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# bulletin

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Facts and comments on national and United Nations developments in the fields of economic aid and disarmament.

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## news and analysis

### THE SUMMER OF 1962

Some of the more flamboyant U.S. tabloids like to refer to summer as the "silly season." The term usually applies to the peculiar antics of individuals as the temperature climbs. But it can also be extended to include the behavior of governments. The evidence: Nuclear testing by three powers. (1) The explosion of a hydrogen bomb in outer space above the Central Pacific on July 9 by the U.S. as one in a continuing series of underground and atmospheric tests. (2) The resumption of atmospheric nuclear tests by the Soviet Union with a 30-megaton-plus blast in the Arctic on Aug. 5. (3) The continuation of French tests with an underground experiment in the Sahara in May.

The big drama of the summer concerned the U.S. outer space nuclear test. The U.S. went ahead with it despite warnings by scientists and world opinion that the assault on outer space was "playing with creation." On Aug. 20, the AEC and Defense Dept. said the radiation belt created by the test would disappear "in a matter of weeks or months." Neither government agency however has ever been noted for its candor when it comes to the subject of nuclear testing. Sure enough, on Sept. 1, the two admitted that the radiation belt was stronger than previously believed and might last for many years. Who knows? Perhaps not even all the facts have yet been released. There may be worse news to come, since the U.S. public and the world seem to get it only piecemeal. The situation is reminiscent of all the AEC and Defense Dept. statements over the years concerning the hazards of radioactive fallout. While scientists all over the world, including those on a U.N. committee, found fallout indeed a danger to humanity, the government scientists found fallout no such hazard. Obviously the scientific method differs for U.S. government employees. But one wonders: Why go ahead with these things if the consequences can't be predicted? Who, after all, has the upper hand in our government - the civilians or the AEC-Defense Department complex?

### Geneva: No Test Ban, No Disarmament

In Geneva, the 17-nation Disarmament Committee has made little progress negotiating a disarmament agreement, except for a general airing of views. The Committee voted a recess from Sept. 8 until Nov. 12 to give the U.N. General Assembly a crack at breaking the East-West deadlock. Regarding a test ban, there has been some progress - in terms of concessions - but still no agreement. The U.S. offer of Aug. 8 to

cut by more than 50 percent the number of control posts originally recommended for monitoring a test ban and to cut the number of on-site inspections by international teams was rejected summarily by the Soviet delegate. At issue was again the question of on-site inspection - "for spying," says the U.S.S.R. (The U.S. compromise was also rejected by most Congressional Republicans, too, indicating that almost any kind of test ban agreement would have tough sledding in the Senate.) On Aug. 27, the West offered the U.S.S.R. a choice of two test ban agreements: (1) an internationally inspected comprehensive test ban, (2) an uninspected limited ban covering tests in the atmosphere, space, underwater, pending efforts to bring underground tests into the treaty. The Russians reacted coldly, and two days later called for an unpolluted moratorium on underground tests and a ban on all other tests beginning Jan. 1, 1963. Said President Kennedy at his news conference on Aug. 29: "A reasonable target date," but he rejected the moratorium suggestion.

### THE U.N.: A NEW SESSION, A NEW URGENCY

Both the test ban and disarmament will be discussed when the U.N. General Assembly meets for its 17th session on Sept. 18. The Indian delegation has already submitted a proposed agenda item on the former. The discussion of disarmament itself has become a yearly ritual at the U.N. Other subjects that will probably be on the agenda: (1) the Swedish resolution of last year which asked U Thant to investigate the possibility of the non-atomic powers forming a non-atomic club in order to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, (2) the question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. This too is the result of a resolution introduced last session (by 12 Afro-Asian nations). Although both resolutions were approved, the U.S. opposed them, primarily on the ground that they negated the right of self-defense under the U.N. Charter.

### Space

Another subject before the U.N. will be the peaceful uses of outer space - particularly urgent now that man is flying so fast and so high. In a speech in Seattle in May, Secretary Rusk urged that space activities be brought under international regulations at once lest space be turned into a military area. Without international control, Mr. Rusk foresaw:

"The frontiers of space might be pierced by huge nuclear-propelled dreadnaughts, armed with thermo-nuclear weapons.

"The moon might be turned into a military base.

