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T. Petrovskaya
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SPECIAL FEATURE, No. 271

"U.S. Scientists and Public Discuss Nuclear Tests"

/Includes the statements of five eminent American scientists/

/TAPE/

MOROZOV: On April 13, Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, repudiated the proposal of the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States on banning nuclear tests and on international controls over them. Instead, Khrushchev called for the establishment of a second moratorium on nuclear testing, without controls, similar to the first moratorium achieved by the nuclear powers in 1958.

Today, instead of the regular weekly broadcast THE SIXTIES we shall broadcast a special program devoted to the discussion now held in America on nuclear testing. Our announcer is our New York correspondent Boris Grshansky.

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CORRESPOND.: This is Boris Grahovsky - Radio Liberty correspondent in New York. Participating with me in this special program are Irina Lunina and Vadim Rozhkov.

In September, 1961, the Soviet government broke the voluntary international moratorium and began nuclear testing. This induced the American President Kennedy to announce the decision of the United States to resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Between September, 1961, when the Soviet government resumed nuclear tests, and the end of the tests in November, a total of about 50 nuclear devices ~~were/~~ ~~have been~~ exploded. More than half of these ~~explosions~~ ~~give~~ ~~are~~ evidence that new types of weapons have been developed, especially weapons of great explosive power. The force of the Soviet explosions, carried out last autumn, ~~varied/~~ ~~from~~ ~~approximately one to~~ almost to ~~approximately~~ ~~five megatons/~~ ~~to~~ ~~approximately~~ 60 megatons of TNT. ~~This/~~ ~~was~~ The last explosion is, as it were, a smaller model of the 100 megaton bomb, about which so much has been said. On the whole, this was the most expensive series of nuclear tests in the history of nuclear weapons.

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Let us recall that in response to the ending of the moratorium by the Soviet Union, the United States resumed underground tests, but that to date, it has not done any testing in the atmosphere. On March 2, President Kennedy ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ stated that as a result of the series of tests held in 1961, the Soviet Union had gained technical advantages that threaten the ^{security} ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the United States. In spite of this, the United States expressed willingness to forego ~~any~~ the resumption of tests that would equalize its forces with the Soviet Union's, provided a test ban treaty with international controls was concluded. Since the Soviet ~~xxx~~ government did not agree to the controls, the United States and Great Britain resumed preparations for nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean, which had been suspended for three years. As was expected, the decision of the American government to resume nuclear testing evoked a great deal of ^{criticism} ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in the United States, as happened ~~xxxxxx~~/last autumn, when the Soviet government held nuclear tests. A broad discussion began. In the press, the radio and TV programs, ~~in~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ among scientists and ordinary citizens, nuclear testing

1. 2. 3.

LUNINAI: The President sketched a convincing picture of ~~the~~
~~the~~ how much the security of
the free world depends on the growth of the nuclear power
of the United States, unless, of course, the Soviet Union
agrees to stop the nuclear arms race. But ~~at the time of~~
~~nowadays, during~~
the cold war, military justification is not enough. We
combine with ~~xxxxxxx~~ it the idea by which we live, that
of freedom and national independence. As he made discern-
ment proposals the President might also ~~give~~ ~~the~~ ~~have given~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ calm but
eloquent expression to a Manifesto of Freedom,
stressing the moral and spiritual values which we defend
in our world, a world in which military might must be con-
trolled and not increased, a world, which, in ~~his~~ ^{his} own words,
"should be made ~~safe~~ ^{safe} for all mankind."

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CORRESP.: This is what The New York Times wrote. But not all Americans are in accord with this decision. For example, a group of citizens wrote the following letter to The New York Times:

ROSENKOV: We wish to express our objection to the resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, and also our disappointment that the decision of ^{President} Kennedy has evoked so few public protests. Though fear predisposes both sides to take this ~~human~~ ^{well-worn} track, we are certain that the United States is sufficiently strong to change this primitive foreign policy of threats and counter-threats. We protest because the use of force leads only to force, threats - to counter-threats, and one group of tests leads to another. The stronger side must be the first to stop this senseless, ~~unending~~ unending race. We hope that the United States will have the courage to take this first step and to refuse to follow in the wake of the Soviet Union.

