

THE WEST
& BELIEF

Charles Malik, President of the U.N. General Assembly, recently made some shaking statements in an interview granted for Presbyterian Life (1/1/59):

"I am deeply perturbed by the softness and complacency, and, you might even add, the thoughtlessness that prevails in the West at the present moment.

"The West has moved from one retreat to another in all fields, not just military and political. I do not find adequate resolve or thoughtfulness to stem this trend. The West is too soft, too self-satisfied, too blind, too paralyzed and anesthetized morally to act with vigor at the critical points in life and the world. . . .

"A person, or a culture or a civilization, cannot rise above its inmost principles. In the Western world the principle is a higher and higher standard of living, more and more comfortable existence, nothing great, nothing historically profound - Nothing!

"That's why Communism seems to win everywhere. Because it seems to have something. You talk to a Communist, and he believes in something. You talk to a Westerner; he believes in nothing."

LAST YEARS? Hans Morgenthau, director of International Studies at the University of Chicago, raises the question, are these "The Last Years of Our Greatness?" in an article in New Republic (12/29/58).

"For history indeed bears witness to the truth that a society which is unable to adapt itself to new conditions and restore its vital energies in the successful contest with new problems is doomed and that all historic societies have sooner or later been so doomed."

Morgenthau points out that Mr. Khrushchev, through Walter Lippmann, sent the United States a highly significant and important Christmas message which has largely been ignored. Mr. Khrushchev said the United States may be enjoying "the last years of its greatness," not because the United States is small and weak, but because the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will surpass the United States in productivity per capita. When that occurs, then people in poor countries will "be convinced by their stomachs." This, said Khrushchev, is the danger to the United States and not "our" A-bombs.

"The Soviet Union has chosen the economic plane as the battlefield where Communism will win its decisive victory.... While Marx and Lenin believed that (the doom of capitalism) would result from a series of world wars, fought primarily among the capitalistic nations themselves, Khrushchev has declared that capitalism will fall because of its inferiority in economic organization, technology, and productivity. He sees the Soviet Union as destined to surpass the United States in economic productivity and well-being, and by demonstrating its economic superiority over the United States, the Soviet Union will set the example which the underdeveloped masses of the earth will want to emulate. They will choose the Soviet rather than the American way of life. Furthermore, this economic superiority will enable the Soviet Union to wage full-scale economic war against the United States by taking away its foreign markets and tying the underdeveloped areas of the world to its economic and political system. Thus without firing a shot, the Soviet Union will triumph over the United States." (Emphasis supplied.)

If what Morgenthau says is true, then a nation which devotes 70 to 80% of its national budget to military expenditures, and which talks of more missiles, rockets, and nuclear weapons, is preparing for the wrong war at the wrong time and the wrong place. Others have suggested that the battleground has shifted to the economic arena, to the fields of Trade and Aid.

The entire article is worth reading, for Morgenthau asks a number of important questions about the nature of our economy. Can we afford the luxury built on obsolescence? the luxury of many brands of essentially the same product when there is so much need around the globe?

19th ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Syracuse, N. Y., February 13 - 15, 1959

Detailed information from Lena Gray, 841 University Bldg.
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE MUST BE
A CREATION

Recently Miss Bongsoo Kim of Korea made a speech in a class for foreign students at the Oakland, California, City College. This was an assignment in a unit on word study where such words as "freedom," "good and evil," "liberal arts," "law," "war and peace," and other broad and difficult words comprised a list from which each student selected ideas for a short speech. Her talk follows:

"The great novel by Tolstoy comes in my mind with the words, war and peace. He described the tragedy of the war and the misery of the people who are thrown into it, with the deep appeal to the humanity. The retreat scene in the snow and the agonies of the heroes and the heroines in the novel touched me realistically because I had experienced the most recent and the mass killing war in Korea.

"When one talks about the war or the peace, he is more apt to emphasize the war side and, by removing the war, naturally insures the peace. This is wrong, of course. If the war is destruction, the peace must be a creation. There is no clear-cut border-line between the war and the peace. A famous man whose name I fail to remember stated that the war starts within the people's hearts. This is the same as when you try to cultivate the field. When you only try to weed the field, the weed will come back to the emptied space before long, but if you plant fruit trees or any vegetable you like, no room will be left for the weed to return.

"The peace is created by each one of us. It can be started from your neighborhood to the global level. Wipe out hatred in your heart. Try to understand before you reject your friend. Open your heart all the time and be ready and willing to weed out the human weaknesses we all have.

"It might sound silly to you but before taking all the Russians for Communists to be hated, think this, that they have to eat three meals a day, have to earn money for the family, have to wash clothes and clean the house, go out for a date, quarrel with each other over a girl, and Marxism only attracts their mind an hour a day or even less out of long twenty-four hours a day.

"As the conclusion, I once again want to stress the creative aspect of peace which the dictionary failed to mention.

"An ancient proverb in the Orient says, 'Rule your family and keep peace among yourselves, then you will be ready to serve your community. If you are successful to rule your community, you can rule a nation, and after you successfully lead your nation, you will be able to keep the peace of the world.'"

DO YOU
DEMAND
FIRE

Marion and Stuart Chase had this to say in a letter to the New York Times, 12/30/58:

PROTECTION? "All of us alive today exist in an obsolete political fire trap with no escape routes. We could be consumed in it any time one person in a chain of command might grow careless or exasperated or irrational from tension. Where is the insistent public demand for some sensible fire protection?"

BRIEFLY
NOTED

C. Wright Mills, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, and a leading critic of American Society, has written a relatively short, pointed, and firmly grounded political tract, The Causes of World War III. His thesis is that small groups of men in the USA and the USSR have the power to make history. What can be done now to influence these men? to reverse the thrust toward war created by their policies? His proposals challenge our set ideas. They ought to be widely known and discussed. The book, printed by Simon and Schuster, is available in paperback for \$1.50.

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PEACE - NEWS - LETTER

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Rev. Alan B. Featody, Editor \$1.00 per year

February 27, 1959

INSTITUTE REGISTRATION The annual February Institute brought a total registration of 175 persons, of which 91 attended all sessions, from communities as widely scattered across New York as Buffalo and Albany, Elmira and Watertown. 40% of the registrants were students from Alfred, Cornell, Harpur, Hartwick, Syracuse, and the University of Rochester. Four young people made a long trek from Montreal for the second successive year.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY DESCRIBED Richard Challener, Professor of History at Princeton University was pinch hitter for Mrs. Caryl Kline who was prevented from participating in the Institute by illness.

Describing the complete shift in American policy in the five or six years following World War II from the FDR concept of Great Power Cooperation in the United Nations to one of wariness as regards the Soviet Union, the speaker set forth four major premises underlying American policy:

1. War results from miscalculation. The United States must clearly announce the positions which it will hold in the world.
2. The Nation must not give the impression that it will give in without a fight under pressure from the other side. It must be willing to go to war if necessary.
3. Russia desires to keep us armed to the teeth and is ready to choose the location of a fight any place on the globe. Thus we must be militarily prepared.
4. The United States maintains a moral position in the world. All the world wants American democracy and we must be prepared to export it.

Current policies follow from those premises but may be made immobile by a lack of a balanced military force. That is, our emphasis on nuclear weapons and strategic bombers may not be the right emphasis for "limited" wars. Further, the greatest weakness of the Dulles policy is in relatively quiet times when the United States tends to be inflexible, to mouth slogans, and fails to come to grips with problems such as German reunification and the disposition of Chinese off-shore islands.

CHINA: A CASE STUDY Derk Bodde, Professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania, traced the development of Chinese civilization through the centuries as essential to a proper understanding of what is occurring there today under the aegis of the Peking regime.

These long term social developments (anti-dating the present Communist regime) led to certain consequences:

1. An age-old acceptance of widespread governmental control.
2. The interest of the government in problems of land ownership and use.
3. The uses of masses of man power for public works.
4. The concept of government by men rather than by law (found in Confucianism).
5. The concept that the ruler rules like a father; i.e., must be benevolent and concerned with the needs of his people.

China has always been ruled by an elite. Today that ruling elite has a wider social base than ever before.

It is a myth that we Americans lost China to the Communists in 1949 because of Communists in the State Department. The Chinese accepted communism because of its nationalistic appeal, i.e., China need no longer be humiliated by other powers; and because under Communism the economy has developed. A staggering industrialization program has been successfully launched, and there have been great strides in increasing agricultural production to meet the needs of $\frac{1}{2}$ of the world's population.

There is no doubt that there is comprehensive planning and mobilization of man power. But is this slave labor? It is not a matter of physical coercion so much as it

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There is no doubt that there is comprehensive planning and mobilization of man power. But is this slave labor? It is not a matter of physical coercion so much as it is the mobilization of the pressure of public opinion - manipulated by leaders through group activity - which leads to the social acceptance of and participation in gigantic schemes of public works. The pattern of utilizing man power thusly is in China, however, much older than Communism.

No one can say how many people oppose the system. No doubt the great majority accept it just as the great majority of Americans accept our way of life.

What about U. S. policy to China? "We have chosen to support an aging man with an aging army on Taiwan with 10 million people as against 600 million people on the mainland. We have allowed him to lead us to the brink several times. "By refusing to recognize a going concern we have gotten ourselves into a blind alley." Many of the world's problems simply cannot be solved without the participation of China. "Communist China will be around for a long time to come."

