

**HOW DID I GET IN THIS BOX?** The inimitable Herblock portrays Uncle Sam in a Box, peering out with a distraught look. John Foster Dulles is sitting on the lid with the phrase, "Sit Tight Diplomacy" on his coat. One side of the box is marked, "When we're strong we don't need to negotiate." Another side is inscribed, "And when we're weak, we're afraid to." -- (Syracuse Herald-American 12-31-57)

**WILL WE OR WON'T WE?** At the recent NATO meeting, Norway introduced a resolution to defer decision on missiles "until all efforts to come to terms with the Soviet Union had been exhausted." This was defeated. The U.S.A. secured an agreement that missiles be stationed in countries desiring them. Not all countries are interested. In turn, the U.S.A. had to agree to hold the door open for "Summit" meetings.

The Christian Science Monitor, for January 8th, reported that on January 6th the National Security Council had refused Soviet proposals for Summit meetings. The New York Times for January 9th headlined Mr. Dulles' opinion as to the "futility" of such meetings.

A few days later Mr. Dulles was reported to feel that some good might come out of meetings provided that they would not be held too soon.

On January the 12th, Mr. Eisenhower replied to Mr. Bulganin, concluding:

"I am ready to meet with the Soviet leaders to discuss the proposals mentioned in your letter and the proposals which I make... It would be essential that prior to such a meeting... complex matters should be worked on in advance through diplomatic channels and by our foreign ministers..."

Meanwhile the President has called for vast increases in the Federal Budget, with the chief increases devoted to preparation of more and more complex and horrendous weapons of mass destruction.

**SYMBOL** "Americans must recognize that Mr. Dulles has become the symbol of talks that fail followed by weapons that alarm. In that swift oversimplification that comes so easily when anxiety gnaws at human hearts, Mr. Dulles has become the symbol of a too-ready inclination to break off talking and to depend upon new weapons. He offers arms which imply more danger rather than diplomacy which could perhaps reduce it."

-- Joseph Harsch - "Europe's Outlook -2", Christian Science Monitor

**WHY ARE YE SO FEARFUL?** "How is it that ye have no faith?" -- Mark 4:40. So begins the advertisement of the American Friends Service Committee in the N. Y. Times on December the 15th. "We said, 'In God we trust,' but we put our faith in H-bombs and missiles. Now we find that Russia has H-bombs and missiles - and satellites that speed across the American Sky." "We assumed that the way to peace is through superior military strength... to deter our 'enemy' and back up our negotiators. The Russians have acted on the same assumption. So the frantic competition proceeds. The balance of fear swings between nation and nation. This is no climate for negotiation..."

**WE ARE NOT USED TO IT** "Now we are not used to living in the same world with a rival but equal power. Our conception of foreign policy invariably has as its basic assumption that, in dealing with our rivals and our enemies, there can be no solution except one dictated to them after their unconditional surrender. This was at the root of Woodrow Wilson's conception of foreign policy. It was at the root of Franklin D. Roosevelt's. It is at the root of President Eisenhower's, or more precisely put, it is the basic assumption in the thinking of John Foster Dulles..."

"Thus, it is strictly accurate to say that, in Eastern Asia, in the Middle East, and in Germany, we have policies that cannot possibly be carried out unless the Soviet Union and Red China make what amounts to an unconditional surrender..."

"When I say that we must negotiate, I do not mean that the Communist powers are going to accept our present terms for a settlement in East Asia, the Middle East and Germany, or that we can and should accept their present terms. We must expect the negotiations to be very long and to be very tedious. But however long and however tedious they are, the will to negotiate should always be the cardinal principle of our diplomacy. While we should never give in to the terms of the Soviet Union, we should never give up the search for terms that both sides can eventually accept."

"I think that no other course is open to us. For the fundamental fact is that we must live for years to come in a world where our competitors and adversaries are as strong or stronger than we are. In that situation, we can defend and protect our interests only if our diplomacy is as wise or as astute as their diplomacy."

-- Walter Lippman, Look, January 21, 1958

**THE GAITHER REPORT** The mysterious Gaither report, nearly everyone agrees, recommends very large U.S. expenditures on arms and shelters. The Washington Post, 12-20-57, says that these recommended expenditures "would come at a fortuitous moment in the American economy... with benefit both to the economy and to the national defense." The Committee which worked on the Gaither report, the Post account says, "started on the premise of a recession, not of further inflation." A heightened arms race is advocated as a means of stopping the slump in business and the stock market.



'57 RECESSION A widespread recession stalked New York at the close of 1957 and a further decline is likely in the early part of 1958 says State Commerce Commissioner Edward T. Dickinson. The "factor which triggered the downward spiral was the cutback, stretch out, and cancellation of military prime contracts."

-- Syracuse Herald-American, Jan. 13, 1957

WRANGLING President Eisenhower is infuriated "at the unabated interservice wrangling over which is to become Mr. Big with the present weapons." He is considering firing some of the present joint chiefs of staff. "In the words of one reasonably detached and frank observer, who in earlier days was in the midst of it, what causes it is this: 'If you trace all these high level squabbles back to their root evils, stripping away all the Pentagon gobbledygook, it all boils down to a fight over pay and quarters. It is a battle for survival, for prestige and for careers.'" -- Roscoe Drummond, Herald Tribune, 12-30-57

MORALS Dr. Donald Soper, free-wheeling Methodist pacifist, said recently, "No one but a fiend would throw a baby onto a fire but we are willing to throw the fire on the baby when we drop an incendiary bomb from an airplane. The difference is the 25,000 feet that impersonalizes the act."

WHAT IS REQUIRED "If war is to come to an end... hero worship has got to give way to the worship of Principle. In other words people have got to give up talking emotionally of the life of Jesus of Nazareth in order to themselves walk in the footsteps of the Christ, as he commanded. Talking of other nations, other governments, other individuals giving up war, and retaining all the beliefs that generate war in your own consciousness is the veriest parody on Christian teaching concerning peace."

-- Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 11, 1915

WHITHER SCIENCE? "When two-thirds of the world's population still go to bed hungry every night, when hundreds of millions need shoes and warmth, medicines and nourishment to prevent them from dying years before their time, the dereliction of Western science to reducing the greater part of the earth's surface to radio-active shambles is worse than a crime. It is a sin against the light."

-- James Avery Joyce, Peace News, Dec. 13, 1957

WE DO IT ALSO! "The Russians call it political indoctrination. We call it troop indoctrination. "However harsh it may sound, the U.S. arms services, especially the Army, feel compelled to teach Americans that in wartime their country comes before self."

"Further, the services feel it is imperative to convince men that their way of life as free Americans is superior to the tyranny of communism and hence worth fighting for."

"The services, in brief, no longer assume that every man comes to them a diehard patriot."

"Thus we have the strange spectacle of Americans using every weapon in the arsenal of propaganda and psychological warfare - lectures, movies, posters, pamphlets, discussion groups, and books on other Americans..."

-- Ben Price, Syracuse Herald-American, Jan. 5, 1958

KOINONIA The cooperative community in Georgia, harrassed and abused, made the news again when one of its members, Conrad Browne, was beaten badly by an unidentified assailant while preparing to unload a shipment of pecans at the express office in Americus. After being beaten, Browne was arrested (not his assailant) because the Station Wagon had New Jersey plates on it rather than Georgia plates. It is registered in both states, but the plates had not been changed since the wagon came back from the New Jersey farm.

Paul Ritch, Rector of the Episcopal Church in Americus, took Browne home from the scene of the beating. Ritch was asked to resign. His Bishop wrote to the church informing its Vestry stating that the Rector is an instrument of God and that the local people do not have control of who is to be their Rector. He also implied that Ritch would be kept in his present assignment because of the present situation in the community, if for no other reason

A good Bishop can be a good thing!

ONE WOMAN TALKS A Virginia housewife has been talking peaceful cooperation to Soviet officials at the Embassy in Washington. Mrs. Howard J. Thomas has made three separate visits to the Embassy since 1954. Each time, she said, the Soviet officials were "very friendly."

-- Christian Science Monitor, 12-13-57

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**IN SPITE OF WIND AND FIRE AND STORM** A brief respite in a series of severe snow storms aided attendance at the annual Syracuse Institute of International Relations, February 14 - 16. High attendance was 158. Low at 81 at the closing dinner when the snow began again. Average attendance was 121. Two people came from Warren, N. H.; others from as far West as Buffalo, as far North as Montreal, Can., and as far South as Philadelphia.

**JAMES AVERY JOYCE** -- English Barrister, Author and Economist reminded us that his country sometimes feels itself a huge "US aircraft carrier" which faces "annihilation without representation." It is not Sputnik which has terrified the people of Asia, but the West's response to it. People of Asia and Europe react to this "moral imbecility into which we have emerged" by asking can they any longer look to the United States for leadership?

Mr. Joyce is convinced that something of far greater significance than Sputnik is the developing framework of the UN's functional agencies. Agencies such as the Food and Agricultural Organization deal with problems of the empty shopping bags of the world's hungry. "What," asked Joyce, "are you going to put in those shopping bags? Missiles?"

The World Health Organization, said Mr. Joyce, operates on an annual budget of \$10 million. A contemplated Greyhound Racing Track in Brooklyn will cost \$15 million.

Joyce suggested that the "small nations are sending big men to the UN while big countries are sending small men."

**HARROP FREEMAN** -- Professor of Public Law at Cornell reminded us that the world is moving into the atomic power age and that the decision to do so was made in 1945. It is irrevocable. This means that the problems of radiation will be with us whether we have nuclear weapons or not. The waste products of peaceful uses of atomic energy are very dangerous and present a tremendous problem as to safe disposal.

Furthermore, the processes for harnessing atomic power for peaceful and for war uses are 95% the same. Therefore, we are dealing with an area where diversion from peaceful to war uses (and vice versa) is relatively easy. Thus the problem of international control of fissionable materials is made difficult.

Mr. Freeman reminded his listeners that both the United States and the Soviet Union have a foreign policy thesis into which their disarmament proposals fit. For the United States the thesis involves massive retaliation; negotiations from strength; the championing of those on our side; the using of a cheaper method of killing people than reliance on manpower, that is, nuclear weapons. Further, the United States has assumed that the proper pattern of negotiation is verbal unconditional surrender, a pattern unacceptable to a party which also has nuclear power. Nevertheless, the US and the USSR have been moving towards agreement over the years through the pressure of facts. Virtually the only problem not resolved is how to surmount the first hurdle. The USSR wants an action taken in order to promote confidence, for example, a ban on tests. The United States wants a climate of confidence before taking the first step. "Do you get confidence by first taking steps or do you have confidence first and then take steps?"

Prof. Freeman urged that we cannot shift responsibility for questions of disarmament and foreign policy from our shoulders to those of Dulles or Eisenhower or Stassen. They are trying to represent the thinking of American citizens. Pacifists need to ask themselves, "to what degree can you have disarmament unless you disarm the foreign policy of a group of Americans who are not themselves mentally disarmed?"

**WILLIAM NEUMAN** -- Associate professor of History at Goucher College, suggested at the outset that American Foreign Policies are made in several places besides the State Department. Some of these places are the Department of Commerce, the Defense Department, and the Department of Agriculture. For example, a scheme of the Department of Agriculture to get rid of surplus foods, such as wheat, may actually undermine a complex of international relationships, seriously affecting the markets of some other nation such as Canada, which it is to our advantage to keep happy.