CORRESP: We have just read the letter of a group of American citizens, published in The New York Times.

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This is Radio Liberty. You are listening to a special program on the discussion of nuclear testing.

In addition to the statements of the press, radio and television, the scientists, armed with knowledge of the consequences of nuclear tests, have expressed definite but by no means unanimous opinions on this subject.

Radio Liberty has conducted several interviews with outstanding American scientists - physicists, chemists, and geneticists. Three of them are winners of Nobel prizes, one a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.

Listen now to the statement of the eminent geneticist and holder of the Nobel prize, Professor Herman Muller.

LUNIMA:

By far, the ^{greatest} majority of the American people (says Professor Muller) passionately want the end of the armaments race. The American people hopes that the leaders of both countries will come to an agreement, which will be the beginning of the process of disarmament, and will make each of the sides sure that

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the other side is also disarming. The American people is sure that the end of nuclear testing is the first logical step on the path of disarmament. Nuclear tests are the most graphic symbol of modern warfare, and it is easiest to interpret them as preparation for such a war. Inspection intended to discover these preparations demands that a group of international observers have the right to conduct investigations of the tests in the interior of every country on a given territory. But this inspection ^{may} ~~must~~ ^{restricted} be so ~~organized~~ that it would not create conditions favorable to espionage activities.

Professor Muller continues:

It is true that continued testing may give the country doing it, some advantages in case of a nuclear attack or in defense, but this will not be enough to prevent the defeat of both sides, the complete destruction of their civilization, and the annihilation of most of

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their population, should war begin. If an agreement was reached on ending nuclear tests, this would greatly improve the international atmosphere and make it easier to undertake further steps toward disarmament. The peoples of both sides would gain immeasurably if their means and energy were focused on constructive goals, serving their welfare and the welfare of millions of people in economically underdeveloped countries. And then, at long last, all mankind will be able to go hand in hand toward peaceful coexistence.

COMMENT: So spoke Professor Herman Muller, eminent geneticist, who was awarded the Nobel ~~prize~~ prize for medicine in 1946. Now he teaches at the University of Indiana. Professor Muller worked in the Moscow Institute of Genetics from 1933 until 1937.

We also asked Professor Willard Libby, another winner of a Nobel prize to make a statement. Professor Libby had a share in ~~inventing~~ the creation of the atom bomb and was a member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

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LIBBY (in English): In the modern world, nuclear armament is dominant. The country without nuclear armament is at the mercy of one with. Also, the country with modern nuclear arma...

ROZHKOV: In the modern world, nuclear armament is dominant - says Professor Libby. - The country which does not have nuclear weapons is entirely at the mercy of the country that does. A country with modern nuclear armament has an advantage over the country with an obsolete nuclear arsenal. I think you can understand why this is so. It is because the atomic age is still very young. It is clear that all the essential achievements in this field are still in the future. Hence it is very probable that further great discoveries may well be made in the field of atomic weaponry.

For five years - continues Professor Libby - I worked in the Atomic Energy Commission, and I know that at that time, great changes were often made in

the programs of nuclear tests, as a result of nuclear experiments. This is why it is imperative that our country maintain the equilibrium, if the Soviet Union and other countries are ~~continuing~~ continuing nuclear testing.

LIBBY (in English): It is difficult to know exactly what the extent of the damage from radioactive fallout is...

HOUGHSON: Of course, it is difficult to know, says Professor Libby, what the extent of damage from radioactive fallout is. Judging by what we know today, the harm is minimal. This conclusion is based on observations of results of exposure to normal radiation and X-rays. Hence it is quite possible that radiation resulting from nuclear testing is bearable. Certainly, no one considers it pleasant, says Professor Libby, and we would be much happier if it was possible to avoid radioactive fallout. But faced by the need

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to maintain our nuclear armaments up to standard, we are compelled to ~~xxx~~ agree to a limited infection of the atmosphere by radioactivity. This infection will be very limited and will be carefully controlled.