A GENERAL LOOKS AT FOREIGN POLICY Hugh Hester, Brigadier General, U. S. Army (Retired) has spent the years of his retirement (since 1951) in intensive study, writing, and speaking in the field of Foreign Policy. He listed the following "Myths of U. S. Foreign Policy":

1. That we are all white and our opponents are all black; that if the capitalist world would destroy communism, then we would have peace.
2. That we will survive if we have a war regardless of what happens to the rest of the world.
3. That our allies are secure and that our system of military alliances are as solid as the rock of Gibraltar.
4. That you can have security in an arms race.
5. That NATO has prevented war. NATO was organized because it was believed that Russia would move across Europe to the English Channel. But for years it was only a paper organization, and would have been ineffective in preventing that move. Yet people are saying that because there was no war, NATO prevented it.
6. That you cannot trust our opponents; they violate treaties. All nations keep their word when it is in their interests to do so, and break their solemn agreements when it is convenient to do so.
7. That we are above and beyond engaging in subversion; that only our opponents engage in subversion. Every nation uses every weapon at its command.
8. That we can buy our security by shipping munitions around the world. (The speaker pointed out how our arms shipped to a government we recognized were used by the other side in Iraq and in China.)

Positive steps recommended by General Hester were:

1. Sincere efforts at negotiation as our only chance. "We must keep the chaps at the top talking."
2. Recognition that in an American economy where 1 out of every 7½ people is engaged in "defense work," a war economy cannot be dismantled without planning.
3. "Trust and faith are essential elements in every human activity." We must open up Russia to human contacts and maximize trade.
4. Universalize and strengthen the United Nations.
5. Recognize that poverty, ignorance and bigotry are the real enemies in our world.

ALTERNATIVES TO BRINKMANSHIP A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, made a brilliant analysis of the results of our policy, and some unusual suggestions for alternatives.

The international political situation is characterized by 1) terrific movement and fluidity in the development of weapons and 2) extreme rigidity in the political realm. Neither major power wants war, but none of the political issues are really being settled.

There seems to be a flight from Reality. Nuclear war is politically irrational and morally indefensible. Not one objective of either side can be advanced by war. The popular concept of deterrent power holds that weapons are being made and stockpiled in a tense situation for the purpose of not being used. "The bigger the danger the greater the safety" was Raymond Graham Swing's characterization of the theory. "If it were the way to get security we would feel it in some way."

"The nature of modern war may lead to the abolition of war provided that men face the fact and do something about it." Ultimately one recourse may be the readiness of one side to take the initiative through unilateral action to bring the arms race to a halt. We have given the Russian Communists the example of Hiroshima. Perhaps the time has come to give them another kind of example.

ANNUAL NYSPC MEETING At the Annual Meeting of the New York State Peace Council, the Rev. Alan B. Peabody of DeRuyter was reelected chairman. Glenn Mallison of Herkimer was elected vice chairman, and Maria Weill of Schenectady was elected Secretary.

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Next month's News-Letter will deal with the final institute discussion, "What Can a Man Do?"

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HERE'S WHAT
WAS SAID
ABOUT
MIKOYAN

The Army's research chief, Lt. Gen. Arthur Trudeau, issued warnings against Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Mikoyan's smile. Speaking before the American Management Association on January 14, he said:

"It is easy to effect a grin that is a photographer's delight - this seems to be modern proof that one is a success and a great fellow - but we need a cold appraisal of the verbal vodka that flows from the Kremlin." -- Herald Tribune, January 15, 1959

HERE'S WHAT
WAS SAID
ABOUT AMERICAN
POLITICAL
CAMPAIGNS

Alexander Jones, managing editor of the Syracuse Herald-American, wrote an editorial commentary on the recent American political campaigns (October 31, 1958). Referring to a piece on new styles in election campaigning written by N. Y. Times-man James Reston, Jones wrote:

"He pointed out that one of the things candidates work hardest at today is grinning for the photographers.

"A candidate may be dying by inches and facing a defeat of landslide proportions but let him get within range of a camera and he whips up a frozen grin that is reminiscent of a Minsky burlesque chorus girl at the last show on the Old Columbia wheel five-a-day circuit...

"The Madison Avenue advertising agencies and professional actors took over.

"Today they tell a candidate how to stand, how to face the camera, how to gesture, how to become the glamorous personality boy.

"The object is to sell yourself, phony smile and all, as hard as possible and to avoid any intelligent discussion of issues as completely as possible." (Emphasis supplied.)

ON THE
ACCIDENTAL
FLIGHTS

The downing of another American plane over Soviet territory last fall under confusing circumstances makes the following quotation of special interest and importance:

"The Strategic Air Command still provides the United States with an overwhelming retaliatory ability over the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to Pentagon experts. America's 100-score Boeing B-47 Stratojet bombers plus the hundreds of B-52's now in service give the United States an overwhelming massive retaliation capability. Numerous and continuing SAC flights over the sovereign territory of the USSR demonstrate this....

"The clincher that demonstrates the United States capability through its SAC bombers is the fact that these aircraft continue to fly over the Soviet Union with a relative degree of immunity. It is true that modern Russian fighters attack our bombers with major advantages of altitude, speed and maneuverability. It is also true that they score some hits. But so far no attacks have been made by the Russians with missiles, either because they don't have anti-aircraft missiles that are operational or because the Reds don't want to tip their hand.

"In any case U.S. radar and photographic mapping missions over the Russian land mass continue with a fair degree of success and immunity. This indicates that in the event of an all-out situation, SAC bombers would get through in high enough proportion to result in a major catastrophe to the Soviet Union. The Kremlin knows this."

-- Seabrook Hull

Missiles and Rockets

January, 1958, page 43

TO REFRESH
YOUR
CONCERN

Atomic Energy Commissioner Willard F. Libby warned (March 9, at Lafayette, Ind.) that the radioactive fallout of a nuclear attack could endanger the life of a man thousands of miles away who stayed outdoors for more than an hour.

In 1954, the Bikini H-bomb's fallout poisoned a 7,000 square mile area. A person exposed to the fallout for more than 36 hours might have died.

Today, however, Dr. Libby said the fallout, spreading over several thousand square miles, would be so intense "that it would be hazardous to life to stay out in the open for more than an hour."

"The density would be high enough so that farm land in this area would be ruined for something like forty years for anything except the culture of feed for beef cattle or possibly swine," he added.

IF Robert M. Condon, N. Y. City Civil Defense Director, has said that 88% of the city's population could be evacuated in 49 hours in an enemy attack. "The other 12% would make up the Civil Defense forces which would remain in the city for emergency tasks."

The question is: Can we expect 49 hours' warning time in an era of Intercontinental Ballistics Missiles? We are told that warning of an attack would be reduced to a matter of minutes by the development of new methods of delivering death. Editor.

CYPRUS Christopher Farley, writing in Peace News, February 27th, points out that "the STILL A Cypriots have been given no rights concerning the most vital issue affecting WAR their future: The establishment by a foreign power of military bases on the ISLAND island."

England is retaining several military bases on the island. These bases will require subsidiary industries which mean that the Cyprus economy will be dominated by military considerations.

"Despite the hope of an internal settlement, therefore, the Cypriot people will live under two contradictory fears:

- . If the Cold War develops to its climax, Cyprus will be totally obliterated.
- . If true peace ever becomes a reality, or military requirements alter, the economy of the island will collapse.

"The Cypriots thus have a vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo. They must welcome unending world crisis or suffer their own ruin.

"Once again a Great Power has helped to ensure the continuation of the present arms race."

IF WE SAY "It must be recognized that the Soviet Union has suspicions of us also.
WE HAVE The Soviet Union claims, and no doubt to some extent believes, that the
NO SIN... United States does not want any disarmament agreement and that the evi-
dence of this fact can be seen in our alleged past withdrawals from propos-
als put forward by us just as soon as there is any prospect of Soviet acceptance.
This Soviet suspicion was somewhat apparent in their reception of the important new
data on detection and identification of underground tests which we introduced on
January 5."

-- Philip J. Farley, special assistant to the Secretary of
State for disarmament and atomic energy, in testimony to
the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, January 13.

WHAT CAN Reporting that the head of the American Atomic Energy Commission is worried
A MAN DO? lest Geneva succeed, Norman Cousins concludes, "Yet, what is most important
about Geneva is not that it should be a meeting of reluctant men, but that
it is being held. It is being held because world opinion has begun to make its weight
felt on this issue. And it is public opinion that will determine whether anything of
consequence will come out of Geneva. What is public opinion? It is not merely organ-
ized protest or mass movements. It is the individual thinking and acting beyond his
personal needs, putting his large concerns to work through all the means available to
him. In short, public opinion is what happens when the individual decides that human
destiny is too important a job to be left to government."

FROM THE "War has proved to have been the proximate cause of the breakdown of every
HISTORIAN civilization which is known for certain to have broken down, in so far as
it has been possible to analyze the nature of these breakdowns and to account
for their occurrence."

"Like other evils, War has an insidious way of appearing not intolerable until it
has secured such a stranglehold upon the lives of its addicts that they no longer have
the power to escape from its grip when its deadliness has become manifest."