There are no great differences in policies between the Democrat and Republican parties. Dulles continues the Acheson policy of negotiations from positions of strength. Assumptions of our policy are:

- 1) The major threat to the security of the USA is from the USSR.
- 2) In the long run the USA will be stronger than the USSR because internal difficulties in the USSR will make it easier to deal with.
- 3) War is not inevitable.

In carrying forward its policy, the United States has made a whole series of Security Pacts by which we are pledged to defend some 42 nations from attack. Further, we are also involved in protecting other nations where we have bases, as for example, Spain.

Dr. Neuman reminded his listeners that it is easier for a small nation to be flexible than it is for a large nation. The United States has many, many commitments, some of which are contradictory, for example, to Tunisia and to France. If we stand for the Tunisians in the recent bombing, we will offend France. And France is committed with us against Russia, the major threat to us.



What are the possibilities of change in American policy? We must remember that Foreign Policy expresses the wishes of a substantial majority of American people though we may disagree with it. Disarmament negotiations, for example, might proceed faster if the American people in substantial numbers want this.

We were reminded that nations are constituted to look after their own interests and not the interests of the rest of the world. (James Joyce urged that no longer are national interests a valid framework for this world. But how do we jump to a supernational framework?)

BAYARD RUSTIN -- now Executive Secretary for the War Resisters League discussed "security" with his listeners at the Fellowship of Reconciliation Breakfast.

This is an age of global revolution and an age of materialism. People want freedom and security because they want things and they feel that security can be found in things. But the attempt to secure security is elusive.

"Security can never be the result of the pursuit of it... Security is a by-product of the voluntary acceptance of insecurity."

"Justice cannot establish justice... It is a by-product of an Act of Love..."

"An Act of Love is the acceptance at this moment of the loss of power, the possibility of suffering..."

Citing incidents from the Journey of Reconciliation of 1946, from Montgomery and from Little Rock, Bayard pointed out that the people who found an alternative to violence were not members of the F.O.R. or similar groups, but were very ordinary people. After all, "Gandhi did not depend on saints and arrived people."

Bayard Rustin suggested that the real heroes of Little Rock are not the Federal Troops or Eisenhower or Faubus, but the 9 boys and girls (now 8) who day after day are bearing a load of ostracism and hurts and who are trying to maintain a discipline of love.

QUOTABLE "Most of us are specialists in avoiding situations rather than in dealing with situations." Charles Walker

NORMAN WHITNEY "The only way to defend democracy is to use democracy." Suggesting that never before has it been so difficult for rank and file citizens to communicate with the responsible heads of government, the former chairman of SPC urged that the real challenge to the peacemaker is to keep open channels of communication between citizen and citizen and citizens and government. Sometimes it takes a dramatic and sacrificial act to open up channels. Of such character is the voyage of the "Golden Rule" and her four crewmen into the Pacific to protest forthcoming Nuclear Tests by the USA. (Read the attached statement of Albert Bigelow, a "compelling human document.")

A NEW VOICE Senator Hubert H. Humphrey gave a little publicized but highly significant speech in the US Senate on February 4th. From it we lift the following:

Two Basic Delusions of U.S. Policy

"There is reason to believe that those who conduct and design foreign policy make two false assumptions regarding the Soviet Union.

"The first is that the United States has such political, military and economic superiority that it can force the U.S.S.R. to accept our terms in any series of negotiations.

"The other assumption is that the internal domestic difficulties of the Soviet regime are so great that all we need to do is continue to apply pressure and the collapse of the system will follow. Both of these assumptions have been stated or implied many times. Recent events have shattered the validity of these assumptions."

MEETINGS The Otsego Peace Council's next meeting will be held on Sunday, March 30th, 1:30 p.m., at the Community Center, 11 Ford Ave., Oneonta. Curtis Moody, National Youth Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will be the speaker.

The Syracuse Peace Council will sponsor a showing of "All Quiet on the Western Front" on Friday, March 14th, at 8:00 p.m. in Grace Church Parish House, Madison Street at University Avenue.

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**WHAT A LITTLE ERROR COULD DO** "American commanders throughout the world are empowered to reply when their units are menaced. One may presume the same is true of Soviet commanders. In this era of cold war, is it not possible for human error to creep in...? We know already of two tense moments when we thought Soviet aerial armadas were on the offensive - once toward the United States, once over Turkey. Both were false alarms."  
-- C. L. Sulzberger, New York Times, Feb. 15th

"A sizeable number of SAC's bombers are always on the alert... and in 15 minutes scores of B-47's and B-52's can be... on their way toward Russia. Such emergency takeoffs actually have been made when radar screens indicated (falsely) large numbers of unidentified planes approaching our bases..."

"Our reaction time [when missiles come into service] will then be still further reduced, and the defense will be confronted with a terrible question. Are those blips on the radar screen moving toward our shores the real thing? Is the enemy attacking - or are the blips as they have been so often in the past, merely electronic 'ghosts,' mysterious phenomena that clutter up the radar screen with false alarms? ... Recall - once the missile is launched - is impossible...."

"Col. Harvey W. Shelton put the problem in sharp perspective in an article in last summer's issue of the Air University Quarterly Review:... 'Imagine a two way intercontinental exchange of ballistic missile forces that was triggered off by one radar which could not tell the difference between a meteorite and an ICBM.'"

-- Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times, Feb. 4th

**SCIENTISTS PETITION** "We the scientists whose names are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now."

"Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations. So long as these weapons are in the hands of only three powers an agreement for their control is feasible. If testing continues, and the possession of these weapons spreads to additional governments, the danger of outbreak of a cataclysmic nuclear war through the reckless action of some irresponsible national leader will be greatly increased."

"An international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs now could serve as the first step toward a more general disarmament and the ultimate effective abolition of nuclear weapons, averting the possibility of a nuclear war that would be a catastrophe to all humanity."

"We have in common with our fellowmen a deep concern for the welfare of all human beings. As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make those dangers known. We deem it imperative that immediate action be taken to effect an international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons."

The above petition was signed by 9,235 scientists from 43 nations (including 2,705 from the United States and 216 from the Soviet Union). 36 are Nobel Prize Winners. It was presented to Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations, on January 13. The text was reproduced here by request.

| WHAT WE SPEND | Fiscal year | Defense Spending  | Disarmament Staffs* |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|
|               | 1956        | \$41,825,000,000  | \$489,190           |
|               | 1957        | 44,414,000,000    | 571,448             |
|               | 1958        | 44,871,000,000    | 425,000             |
|               | 1959        | 45,836,000,000    | ---                 |
|               |             | \$176,946,000,000 | \$1,485,638         |

\*White House (Stassen Disarmament Staff) plus Senate (Humphrey) Subcommittee on Disarmament.  
-- Compiled by Committee for World Development and World Disarmament

**LEVITY MAY HELP** The "clean" new bomb's a tricky thing  
With which to come to terms:  
It's like a dose of arsenic  
That's wholly free from germs.

-- Anonymous from Indiana



IS CHRISTIANITY RELEVANT FOR CHRISTIANS? "The World is suffering among other things from nuclear nerves.

"The disease originated with the creation of the atom and hydrogen bombs. The major victims are the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"Presumably Americans are troubled most about the prospect of making atomic attacks, because Americans are Christians and they have a Commandment between them and the destruction of God's Children - even God's Children living in Russia, or Red China.

"The Russians, not being Christian, are not hampered by the Commandment. Neither, however, do they have its inspirational incentive.

"And the cure for nuclear nerves is essentially a spiritual process.

"It calls for greater courage than man has within himself - courage to throw the bombs away, courage to make them useless - courage to make no more of them..

"There is only one way to prevent atomic war, and that is to throw the bombs away.

"The Russians, lacking the faith and courage only Christians have, can't throw them away first.

"That leaves us, who are the Christians. We have the bombs and the philosophy of Jesus Christ, and they cannot survive side by side..." -- Donald Norberg, editor Monroe County News (Iowa)

THREE TO ONE That's how the New York Herald Tribune headlined a recent story. It referred to the fact that Russian letters to Eisenhower advocating a summit meeting add up, in words, to three times the number in the Eisenhower replies.

Will we or won't we talk with the Russians? Each new day brings forth a new barrage of words explaining either why we will not go to the Summit now, or why we will go. There have been a number of interesting developments in the last two months which might be detailed at some lengths.

First, both governments are less rigid in their positions. They are moving closer together as to the proper protocol to be observed if and when the heads of governments will go to the Summit. There may be a meeting of foreign ministers first.

Secondly, it has been announced that the United States State Department has set up a study and planning group for the specific purpose of preparing for possible Summit Meetings.

Perhaps the real question is, are we, the people, ready for talks? Are we prepared for our representatives to reach solutions which in actual fact may represent compromises - a modus vivendi - between giants who recognize the dangers inherent in the power they possess?

A good guess is that we're going to talk!

-- ABP

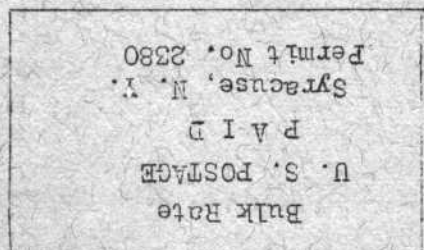
THE GOLDEN RULE ran into heavy seas in the Pacific, and had to return to port for refitting. However, her crew was determined to sail again, to offer their lives as living witness in the far Pacific to the dangers of nuclear tests.

DICK MOSTES, our new New York State Peace Council Field Secretary, is at YOUR service. He is anxious to get out in the field and help you in the tasks of peace education and peacemaking. Will you write him here at 841?

A native of Rochester, Dick has done college work at Ohio Wesleyan and Syracuse. For two years he served I-A-O in the Army as a neuro-psychiatric technician. These experiences strengthened developing convictions.

Evidence of the strength of his convictions when he and his wife demonstrated in Times Square, New York, against the 1957 Civil Defense Tests: They joined the Catholic Worker group in jail for 30 days.

REPRINT The enclosed, stimulating reprint, "Where Government May Not Trespass," was furnished by Promoting Enduring Peace through the courtesy of Dr. Jerome Davis. Additional copies for distribution may be ordered from our office. No cost!



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**AID AND TRADE** Two vitally important bills are pending in Congress. They provide for the continuation of the foreign aid and the reciprocal trade agreement programs. These programs lie at the heart of the U. S. foreign economic policy.

The programs for aid and trade this year have commanded an extraordinary degree of bipartisan political support. At a single set of meetings President Eisenhower and ex-President Truman spoke vigorously in favor of continuing these programs, as did also Secretary of State Dulles and former Secretary Acheson and Adlai Stevenson. The programs have been endorsed widely by business leaders and by leaders of farm and labor organizations.

Despite wide-spread support by national and community leaders, there is serious opposition to the bills in Congress. Opponents of the measures are said to be writing more letters than are supporters.

**ISSUES ON FOREIGN AID** Briefly, the foreign aid program provides \$3.9 billion for aid in this coming year. Of this, \$2.6 billion is for military assistance; and \$1.3 billion is for economic aid to underdeveloped countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. There is fear that the amount provided for economic aid may be drastically cut and that aid for "neutralist" countries, such as India and Indonesia, may be sharply curtailed or eliminated. It is precisely among these countries that there is the greatest danger that some may decide to follow the Communist method of attempting to raise living standards if they cannot get enough help from the Free World.

**ISSUES ON RECIPROCAL TRADE** Since 1934 the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program has been one of the cornerstones of U. S. foreign economic policy. Under this program the United States has reduced some of its tariffs in exchange for similar concessions by foreign countries. Most disinterested studies indicate that the national interest will not be served by abandoning or weakening the program.