"Ways might be found to cascade radioactive waves



upon an enemy.

"Weather control might become a military weapon."

About two weeks after the Rusk speech, the Times reported that the Defense Department was "embarking upon a man-in-space program to prevent military control of space by the Soviet Union." And the flights of Nicolayev and Popovich revived anew the question of the U. S. - U. S. S. R. race for space. Whenever the "race" is mentioned, chauvinists cite the military advantages of being first. Typical of the comments was that by Senator Howard Cannon (Nevada) who called for a speed-up of U. S. military space development "as a counterbalance to the Communists' space advances."

The question is: Can the U. N. make up for lost time in this area? It is, of course, only as powerful as the two biggest powers want it to be. The U. S. and U. S. S. R. are the ones who must agree on a U. N. program. Many observers feel that neither one will willingly give up whatever lead each thinks it holds.

#### A SUMMER OF CONFERENCES

The summer of 1962 was the season for three major international anti-bomb conferences. The first was the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention, sponsored by the Gandhi Peace Foundation, held in New Delhi, June 16-18. In a major address, Indian Prime Minister Nehru advocated the establishment of "atom-free zones" in Asia, Africa, and Europe. The zones would be made up of nations which have declared that they will neither manufacture nuclear weapons nor permit the stationing of such weapons on their territories.

The second conference was the government-sponsored "World Without The Bomb" Assembly in Accra, Ghana, June 21-28. (Ghana hopes to hold a similar meeting again in Accra, in Sept. 1963.) The group called on the U. N. to organize trained teams of experts to serve as disarmament inspectors, urged the African states to take the lead in launching a continent-wide disarmament project of their own. As a start toward achieving the latter objective, the Assembly requested that U Thant convene a special African disarmament conference to negotiate a demilitarization and non-aggression pact. It would require all African states to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. The Assembly also urged that such an African disarmament program be inspected by a permanent commission headed by a chairman from a non-aligned nation. The African disarmament plan was the result of a detailed proposal presented to the Assembly by Ghana.

The third major meeting was the Moscow Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, July 9-14. Not participated in by most American peace organizations because of the political bias of the World Peace Council, it was marked by demonstrations in Red Square and minority statements that criticized the U. S. S. R. as well as the U. S. The final statement of the Congress mentioned neither of the Big Powers, simply noted "we are firmly opposed to all testing of nuclear bombs and similar devices... We earnestly appeal to the governments of all the nuclear powers. We call

on them to reach, without delay, agreement on renunciation of all tests in nuclear weapons and conclude a treaty banning forever all such tests everywhere - in the atmosphere, in outer space, underground and under water."

#### comment

##### The Final War: An Accident?

In a summer in which an orbiting satellite - Telstar - improved communications between the U. S. and Europe, there still remained the problem of communications between the U. S. and U. S. S. R. When the New Frontier took office in January 1961, many observers hoped that the Kennedy Administration would seize every opportunity to guarantee that "mankind's final war" would not turn out to be an accident, a miscalculation or a failure of communications.

In a speech in New Hampshire on June 16, Secretary of State Rusk warned that the danger of war by accident was being increased by the unchecked arms race. He reported that if the "upward spiral" of nuclear destructive power continued to grow, it could "by 1966 be double what it is today." He noted that while all the nations of the world are "pouring more and more resources and skill into improving armaments, they are, on balance, enjoying less and less security." He pointed out four specific dangers which East and West now share: (1) the danger which arises from the proliferation of nuclear weapons under the control of an increasing number of individual countries, (2) the danger of outbreak of war by accident, miscalculation or failure of communications, (3) the increasing danger that outer space will become man's newest battlefield, (4) the danger that mounting proportions of our national resources, skill and treasure will have to be diverted to the business of developing newer and more powerful armaments. (Shortly after the Rusk speech, the President asked Congress for \$23 million to install electronic locks on nuclear weapons in this country and abroad as a safeguard against accidental or unauthorized firings.)