-- Arnold Toynbee, Preface to
War and Civilization

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NOTES ON COMMUNITY PEACE EDUCATION

Jim Syphers, Peace Intern in New York State

The following is a list of dates that I have which are for your information and attention, both for the meetings themselves and for awareness of my presence in the area. It would never hurt to have people seek me out if they thought I could be of service.

Upcoming Events

March -----	Completion of Syracuse Peace Council Fund Campaign
April 3-5	High School Work Camp, Syracuse
" 9	Crane meeting in Rochester
" 10	Crane meeting in Buffalo
" 11	Noon, Committee meeting in Buffalo Supper, Committee meeting in Rochester
" 12	Evening, Speaking at University of Rochester C.A.
" 13	Batavia, Meeting with Vera Brittain
" 14	Cortland, Vera Brittain
" 15	Watertown, Vera Brittain
" 16	Oneonta, Vera Brittain
" 17	? Vera Brittain

(As of this printing this date is open through a cancellation.)

Bigelow Meetings

By the time you get this, meetings will have been held in Utica and Syracuse with Albert Bigelow, the Skipper of the Golden Rule. He will speak at the dinner meeting on "The Man Who Sailed" and on "Man Against the Bomb: the Voyage of the Golden Rule" at the evening meetings. SANE at Syracuse University is also sponsoring Bigelow on the campus in the afternoon when he will "Report on Europe and Geneva," speaking of the experiences he had in visiting European capitals and the Geneva talks in support of the cessation of bomb tests.

My part in these meetings is to assist Ray Hartsough, the AFSC Middle Atlantic Region Peace Secretary, in making arrangements, and to make contact with local people. This is also true of the Batavia meeting with Vera Brittain which Ray set up.

Follow-up

The Saturday, April 11, meetings at noon in Buffalo and at 6:00 in Rochester are for anyone who is interested in peace education in those cities. We will eat together and discuss how the areas can best be served in the field of peace education, what the problems are, points for special concentration, and resources. This kind of meeting, wherever possible, should prove fruitful because it draws concerned people together and aims at a more unified approach to community activity in peace education.

Hester Meetings

I arranged for and went with Hugh Hester, one of the Institute speakers and a retired Brigadier General, to the following meetings: SANE at Syracuse University with 150 in attendance. An informal luncheon at Drumlins with 10 present. The De Ruyter Federated Church with 40 present. Three classes in De Ruyter High School with 60 present. Two citizenship classes at Syracuse University with 75 present. The Cortland Y's Men with 40 present. The Syracuse Kiwanis with 140 present.

Brief Community Explorations

Cortland: I have been to Cortland twice, both visits were very brief and had a specific purpose as well as the general desire to become familiar with as much of the community as possible. I distributed flyers for the Syracuse Institute and met a number of people in so doing. Then I stopped off to see if Cortland could use Vera Brittain.

I met college faculty, ministers, and only a couple of community laymen. I have tried wherever possible to come up with some reasonable and useful insights into ways that I might be used by them. I met Protestant, Catholic, and Jew; pacifist and liberal; and I look forward to more opportunities to be of help in bringing a concern for peace before the community.

Oneonta: I met the minister-at-large of the Council of Churches, members of the Otsego Peace Council, and the secretary of the YMCA. There was a meeting at the home of E. Lewis B. Curtis, with a number of the members of the Peace Council present, and with Dick and Joan Moses also present.

We discussed how to reach the community in a college town. The importance of meetings not on the campus was seen. We talked of possible promotions through the Brotherhood Council and the Council of Churches. We made beginning plans for Vera Brittain to come to Oneonta.

Literature distribution was briefly dealt with. I had brought a large display and a number of people took items to pass on to other people.

Of special note is a possibility that came up in talking with the Rev. John Price, who is the adviser of the Teen Club. It has a forum before the social time and the subject of the choices under the draft is a real possibility for a program. I have tried to get copies of an FOR pamphlet on the subject to him for his use in a large mailing.

Hamilton: This brief exploration succeeded only in giving me a partial picture of the community and its problems. The approach in Hamilton to peace education is individual at its base, and thus poses different problems for the use of my services.

But I was impressed by a project that the Rev. Paul Swartout has carried out. It centers in the use of Martin Luther King's book, "Stride Toward Freedom," which has one of the best approaches to non-violence found anywhere. The book was used as the basis of study by groups in the church, in his preaching, and was gotten into the Library where others have been encouraged to read it. This project is worthy of being done in every church, or discussion or study type group.

High School Work Camp

Dick Hiler, the High School Secretary, came to Syracuse and aided in exploring the possibilities for a work camp. We have set one for the first week end in April at Dunbar Center. The project involves improving the facilities at the Center by painting them. A group of about 20 are expected and they will stay at the Center from Friday night to Sunday morning.

The group is also having in resource people to explore how they can gear into the campaign for open-occupancy in housing, and to inform us about the plans for urban renewal. A group from the Center is expected to be with our group to make the week end a more meaningful experience for all concerned.

Dr. Bob Greenberg of the Medical College is leading the group and taking major responsibility for the week end. The office and my services are a kind of clearing house in the project.

Other N.Y.S.P.C. Activities

An officers' meeting is being held in Utica on March 18 with Ray Hartsough and myself present. Plans and programs will be discussed.

Alan Peabody continues to fill engagements as a speaker or resource person on peace concerns. This brings out the point that we have people across the state who are willing to be used in this way.

Alan has recently been to Greenville and Albany. He spoke to small groups gathered together by Ruth Eldridge, former N.Y.S.P.C. secretary, on the 5th World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches.

Syracuse Peace Council Fund Campaign

Benjamin Shove gave a kick-off dinner for our every-past-contributor campaign. Twenty-one persons were present and twenty-six are taking part in the canvass. About 200 people are to be contacted.

As a result of having to spend some of the money pledged for '59 in '58, and increased costs in a number of things, the campaign was deemed a necessity. The visitors are taking information and March program flyers as well as asking for financial support. In order to break even this year contributions must total slightly over \$1,000 more than last year.

Returns are not yet complete, but already we have had some thank-you expressions by those who have been contacted.

World Order Meetings: Syracuse Council of Churches

On the four Tuesdays of April meetings are being planned to begin discussion on the Cleveland World Order Study Conference Report. A panel of four, with a moderator, will present brief statements of their positions and reasons for feeling as they do.

The four topics are: Disarmament, Economic Assistance, Communism and Recognition of Red China, and the U.N. The aim is to have a diversity of presentations and people on the panels. An expert, a minister, a layman, and a laywoman will make up the panel where possible. The moderator is the same for all four meetings and can give some continuity.

P E A C E - N E W S - L E T T E R

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DIVIDED CITY "To go from capitalist West Berlin to Communist East Berlin and back costs only 20 pfennings each way on the subway or the elevated, and is as easy as going from Manhattan to Brooklyn, but this swift and unimpeded transit is deceptive. The subway or elevated rider, unlike the motorist or pedestrian who goes by way of the Brandenburg Tor, does not even have to pass a border guard. Indeed the stranger does not know whether he is getting off in West or East Berlin. The same people, the same faces, are on both sides of the border, and there is a constant coming and going among them."

"The two Germanys and the two Berlins have one thing in common - they are the pets of the occupation powers."

-- I. F. Stone's Weekly, April 6, 1959

THE REAL POLICY "... Western policy on the German Question, as officially proclaimed during the past 10 years, no longer represents the real expectations and practical hopes of the principal Western European governments."

"They do not say it but they have come to know that the two Germanys cannot be 'reunited in freedom,' that is to say by liquidating the Communist regime in East Germany."

"There are now two German states, and every responsible European statesman realizes that they cannot be united within any foreseeable future and under any conditions which are now conceivable."

"But while everyone in the know accepts this central fact, nobody is prepared to proclaim it. For there are powerful internal political reasons in Western Europe, primarily and particularly in Western Germany, why the statesmen must shrink from the explicit public recognition of this central fact."

-- Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald Tribune, April 5, '59

14 YEARS MAKE CLEAVAGE DEEPER "The two-Germanys policy which the Russians have adopted rests finally, of course, upon their military power. They cannot be forced out of East Germany at any calculable military price...."

"What we have to take account of is the fact that in the 14 years which have elapsed since the Allies occupied Berlin and abolished the Nazi government of Germany, the two Germanys have grown apart."

"The Soviet Union on its side, the Western allies on their side, have developed powerful, indeed compelling interests in maintaining the division of Germany."

NATO FACTOR The strategical structure of NATO "rests on the deployment of the Allied armies in Western Germany, and on their reinforcement by a West German army. There is really not any way by which this military structure could be preserved in any conceivable form of a reunited Germany. Since all the Western allies regard the NATO shield as indispensable to their own security, they must in fact and they do in fact oppose any German settlement which would dismantle the military structure in West Germany."

-- Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald Tribune, April 6

FUTURE OF BERLIN Walter Lippmann acknowledges that "West Berlin lies in a strategic trap." Against the background of a Divided Germany, what can be done to secure the future of the 2½ million people of West Berlin?

Lippmann suggests that a new status needs to be found for Berlin under United Nations protection, a status that might be comparable to that of the Vatican City which is entirely surrounded by Italian territory.

POETRY CORNER

"It's a danger to be trusting one another.
One will seldom want to do what other wishes...
But unless some day somebody trusts somebody,
There'll be nothing left on earth except fishes."