While there are some safeguards in the legislation for industries that grew up in the USA behind a tariff wall, a number of industries are pressing for amendments which would make it easier for tariffs to be raised. Presently the President must review any recommendation of the Tariff Commission for an increase to see if such action is in the national interest as contrasted with the narrow interest of a particular industry. Opponents of the program want this review power to be taken away from the President in order to facilitate tariff increases.

**TITLES OF THE BILLS** The foreign aid bill, now before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations may be referred to as the Mutual Security Bill of 1958. The "Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958" is before the Ways and Means Committee of the House.

**WARBURG ON DISARMAMENT** "... it is necessary to begin by recognizing that the so-called disarmament talks, which were carried on last summer at London and now continue sporadically in the United Nations, have not been about disarmament at all. They have been about the limitation and control of armaments -- not about their abolition. It has always been my view that General Douglas MacArthur was entirely right when he said some years ago, 'You cannot control or limit war. You can only abolish it.'

"It seems to me that our government has been proceeding upon the opposite theory; namely, that war cannot be abolished but that it can be made relatively safe. Mr. Henry Kissinger's recent book has popularized the belief that it is perfectly possible to limit nuclear warfare by agreement with the enemy before any conflict starts. I must confess that this hypothesis seems to me worthy of Lewis Carroll. It amounts to saying that we cannot trust the Russians to abide by a disarmament agreement, unless there is foolproof enforcement, but that we can trust them to abide by an unenforced agreement to fight any future war according to Mr. Kissinger's set of Queensberry rules."

-- James P. Warburg

**THE BIBLE & DEFENSE** The Bible is the spiritual mainstay of the defense of America, says Secretary of the Army, Wilber M. Brucker.

The cabinet member states that he is confident that a nation which "practices the principles encompassed in the Bible" will survive, but that a nation which spurns them "will not long endure."

"The Bible points the way to a genuine brotherhood of man... as well as the only way to lasting peace."

Secretary Brucker, a Presbyterian, gave his views as to the "tremendous role" the Bible has played in the life of America in a Lenten meditation written for a Washington newspaper.

We agree with Mr. Brucker. Is it that we do not read the same Bible?



**GOLDEN RULE** The Atomic Energy Commission on April 11th posted "keep out" orders against the little ship, the Golden Rule, and its crew of four which is sailing to protest America's April tests. The order bars all unauthorized Americans from the 390,000 square mile danger zone around the test site, and was designed specifically to apply to this one boat. The Herald-Tribune reports "This country cannot issue rules applicable on the high seas to citizens of other nations." A recent international conference on maritime law raised questions as to the legality of one nation utilizing international waters for nuclear tests.

**WALK FOR PEACE** During the week of April 1, groups walked to the UN from New Haven and Philadelphia, bearing petitions calling for a suspension of nuclear tests. 19 persons walked all the way from Philadelphia and 18 from New Haven, including a 71 year old woman.

On Good Friday, about 200 began the walk from 88th Street in New York City to the UN, a group which swelled to 1,000 by the time it had reached 46th Street, a line which stretched two abreast for four or five blocks. At a public meeting, Don Murray, actor; Masayoshi Kakitsubo, member of the Japanese UN delegation; and a Professor from the University of Calcutta, were the speakers. Communication was established with the "Golden Rule" and its crew of four talked briefly with their wives.

A Saturday morning poster walk through Times Square was staged by 300 persons, with a street meeting on 6th Avenue at Bryant Park. The group was picketed by Hungarian Freedom Fighters from the outset. Here one of the Freedom Fighters was invited to address the Peace Walkers. "It was clear that the goals of the two groups were similar - only the methods differed."  
-- Dick Moses

**WITH OUR FIELD SECRETARY** Our Field Secretary, Dick Moses, has visited in Rochester, Oneonta, Auburn, Geneva, Penn Yan, Utica, Greene, and Syracuse.... He will be involved in a week-long Peace Education Program in Oneonta, April 27 through May 2... On Friday evening, May 2, there will be a meeting on Atoms and Disarmament at the University of Rochester with Dr. William Neuman as speaker... From April 22-24 he and Ray Hartsough of the AFSC will be traveling in the eastern part of the state, endeavoring to make arrangements for this summer's Peace Caravan. Dick Moses will be a member of the Caravan in June and July.

**RUSSIAN ROULETTE** Dr. William Higinbotham, physicist at Brookhaven National Laboratory, and one of those who worked on the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos, spoke in Syracuse on April 14 under the joint auspices of the Syracuse Peace Council and the Jewish Community Center. He said, in part:

"... The atomic arms race is itself a major cause of fear and distrust between nations... The basic facts of today's world are that nuclear weapons can cause the complete destruction of our civilization today; that nuclear weapons will be used in a major war; that we must find non-military means of solving international disputes or perish." 50 to 100 of the new bombs, 1,000 times more powerful than those dropped on Hiroshima, dropped on the United States, "would kill between 15 and 30 million people outright... would kill a large fraction of our domestic animals, would make it necessary to evacuate large areas of our country, and would destroy our economy to the extent that those who were not killed would have difficulty in surviving for the first year. America would no longer be a power and the fabric of our society would be damaged beyond recognition. This is the type of destruction Russia and the United States now possess... And we are both engaged in developing long range missiles so that future heads of state may sit at their control panels and play Russian Roulette with all mankind..."

"Since 1946 America and Russia and other nations have been discussing disarmament without reaching any agreement. The time has come to act or stop pretending... Two weeks ago the Russians made a dramatic move to break the impasse. They proposed unilaterally to stop their atomic weapons tests and called on us to join them. I don't know why they did it, whether it was because one of their tests miscarried, because they thought it was good propaganda, or because they really want to stop the arms race, which is conceivable. But I do know that it is a step which many of us have urged upon our own government. You'd think we were in a better position to do it since we have had at least twice as many tests as they have, and I think it is uncivilized and reckless to designate such a move as a gimmick before there is any evidence that it is not sincere."

A tone of Dr. Higinbotham's address may be borrowed from the Peace Council office.

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**IS DEFENSE POSSIBLE?** In its lead editorial, April 26th, the Des Moines Tribune commented on the new forms of protest that are taking place in the U.S. on the nuclear testing issue:

"... They (the pacifists) have begun to use new and dramatic devices to attract attention: sending volunteers into nuclear test areas, starting court suits, and -- for once in this unathletic age -- walking. Coxe's army of the 1890's, Wat Tyler's peasant rebels in the 1380's, and the Children's Crusade of 1212 walked because they had to -- and rode whenever they got the chance. But the H-Bomb crusaders of 1958 walk out of choice, as a symbol of their deep feeling (allowing weaker crusaders to ride most of the way and join the marchers near the end of the route).

"If it comes to H-bomb warfare, we may soon all be walking -- those who survive.

"The ideas of these pacifist crusaders still seem somewhat naive and unworkable to the rest of us. But unorthodox ideas about defense in this anarchic world no longer seem realistic, either. With H-bombs and long-range delivery systems, there's a real question whether defense is possible at all."

**NOT ONLY IN AMERICA** But in Germany, France, and Great Britain there is widespread protest at nuclear weapons. About 50,000 persons, about 1/10th the population of Bremen, Germany, demonstrated against Chancellor Adenauer's plans to equip the West German Army with Atomic Weapons on May 13th. In mid-April, some 120,000 persons demonstrated for the same purpose. (Herald-Tribune, May 14th.) The Gallup Poll shows that 83% of the entire German population are against atomic weapons for the West German Army. (Peace News, April 4.)

In Paris, some 5,000 persons gathered the last week in April to hear Pastor Niemoeller say, "The traditional hostility between our two countries has lost its force and meaning in the situation created by the existence of nuclear weapons." He was speaking at a meeting organized to protest the establishment of rocket bases on French soil and to protest nuclear weapons (Peace News, May 2). In mid-April, some seventy French men, women and children climbed over barriers to stage a non-violent demonstration inside the French Atomic plant at Marcoule. (Peace News, April 18th.)

During Holy Week, more than 1000 persons marched from London to Aldermaston, a nuclear bomb plant, part of a continuing and widespread movement to give effective expression to disapproval of their manufacture and testing. Over 10,000 persons are expected to lobby their MP's in favour of nuclear disarmament on Tuesday, May 20th. (Peace News, May 2).

**PROTEST BEING CARRIED TO RUSSIA** Five Americans, representing Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, have been in England, France, West Germany, and plan to enter the Soviet Union to talk with governmental officials and people there, urging "unconditional moral action" to end the nuclear arms race. (Peace News, April 25th)

**ON THE HOME FRONT** Nine persons were arrested in New York City on May 6th for refusing to take cover during the nationwide mock air raid drill. They were sentenced to 30 days in jail and given suspended sentences with the magistrate admonishing them to obey the law in the future. Three had been convicted in each of the last three years. Robert Gilmore, one of the group, told the magistrate that the group was opposed to air raid drills "because they are a method of preparation for war" and said "there is no defense against nuclear weapons except a cessation of war." (Times, May 7)

In Rochester five young people similarly refused to take cover during the alert although no one asked the group to leave the square or interfered with its pamphlet distribution. Not only did some groups deliberately choose not to take cover, but press and radio report that innumerable citizens throughout the nation did not allow the alert to interfere with their shopping or other business.

**HUNGER STRIKE** A group of demonstrators has been camped in the lobby of the Atomic Energy Commission headquarters in Germantown, Maryland, for a week. Five of the original ten who arrived there on May 7th are still there, and have taken no nourishment other than water since. Five more arrived on May 8th, and three more arrived on May 13th. The group has attempted to have a meeting, as a group, with Lewis L. Strauss who has requested that the foes of nuclear testing make themselves known. (Herald Tribune, May 14.)

**WALK ON WASHINGTON** The Walk for Peace Committee plans a walk to Washington beginning on May 24th with groups leaving from Wilmington, Delaware; Carlisle, Penna., and some city in Virginia. Cars will leave from Texas, California, and other points beyond convenient walking distance of Washington (one week).

**GOLDEN RULE** The Golden Rule, the 30 foot ketch manned by three Quakers and a Methodist, reached Honolulu, but has been prevented by Federal Court from proceeding to the nuclear testing area in the Pacific. Meanwhile the United States government is engaged in new testing of nuclear devices, with the British having just completed a series.

**SHOULD THE UNITED STATES GIVE AWAY H-BOMBS?** The President has requested authority to give away nuclear weapons information and materials to other nations. S.3474 and H. R. 11426, companion bills in the Senate and House of Repre-



sentatives would permit the U.S. to give away nuclear weapons to more than 40 nations with which we now have mutual security pacts. Secretary Dulles urges that this legislation is necessary to avoid the expense of duplicate developments in other nations, to prevent a move toward non-participation in the cold war, and to strengthen the NATO shield. Dulles said that this would help achieve disarmament.

Charles Price, past chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, in his testimony, said the proposal contradicts the U.S. disarmament position proposed on Aug. 29, 1957; it contradicts the policy of reaching an international agreement in time to prevent 4th, 5th, and 6th countries from coming into possession of these weapons; it increases the likelihood of accidents and irresponsible or irrational action which could set off a full-scale nuclear war; it will increase tension with the Soviet Union, make disengagement of forces in Europe much more difficult, and greatly injure the U.S. position abroad, especially in neutral lands. (Washington Newsletter, FCNL, May 1958.)

