

run

Statement

submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

The Testban Agreement which the Administration has submitted to the Senate for ratification would advance the cause of peace, if, subsequent to its ratification, the Government were to propose to the Soviet Union an agreement providing for an adequate political settlement, which would serve the interests of the Soviet Union and the other nations involved, as well as our own interests, and which the Soviet Union might rightly be expected to accept. If this were not done, however, and if the Government proceeded with an extensive programme of underground bomb testing, then, rather than furthering the cause of peace, the Testban Agreement would be likely to do just the opposite.

By engaging in this type of testing on a large scale, the United States would force the Soviet Union to conduct numerous bomb tests also. The underground testing of bombs is very expensive, however, and since the Soviet Union is economically much weaker than the United States, it would in the long run be forced to abrogate the Agreement. Such a turn of events would prove my old friend and distinguished colleague, Dr. Edward Teller, to have been right - for the wrong reasons.

The problem of establishing peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union involves the rest of the world as much as it involves Europe. It is difficult to visualise a political settlement in which Russia would agree to co-exist with parliamentary ~~governments~~ ^{democracies} located in its proximity which look to us for support, while at the same time the United States would continue to maintain its present position that it cannot co-exist with a communist country, located in this hemisphere, which looks for support to the Soviet Union. Any attempt on the part of the Government to arrive at a political settlement with the Soviet Union on such a basis would be an attempt "to eat one's cake and have it too", and few people, if any, have ever accomplished this feat.

If I were a member of the Senate, I think I would want to know at this point how the Government proposes to follow up the conclusion of the Testban Agreement, before casting my vote for the ratification of the Agreement.

I am not speaking here as a scientist who can claim to have special knowledge of the atomic bomb, but rather as a citizen whose political judgement is not obscured by being in possession of ^{so much} "inside information".

Geneva, Switzerland, August 23rd, 1963

Leo Szilard