-- From the song, A Puzzlement (by the King)
in The King and I

THE USA AND
DICTATORSHIPS

Recently James Bristol, AFSC representative in New Delhi, India, had a private conversation with the president of the All-India Congress Committee, during which one of the subjects of conversation was the military dictatorships which have come into power in Asia within recent months. Bristol's report states:

"We touched on the sore subject of American approval of dictatorships in Asia and Africa so long as they are directed against Communism. The frequently expressed viewpoint in the West that the peoples of the newly independent countries are probably not able to solve their problems under a democratic form of government was mentioned. The President then made a very telling point, namely, that if the United States and other Western nations approve of (and in some cases almost welcome) the rise of dictatorships in Asia and in Africa, India might (and so might other Asian countries) well think it better to have a dictatorship with a social philosophy (that is, Communism) than a dictatorship without a social philosophy (as in Pakistan, for example)."

James Bristol comments: "It appears that at least in America there is a too easy acceptance of these new military regimes with the comforting assurance that perhaps these countries are not yet ready for democracy. If this attitude helps to reinforce totalitarian elements in Asia and helps also to persuade the masses that even the democracies do not think dictatorship in underdeveloped countries is so bad, we could see a totalitarian Asia within the next decade. And how ironical it would be for the Western powers to have played a part in preparing the way for the ushering in of the totalitarian regimes, especially if they turn out to be Communist!"

-- AFSERC NOTES, Winter, 1959

PLAN YOUR
SUMMER NOW

We are enclosing the announcement of the annual Middle Atlantic Region, American Friends Service Committee Institute. This one is to be at Cape May, New Jersey. In addition to this Institute, there will be family camps at Camp Danby, Spencer, New York, August 8-15 and August 15-22. Complete information from this office or from Ray Hartsough, 20 S. Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Penna.

GENEVA
RECESS
OVER

The Geneva Conference for a Ban on Nuclear Weapons Test resumes on April 13th. Before the recess, tentative agreements had been reached on a number of essential issues, including the following:

1. That there should be a cessation of tests.
2. That there should be a global system of controls with approximately 180 inspection stations around the world.
3. That there should be a central control commission of approximately seven members.
4. That the membership of the control commission should be drawn from the three nuclear powers and from non-nuclear nations.
5. That there should be an administrator of the control machinery.
6. That each of the inspection teams should have approximately thirty members.
7. That the question of stopping nuclear tests should be considered as separate and apart from other disarmament questions.
8. That the treaty shall be of indefinite duration, but with the understanding that any nation may withdraw if obligations are not fulfilled.
9. That there shall be a periodic review of the control system.
10. That the treaty shall be registered with the United Nations.

The conference is hung up over two questions: (1) Who will serve on the inspection teams? (2) How will mobile inspection be controlled?

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CANADA AND THE ARMS RACE The Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the United Church of Canada, by a vote of 7-4 taken at its meeting on February 27, called upon Canada to set a moral example to the world by disarming as a matter of Christian principle.

The Board was meeting shortly after the Canadian Government had announced that it had terminated the development of the Avro Arrow jet interceptor plane. The Board was not advocating a reduction in taxes, but the diversion of monies now spent for "defense" to the hungry peoples, to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, to a UN police force, and to education and social services.

The following week the Vernon (British Columbia) News had an editorial which said: "The idea of scrapping our armed forces completely is a comparatively novel one which doesn't seem quite so novel since the scrapping of the Arrow. Scrapping the whole works would be just one step farther... gambling on peace, somehow, appears to be more constructive than gambling on war." -- Peace News, Mar. 27

THE DILEMMA OF CANADIAN DEFENSE POLICY MacClean's, a weekly Canadian magazine similar in format to Saturday Evening Post (though not necessarily in content) had a significant lead editorial in the issue of March 28, 1959. Extensive excerpts follow:

"Before it decides what weapon, if any, shall replace the Arrow, the government must face a decision of much deeper gravity.

"The big question in our defense policy has very little to do with the choice of weapons. It is only of secondary importance whether the Arrow is obsolete, whether the DEWline is obsolete, whether our NATO air squadrons and ground battalions are obsolete. It is of comparatively small consequence whether we decide that BOMARC and SAGE, which we haven't yet got, are already obsolete too.

"We have a much tougher question before us than any of these.

"Is Canada itself obsolete as a military nation?"

"We believe the answer is yes.... In the military sense the world has ceased to consist of Big Powers, Middle Powers and Small Powers. It consists only of Powers and non-Powers. To be a Power it is necessary to possess and control nuclear warheads and long-range missiles capable of landing them almost anywhere on earth. Canada possesses and controls neither... We might well quadruple our defense forces and our rate of defense spending in the next five years, and if a world war should come in that time it - and perhaps the world as well - could very easily be over before a single Canadian fired a single shot. We must do what we can to prevent the war and there may be much that we can do; but once the war begins we cannot count on having any more influence on its outcome than the State of Monaco.

"There are a number of ways in which our country might strive to change or live with these unhappy truths. Three obvious ones occur at once:

1. Continue to follow the fundamental lines of our postwar defense policy: i.e. accept our status as a military satellite of the United States but pretend we don't notice it. Buy or build BOMARCS, SAGE installations or anything else the United States is willing to let us have. This would show the rest of the world that we recognize our responsibilities and it would remind our immediate neighbors that we have no intention of deserting them. In short, it would accomplish exactly what the DEWline and Arrow programs accomplished - no less, no more.

2. Try to raise ourselves to the status of a Power by building our own nuclear warheads and long-range missiles. We would then possess our own deterrent and the means to decide for ourselves how it should be used. This, MacClean's believes, would have strong theoretical advantages over the existing policy, but only theoretical ones.

3. Make an open announcement that Canada has discovered itself to be obsolete as a military nation, and intends therefore to strive for peace mainly as an economic and political nation. Honor our existing military commitments until they run out, but make it clear that our ultimate establishment will consist only of modest, modestly armed mobile units available for United Nations police duty. And commit ourselves firmly to spend every last dollar thus pared from our defense budget in aid to less favored countries.

"This, we know, is a variation of the easy pacifism that has so often been discredited in the past. But today there are important differences. Economic aid has been proved to be a far more useful - and a far less expensive - weapon in the struggle for men's minds than anyone realized even so recently as a decade ago. The need for some check on armament is clearly visible to the Pentagon and to the Kremlin alike as the only alternative to race suicide. In spite of its past failures, disarmament

remains our last and only ultimate hope of survival. What country is in a better position to set an example in disarmament than Canada, which after trying to arm for ten years on the most costly scale in its history is still, for all practical purposes, as defenseless as the Canada of 1913 or the Canada of 1938."

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY: "Since the struggle for freedom and human dignity will continue, the question is this: How will the struggle for racial justice be waged? What Method? What are the forces that will be at work? What is the method that will be used? What will the oppressed peoples of the world do in this struggle to achieve racial justice?"

"There are several answers to this many-faceted question, but I would like to deal with only two.

"One is that the oppressed peoples of the earth can resort to the all-too-prevalent method of physical violence and corroding hatred. We all know this method; we're familiar with it. It is something of the inseparable twin of Western materialism, the hallmark of that idea.

"I cannot say that violence never wins any victories; it occasionally does. Nations often receive their independence through the use of violence. But violence only achieves temporary victory; it never can gain ultimate peace. It creates many more social problems that it solves. And violence ends up defeating itself.

"Therefore, it is my firm conviction that if the Negro succumbs to the temptation of using violence in his struggle for justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness. And our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

"The other method that is open to oppressed people as they struggle for racial justice is the method of nonviolent resistance, made famous in our generation by Mohandas K. Gandhi of India who used it effectively to free his people from political domination, economic exploitation, and humiliation inflicted upon them by Britain.

"There are several things we can say about this method. First, it is not a method of cowardice, of stagnant passivity; it does resist. The nonviolent resister is just as opposed to the evil that he is resisting as is the violent resister. He resists evil, but he resists it without violence.

"This method is strongly active. It is true that it is passive in the sense that the nonviolent resister is never physically aggressive toward the opponent, but the mind is always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is wrong.

"This method does not seek to defeat and humiliate the opponent but to win his friendship and understanding. Occasionally, the nonviolent resister will engage in boycotts and non-cooperation. But this is merely a means to awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor and to rouse his conscience.

THE END IS redemption, reconciliation. So the aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is bitterness. The method of nonviolence is directed at the forces of evil rather than at the individuals caught in the forces of evil. The nonviolent resister seeks to defeat evil systems rather than individuals who are victimized by the evil systems.

"The nonviolent resister accepts suffering without retaliation. He willingly welcomes suffering. The nonviolent resister realizes that unearned suffering is redemptive. He is willing to receive violence, but he never goes out as a perpetrator of violence. He comes to see that suffering does something to the sufferer as well as to the inflicter of the suffering."

-- Martin Luther King
Friends Journal, July 26, 1958
New Christian Advocate,
May, 1959

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"IF I WERE SECRETARY OF STATE"

Derk Bodde

(Derk Bodde is Professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania. This is the written version of a statement made by him at the American Friends Service Committee's Nineteenth Annual Institute of International Relations, Syracuse, N.Y., February 13-15, 1959, one session of which was devoted to the above topic.)