Many individuals and groups have suggested that one way to prevent accidental war would be to establish direct communications between the Kremlin and the White House. This was also suggested by the Soviet delegate at the Geneva conference. The matter came up at the President's press conference on July 23. He was asked if he had plans to establish a direct telephone line to Mr. Khrushchev "for use in case of emergency." The President's answer: "I think the problem is not at the present time communications. The problem is that there is a difference of viewpoint. If we could understand each other, it would be different." It sounded like an answer to a different question. Newspaper reports pointed out that not even the State Department has a direct communication link to the U. S. Embassy in Moscow. Said a State Department official: "Anybody can listen in on a telephone conversation, but cables can be sent in code." In case a U. S. missile should be fired by accident - and it should be headed towards the Soviet Union - it will, of course, be a big help to send the final message in code.



No one who is concerned with the state of the world in which he lives can afford to be silent, regardless of the season. This past summer was no exception. There were warnings, there were threats, there were predictions, there were charges, and there were hopes expressed by many individuals throughout the world. Many of these were important statements or contained important ideas. They should not be lost just because they are yesterday's news. Summer news unfortunately does not always have the audience it deserves. People are on vacation, newspapers are unread; although the days are long, there are too many demands on our time; we do not keep up with the world the way we should. It might be helpful to listen to a few of ---

#### THE VOICES OF SUMMER

One voice heard early was that of Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, who addressed the resumed session of the General Assembly on June 7. He called on the United Nations to "establish a permanent United Nations peace force." Declared the Archbishop: "The security in which we now live is one depending on the thin thread of balance of power. As we all know such security from the deterrent of mutual fear is precarious and of short duration. The breathing space allowed us during this temporary security should not be wasted, but applied to build a positive peace. The great difficulty to be overcome stems from deep-rooted concepts belonging to the past." Man, he said, has shown "little moral progress. The growing lag between scientific and moral progress has produced an imbalance that threatens the very continuance of life. If there is to be survival the gap will have to be closed. The time has come when the progress of science will either abolish the rule of force in life or else abolish life itself. To the precepts of morality the dictates of reason are now added, through the voice of self-preservation. In a phenomenal reversal of process, the primeval instinct of self-preservation, that in its exalted growth produced and developed war, that same instinct will now have to abolish war. New conditions of life now demand new ways of thinking and acting. They call for a basic reappraisal of values. We are in an age when the conduct of national and international affairs calls for a higher political wisdom that could not and should not be divorced from basic morality.

"We have reached a point in the evolution of man when the differences of conflicting ideologies and interests will have to be removed from the plane of physical violence to that of mental contest. War will have to be replaced by competition for the minds of men in peace and in freedom of choice. In such clearer atmosphere of a new world men can gradually rise through knowledge and understanding to his real liberation, that of liberation from self. But to achieve a new world, humanity must continue to live. A wrong concept of life that has accompanied mankind over the millenium of its existence is now fast driving it to global catastrophe. Because man has ignored the importance of universal truths and of individual moral integrity, he has brought himself to the chains of mechanical enslavement and to the abyss of nuclear extinction."

A few days later, Gerard Piel, publisher of the Scientific American, gave the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard College. He noted that "our nuclear armament has failed to promote stability in world politics," and he declared that "our enormous armament also complicates our own approach to disarmament. We would have to do so much more disarming than anyone else that ratification by the U. S. Senate would constitute a bigger miracle than an agreement at Geneva." Turning to the military-industry complex, he observed that "military expenditure has taken up more than half of the federal budget and fully a quarter of our manufacturing output throughout this period [The last decade] In the fiscal management of our economy, in other words, armament has played the same role as public work in the first two administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt. After 10 years of this kind of pump-priming, is it any wonder that our magnificent industrial establishment should have burdened us with such an enormous surplus of weapons?" He wryly noted: "It is difficult for anyone, including even the Secretary of Defense, to resist the demands on the public treasury laid by the armed forces. Those demands are now backed by the substantial economic interest of a giant industry exclusively devoted to armament. No such absolute moral sanction supports the claims of education, for example, and no comparable vested interest stands to gain from them." Pointing to the fact that in 1962, "despite a 25 percent increase in military expenditure, the number of unemployed again exceeds the number of unemployed at the last recovery peak," he declared that military pump-priming is losing its potency as an "economic anodyne. It is concealing less and less successfully the underlying transformation of our economic system. . . Armament in any case holds out no endless frontier."