PARLS OF WISDOM "If the politicians who have been trained in outmoded ways of thought have lost the elasticity that the new world demands, the men and women throughout the world who think that a living future is preferable to a dead world of rocks and deserts will have to rise and demand, in tones so loud that they cannot be ignored, that common sense, humanity and the dictates of the ... moral law... should guide our troubled era into that happiness which only its own folly is preventing." Bertrand Russell

CREDIT WORTHY DUE Vice-President and Mrs. Nixon's Latin-American Good Will Tour has been met with a series of unfortunate expressions of hostility to him as a representative of an unpopular America. In Venezuela, the Herald-Tribune (May 14) reports the following incidents took place:

"... From all sides Mr. and Mrs. Nixon were pelted with bits of garbage and wood and rubber 'Bronx Cheer' whistles. The Vice-President's face was frozen in a friendly smile, and when a whistle hit him squarely on the right cheek, he reached over, picked it up and all but offered it back to the thrower.

"Mrs. Nixon, as calm as her husband, reached through the line of soldiers to shake the hand of a screaming teen-aged girl. Startled, the girl's facial expression changed from savage hate to blank surprise. She accepted Mrs. Nixon's hand and then buried her head in shame."

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE MOB ACTION? It is commonly assumed that the anti-American riots in South America during the Nixon trip are a result of Communist agitation. Is this simple explanation adequate? Robert R. Brunn, writing from San Juan, Puerto Rico (Christian Science Monitor, May 12), has specific reference to the hostility expressed in Peru. Puerto Ricans, he says, believe "The Nixon... adventure should be viewed with these four factors in mind...:

"1. Latin Americans cannot understand why it is necessary for the United States not only to recognize but actively support the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic and that of Batista in Cuba. Both are bitterly resented as dictatorships. Governor Munoz [of Puerto Rico] recently told the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 'When you give equal consideration to dictators and tyrants as to proven democrats you cannot help but discourage democracy.'

"2. Because the United States is so preeminent in this hemisphere it is a natural target for Latin disenchantment and a sitting duck for criticism of every kind.

"3. United States tariff policy is resented as punishing its neighbors.

"4. Many people down South find it impossible to understand the division between the Washington administration and Congress. When congressmen say or do something anti-Latin American it is considered to be American policy."

SEARCH YOUTH IN 19 High School young people met April 25 and 26 in a seminar in Syracuse sponsored by AFSC, SFC, and the Friends Meeting. Interviews with 8 community leaders and talks by Byron Fox on American Foreign Policy, and John Trischka on "Science and World Peace" sparked discussion which continued until the wee, wee hours. The enthusiastic group wants to continue exploring ideas and methods for creating a better world.

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**SOMBER FACTS** At a recent luncheon in Syracuse, Barbara Ward, English commentator on foreign affairs, stated that if the western world expects to continue to control 70% of the earth's wealth and resources with only 16% of the population, we are in for disillusionment. She urged that the Communists are getting roots down on the world scene. "Whoever heard of a Communist isolationist? They know what they want while we wonder if we can afford to spend a certain sum for defense or for economic aid."

**SOUTH AFRICA** 50 Africans, 15 Europeans, 13 Indians, and 5 Coloureds after more than a year away from jobs and families, are to be brought before a special court on charges of "hampering or hindering" certain laws passed by the government to insure white supremacy.

Among those who face a possible death sentence if found guilty is Z. K. Matthews, who was Visiting Professor of World Christianity at Union Theological Seminary in New York, 1952-53. "It is difficult," writes Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike, "to believe that death can be passed upon a man because of his belief in the equality of men. This is precisely what can happen in the coming trial."

**PERSPECTIVE ON ALGIERS** "In perspective the French crisis may be illuminated if seen as one episode in the broader world crisis of integration which affects our own South, South Africa, and North Africa, all the lands in which the dominant whites have exploited submerged colored peoples. For months the Algerian struggle has corrupted French liberty; its best papers have been seized by the police; its noblest spirits have protested in vain. France demonstrates that where whites insist on denying their rights to the colored peoples the effect is to destroy their own liberties..... The colon of Algeria and the planter of Georgia play similar roles in a similar drama, a drama which will develop new intensity here when colored children, thanks to the latest Supreme Court ruling, knock next Fall on Virginia's school doors and that State must either knuckle under or implement massive resistance....

"In France, as elsewhere, the price of white supremacy turns out to be the liberty of whites and blacks." -- I. F. Stone

**A TALE OF TWO WORLDS** is the title of an article by Maurice J. Goldbloom in the June issue of Progressive. From it we lift the following sentences:

"On November 1, 1956, Soviet tanks surrounded Budapest; a few days later they thundered through its streets, drowning the Hungarian revolution in blood. Western spokesmen ascended the U.N. rostrum one after another to hurl anathemas at Soviet cruelty and perfidy, and to denounce the use of armed force to deny a people its right to freedom and self-government. None surpassed France's representatives in vehemence.

"On that same day, November 1, 1956, the Algerian revolution was two years old. It did not go unmentioned in the United Nations; the Russians saw to that. And it shared with Suez responsibility for the failure of many Asians and Africans to feel the same horror as we did at the Hungarian events. This led to the refusal of several Asian and African nations to join in the repeated resolutions condemning Russia and demanding her withdrawal from Hungary .....

".... the number of Algerians killed by the French is twenty times the number of Hungarians killed by the Russians, and French military losses are four to six times Russia's probable losses in Hungary." (Algeria and Hungary are nearly equal in population. In Algeria there are nearly 10 million Moslems, and around 1 million "Europeans", the latter, of course, dominant.)

"Imprisonment without trial is an essential part of the Communist system of government; it is just as important an aspect of French rule in Algeria... Soviet troops in Budapest shelled buildings from which shots had been fired, or where revolutionaries might be hiding. But no town in Hungary was subjected to aerial attack or indiscriminate artillery bombardment. The total destruction of villages has become a normal mode of warfare for the French... (Some 200,000 refugees fled Hungary; at one point there were that many Algerian fugitives in little Tunisia alone, and an almost equal number in Morocco). Even there, however, they are not safe; the Sakiet bombing of refugee camps and Red Cross and Red Crescent relief trucks was only the worst of a number of French violations of Tunisian territory. (Austria feared that the Russians would commit similar outrages during the Hungarian revolution; with the exception of a few very minor incidents, they did not.)

"The torture of prisoners in Hungary and other Communist countries is well known. Torture has long since become standard operating procedure in Algeria, publicly denied and privately defended by responsible French officials... The Geneva Conventions, to which France is a party, specifically provide that in civil wars and revolutions persons not actively engaged in fighting... shall be treated humanely... There is not one item in the Geneva Conventions which the French authorities in Algeria have not systematically violated .....



"The Russians claimed that their intervention in Hungary was help to an allied nation which had requested it. With equal accuracy, the French claim that Algeria is an integral part of metropolitan France, and its inhabitants French citizens. The Arab majority were not even nominal citizens prior to 1945. Since then they have been citizens in name but not in fact, because of discrimination in applying the laws... and to administrative and electoral systems rigged to deny them any effective part in their own government....

"Those who make it possible for France to continue to crucify Algeria cannot wash their hands of the consequences. The weapons France uses in Algeria, the money and diplomatic support she depends on to continue the war, come from the United States. Can we escape responsibility for what she does with our help? Is it enough that we protest repeatedly - as we have done - against French violation of specific agreements banning the use in Algeria of the arms we send her, and then send her more arms to misuse in the same way?.....

"Americans have been ready enough to condemn the hypocrisy of Asians and Africans who fail to condemn Soviet imperialism as vigorously as they do that of the West. But why is it worse for India to abstain from condemning Russian crimes in Hungary than for the United States to abet France in Algeria? For individuals and nations alike, there can be only one standard; evil is not a matter of geography, and murder and torture remain murder and torture even when the victims are Arabs and Moslems and the perpetrators are our allies."

FROM JAPAN A fifteen year old school girl writes the following:

"The only people to know the true horror of the Atomic bomb are the Japanese. We have experienced it through Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Fukuryu Maru [The Fishing Boat]. In Hiroshima over 370,000 people were affected. And there are still many, many more suffering. In Nagasaki it is the same.... Being the first to experience this atomic bomb, we do not want our horrible experience to go to waste, we want to tell the whole world never to repeat this again. We are convinced that we are the only people who are able to shout this out. The victims of the atomic rays have too big a suffering to protest or to rage. We must shout for them. We must make the atomic bomb droppers listen." (Emphasis supplied, ed.)

"EXPLOSIVE" STATISTICS "The world's present population is in excess of 2.7 billion (a century ago it was less than half that). At the present rate of growth, it will be 6 billion by the end of the century and 13 billion by 2050. (At current rates, population doubles every forty years.)

"The poorer and less developed areas are growing faster than the others. Eastern Asians, for example, are multiplying three times faster than the people of northern Europe. The rate of population increase is 3.1% for Central America, 2.6% for southeast Asia, and 2.1% for northern Africa.

"The population of the United States, now at 173 million, is increasing at almost 1.8% annually (a slightly faster rate of growth than the world average - 1.7%). By 1975 the U. S. population is expected to be 217 million and by the end of the century probably 282 million. With about 6% of the world population, the United States is already consuming some 50% of the world's raw materials." (Emphasis added, ed.)

-- Robert Sheehan, Fortune, April, 1958

SCHWEITZER'S SECOND STATEMENT On April 28, 29, and 30, the Oslo Norway radio broadcast three sections of a second statement by Dr. Albert Schweitzer on nuclear testing. A few excerpts:

"We are constantly being told about 'a permissible amount of radiation.' Who permitted it? Who has any right to permit it?....

"The necessity for a round-the-clock alert against attack carries with it the extreme danger of an error in interpreting what appears on a radar screen, when immediate action is imperative, resulting in the outbreak of an atomic war..."

The entire statement may be obtained from NYSPC, 5¢ per copy plus 3¢ postage, payable in stamps if you wish.

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**OIL, LAND and POLITICS in the MIDDLE EAST** was the subject of an address by Dr. George Cressey at Syracuse University on the day on which 5,000 American Marines landed in Lebanon. Dr. Cressey is Professor of Geography at Syracuse. He returned from Lebanon only two months ago. Two years ago he was in Baghdad. Thus he has spent the two out of the past three years in the area where tensions are now so very great.

The area, embracing Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Iran and Saudi Arabia contains about 1 million square miles of mountains, 1 million square miles of desert, and only 125,000 square miles of agricultural lands. However, the area contains at least two-thirds if not three-fourths of the world's known oil reserves, and produces about one-third of the world's oil each day.

Oil is transforming at least part of the area. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq are the chief oil producing area. (There is no significant oil production or reserves in Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, or Israel.) The first group of nations is fabulously rich. The second group may be jealous of wealthy neighbors. In Iran and Iraq, the oil royalties go to development agencies which are engaged in projects designed to lift the living standards of the people.

This part of the world has been a zone of contest over the centuries. Before World War I, the area was a part of Turkey, British and French policy was to secure Arab support against Turkey, promising in return Arab independency and unity. Following World War I, Great Britain and France changed their policy, creating a series of mandated territories tied to themselves. All boundaries in the area are artificial and with no historical validity. Europe was in full control between the wars. Following World War II to the present, vestiges of imperialism have remained, as for example, the 1,000 British Air Force personnel in Iraq.

The area is undergoing revolutions of two kinds, said Dr. Cressey. The first is the 1776, American type, which is simply the desire to be independent and free of foreign domination, politically, economically, etc. The second is the 1789 French type, which is an attempt to change one's form of government from within. It is a desire for better government, and throughout the Arab world is expressed in seeking some alternative to monarchies. There are several alternatives: a) Communism, which is probably not the solution, and there are not many Communists in the area; b) Dictatorship -- it is traditional in this area to have a strong man who can solve all problems; c) Theocracy -- the Moslem Brotherhood would like to see politics based on the Koran; d) Democracy. The latter, which we in the West theoretically favor, requires responsible citizens and an able and intelligent civil service. These conditions are not met in the Middle East.