Any Secretary of State, if he is to do an effective job, must be guided by some overall view of life. Here then are some of the general principles or assumptions which I, in the entirely unlikely event that I were to be named Secretary of State, would try to keep in mind:

(1) That the so-called free world is not wholly good, nor is the world beyond the iron curtain wholly evil. Neither we nor they have a complete monopoly of virtue. In this connection I think I would try to drop such terms as "free world" and "iron curtain" altogether.

(2) That their ways and our ways of life both seem destined to last for some considerable time, so that what we and they must learn is how to live together. In short, that there is more than one conceivable road to salvation for the various peoples of the world.

(3) That we of the West must give up the comforting nineteenth century belief in the superiority of the white man, and welcome the fact that the non-white peoples constituting the bulk of the world's population are today rapidly assuming the status that is rightfully theirs.

(4) That in order to obtain what we want, we must also be prepared to give up what we do not absolutely need. In other words, that negotiations do not mean one-sided ultimatums, and can be fruitful only when we and the other side alike show a willingness to make concessions.

(5) That all of us, friend and foe alike, are subject to the evolutionary changes of history, so that political and economic differences which today seem irreconcilable may eventually come to be regarded by posterity in the same light as some of the bitterly-fought religious differences of our ancestors are today regarded by us.

(6) That no peace can be lasting without a concerted massive attack upon the great disparities of wealth today dividing the "have" from the "have-not" peoples, both as between different countries and within the same country.

(7) That an idea which to us seems evil cannot in the long run be successfully combatted merely by repression or military force, but only by putting a better idea in its place and making it work more effectively than the one we dislike.

With these by way of general principles, I would then try to carry out the following policies:

(1) Reforms in State Department personnel: I would try to attract to our foreign service men of scholarly training, capable of observing world events objectively and realistically, and equipped with a knowledge of the languages and cultures of the peoples with whom they deal. I would encourage them to report facts as they themselves honestly believe them to be, rather than as they think their superiors would want to see them. From Congress I would endeavor to secure funds sufficient to staff our embassies with men of merit, rather than men chosen on the basis of their financial contributions to one or other of our political parties. Whenever possible I would delegate authority to carefully chosen subordinates, rather than try to make of the State Department a one-man operation.

(2) Educating ourselves about the outside world: As a starter, I would make an extended tour of the Soviet Union, and from there--- provided this could be done in the absence of formal diplomatic relations--- I would go on to Communist China. In both countries I would not only talk to government officials, but also make every attempt to see how the everyday man lives and thinks. I would encourage our Senators and Congressmen to make similar trips, and in return would urge public figures of these two countries to travel here. To Communist China I would propose the free exchange of Chinese and American journalists.

(3) Democratizing our foreign policy: Among rank and file Americans, many of whom are today inarticulate on matters of foreign policy, I would attempt to arouse interest and understanding by bringing world issues before them in the form of regularly-scheduled nation-wide broadcasts, not unlike the famous fireside chats of

President Roosevelt. In such broadcasts I would encourage ordinary people to speak their minds to Washington, and would myself try to take careful consideration of the main trends of thought in what I said. Likewise I would maintain close contacts with Congress, both through occasional public addresses there and through private discussion.

(4) Publicizing American policy to the world: I would attempt to state official pronouncements of American policy in simple and dignified language, without resorting to propagandistic cliches, self-righteous moralizing, or vituperative replies to the sometimes intemperate attacks made by foreign spokesmen. Since divergence of public opinion is--- or at least should be---essential in a democracy, I would not attempt to hide such divergence, when it exists, in the output of official agencies like the Voice of America. On the other hand I would make it abundantly clear abroad that private agencies like Radio Free Europe are nothing more than private agencies, and therefore cannot serve as spokesmen for official United States policy.

(5) Reciprocal trade: I would strive for true reciprocity not only in words but in deeds. For example, I would make every effort to forestall recurrence of the recent episode in which a British firm, after submitting the lowest bid for a turbine installation in this country, saw the contract then handed to a higher-bidding American competitor on the specious grounds of "national security." I would also try to do away with at least the more blatant restrictions on trade between ourselves and the so-called iron curtain countries.

(6) Strengthening the United Nations: As one step in this direction, I would urge a broadening of the Security Council to include at least India---and possibly other countries as well---as permanent members. As to such thorny problems as Germany and Taiwan, I would in every case bring them before the United Nations, rather than try to settle them outside that body. Above all, I would urge the UN to launch a really major attack upon the problems of poverty, disease and ignorance throughout the world ---by promoting, for example, a gigantic TVA-like program for the entire Middle East, coordinated to lift the living standards of that region as a whole, rather than operating on a piecemeal basis among several rival countries.

(7) Reduction of armaments: While realizing that this could not be achieved overnight, I would, as an initial step, propose a cut of five or ten per cent in our annual military budget, and present this sum as a special contribution to the UN for constructive programs of the sort just mentioned. I would accompany it with an appeal to the other major powers to do likewise, and the suggestion that in this way we and they could annually divert ever increasing sums from destructive to constructive purposes.

I am not so naive as to suppose that these proposals could be carried out without violent and possibly insurmountable opposition. Yet, on the other hand, the reaction to them abroad would, I believe, be on the whole strongly favorable, and even here at home, though they would arouse much controversy, I believe that they would stir the minds of many people who as of now have been reduced by the seeming hopelessness of the present situation to despair or apathy. Thus, under what might prove to be a mounting tide of public opinion both at home and abroad, it is quite conceivable that a gradual warming of the cold war atmosphere could take place. Such a warmer atmosphere, I believe, is necessary if really lasting settlements for the many specific problems dividing East from West are to be reached. For it is not these problems per se that are the real stumbling blocks, but rather the psychological fixations that underlie them on both sides. Once these fixations have been weakened, I am confident that solutions to the problems themselves can and will be found.

* * * * *

SCIENTISTS & TEST BAN The Executive Committee of the 2200 member Federation of American Scientists urged that the United States make an agreement to stop nuclear tests "a primary objective of our foreign policy."

The group said "no system can be 100 per cent effective in detecting very small test explosions, but a system can be developed which carries out adequate sampling to prevent any serious violation."

"The small risk that a nation might attempt evasion with an unimportant small bomb or two must be weighed against the much greater risk of going on with the arms race with no agreement in sight to limit it." (United Press International, June 7th)

MAINLAND CHINA INVOLVED Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey said that any agreement that is "really effective and binding" would have to include nations other than Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, "particularly Red China."

He warned that the huge Chinese mainland could be "the hideout" for Soviet tests unless it was policed along with Russian territory. Sen. Humphrey said that an international control commission could work with Red China without forcing the United States itself to recognize the Communist regime. (UPI, June 7th.)

PENTAGON & NUCLEAR BAN Marquis Childs, Washington columnist, said (Syracuse Herald-Journal, June 5th): "The intensive propaganda campaign being conducted by the Pentagon to prevent an agreement on the ending of nuclear tests is an understandable reflex of those who believe America's security lies in piling nuclear armaments of every kind higher and higher."

"It is aided and abetted by certain distinguished nuclear physicists, conspicuously Edward Teller, 'father of the H-bomb,' and by impassioned advocates of limited war fought with small nuclear weapons...."

"Increasingly, however, the whole limited-war thesis has come to be doubted..."

"Those who know at least as much as the best-informed sources in the Pentagon believe the consequences of failure of the Geneva test talks ... can be grave indeed."

THE ROLE OF ARMS MAKERS Roscoe Drummond (Syracuse Herald-Journal, June 10th) points out that "big defense contractors are bringing improper pressures to bear upon Congress and upon the Pentagon in deciding what weapons ought to be manufactured." He raises several questions:

"What obsolete weapons are the big contractors pressuring the services and Congress to build?"

"In what way and on whom - in the Pentagon and in Congress - are they exerting pressure?"

"Have the civilian or military leaders of Army, Navy, or Air Force, encouraged these contractors to exert these pressures in behalf of their own favorite projects?"

"What evidence is there, if any, that retired military and civilian defense officials - and retired congressmen - have used past connections improperly in serving defense contractors?"

BACKGROUND Several Metropolitan New York newspapers carried a Bomarc missile advertisement listing some 8,000 subcontractors involved in the project. This "ad" appeared at a time when the future of the particular missile was under discussion. The implication, of course, was that an adverse decision would result in loss of thousands of jobs.

QUESTION (from the editor). If the United States is serious in pursuing a negotiated program of disarmament, why has not the government developed a planning group to plan the transition from a war-fear-of-war stimulated economy to one in which arms will no longer be the most significant factor and in such fashion as to minimize the dislocation of workers (i.e., unemployment)? One of my parishioners recently stated that he didn't think the administration wanted the Geneva talks to succeed because of the unemployment problem which would follow.

FREEDOM TO PRETEND "Everyone, including Civil Defense officials and the most ardent Legionnaires, knows that there is no protection against H-bombs. But with the imaginative genius characteristic of politicians and ostriches, the government requires its citizens once a year to sit in parked cars, stand under awnings, or be herded into stores and offices as a rehearsal for the bomb and missile attack it seems determined to bring about. Perhaps the purpose is to induce a fear psychology that will accept the conscription of our funds in ever-mounting taxes to pay for ever-mounting military expenditures. Perhaps it is to get people more and more used to doing what they are told, no matter how ridiculous it is.

