no undermining of the President's efforts to safeguard the security of our country and of the free world.
- C. Critical times demand hard decisions, calculated risks, and unselfish dedication. Such are the times, such are the demands, and I'm confident that Americans will respond with unselfish dedication.