Dr. Cressey expressed his concern that the United States not get in a position where its friends in the Arab world will misinterpret its activities and its ideals. The United States, the speaker said, should recognize that it is essential for the nations of the Middle East to unite. Nasser has become the idol of the Arab world, with overwhelming popular support as a symbol of what the Arab people want -- unity and self-determination.

U. S. policy in the area has been characterized to date by two main considerations, said Dr. Cressey: pro-Zionism and anti-Communism. If the first has driven us to be anti-Arab, then this is bad. The second consideration has led to the Baghdad pact and the Eisenhower doctrine. We need to ask, did the people there ask for them or were they foisted on the people? Most people in that part of the world see no merit in either the pact or the doctrine!

The Eisenhower doctrine was bought only by Lebanon under pressure. The problem in Lebanon is how the country can be more pro-Arab and less pro-American. The present government, said Dr. Cressey, is being punished for being too pro-American.

In the long run, Dr. Cressey urged that American policy will succeed only if it appeals to the people in the area. Successful policy cannot be one that pleases us and looks all right to us.

**TO THE BRINK AGAIN?** It appears to the editor that the latest move of the U. S. government in sending Marines to Lebanon may be another in a long series of calculated risks taken in the name of the whole country by those responsible for the conduct of American policy. Only time will tell how the Middle Eastern world will interpret this move. If it should be regarded widely as an effort to bolster a sagging regime (with but weeks to live as the constitution of Lebanon requires an election with no second term for Chamoun), it may well drive the Arab people further from their western orientation and further solidify the aspirations of the people around Nasser. It may also cause these peoples to look to Moscow for help in achieving their aspirations. Brinkmanship may backfire!

**NASSER IS SYMBOL** Clayton Knowles, writing in the New York Times for July 15th, has sought to assess the position of Gamal Abdel Nasser, whose views have been made clear in his book, The Philosophy of the Revolution (Copies may be ordered through the Peace Council office). Knowles writes:

"The Arab world has no greater hero. President Nasser is the embodiment of a rising nationalism that is rooted in physical environment, a common language and religion, race-consciousness and like folkways and culture.



"Many maintain that, Nasser or no Nasser, this nationalism would run strong and be anti-Western in orientation. The weakness of political parties and political traditions, they say, makes 'strong man' government easy. But they noted that 'policy and human failures of the West' had given Egypt's ... leader even greater advantage."

**TIM FOR AN ACONIZING REAPPRAISAL** In the light of the anti-American feeling in many parts of the world, it behooves those of us who love our nation to pause, step back, and take an honest look at ourselves. Is Communist propaganda responsible for all of the adverse feeling expressed against the U. S., or are we really failing to live up to the ideals and traditions which have inspired so many of the world's struggling people? There is no simple answer to this question, but perhaps we can gain some insight into the problem by looking at some of the searching questions which are being put to America and Americans by people in all parts of the world.

"We agree with your condemnation of Russian colonialism and exploitation, but why do you not speak out against the colonialism and exploitation of your allies?"

"What right do you have to rope off a large section of the ocean in order to explode bombs which are contaminating OUR land, water, and air?"

"If you believe in the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of God, as you say, why is your criterion for the help you give other nations the threat of Communism rather than the threat of continuing starvation, ignorance, and human misery?"

"If your nation is sincere in wanting disarmament, why are you considering giving equipment and information to your 47 military allies which would assist them in producing nuclear weapons?"

"Why have you refused to be re-elected to the UN Commission on Commodity Trade if you really wish to help solve the economic problems faced by other nations in your hemisphere and around the world?"

"How can you say that you are opposed to the ruthless tactics of totalitarian dictatorships when you are giving such men your economic and military support on every continent?"

-- Scrapbook of AFSC, June 1958

**THE FOURTH NATION PROBLEM** Thus far the Nuclear Club has been exclusive. Only three powers have tested atom and hydrogen bombs, namely, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. President Eisenhower, in his Atoms for Peace speech, said, "The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military build-up can be reversed, this greatest of destructive forces can be developed into a great boon for the benefit of all mankind." It has been assumed that control of nuclear weapons testing and production is easier when the number of powers possessing the weapons is few. Reports the Christian Science Monitor (July 5), "The United States now is striving -- in the nuclear field -- to accommodate France's bid for 'big-power status.'" It has been reported that France is preparing to test an atomic weapon in the Sahara in the foreseeable future. Other nations plan to adopt nuclear weapons, perhaps of a tactical nature. Switzerland has been frequently mentioned in this regard in recent weeks.

**OUR FIELD SECRETARY** Richard Moses will be winding up his assignment with the Peace Council at the end of August. This most significant experiment in our State has resulted in a number of new ventures, indicating that there is a great field to be cultivated. During the months of July and August, Dick and his wife, Joan, are spending nearly all of their time in summer camp programs of several denominations, challenging Junior High and Senior High youth to take a closer look at the future, and their attitude towards the issues of war and peace, of death and of life. We appreciate what Dick and Joan have done. The committee supervising the project are at somewhat of a loss as to the future. There can be no more Field Secretaries without financial support from readers of Peace News Letter. Ten dollars from each recipient over and above present contributions would make possible a renewal of the project. The Moses' plans for the fall cannot be announced at this time.

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**PERSONAL** This issue of Peace-News-Letter is being written on the shores of Owasco Lake. From this place of beauty and nature's peace - with the birds singing and the water gently lapping the shore, momentous events which threaten all of us seem most remote. But, as Muriel Lester recently put it, "deep grief keeps breaking in."

It does not break in with forcefulness for all of us here at the Methodist Youth Camp. But try as we may, we can not escape completely from the realities of our world. Senichi Kesen, a Japanese national, has pricked the consciences of some when he talks on "The Christian and the Atom." Thirteen years ago the USA launched the nuclear age -- an explosion on a desert and two over Japan. Sanichi confirms what many have already learned, that Japan was effectively crippled and in quest of a negotiated settlement before Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The boys and girls have asked that we have another sacrificial meal. The counseling staff had not been enthusiastic because it was not convinced that this exercise would mean much to boys and girls for whom suffering is remote. The boys and girls discussed the sacrificial meal and insisted that it be held and that additional opportunities be given for freewill offerings. The meal means \$56.40 from 141 persons for relief. The boys and girls taught their elders that "deep grief keeps breaking in."

**U. N.** As I write, the General Assembly has begun its special session on the Middle East. It is a forum in which the USA probably will be unable to secure the necessary two-thirds vote to carry its own proposals unless they reflect the desires and interests of the peoples of the Middle East in contrast to the interests of the USA. The summit meeting is out of the picture for the present, the reasons for the change of locale of the meeting on the Middle East being obscured by the statements issued from the chancelleries of the world. Each nation seeks to justify its own actions in forestalling a meeting where compromise might be necessary.

**KHRUSHCHEV VISIT AN OPPORTUNITY?** William Stringer, chief of the Washington Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor (July 25), threw additional light on the problems of holding a summit meeting. He suggests that a visit by Khrushchev to the USA is an opportunity. "The question is whether the administration - whether Secretary of State John Foster Dulles - has the imagination to seize this opportunity." Mr. Khrushchev, widely traveled in Eastern Europe and Asia, has seen very little of the Western nations. He has been angling for an invitation to visit the USA.

"To really see the United States, Mr. Khrushchev ought to glimpse an automobile assembly line at Detroit, a great vacation area like Jones Beach, a suburban community development - and the rich, peaceful farmlands of the Middle West."

Mr. Khrushchev is known to be inquisitive and curious about the realities of today's world. He is, says Stringer, "a pragmatic Marxist, which means that he will bend or disregard Communist dogma when it stands in the way of getting something necessary accomplished." Some American diplomats believe that an exposure to American life would have far-reaching effects on future Soviet policy. Stringer asks:

"Could Secretary Dulles, who quite evidently regards Mr. Khrushchev as a pariah - who should receive the least sort of American recognition until he mends his ways, bring himself to make this tough-minded Soviet official's visit meaningful?"

As of this writing, no such visit is in the offing. But when it was a possibility a couple of weeks ago, Mr. Khrushchev's invitation was to the United Nations only, and not to the United States.

**FR WHO IS SINFUL?** When it seemed as though the summit meeting was unavoidable, President Eisenhower announced that he would initiate his part in the discussions by detailing Soviet sins from the late 1940's to date. The acts of aggression and the acts of "indirect aggression" would all be catalogued.

Walter Lippmann (N.Y. Herald Tribune, Aug. 5) performed a helpful service by reminding us that

"indirect aggression - that is to say, propaganda, infiltration, bribery, subversion - is an old instrument of power politics, and in our time it is the way the cold war is fought. Both sides use it when they <sup>think</sup> <sup>they</sup> can do so to their own advantage. It would impair, not enhance, the President's moral credit if he were to become blindly self-righteous, and were to tell a knowing and skeptical world that we do not resort to what he calls indirect aggression and that only our adversaries do."

Lippmann points out that Panama, also on the Security Council, is "a living reminder of how the United States obtained the Canal Zone." In Guatemala there was in the not distant past a coup to oust an anti-American, fellow traveling government. This coup was publicly applauded by the President. There is Iran where Mossadogh was pushed out much to the relief of certain Western interests. Finally, "over the whole of the President's denunciation of external interference against existing governments will hang the Dulles theory of the liberation of Eastern Europe, and the obvious fact that if we knew a way to overturn the existing governments without the enormous risks of war, we should be only too happy to use that way." Lippmann's catalogue of American sins is sufficient to make clear that an ancient injunction is applicable: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."



MIDDLE EAST ISSUES In an earlier column (July 29), Walter Lippmann suggests that "the paramount issue in the Middle East is not oil, which the Arabs must sell to the West. It is not Israel, which is on the sidelines in the present crisis. It is not the revolutionary force of Nasserism. The Paramount issue is Russia's determination not to have United States military power stationed on her southern flank." (Emphasis supplied.)

A comparable situation to that of American forces in Turkey and Lebanon would be Russian troops in Mexico. Equivalent to NATO and the Baghdad Pact would be an anti-American Soviet military alliance with Mexico, Cuba, and Central America.

Three alternatives present themselves: 1) Restore the Middle East as a sphere of Western influence, i. e., Britain, France, and the USA; 2) let the Middle East become a Russian sphere of influence; 3) disengage and permit the Middle East to be neutralized as between the great military alliances of East and West.

SIDELIGHTS WHICH MAY HIGHLIGHT A CRISIS James P. Warburg is one among many who has been persistent in asserting that American diplomatic efforts have sought to preserve the status quo in a world where change is inevitable. "Our refusal to recognize change keeps us perpetually at the verge of war, alienates the uncommitted peoples, divides us from our allies, and cements the Moscow-Peking axis."

The USA was shocked by the Iraq revolt, but much to the consternation of King Hussein of Jordan, recognized the new government. The Iraq army has been the recipient of \$45,000,000 in American military aid. Five Jets were delivered there just a few days before the revolt.

US troops were dispatched to Lebanon without debate or notice in America. President Eisenhower in his Middle East message, January 5, 1957, told Congress, "If... a situation arose which called for military application of the policy (The Eisenhower Doctrine) which I ask Congress to join me in proclaiming, I would of course maintain hour-by-hour contact with the Congress. And if the Congress were not in session... I would, of course, at once call the Congress into special session."