LINDBY (in English): The one hope is that the world can come ^{to} a disarmament treaty which is fully controlled and inspected, so that both, all parties can have confidence in it...

POZNEKOV:

The one hope is, says Professor Libby, that the world will come to a disarmament ~~xxxxxxx~~ treaty that is fully controlled and inspected, to a treaty that would inspire with confidence all the parties to it. We must not allow a nuclear war to happen. We must avert it at any cost. It ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ appears that the longer we restrain ourselves from exchanging nuclear blows, the greater the chances that such a war will not happen.

COMMENT.: This is what Professor Willard Libby, eminent American chemist,

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This is Boris Tshenaky, Radio Liberty correspondent in New York. You have just heard a special broadcast about the discussion of nuclear testing.

And here is the opinion of another outstanding American male scientist, physicist and chemist, Linus Pauling, Professor at the California Institute of Technology, winner of the Nobel prize for chemistry, awarded to him in 1954. Professor Pauling is also a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Irina Lunina will read the translation of Professor Pauling's statement.

PAULING (in English): I am Professor Linus ~~Kranthage~~ Pauling. Six months ago, I broadcast to the Soviet people over Radio Liberty. I said that I am a scientist and that I am happy to have been elected a foreign member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences...

This is Professor Pauling. Six months ago I spoke to the Soviet people on Radio Liberty. I then said,

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I am a scientist and very happy that the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union elected me a foreign member. It is a great honor for me. I also ^{insistently} urged the ~~government~~ Soviet ~~Union~~ at that time to reconsider its decision to renew nuclear tests.

I said, continues Professor Pauling, that I harshly condemn the actions of any government that increase the danger of war and erect obstacles ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to complete and universal disarmament and peace in the whole world. In spite of my protests and the protests of ~~of~~ many other people in many countries, the Soviet government has just held a large series of atmospheric tests, whose total power, according to the statement of our ~~Atomic Energy Commission~~ ^{Atomic Energy Commission} ~~commission for atomic energy~~, was equal to 120 ^{were related to fission} megatons, of which, 25 megatons ~~fall to the share of~~ ^{reactions} ~~the reaction of disintegration~~, and 95 - to the fusion reaction.

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CONNSP.: Professor Pauling said that he sent President Kennedy a telegram urging him not to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The telegram emphasizes that in Pauling's opinion, these tests will increase the danger of nuclear war and will make it harder to achieve disarmament. Professor Pauling believes that millions of yet unborn children will be ~~thousands~~ sacrificed to these tests. Professor Pauling goes on to say:

In his statement President ^{*}J Kennedy said that the recent Soviet tests, conducted last autumn, did not give the Soviet Union a nuclear power superiority over the United States. And if our tests will be held, this will be done to enable the United States to ^{the} increase/~~the~~ superiority which it already has over the Soviet Union.

PAULING (in English): I hope now that the United States will not carry out the announced series of nuclear tests...

CONNSP.: I hope - continues Professor Pauling - that now the United States will not carry out the an-

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sounded series of nuclear tests. I think we can hope that the international agreements on suspending all tests of nuclear weapons will be concluded and signed. I hope that the proposal, which in the words of President John F. Kennedy, will be made (Pauling means the American disarmament plan), will prove to be an acceptable compromise to the plans of international inspection and control, proposed last year by the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain. I also hope that the Soviet government will make a great effort to resolve the problem of formulating an acceptable agreement on a nuclear test ban, and that no other tests of nuclear weapons will take place.

Let us work together, says Professor Pauling in conclusion, the Soviet people with the American people, the Soviet government with the American government, the peoples of all the countries in the world and all the governments on earth -

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attain
work to ~~achieve~~ a common goal: universal and total
disarmament ~~xxx~~ with international controls and in-
spection to eradicate the moral crime ~~xx~~ of war in
the whole world.