"A growing number of individuals throughout the country are refusing to participate in this exercise in insanity." Dorothy Day, Arthur Harvey, Ammon Hennacy, Karl Meyer and Deane Mowrer served 10 day sentences in New York City prisons (after spending 5 days in prison awaiting trial) and 12 others were given suspended sentences as first offenders. Two were arrested in Queens; two in Haverstraw, and three in Gowanda, New York.
Liberation, May, 1959

BURMA IRKED Burma has stepped up a drive to eliminate some remnant troops of the one-time Chinese Nationalist army who at present control parts of Eastern Burma and make raids into Communist China. These Nationalist troops control much of the illicit opium trade between Burma and Thailand.

The guerrillas apparently are supplied secretly by plane. One airstrip was captured by Burmese troops during May, but another is reported to have been built.

At least part of the supplies are of American origin. American hand grenades and ammunition have been found by the Burmese army.

The troops were for years a sore point in relations between Burma and the United States. The Burmese were suspicious that the United States, which supports the Nationalist government on Formosa, was supplying the Nationalist remnants in Burma.

Associated Press in N.Y. Herald Tribune,
June 9th.

The POLITICS OF MYOPIA "Today it's Cuba, Nyasaland, the Congo. Tomorrow it will be Haiti, The Dominican Republic and heaven only knows what other country....

"We are against colonialism in Hungary, but not in Nyasaland. We are against the police state in East Germany, but not in the Dominican Republic. We are for the rights of self-determination of Tibet but not of Algeria.

"Yes, the West is democratic - at home. But part of the democracy its people enjoy in the U.S., Britain, France, Belgium and elsewhere is paid for by the sweat, blood and tears of the exploited people of Africa, Asia and Latin-America. Until this is changed we can hardly maintain the pose of being 'Christian' nations."

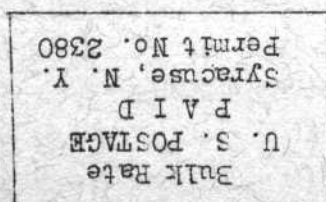
Sidney Lens in Liberation, May 1959.

A GENEROUS AND TIMELY ACT On May 20th, the United States government publicly sought forgiveness from the thousands of Americans of Japanese ancestry who were forced into World War II "relocation centers" after Pearl Harbor.

At a ceremony attended by high government officials, the Justice Department formally completed a program to return American citizenship to most of those Nisei who renounced it in a wave of bitterness against their confinement.

Attorney General William P. Rogers said that program was an attempt to "make up for a mistake our nation made" toward a group of its citizens.

UPI dispatch.



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RENEGADE? A Conference of scientists at California Institute of Technology was thrown into an uproar ... when speakers began questioning the value of America's missile and space research.

"Our missile program is the swan song of a dying civilization," shouted Dr. A. R. J. Grosch from the floor

"We don't need better missiles to destroy each other -- the ones we now have will do the job adequately.

"And there isn't any point in zooming off into outer space. We could spend the money better solving problems here at home -- taking care of our overcrowded, underfed millions. If we did that, we wouldn't need to find new worlds to colonize."

Dr. Grosch is manager of space programs for the International Business Machines Corporation, which makes computers for missiles and space vehicles.

His outburst followed a speech by Dr. Louis J. Ridenour, Jr., who said the missile program was following America's "traditional economy of waste."

"We turn in our cars before they are worn out," he said, "and our nation would go broke if we didn't. Our missile program fits into the system very well. We send up missiles that never come back, and so we have to make more missiles.

"This is fine. It creates jobs and keeps money in circulation.

"In the not too distant future, man will be boarding the other fellow's satellites and destroying them. This means more satellites must be built, and the economy is kept functioning at top speed."

Dr. Ridenour is assistant general manager of research and development in the missile systems division of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

Then Dr. Grosch arose.

"We are planning to spend millions of dollars a year on new missiles and space probes," he said. "And I ask why?"

"Why must we continue to shovel these millions into companies that are interested primarily not in new scientific knowledge but in their 7 per cent profit? That 7 per cent alone would go a long way toward solving the social problems that create warfare and make space exploration and colonization necessary.

"We are in a bad way, I'm afraid," said Dr. Grosch, "when we try to solve our problem by mass killing -- or by paddling off to a bigger island in space."

-- Associated Press, March 21

When contacted by reporters about the remarks of Dr. Grosch, Charles Benton, Jr., General Manager of IBM's military products divisions, said, "His views don't agree with my views nor with those of the company." The Syracuse Herald-American (March 22) stated that Dr. Grosch "was declared a renegade Saturday by the company."

THEY ARE STILL TALKING! The Geneva talks seeking an end to nuclear testing still continue. In an article published on May 22 (Syracuse Herald-Journal), Marquis Childs revealed that both the Red Army and the Pentagon are headaches to the negotiators.

Two representatives of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Elfan Rees, and Dr. Fredric Nolde, have been calling on the heads of the three delegations reflecting the concern of church members in almost every country over increased air pollution.

Russian delegate Semyon Tsarapkin, "it was evident to them, as indeed it has been to his fellow delegates," is eager to sign an agreement. "What seemed remarkable was his frankness in discussing his own problem.

"The Americans who want an agreement have trouble with the Pentagon or so I hear," Tsarapkin said. "But don't you think that I have just as much trouble with the Red Army?"

"The Russian delegate has said the same thing on friendly and relaxed occasions to his British and American colleagues and they are inclined to credit him with telling the truth about his troubles with his own military. It is a striking bit of evidence of the power that the military exercises on both sides of the great divide over forces capable of obliterating mankind."

CAN WE DISCERN A SHIFT IN THE LINE? Doris Fleeson, in an article published June 16 (Syracuse Herald-Journal) gave a kind of preview to the recently completed hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (the Holifield radiation sub-committee).

"The principle purpose of this preview of expected Soviet Action in an all-out war is to point up that the doctrine of massive resistance is out of date....

"What the Committee will be attempting to drive home is the fact that with bombs of present size, and the means of delivering them rapidly perfected, the odds are all with an attacking power ...

"Two things seem apparent as the hearings are being organized. One is that the attack being simulated by the committee would probably be far more modest than a real one.

"Another is that the hearings may persuade a good many people that there must be no nuclear wars."

THE NUMBERS In the hearings this year, it was assumed that 260 bombs with a total
GAME power of 1,453 megatons would be dropped upon our country. On June 25th, Holifield admitted "It would be ridiculous to assume that only 260 weapons would be used in an attack upon any major nation when many hundreds of thousands of weapons exist and thousands of bombers are available and four to five hundred submarines as one nation has."

Two years ago, civil defense authorities had presented figures to the committee on a hypothetical attack with 250 weapons, but estimated the total megatonnage at 2,500, or 1,000 more tons than assumed this year.

There is a contrast between the assumptions of these hearings and the attacks assumed in the Rand Corporation's study of July 1, 1958 which "figured that a 20,000 megaton attack hitting 150 U. S. cities even with as much as six hours' warning time would kill 160 million Americans. They also figured that a 1,500 megaton attack on 50 American cities would kill 90 million Americans. But the Holifield hearings assumed that a megatonnage almost the same as this -- 1,453 -- could hit 71 metropolitan areas and result in only 40 million deaths or 50 million fewer than the Rand Study assumed."

I. F. Stone's Weekly, July 6, 1959

The Rand Corporation is an "independent, non-profit" corporation set up by the Air Force in 1948 to handle long range research problems.

WHO'S JUMPY? Regardless of talk of nuclear attack and counter-attack, Moscow has not taken the trouble to have an air-raid drill.

Unlike American cities that have gone through small ceremonies that might look like air-raid drills, Moscow is acting as if atom bombs had never been invented.

There are no air-raid shelters in the city in active service, nor is there any indication of where to run in case the big flash comes...

Associated Press from Moscow, June 27th

NO WORSE THAN A BAD COLD The manner in which testimony was given at the Holifield hearing suggests that the mood with which one should approach the coming Armageddon is one of calm and detachment. To be sure, Eugene J. Quindlen of the office of Civil Defense estimates that one out of every four Americans would die in a total nuclear war. But the moral to be drawn from the hearings, says the Washington Star, "is not that millions would die but that most Americans would survive -- and democracy and the national economy would, too."

Yes, many Americans might survive, but what would be left for the survivors could hardly be that to which they were accustomed before the Big Bang! Indeed, it might be more merciful to die quickly than to crawl out of a cellar hovel two weeks later into a world where the dangers could not be seen, where one could not be certain if the water was safe to drink, or the food safe to eat -- provided it could be obtained. And how would those of us accustomed to the supermarket and the corner grocery be able to secure enough food for survival?

Much better that Governor Rockefeller and his associates, and all readers of P.N.L. should work for the things which make for peace, and against those things which make for war, rather than to divert those energies into building a place of refuge in the basement which might, in fact, be little more than a tomb. -- The Angry editor

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

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Our World in Miniature

A picture of mankind's relative shares of material prosperity.

by Henry Smith Leiper

If in imagination we compress the present population of the world, now over two and a half billion, into a group of a thousand persons living in a single town, the following is the picture of contrasts we would then vividly see.

Sixty persons would represent the U.S. population: all others would be represented by 940. The 60 Americans would have half the total income of the entire town; the 940 would share the other half.