At the first national conference of the Congress of Scientists on Survival, a number of scientists took a close look at the crisis which confronts the world. One of them - Nobel prize winner Albert Szent-Gyorgyi - noted: "The existence of mankind is already dependent on correct functioning of countless hands and buttons, while both humans and machines are known to err, which makes our own bombs into a threat to our existence equal to the bombs of our adversaries. Never has high politics gambled so irresponsibly before with the very existence of mankind." Science, he said, "tells us that if we have a problem, we must approach it as such, collect the data, then try to fit them together and find the best solution, with a neutral mind, a cool head, unbiased by short-range interest or sentiments like fear or hatred. If politicians could approach the great international problems with this spirit, instead of dealing from a narrow nationalistic angle, with one eye on propaganda, trying to get tit for tat or tit for nothing, we might get on the good road." Dr. Szent-Gyorgyi suggested: "If we still have the cave man's mentality and cannot change it, then perhaps, we could avoid catastrophe if we could only understand but one thing, and this is, that science has abolished distance, and we are all living in one cave now, which is our little shrunken globe on which there is place for one family only, the family of man, and we may at least gain time by simply fixing up a note: - 'Playing with atomic bombs in this cave is strictly forbidden.'"



Sir Robert Watson-Watt, British inventor of radar, at the same conference deplored the "heavy handed attack on the Van Allen belt" and said that "even in physics it is undesirable that technological fools should rush in where scientific angels fear to fly." His feeling was that "it isn't anything so difficult as ethics that fails the scientist and the technologist. It's just that they have been only - at best - half educated. They learned the dates of wars and famines, the names of warriors and kings, they heard faintly and at second hand the surge and thunder of the Odyssey - but they didn't get to the heart of history, to the life of the common man, to the equations of a hundred variables - none of them independent - which are the raw material of social and political life. They heard a good deal about the humanities - they emerged pathetically ignorant about humanity. What they learned about economics bore little relation to the economics of the Egyptian ten-year-old tending an emaciated bullock, his own festering eye-sockets the feeding ground of a swarm of flies, his own meal a bare handful of hard grain. Nor did he know his brother, slumbering in the dirt of an Indian city street, his rib-cage an elementary lesson in anatomy, stretching out his skeletal hand to beg for a morsel of anything at all. For the scientist, as for us all, the proper study of mankind is man. For all of us there is a recurrent question, are we to study the stars above to shield our consciences from the scars below?"

Less than a week after Sir Robert's speech, Kwame Nkrumah, president of the republic of Ghana, addressed the World Without the Bomb Assembly in Accra. Calling for the denuclearization of the African continent, he emphasized: "I should like the continent to become not only a non-nuclear zone, but also a zone where no foreign military bases are allowed. I should like this to be paralleled with an ideological truce and an agreement not to try to convert Africa into an economic appendage of any other continent. Africa should not become a battleground for the cold war." He pointed out: "We have reached a point where each one of us must decide, once and for all, whether we want to live - and by living I mean living normally and happily, without any kind of threat of destruction hanging over our heads - or to be destroyed in an atomic war. On this issue of disarmament or nuclear destruction, we cannot listen to politicians, to generals, to our

leaders, and our superiors: this is one time when the individuals, the ordinary men and women of the world, must face the situation themselves and when they must have the supreme courage to do what they know is right. Whatever this may cost us, it is, after all, a small price to pay to save mankind from annihilation and to restore sanity, peace and order to the world."

Perhaps the most stinging, certainly the most succinct statement made during the summer came from a Samoan who witnessed the U. S. 's high-altitude nuclear explosion on July 9. In three words he summed up the state of the world today. He said: "Crazy white man!"  
... J. V.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Lincoln P. Bloomfield, THE PEACEFUL USES OF SPACE, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 331. August 1962. Write: Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., N. Y. 16, N. Y., 25¢ each, bulk rates. A review of the progress and problems in such peaceful uses of outer space as weather forecasting, the use of communications satellites, navigational satellites, etc.

Women Strike for Peace. THE STORY OF DISARMAMENT, 1945-1962. The 100-page pamphlet contains chronological highlights of the proposals and counter proposals made by the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R., a narrative summary of the disarmament negotiations between the two Big Powers, etc. Summer 1962. Write: WSP, 1822 Mass. Ave., N. W., Wash., 6, D. C., \$1.00.

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