So speaks the eminent American scientist, Professor Linus Pauling.

Now we shall acquaint you with the opinion of another outstanding
physicist, Professor Edward Teller. Professor Teller, in his time,
participated in the working out of the plans of atom and hydrogen
bombs, and worked in the capacity of general adviser to the ~~xxxxxx~~
United States Atomic Energy Commission. Today he teaches at the Uni-
versity of California. After expressing his profound respect for Pro-
fessor Linus Pauling, Professor Teller voiced an entirely different
opinion on nuclear testing.

~~THREE~~(in English): Pauling and ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{happen} to live in a country in which
differences of opinion in the most important questions are
not frowned upon. We live in a country where we can express
our opinion in our homes...

ROSENBERG:

Pauling and I live in a country where differences

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of opinion on the most important questions are not
frowned upon. We live in a country where we can express
our opinion at home, ~~xxxx~~ among our friends, and in
~~public~~ ^{public} ~~society~~. We may even broadcast our opinions by radio,
making them known to every man in the United States
and abroad. We may disagree with ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{one another and}, disagree with
our government, ~~xxxxxxx~~ without getting into trouble.
We believe that it is best to seek the truth in an
open and thorough discussion. Pauling ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~
condemned the ~~xxxxxxx~~ tests, carried out last
fall by the Soviet Union, says Professor Teller, and
in this we are in complete agreement. But Pauling also
~~xxxx~~ mentioned a special reason for this: he said that
radioactive fallout will do harm to millions of child-
ren. This is not so simple. There is no doubt whatever
that radioactive fallout causes mutations in man. Mutations
^{are} ~~is~~ a natural phenomenon. They are part of the
^{encompassing}
overall plan of nature, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the adaptation

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of species and the development of everything ^{living} ~~human~~, including man, because not one living creature is perfect, and neither is man. It is true that many mutations are harmful, many fatal. But some are good. There can be no good without some harm. Mutations evoked by radioactive fallout are in no way different from all the other mutations. But the natural mutations are more ~~xxxx~~ frequent than those caused by the fallout.

The United States - says Professor Teller - ~~has~~ suspended nuclear tests for three years. The Soviet Union did likewise. But last fall, the Soviet Union resumed nuclear testing. Your government carried out a program of test that required many months of preparation, perhaps a whole year, perhaps more: very careful preparation. While your government discussed the banning of nuclear tests with other governments, it was secretly getting these ~~xxxx~~ tests ready. What their results are I do not know. This is a secret. It is

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not known either to you or to me. But that those tests subjected the American people to danger, that a real threat of an attack on the United States exists - this possibility cannot be excluded ~~from consideration~~, and not one government can avoid being held answerable for exposing its people to the danger of a possible attack. We are doing this for our defense, this and it is unavoidable.

TELLER (In English): We want peace and we want disarmament. But there is only one way to get it. And this is the way of openness...

BOZANOV: We want peace and disarmament, says Professor Edward Teller in his statement. But this can be attained in only one way. It is the way of openness. For the sake of our common security we should ^{know} what each one of us is doing and what ^{we} are all doing. And this can be accomplished without doing any harm to our legitimate aspirations to universal welfare and development. ~~We do not~~ ~~there is no need for us to get in each other's~~ way. More than that, we ~~can~~ can and should work to-

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gether. But this can only be accomplished when we shall be able to speak to each other openly, freely and without fear, about all the problems. If we shall succeed in ~~in~~ doing this, if we shall be candid with each other -- disarmament can be attained very easily. And disarmament will be followed by our joint labor for the good of your country, our country, and all the countries of world. ~~the/xxxxxx~~ Open discussion, ~~xxx~~ openness and freedom of information - these are the first and most important conditions of disarmament, peace, and progress. This is what we want. And this ~~in~~, I hope, is what we shall ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ultimately achieve, thanks to our common labor in the entire world.