When Congressman Henry S. Reuss, of Wisconsin, tried to raise his voice on July 15, challenging armed intervention in Lebanon "without consulting Congress" and urging that it risked "...the moral revulsion of a great part of the uncommitted world" as well as World War III, he was chided at length by Speaker Sam Rayburn. Among other things Mr. Rayburn said was this: "... In times like these we had better allow matters to develop rather than make remarks about them."

RADIOACTIVITY HAS EFFECTS After more than two years of preparation, the 228 page report of the 15 member UN Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation has been released. There is agreement by members of the Committee that "even a slow rise in the environmental radioactivity in the world, whether from weapons tests or other sources, might eventually cause appreciable damage to large populations before it could be definitely identified as due to irradiation." The scientists agree that current efforts to evaluate the effects of radiation to which man is exposed can provide only estimates with wide margins of uncertainty.

There was an unwillingness to call for an immediate ban on nuclear tests as requested by Soviet members of the Committee. The Committee recognized that "considerations involving effective control of all these sources of radiation (tests, industrial, medical, and other uses) involve national and international decisions which lie outside the scope of its work." In other words, the technical experts throw responsibility for wise decisions back into the political arena.

AGREEMENT ON METHODS TO MONITOR TESTS Some months ago, the Atomic Energy Commission was telling us that it is difficult to detect nuclear explosions and that those occurring under the ground are impossible to detect at a distance. Political decisions were influenced by the opinions of leading members and employees of the AEC.

By August 1st, scientists from both East and West, meeting in Geneva, agreed on seven methods for detecting nuclear tests through the use of different types of sensitive recording apparatus. The telltale signs are 1) sound waves, 2) earth tremors, 3) magnetic fields, 4) radioactive fall-out, 5) gamma rays and neutrons, 6) radio waves, and 7) light waves.

The last three may be detected by radiotelescopes and photo-electric cells reporting from satellites in space to ground stations. The ground stations would be equipped with seismographs, fall-out collectors, etc.

A very real political problem exists with respect to locating ground stations. Effective detection would require, in all probability, stations inside mainland China. Cooperation of the Peking government may be impossible without full international recognition of it. The US State Department recently issued a statement to justify its continued non-recognition of that regime.

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**SUCCESSFUL ROUND - UP** The annual Fall Round-Up jointly sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the NYSPC was the most successful in the last several years. More than 70 persons registered for the sessions from such widely scattered points as Watertown, Buffalo, Elmira, and Troy. Students were present from Oneonta State Teachers College, Alfred, Cornell, Colgate, Harvard Divinity, St. Lawrence, and Syracuse.

**THE VOYAGE OF THE GOLDEN RULE** George Willoughby, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, and one of the crew members of the Golden Rule, gave the history of the voyage in three parts:

I. We Sailed

II. We Sailed Again

III. We were Jailed.

Leaving San Pedro in February, the little boat sailed into one of the most violent storms ever known in the Pacific. It was forced to turn back for repairs and refitting, but sailed again for Hawaii and hopefully for the Pacific bomb testing area.

Early in January the crew had written President Eisenhower and others asking for a suspension of tests and advising as to what they proposed to do. Having no reply, they wrote a second time. Again receiving no reply, they sailed.

In April, prior to reaching Hawaii, the government responded. The Atomic Energy Commission issued a regulation making it illegal for American citizens to enter the 400,000 mile Pacific testing area. The ban did not apply to other than American citizens and was obviously aimed at the Golden Rule. The legal basis for the decree seems to be 1) the Atomic Energy Commission Law which permits action against those interfering with the AEC and 2), the traditional jurisdiction of the United States over the activities of its citizens on the High Seas.

Honolulu was the scene of encounter with the government. Through a series of maneuvers, the government obtained an injunction against the crew which the crew violated openly, and which resulted in its arrest and imprisonment. Of this experience, Willoughby said, "Jail is jail wherever it is, but it is a wonderful experience. I hope many more Americans have that kind of experience" based, of course, on grounds of conscience.

The dramatic protest was made to "arouse the conscience of the American people" and to alert the rest of the world to the fact that some Americans are uneasy about American policy. In appraising the trip Willoughby said, "What we did had to be done whether it was successful or not."

No project of American pacifists has aroused more public interest and discussion than this. As a result, one American family, accompanied by a young Japanese from Hiroshima, sailed their yacht 65 miles into the testing area. Prof. Reynolds has been arrested and is undertaking a lengthy court action to sustain the freedom of the seas. Willoughby asks, "What would we think if the Russians cordoned off large areas of the seas to conduct their tests?"

Two comments on the trip are of interest. A Life reporter said, "These men are competent, they are tough, and they have moral fiber." A little child who, with her parents, visited the crew in jail, asked, "Why don't they put the men who drop the bombs in jail?"

So far no mass movement of protest against war preparations has resulted but, said Willoughby, if a real protest movement develops it will be because of ordinary people. He pointed out that the government is now developing Intercontinental Missile bases in California, Wyoming, and Maine.

**HARROP FREEMAN** "Building a Public Opinion favorable to Disarmament" was the topic of Harrop Freeman, Professor of Law at Cornell. The first point made by Prof. Freeman was that there is no public debate over American Foreign Policy. Under the concept of "bipartisanship," all debate of public issues stops at the water's edge. This leads to sterility in action and the lack of creativity in approaching the grave problems of the day.

Prof. Freeman's second point was that those who are involved in the peace movement very often capitalize on an issue long after it has ceased to be a valid point around which to orient a peace education program. Prof. Freeman feels that our preoccupation with the bomb tests to the exclusion of other and more basic considerations is a case in point since, in his view, the great powers have really decided that the tests must come to an end.



His third point is that the peace movement simply does not engage in sufficient creative thinking as to problems before us, and that it is not imaginative in finding ways of getting its message to the unconvinced and the uninitiated. Recently the Federal Communications Commission issued an order that all political parties, even the Communist Party, must be granted equal free time on the Radio and Television stations to proclaim their messages. Perhaps, said Prof. Freeman, we ought to organize a Peace Party for the sole purpose of getting a chance to proclaim our ideas through this medium to larger audiences than we now reach. Prof. Freeman questions the wisdom of our continuing program patterns simply because they have been successful in the past, and challenges us to find new and creative ways of reaching new people.

**FILMS AND TAPES** There continue to be many audio-visual aids which are of real value in reaching people with new and more creative ideas. Useful in church and community groups are two aids used during the Round-Up. A half-hour documentary, "Gandhi," was prepared and used on a commercial half-hour TV program last year. The film is available free of charge from the Prudential Insurance Company.

There is a series of five, five minute interviews on tape with Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, interviewed by Radio Commentator Ed Randell, in which King-Hall comments upon the ideas he has elaborated in his book, "Defence in the Nuclear Age." King-Hall challenges contemporary defense thinking with his notion that, since one cannot blow an idea up with bombs, it is essential for all nations in the West to discover a more effective way of defending their way of life than one which promises only to result in mass destruction and deaths if used. Therefore, he advocates unilateral disarmament for Great Britain and the adoption of a system of non-violent resistance by which it might well be possible for a "conquered" people to win the Battle of Ideas. This tape may be obtained by writing Lena Grey, 841 University Building, Syracuse 2.

**'RUSSIANS CAPTURING YOUTH'** A frightening picture of the threat of Communism and the reason for its growth was advanced to New York Methodist Conference laymen at their annual retreat by Emery M. Nelson, executive secretary of the International YMCA.

His travels to 33 countries on behalf of the YMCA have convinced him, he said, that the world is "terribly afraid of America," not only because the U. S. is rich and other countries are poor but also because American soldiers have bombs ready to drop anywhere in the world.

Claiming that military strength is the weakest of all supports, Mr. Nelson expressed serious concern about the minds and souls of young people across the world.

"The Russians are giving everything they have to capture the minds of the youth of the world," he said. "We have 37,000 foreign students in America, but 355,000 foreign students are studying in Russia, most of them with government subsidies."

-- Together, August, 1958

**THE BURDEN OF FRIENDSHIP** Urban Whitaker in the October 4 issue of The Nation examines the changing role of the United States in the United Nations. Among his conclusions: "Our new weaknesses will prove to be a great strength in the long run... from having to consider the desires of others will come new, close relationships which will actually add to our power and theirs. The power we are losing is, in many ways, the power to make mistakes. By being weak enough to have to listen to others, we are being saved from ourselves."

**WORLD POLITICS** What nation or nations will rule at the apex of the global power pyramid in fifty years? Dr. A. F. K. Organski, in the last chapter of his recent volume, World Politics (Alfred A. Knopf, 450 pp. \$7.50) forecasts that Communist China, simply by industrializing its horde of 600 million persons "can leave America far behind in any race for power."

The Soviet Union will likely hand over leadership of the Communist world to its giant partner without a fight, he says. The author, on the political science faculty at Brooklyn College, suggests that War between Russia and the United States could be likely in 15 to 25 years as Moscow approaches a power equality with the United States that the Kremlin cannot quite bring off, and as arrogance and frustration outrun caution. "Russia will not only seek to dethrone the United States and assume world leadership herself, but she will also seek to replace the existing international order with a Communist world order," writes Dr. Organski. But history's "Third Period" will be one of Chinese domination rather than that of either the West or Russia.

**A GENERAL COMMENTS** While the situation with respect to Nationalist China and Red China occupies our attention, it may be useful to recall the following statement by General Matthew B. Ridgway in his autobiography, Soldier. On page 280 we find the following:



Let me make two points very clear. I uphold without reservation the right and duty of Americans to express their views to government officials. I equally defend the right of our free press to seek out and publish such information as legitimate news.

It should be equally clear that there are times when the welfare of the nation demands that we exercise great responsibility. On Saturday, September 27, the Department of State was engaged in extremely delicate negotiations with the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic. It was essential that such negotiations proceed from a position of strength on our part. Any action that would give the impression of serious national disunity would weaken the hand of our negotiators.

When I issued my statement, I knew that mail received at the White House after the President's television explanation of our policy favored the position of our government by a ratio of approximately two to one. In view of this fact, it was the clear duty of the State Department officials to give the press the benefit of an evaluation of the mail received in the Department as well as the letter count itself. I am sure you will agree that the quality of mail received on an issue is far more important than its quantity. For example, a letter such as yours, which was obviously personally written, has far more weight with me than a hundred letters of the form letter type.

In the case of the State Department mail, mere numbers could be misleading unless the mail was checked with at least two standards in mind:

1. Was there evidence of pressure-group type of mail, with a preponderance of form letters and identical phrasing?
2. Were the adverse letters written before or after the President's explanation of our policy?

Because these checks were not made, the release of the totals alone was an inaccurate reflection of current public opinion. This would be bad enough at any time, but at the delicate time it occurred it had the effect of undercutting the position of the United States, as announced by the Secretary of State and the President, whatever the motive of the official concerned.

Let me make one other point clear. As I pointed out in my statement, a public official should welcome and encourage expressions of public opinion by mail and otherwise. Public opinion in the final analysis is the most powerful and decisive force in a democracy and leaders who are unable to gain support of a majority of the people for their policies cannot survive.

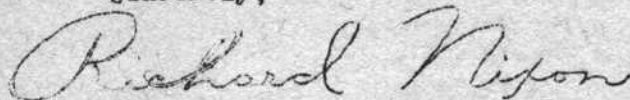
But I also believe it is the sworn duty of an elected official to fight for a policy he considers right even though current public opinion may happen to be adverse at a particular time. For example, the fact that my mail at times has run as high as ten to one against the Supreme Court decision on integration has not and will not cause me to change my view that fighting for racial justice is for me a moral as well as a legal obligation.