Thirty-six of the Americans in the town would be Christian Church members; and 24 would not. In the town as a whole, about 300 would be Christians and 700 would not. At least 80 persons in the whole town would be believing Communists and 370 would be under Communist domination. Possibly 70 in the whole town would be Protestant Christians.

Three hundred and three persons in the whole town would be white; 697 would be non-white. The 60 Americans would have an average life expectancy of 70 years; all the other 940 would average under 40.

The Americans would have 15½ times as much per person as all the rest on an average. They would produce 16 per cent of the town's total food supply, eat up 14½ per cent of that total supply and keep most of the remaining 1½ per cent for their future use in

expensive storage equipment. When it is remembered that most of the 940 non-Americans in the town would always be hungry and never know quite when they would get enough to eat, the situation created by this disparity in food supply and the existence of vast reserves becomes fairly apparent, particularly in view of the fact that the Americans already eat 72 per cent above the optimum food requirements. They could actually save money by giving away excess food because of the cost of storing it: but they think that would be a dangerous "give-away program of soft-headed do gooders."

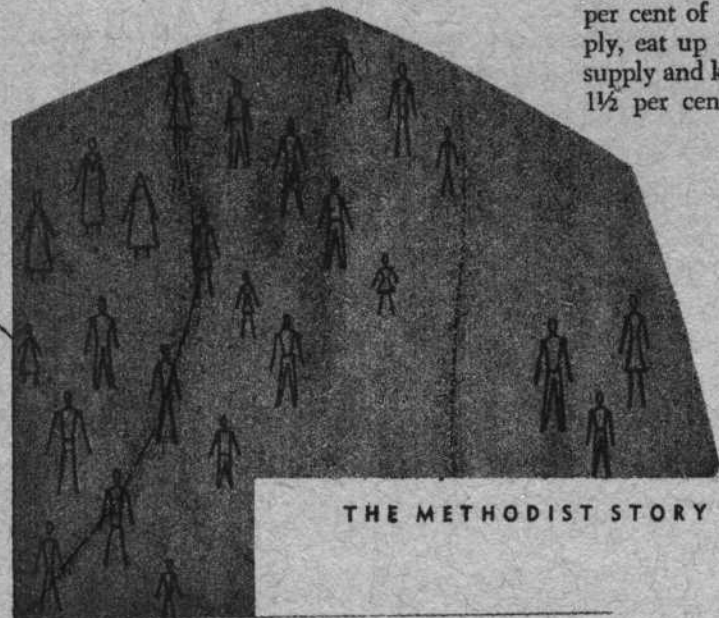
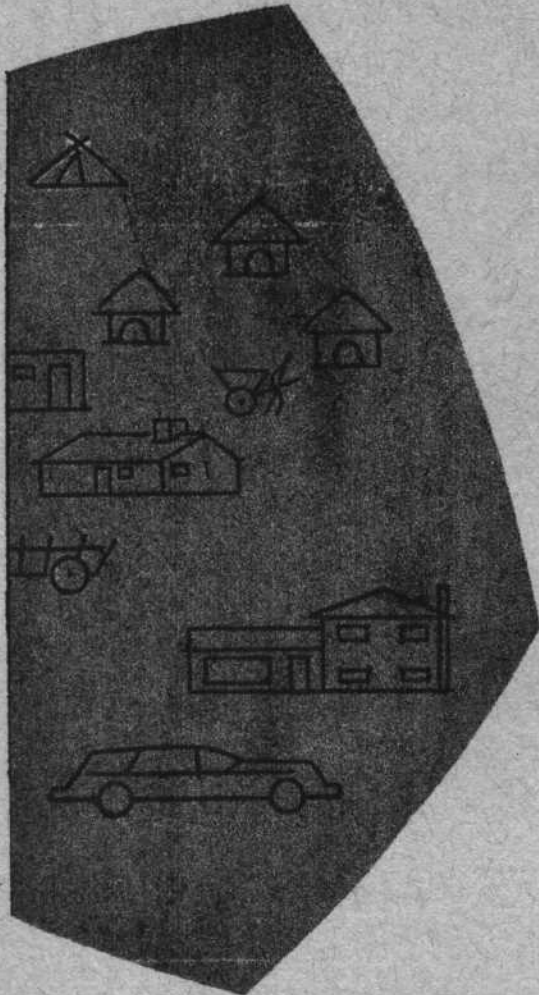
The 60 Americans would have, of the town's total supply: 12 times as much electric power as all the rest; 22 times as much coal; 21 times as much petroleum, 50 times as much steel and 50 times as much in general equipment.

The lowest income groups among the 60 Americans would be better off than the average in much of the rest of the town.

Literally most of the non-American people in the town would be poor, hungry, sick and ignorant. Almost half would not be able to read or write.

More than half would never have heard of Christ or what he stood for. But very soon more than half would be hearing about Karl Marx.

In view of these facts it is interesting to think that the average Christian American family would be spending \$850 a year for defense in force, and less than \$3.50 a year to share with the rest of the people in the town the knowledge of why there is any Christmas.



THE METHODIST STORY



JULY-AUGUST 1959

OPEN GERMS AND HIDDEN VIRUSES

".... The hidden viruses of these instrumentalities are tangibly responsible not only for sex obsession and sex delinquency of our population but also for the other non-sexual forms of delinquency, demoralization, and stultification. Murder, sadistic assault and battery, and other forms of crime are the second main topic of our popular literature, press, radio, television, movies, and other means of entertainment and 'education.' Beginning with the westerns and detective stories where people are killed, beaten, and

mutilated by the dozens, and ending with the more sophisticated stories and pictures of human bestiality, these 'productions' successfully educate the public into tolerating and accepting this sort of behavior as perfectly normal, as something that may happen with anyone and that should be taken without worry, regret, and remorse. By glamorizing the best killers and creating the heroic sagas of their murderous exploits, these productions liberally contribute to the depreciation of human life and dignity, and effectively induce and habituate especially children to this sort of conduct.

"Besides these instrumentalities, the young generation is coercively conditioned and officially trained in the difficult art of mass murdering of innocent people, including children, women, and old folks, and in a merciless destruction of anything and anybody that happens to be an obstacle to the realization of goals of private persons, groups, or the military and public policies of existing governments. Two world wars and innumerable small wars of this century, in which all parties carried on indiscriminate mass-killing of combatants and noncombatants; expansion of drafted armed forces where youth is intensely trained, brain-washed, and conscience-washed for the business of effective murdering and remorseless destroying of whole cities and villages of 'the enemy'; the pitiless wars of the gangs, of business concerns, and labor unions with their opponents; all forms of violence used by antagonistic groups (racial, political, and economic) in their incessant struggle with each other; feverish preparations for the next world war in which existing rulers unblushingly boast to wipe out millions of lives and turn the planet into 'an abomination of desolation' - these and thousands of similar lessons of merciless killing, mutilating, and mistreating man by man, and of the wantonest destruction of anything, including the greatest values of mankind, for the realization of perfectly temporary, parochial, often worthless, purposes relentlessly and systematically aim to demoralize the young generation, and to eradicate from its moral conscience the eternal verities of right and wrong. They idly teach the young generation the cynical rules that 'might is right,' and that 'everything is permitted, if you can get away with it.'

"Being born, reared, and trained in this murderous atmosphere of our age, a considerable part of the young generation is unavoidably affected by it. It would be a miracle if in these conditions juvenile (and adult) delinquency were not increasing, and if all the teenagers were to remain sound and innocent, free from cynicism, wanton violence, senseless destructiveness, mental disorders, and other defects. The really surprising fact is a comparatively modest rate of increase of the discussed diseases..."

-- Pitrim A. Sorokin, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University.
From Christianity Today, July 6, 1959

On HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

"In taking responsibility for the bombing of Dresden and Hamburg, to say nothing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Americans went beyond what it seems to me the dictates of Christian conscience should have allowed....

"I regret, as an American and as a Christian, that these things were done. I think it should be our aim to do nothing of the sort in any future military encounter. If we must defend our homes, let us defend them as well as we can in the direct sense, but let us have no part in making millions of women and children and noncombatants hostages for the behavior of their own governments.

"It will be said to me: This means defeat. To this I can only reply: I am skeptical of the meaning of 'victory' and 'defeat' in their relation to modern war between great countries. To my mind the defeat is war itself. In any case it seems to me there are times when we have no choice but to follow the dictates of our conscience, to throw ourselves on God's mercy, and not to ask too many questions."

-- George F. Kennan, former State Department
official in The Atlantic, May 1959

Steve Allen, popular TV star is quoted in the April 14 issue of Look Magazine, "When I was about to be drafted into the Army, it occurred to me for the first time that there was a direct conflict between the hatred I was being induced to feel on patriotic grounds and the hate-the-sin-but-love-the-sinner philosophy that my religious advisers counseled. Since I was not brave enough to become a conscientious objector, I became a soldier."

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KHRUSHCHEV VISIT AT LONG ISLAND The material for this Newsletter is being compiled on the evening of September 15th, the day that Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev arrived in the United States and the day on which the General Assembly of the United Nations has once more convened.

Not too many days ago, Drew Pearson pointed out that in the few short months since the passing on of John Foster Dulles, that there has been a "thaw" in Soviet-American Relations brought about by the resumption of leadership by President Eisenhower. Matters are now being done his way, and quietly, said Mr. Pearson, several of the Dulles Policies are being reversed or abandoned.