CONTRAST.: This was the statement of American physicist and Professor of California University, Edward Teller.

American scientist.
Radio Liberty also asked/Dr. Leonard Reiffel for a statement.

Dr. Leonard Reiffel is the director of the physics ^{research} ~~xxxxxx~~ laboratory at the Illinois Technological Institute in Chicago. He ~~is~~

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is the designer
~~of the first industrial nuclear reactor.~~ of the first industrial nuclear reactor.

He is a specialist in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

This is his statement. It will be read by Irina Lunina.

MEIFFEL (In English): My name is Dr. Leonard Meiffel. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to talk to the Soviet people over Radio Liberty. As I'm sure you know, the United States has very reluctantly decided to proceed with nuclear weapons tests...

LUNINA:

I am Dr. Leonard Meiffel. I am very glad to have this opportunity to speak to the Soviet people over Radio Liberty. I am sure that you know that the United States has very reluctantly decided to proceed with nuclear weapons tests, unless an acceptable system of controls is worked out at the Geneva Conference which is now in progress. I think it is very important to know that Washington is now under the great different pressures of those democratic processes, which influence ^{the} ~~that~~ making of decisions in our country. Some insist on nuclear tests, and

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this is motivated by (concern for) the security of our country, and by the fact that these problems cannot be resolved because the Soviet society is a closed society. As a result of this situation, ~~there are enormous pressures~~ enormous pressures are exerted in this country by those who insist that we should continue to develop the technology needed for defense. At the same time - ~~we continue~~ continue Dr. Seiffel - we fully realize that we do not want to accelerate or to ~~continue~~ continue the arms race. In trying, on the one hand, to assure our security, and on the other, to ~~continue~~ pursue these high moral aims, we are trying to reduce the nuclear tests to an absolute minimum. But it is very very difficult to find this absolute minimum. The Soviet Union is making no such attempts, as is evident from the last series of nuclear tests, carried out by the Soviet government. Sixty megaton nuclear weapons (which

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no have been able to manufacture for a long time), undoubtedly do not mean that this series of Soviet tests was the ~~possible~~ minimum, needed to assure the safety of the Soviet Union. The reason that the Soviet Union does not need to adhere to this minimum is that ~~there is no open discussion~~ there is no open discussion and no different pressures in the Soviet Union, such as exist in the United States.

REIFFEL (In English): Our danger here in the United States is probably not that we will do too much testing but, rather, that we will do too little because we are so acutely aware of the desirability of not continuing the arms race...

LEHINA: Dr. Reiffel continues:

is in the United States
It is possible that the danger ~~is not that we will do too~~
~~much testing but rather that we will do too little,~~
realizing that for the good of all mankind it would be
best not to continue the arms race. On the other

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hand, we are willing to take the risk of not making enough tests, to preserve these democratic principles, which are now so vividly reflected in the discussion on increasing the armaments. We really value these principles. We are ^{having} ~~are~~ many arguments at this time. But they are wholesome arguments. They are characteristic of ^{the} ~~of~~ democratic form of government that exists in our country.

COMMENT: This is the opinion of Dr. Leonard S. Riefel, specialist in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. In this special broadcast you have also heard the opinions of other outstanding American scientists on the subject of nuclear testing: Herman Muller, Willard Libby, Linus Pauling, and Edward Teller.

This will end our special half-hour program, devoted to the problem of nuclear tests, which is now in the focus of attention of the ~~xx~~ peoples of the whole world. When in the autumn of last year the Soviet Union ended the international moratorium and resumed nuclear testing, the Western powers, including the

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United States, found themselves before the dilemma: as whether to resume or not to resume nuclear testing. This problem is widely ~~discussed~~ discussed in America, and in today's program we tried to acquaint you with the various opinions expressed in the United States.

Participating in the program with me were Irina Lunina and Vadim Rozhkov.

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This/ Boris Grahansky - Radio Liberty correspondent in New York.