Likewise, I feel that for us to yield in the face of Communist pressures in the Formosa area would be disastrous not because of the strategic importance of the real estate involved, but because we must always fight for the principle that use of force to accomplish international objectives can never be condoned or rewarded.

This is my considered opinion. I realize that there are those, whose devotion to the cause of peace and freedom I share, who do not agree with my position. What I as an elected official must do under the circumstances is fight for what I believe is right and leave the ultimate judgment to the considered verdict of my fellow citizens.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,



Richard Nixon

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"To my way of thinking, the desire to intervene in Indo-China, the willingness to use force in dealing with Quemoy and Matsu reflect a thinking which tends dangerously toward acceptance of the doctrine of 'preventive war.' To me nothing could more tragically demonstrate our complete and utter moral bankruptcy than for us deliberately to initiate a 'preventive war.'

"Once we take that absolutely fatal step, our civilization would be doomed. We would have to rely on conquest for survival from then on, until our society crumbled, as the empire of Alexander and of Rome crumbled, from their own inner decay. In all the history of the world, no civilization based on conquest has long endured. America would be no exception."

A CHURCH BULLETIN We have to decide between the love of power and the power to love.

FATS OFF TO A LADY The Corning Glass Company has designed new glass kitchen ware made from the material used in missile nose cones. The new kitchen ware can be taken directly from the deep freeze to the open flame of the kitchen stove without cracking. A Rochester woman commented: "It's about time something good came out of these things."

DID YOU KNOW? The United States has approximately 275 major base complexes - more than 1400 if one counts all sites... which are designed for emergency occupation - located in 31 countries."

"For the next 50 years, most blood-letting will be traceable to military equipment of United States origin..."

-- Excerpted from a speech by Senator J. W. Fulbright  
United States Senate, June 20, 1958

EXCHANGE WITH RICHARD NIXON On September 27th, the Vice President, Mr. Richard Nixon, issued a statement which said, in part:

"I was shocked to read the reports in the morning papers to the effect that the preponderance of mail to the State Department opposed the policy the United States is following with regard to Quemoy and Matsu.

"What concerns me primarily is not the patent and deliberate effort of a State Department subordinate to undercut the Secretary of State and sabotage his policy. What is of far greater concern is the apparent assumption on the part of those who put out the story that the weight of the mail rather than the weight of the evidence should be the controlling factor in determining American foreign policy..."

The following letter was sent to Mr. Nixon by your editor:

"If newspaper reports can be relied upon, I am astonished to think that you disapprove of the fact that American citizens have been permitted to know that most letters to the State Department are against the current American policy as regards Formosa and the offshore islands. If this is true, it indicates that you do not believe in the democratic process, and this is a shocking thing for a person in your position."

The following letter was received from Mr. Nixon:

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
Washington  
October 13, 1958

Reverend Alan B. Peabody  
The DeRuyter Federated Church  
DeRuyter, New York

Dear Reverend Peabody:

I want to express my appreciation for your letter of October 2 and for the candor and frankness with which you expressed your disagreement with my statement of September 27. Much of the adverse comment upon the statement reflected a misunderstanding of my position. For that reason, I am enclosing the full text of the statement for your information.



A REPORT ON THE FIFTH WORLD ORDER STUDY CONFERENCE  
of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

The editor was a delegate to the Fifth World Order Study Conference, representing the New York State Council of Churches. The Conference met in Cleveland, Ohio, November 18th through 21st. The General theme was: "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet."

More than 500 persons participated in the conference, representing some 39 Protestant and Orthodox denominations. They came from 34 states, the District of Columbia, from Canada, Germany, Burma, India, and the Sudan. Some 50 or 60 persons were involved in leadership in the conference, either in terms of its mechanics or as expert consultants on the various problems under discussion. There were business men, farmers, housewives, teachers, clergymen, and governmental officials present.

In the latter category were policy planners in the Defense and State Departments -- persons who were among the most pessimistic as to the outcome of America's continued reliance upon armed might as the principal instrument of its foreign policy.

The conference participants were divided into four Commissions, each of which was divided into two sections to facilitate freedom of expression and the interplay of thought. The subjects under discussion were:

- The Power Struggle and Security in a Nuclear Space Age. This commission considered the problems posed by military, economic, political and spiritual power, and their relevance for our time. This Commission issued the report which aroused the most controversy.
- Overseas Areas of Rapid Social Change. This Commission dealt with problems faced by newly independent areas from the standpoints of their need for economic aid and trade and their ability to develop stable political institutions.
- The Changing Dimensions of Human Rights. This Commission considered the wide range of social and political rights which belong to people because they are people, rights finding their expression in Conventions and Statutes of the United Nations.
- International Institutions and Peaceful Change. This Commission examined the structures which help to insure peaceful change in terms of how they might be modified, added to, or strengthened so that international anarchy might give way to order under agreed upon and enforceable world law.

WORK SESSIONS The delegates spent some 23 hours in scheduled discussion and thought in each of the above four areas plus innumerable hours of discussion outside the meeting rooms plus whatever time they could devote to background reading before going to Cleveland.

In addition, there were public meetings at which the following persons made major and stimulating addresses: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; the Honorable John Foster Dulles; former Air Force Secretary Thomas K. Fineletter; the Rev. Ralph Sockman; and Dr. O. Frederick Nolde. Dr. Nolde, perhaps the least well known to the general public, is Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, an agency of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. This makes Dr. Nolde Protestantism's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PURPOSE The purpose of the meeting was to relate the teachings of Jesus Christ to the concrete problems and practical decisions which must be made in world affairs. This is not an easy thing to do because: 1) Most of us are not sufficiently familiar with the teachings of Christ; 2) Most of us are not adequately informed on the great issues confronting mankind and aware of the processes by which decisions about them are made; and 3) All of us are involved in the life of the nation, and therefore often confuse the national interest with the welfare of all mankind and the policies of our own government with the will of God. Commission 2 stated the following in the preamble of its report:

"We remind ourselves...that we are thinking and speaking, not only as citizens but more particularly as Christians. Ours must be sustained effort to relate the love of God as revealed in Jesus Christ to the complex problems of our time. Two temptations must be resisted -- the temptation to be so impressed with complexities and difficulties that we fail to say clear words on issues that require moral judgment and, on the other hand, the equally strong temptation to overleap concrete problems in the enunciation of general principles.

"Christians have a loyalty which transcends the nation. The security they seek cannot be limited to any nation or group of nations. Their obligation is to God-given life. All of it!..."



Our purpose was, in the main, not to point the finger at other peoples and other nations as though the world were divided into neat compartments between "the good guys" and "the bad-guys." That is a patently misleading and dangerous conception although its simplicity is luring. To be sure, the conferees were aware of the dynamic and demonic force of Communism, but the chief aim was to see where our own nation has fallen short of the Glory of God, to indicate those areas where a new and more creative response is needed if the United States is adequately to meet the challenge from other ideologies, and to suggest where possible specific directions for a new foreign policy.

A number of issues engaged the attention of the conference, among which were the following:

**THE NATIONAL INTEREST OR HUMANITY** Many nations, in spite of the revolutionary changes in our world, think that their primary function is to promote the national interest regardless of the feelings of other peoples. Dr. Nolde reminded the conference that peoples of other nations resent their "being used" by the United States as forward bases to protect the North American continent. Since humanity is one and indivisible, and conceivably could perish together in an all out nuclear war, it is imperative that we recognize that our long-range interests as a people must be identified with that which reflects the mutual interests of all persons and all nations on the face of the earth.

**CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY TO THE NATION'S MILITARY POSTURE** By far the greatest controversy developed over the report of Commission 2 which, among other things, considered the problems of military power. A portion of Commission 2's report reads as follows:

"As citizens we have a natural concern for the security of our nation. As Christians we have a wider concern for the security of mankind. We cannot, therefore, view with equanimity preparations for nuclear war which might result in the genetic distortion of the human race as well as widespread destruction of civilization. Since we as Christians could not ourselves press the buttons for such destruction, we must now declare our conviction that we cannot support the concept of nuclear retaliation or preventive war."

Another section of the report listed 5 steps that the United States government should take on its own initiative to further efforts at control, reduction and abolition of armaments. Step 5 reads, our own government should

"Abolish the system of military conscription and allow the authority of the Selective Service System to draft men to lapse on its expiration next June. The government should consider ways of encouraging recruitment to meet those of its manpower requirements as would result from following the interim military policy suggested in the next section of this report."

The plenary session of the conference adopted a resolution expressing disagreement with portions of Commission 2's report. The key sentences of this resolution follow:

"Members of the Conference agree in categorically rejecting the concept of preventive war.

"There are many of us who emphatically do not agree with the inference that deterrence through the capability for nuclear retaliation is to be bracketed with preventive war.

"Such peace as there is today, precarious as it may be, rests to some measure upon that capability. The world's hope of achieving international agreements leading toward universal disarmament may similarly rest in part upon that capability. In expressing these views, it was made clear that this is not to be taken as approval by the Conference of the moral acceptability of all out nuclear retaliation nor modification of the view of the Conference that the elimination of nuclear war and of war itself is a Christian imperative...."

**DISARMAMENT** Considerable attention was given to the whole problem of disarmament including the ramifications of disarmament on the domestic economy. The Conference was agreed on the absolute necessity of getting rid of the war system in our world. That involves getting rid of the means of waging war. Disagreement came as to how this laudable goal ought to be approached.

"The best way to do this," suggested Mr. Fineletter, "is for the United States to do something which has never been done before; that is, ... to propose in the United Nations a full-scale disarmament plan, complete in all its stages down to the final one - but a plan protected at each stage so we will not be in a worse position than at the start of the plan, if there is a breach of the agreement by any other country."



**RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA URGED** The problem of recognizing the People's Republic of China and the question of its admission to the United Nations engaged the lengthy attention of the Conference. Dr. Nolde pointed out, "It is not to be expected that negotiations will be fruitful if Communist officials are obviously and patently dealt with as juvenile or even adult delinquents."

The policy of non-recognition and non-admission means that a government which will be around for a long time to come - whether we like it or not - is excluded from discussions and negotiations on issues where its interests are at stake. It means that the government of the largest single segment of the world's population is prevented from being represented at the United Nations. The effect of this policy is, for example, that there can be no effective agreement on disarmament. Nuclear tests can not be monitored effectively unless there are stations in the territory governed by the Peiping government.

The Conference message urges that the United States government reconsider its policy with steps to "be taken toward the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for its recognition by our government. Such recognition does not imply approval." The Conference stated that "the rights of the people of Taiwan and of Korea should be safeguarded" so that they may determine their own future.

**ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE** The Conference recognized that the United States government and private religious groups have given vast sums for technological assistance, emergency relief, education and the like. But not enough is being done "to get under the world's needs." "To whom much is given, of him shall much be required."

The Commission working in this area suggested that our government ought to make available for bi-lateral and/or multilateral economic development overseas the equivalent of 1% of our Gross National Product. In 1957, the last year for which the figure is available, Gross National Product was \$440 billion. Thus it is suggested that \$4.4 billion be set aside each year to help other peoples help themselves. Compare this figure with the \$53,088,189,000 appropriated by Congress in 1958 for National Defense and Military Security.

The real question is, which form of expenditure will do more to win friends and influence people?

**UNITED NATIONS BOOSTED** The Conference recognized that international institutions need to be strengthened if World Peace is to be insured. The world we live in today would be vastly different had there been no United Nations during these past ten years. The United Nations and its associated agencies, in spite of all their weaknesses and faults, has been an active servant of the world's welfare and "the most ready, best flexed instrument of reconciliation now available to the nations."

These do not suggest the whole range of problems considered, but they do suggest that the Conference was concerned with issues of tremendous importance.

**SENSE OF URGENCY** The Conference met with a sense of urgency. Its members felt that there has been too much drift in world affairs already and that insufficient efforts have been made to devise intelligent, constructive, and hopeful policies. Sterile and inflexible policies have gotten the world into a deeper mess. Problems which desperately need settlement today will take on added difficulty of solution if efforts are postponed until tomorrow.

The overwhelming issue confronting mankind today is whether there shall be war or peace.

"Therefore the immediate task of every Christian is to seize the initiative in the prevention of war and the achievement of peace in a world of inter-continental ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons... We cannot sit complacently and hopeful behind the moral subterfuge which divides the world into 'good and bad' peoples, waiting for the 'bad' ones to be converted to our position. To do this is to insure the inevitability of war. The processes of peace are more than the problem of the American citizen; they are the concern of every Christian who is dedicated to 'the sovereignty of love' in human affairs."

**CONFERENCE HIGH NOTE** The high note of the conference may have been struck in its closing moments as the delegates joined in the words of a new hymn, peculiarly appropriate at the close of its deliberations:



1. O God of ev'ry nation,  
Of ev'ry race and land,  
Redeem thy whole creation  
With thine almighty hand;  
Where hate and fear divide us  
And bitter threats are hurled,  
In love and mercy guide us,  
And heal our strife-torn world.
2. From search for wealth and power  
And scorn of truth and right,  
From trust in bombs that shower  
Destruction through the night,  
From pride of race and station  
And blindness to thy way,  
Deliver ev'ry nation,  
Eternal God, we pray.

3. Lord, strengthen all who labor  
That men may find release  
From fear of rattling sabre,  
From dread of war's increase;  
When hopes and courage falter,  
Thy still small voice be heard;  
With faith that none can alter,  
Thy servants undaunted.
4. Keep bright in us the vision  
Of days when wars shall cease,  
When hatred and division  
Give way to love and peace,  
Till dawn the morning glorious  
When brotherhood shall reign  
And Christ shall rule victorious  
O'er all the world's domain.

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The above hymn may be sung to St. Theodulph, Aurelia, or Llanegloffan. Its author, William W. Reid, Jr., is pastor of the Methodist Circuit at Carverton, Pennsylvania. He is a graduate of Oberlin College and Yale Divinity School. During World War II he served in the Medical Corps and was held prisoner by the Germans for eight months.

**NATIONWIDE PROGRAM** The Fifth World Order Study Conference came after months of preparation but it is not the end of a process. Rather, it is to be the beginning of a nationwide program of education and action for peace.

The member churches of the National Council of Churches and State and local councils have agreed for the first time in their history to devote a year of intensive work in education and action on international affairs from June 1959 to June 1960. Here is the proposed time schedule for the development of this emphasis:

- PRESENT:** November 1958 - Fifth World Order Study Conference on "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet."
- LOOKING AHEAD:**
- Winter-Spring 1958-9: Publication of World Order Study Conference Reports and Special Study Materials.
  - Summer 1959: Leadership Training in Conferences, Camps, Assemblies, both denominational and interdenominational.
  - Sept.-Oct.: Leadership Training Institutes in every possible diocesan council of churches.
  - Nov.-Dec.: Leadership Training Institutes in every possible local council of churches.
  - Jan.-June 1960: Education and Action programs in every possible local church across the country. A program is being offered which will integrate into the ongoing programs, publications and work in churches - national, state, and local.

**WATCH FOR** further details from your denomination, local council of churches, and the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches.

**UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY** The forthcoming study and action program of the National Council of Churches and its member denominations offers all readers of the News Letter an unprecedented opportunity to get behind a program which can help to involve many thousands of people in the discussion of the critical issues of our day.

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**HEADLINES: "Pacifist Clergyman Convicted, Blasted In Income Tax Case."**

An Associated Press dispatch indicated that Judge John H. Druffel of the Federal Court at Cincinnati, Ohio, made an attack upon the Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin following the latter's conviction for refusal to answer an Internal Revenue Service summons to discuss his refusal to pay federal income taxes. The Judge is reported to have told the minister, "Your pious attitude is more or less of a false face." Then, after accusing the Rev. Mr. McCrackin of being a "pacifist agitator" and of associating "with those of overwhelming Soviet sympathies," the judge added: "I don't know of any more pious traitor than that."

The Rev. Mr. McCrackin, a Presbyterian, remained serene and silent throughout his trial, refusing to stand in court, plead to the indictment, defend himself, or help his court-appointed attorneys. While awaiting the verdict, the dispatch reports, "he read calmly from a book by Albert Schweitzer."

**THEY TOOK THE BODY** On September the 5th, Mr. McCrackin wrote the Internal Revenue Officer:  
 "The Department of Internal Revenue exercises a power of coercion which threatens the liberty of the individual, violates conscience and jeopardizes the life of our free institutions...My conscience tells me that I can neither pay my taxes nor cooperate with you in your effort to collect them... Mankind is now threatened with extinction. Two powerful military nations, Russia and the United States, though affirming they believe in and want peace, are daily leading us closer to the brink of war. Some way this death march must be stopped... It is my feeling that tyranny has already begun to show its head when a citizen is pressed to give financial support to what he contends is the most outrageous sin of our age and the probable destroyer of much if not all of our civilization."

Mr. McCrackin had refused to answer a summons to appear before the Commissioner of Internal Revenue on September the 10th. Two days later he was arrested. Because he refused to cooperate with the purpose of the arresting officers, he was carried to their car and later into the Federal Building in Cincinnati. On that occasion, he stated:

"It is my hatred for war that makes it impossible for me to obey the summons of September 10 or to appear for the hearing today. It may be that the authorities will again take possession of my body, but it is my earnest purpose, God being my helper, that no one, no circumstance, no place shall be allowed to take possession of my spirit and of my conscience."

**IRBM'S** At a recent meeting of Methodist students at Syracuse University, Dean Harlan M. Cleveland of the Maxwell School commented about Intermediate Range Ballistics Missiles now being supplied several NATO countries as "defensive" weapons. These missiles use liquid fuel and take ten hours to prepare for firing. As defensive weapons they are totally useless because an aggressor would destroy those bases first.

**OUTER SPACE** James Avery Joyce reports that one of the most significant recent proposals was that made by Russia last March - that the United Nations take responsibility for the exploration of Outer Space. Russia's amended proposal received tremendous support in the UN. The United States proposed that the proposal be studied for a year. This fall the American proposal prevailed.

**FALLOUT AND SOIL** Radioactive contamination is being "harvested" on experimental areas at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Beltsville, Md., Research Center. USDA engineers and soil scientists are trying to find effective fallout from agricultural land in case such removal becomes necessary in the future. Accidental contamination, and fallout from enemy atomic or hydrogen bombs, are potential dangers.

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materials. Rays emitted by these isotopes are detectable yet far less lasting than  
the rays of strontium-90 - an important isotope in the fall out from atomic and hydro-  
gen bombs - which are capable of contaminating farmlands for years.

Tests to determine to what extent certain crop and land uses act as shields  
against soil contamination by fallout and as aids to effective removal of contamina-  
tion have shown none of the methods completely prevented radioactivity from reaching  
the soil.

Raking and removing heavy and medium mulch layers - the method that proved best -  
cleaned up nearly all the radioactivity from the test plots. Cutting and removing  
sod proved effective. Mowing and collecting growing crops were less effective.

Experiments now in progress are designed to test the decontaminating ability of  
emulsified asphalt and other soil treatments on bare surface affected by simulated  
fallout.



ON THE OTHER HAND Norman Thomas, discussing the Geneva nuclear weapons talks in his October Newsletter, wrote: "Meanwhile, did you note the irony? Before the magnificent scientific achievement of the launching of Pioneer, our scientists 'bathed it with ultra-violet rays' lest by any chance it should hit the moon (rather than circling round it or being lost in space) and so possibly contaminate any faint beginnings of life on our frozen satellite. But our rulers have no equivalent concern to prevent the sure contamination by fallout of those who live upon this earth..."

FROM BAD TO WORSE The New Republic (Dec. 8) calls our attention to the fact that the United States is committed to send another \$115 million in military hardware to Pakistan. Previously we have sent \$200 million's worth. The rise of General Ayub Kahn and his reliance on the U.S. arsenal means that our government is now entangled with any of his repressive measures inside Pakistan and is an inadvertent sponsor of his menacing attitude toward India. "But how do we disengage?"

SCIENTIFIC & MILITARY PRESTIGE According to the Associated Press, the launching of the 4 ton moon on December 19th by the Air Force has boosted America's scientific and military prestige, "a key element in the cold war."

PATH TO GREATNESS "Mr. Healy (Leeds, East, Lab.) The Government were much preoccupied with the pursuit of national greatness. National greatness would not be achieved by multiplying its power to destroy. It could be achieved at one stroke in breaking the present deadlock and leading humanity to peace."

- Debate on Berlin, House of Commons, Dec. 4

TOP HANDS CHANGE In September, Business Week published the following list of The Big Munitions Makers taken from the Pentagon's list of 100 largest contractors:

| Present Rank                       | 1957 Orders        | Previous Rank<br>(Jan. '55 - June '56) | Post-Korea Rank<br>(July '50 - June '53) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| 1. General Dynamics                | \$1, 100.0 Million | 2                                      | **                                       |
| 2. General Electric                | 916.4              | 4                                      | 3  |
| 3. United Aircraft                 | 699.3              | 3                                      | 5  |
| 4. Boeing Airplane                 | 637.9              | 5                                      | 2  |
| 5. American Telephone              | 471.0              | 6                                      | 13                                       |
| 6. North American Aviation         | 456.1              | 1                                      | 9  |
| 7. Hughes Aircraft                 | 369.2              | 11                                     | 25                                       |
| 8. Chance Vought Aircraft          | 341.0              | 17                                     | **                                       |
| 9. Martin Co.                      | 322.1              | 13                                     | 23                                       |
| 10. General Motors                 | 308.7              | 14                                     | 1  |
| 11. Lockheed Aircraft              | 277.4              | 8                                      | 7  |
| 12. Northrop Aircraft              | 263.5              | 27                                     | 16                                       |
| 13. International Business Machine | 255.4              | 16                                     | 44                                       |
| 14. Sperry Rand                    | 246.0              | 19                                     | **                                       |
| 15. Bendix Aviation                | 223.5              | 15                                     | *  |
| 16. Republic Aviation              | 212.0              | 20                                     | 10                                       |
| 17. Douglas Aircraft               | 203.2              | 9                                      | 4  |
| 18. Grumman Aircraft               | 194.7              | *                                      | *  |

\*Not among top 100

\*\*differently organized

In the scramble for the billions of "defense" dollars, some newcomers gain ground and old familiar faces slip away or just hold their own. The main reason: "Few successfully company managements have anticipated the trend in military ordering." The best way to get ahead: via rockets and electronics. Example: General Motors which was in 14th place has moved to the 10 spot. It has offset the drop in orders



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**PLANNING  
AHEAD**

A suspicious package arrived at the defense department in London. Perplexed experts opened it with great care. Inside was a harmless boulder with a small note attached. It read: "This is my contribution to rearmament after the Third World War."

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