The visit of Premier Khrushchev is one fruit of this change. There are some in the government and in the President's own party who have opposed this visit; and it is rumored that Mr. Khrushchev has a similar problem with some of his Communist associates in the Soviet Union who feel that this visit is fruitless.

While we should not overestimate the value of the visit of the Soviet leader to the United States and the value of the subsequent visit of President Eisenhower to the Soviet Union, we can be grateful that the leaders of the two presently most powerful nations in the world are willing to talk with each other face to face. It was Isaiah who many centuries ago said, in the face of great antagonisms, "Come, let us reason together."

The summit conferences should not cause any of us involved in the many Peace Movements to relax and lose sight of numerous vital issues, a few of which this issue will call to your attention.

GERMS AND CHEMICALS TO REPLACE H-BOMBS? Jack Raymond, writing in the New York Times, August 9, said: "Leading military officials are trying to overcome public horror of chemical, biological, and radiological warfare ..."

"What the public must know, according to the highest Defense Department authorities, is that many forms of chemical and allied warfare are more 'humane' than existing weapons.

"For example, certain types of 'psychochemicals' would make it possible to paralyze temporarily entire population centers without damage to homes and other structures...

"Reflecting the Pentagon's effort to gain public acceptance for heretofore disreputable war techniques, the House Committee on Science and Astronautics urges ... tripling of the country's spending on chemical-biological-radiological research and development...

"Fitting into the new Pentagon campaign for public enlightenment were a series of speeches and articles..."

HOW LONG WILL THE NUCLEAR TESTS BE SUSPENDED? The year-long ban on Nuclear Tests ended on August 31st. In view of the forthcoming exchange of visits between himself and Premier Khrushchev, President Eisenhower ordered a two-month extension of the ban. The ban is due to expire on October 31st of this year.

"Pressures to resume testing are mounting in the Atomic Energy Commission and Congress," says the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

The Committee also drew attention to the fact that the U.S. Senate approved a sum of \$2,400,000 on July 14 for Defense Department "public relations" activities but refused to provide \$500,000 for technical and scientific studies of armaments reduction and control.

RACE RELATIONS - KEY TO PEACE? "The crucial question in American foreign policy is not guns, but the image of America that is projected abroad. If we want to be strong, we have to deserve respect," Prof. Louis Nemzer, one of America's leading authorities on Russia, told students attending the United Rubber Workers' Summer School at Ohio State University.

"We are debating a \$40 billion military budget, but another story - the story of Dr. Ralph Bunch being denied membership at a New York tennis club - is in its own way more important than the military budget."

Nemzer said people throughout the world see America in terms of its race relations and that Communism has the best chance of winning the cold war by convincing other people that we are hypocrites when we talk about freedom and democracy and then deny certain freedoms to some of our citizens.

"Every person in Russia knows more about Little Rock than most Americans," Nemzer said. Racial incidents help the cause of world Communism.

The greatest danger from the Soviets, said Dr. Nemzer, is a political one. Communism could conceivably win the cold war without firing a shot. Most of the people in the world are non-white and they keenly feel any incident of racial prejudice. And these

are the very people America must win to its side. Every Little Rock incident is a propaganda victory for Russia, and this Nemzer felt should be a sobering thought for Americans.

-- United Rubber Worker, August, 1959

WHAT WOULD PEACE DO TO OUR ECONOMY? During August, news of the forthcoming talks between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev caused another break in the stock market. The arms industry stock - missiles, aircraft, and electronics - those which the New York Times said are "likely to be affected most by a thawing of the cold war" - fell most heavily.

There can be no question as to the importance of arms manufactures in averting massive unemployment in the United States and in keeping our economy prosperous. So far as your editor knows, the government has not made any provision for planning how to convert the arms plant to useful non-military production so as to avert massive unemployment in the event that the government should determine that a slowdown in the arms race is possible.

Apparently Death Still Pays Dividends!

RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT TO BE STUDIED Five communities in New York State have been selected as locations for monitoring radioactive fallout, according to Irving B. Stafford, state conservationist. They are Malone, Oneonta, Norwich, Penn Yan and Belmont.

Also equipment will be shipped to the State Soil Scientist, Raymond L. Marshall in Syracuse, the state headquarters of the Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

NATIONWIDE PEACE STUDY In previous issues, we have pointed out that the National Council of Churches and its affiliated denominations have launched a Nationwide Program of Education and Action for Peace which will continue in church circles until June, 1960.

The New York State Council of Churches, in a series of eight Christian Responsibility Convocations, is including a seminar on "A Christian Program for Peace" to train leadership for local church participation in this study and action effort. Readers may be interested in the Convocation schedule:

Sept. 22, Poughkeepsie; Sept. 23, Schenectady; Sept. 24, Ticonderoga; Sept. 25, Watertown; Oct. 13, Lockport; Oct. 14, Jamestown; Oct. 15, Elmira; Oct. 16, Auburn.

Copies of the Report of the 5th World Order Study Conference, "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet," may be ordered from SPC at 35¢ per copy, postpaid.

HAVE YOU SEEN? Saturday Evening Post recently ran a series of articles on Radioactive Fallout which is worth reading. While the author tried to report the opinions of the experts alarmed by the fallout and those who say it isn't so bad, he made it clear that most recent evidence points to the more rapid descent of the dangerous debris which has already been blown into the stratosphere.

Redbook for July had an interesting article, "A Family's Voyage Into Danger." It seeks to explain why Earl Reynolds and his family defied the government by sailing the Phoenix into the H-Bomb test zone.

Very useful is a new film, "The Forbidden Voyage of the Phoenix," 20 minutes sound, black and white, which may be booked through SPC. Built around the dramatic voyage and the subsequent arrest of Earl Reynolds, it brings out some of the basic facts of the dangers involved in nuclear tests, and it testifies to the importance of civil disobedience in these times. Good for starting a discussion.

DON'T FORGET "Which Way The Wind?" the DocuDrama presented by AFSC based on "Speak Truth to Power" which appears in New York State as follows:

Syracuse, September 30th, 8:30 p.m., University Regent Theater

Buffalo, October 1

AND The Fall Round-up at Drumlins, Syracuse on Saturday, October 3rd, at which Andre Trocme, leader in French non-violent resistance to Germany, and international F.O.R. secretary, will be the chief speaker.

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The Fall Round-up at Drammens, Syracuse on Saturday, October 21st, at which Andre' Trocme, leader in French non-violent resistance to Germany, and international F.O.R. secretary, will be the chief speaker.

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October 19, 1959

REFLECTIONS and RANDOM THOUGHTS The last issue of the News-Letter, although written prior to the Khrushchev visit, arrived after the visit was completed. That the visit was fraught with significance can be seen against a certain backdrop. Two responsible leaders within the church peace movement made it clear, during the summer, that Preventative War is under discussion in high places in the Pentagon and State Department. Darrell Randall (Associate Director, Dep't of Int'l Affairs, Nat'l Council of Churches) stated in Poughkeepsie that many top leaders of the government, on the other hand, realizing what would happen if current weapons are used, want to reduce the levels of vituperation and hatred which have been built up over the years. The imperative need, he suggested, is for public opinion to support these efforts to achieve a thaw in the cold war.

I. F. Stone in his weekly (October 12th) suggests that the President's efforts to bring about a relaxation of tensions is being undercut within his own party and administration. One illustration of this is the recently released report of the House Un-American Activities Commission released on October 11 under the title, "The Crimes of Khrushchev."

Others have noted the efforts of the press to resume the cold war following the end of Mr. Khrushchev's visit. One illustration: an article in a nationally syndicated Sunday supplement on October 4th which repeated the charge that the first Mrs. Khrushchev was sent to a concentration camp in order to make it possible for Mr. Khrushchev to marry the present Mrs. Khrushchev.

The question which needs to be raised is not whether or not past behavior of any individual or nation left much to be desired, but whether or not the leaders of the great powers can recognize the gravity of the situation, and move on with new insights towards more wholesome attitudes and behavior. Certainly the reception given Mr. Khrushchev by the American people indicates a widespread longing for some new and more imaginative approach to world problems than that which has relied principally on the accumulation of armaments and the maintenance of a relatively rigid and inflexible posture.

Dr. Randall (referred to above) suggests that the Russians have learned from experience that the ruthless and repressive methods, such as used in Hungary, are not successful in winning friends and influencing people, and that the Soviet Union has embarked upon new methods for winning influence around the world, primarily in the realm of economic aid and technical assistance. Dr. Randall suggests that there would be something ironic if we were to condemn the Russian leaders because they have become "better."

Andre' Trocme', International Fellowship of Reconciliation Secretary, in addresses in the Syracuse area, was emphatic in his insistence that it will be a tragic mistake if we do not take Mr. Khrushchev's disarmament proposals most seriously, that there is nothing more disconcerting to a man than to have his ideas and proposals regarded as insincere. In analyzing the situation facing underdeveloped nations, Trocme' suggested that the East may have more answers than the West to offer those nations which want to move rapidly into the modern industrial era.

-- The Editor

KHRUSHCHEV, America's counter-espionage chief and the world's top Communist joshingly
DULLES 'agreed' that in certain instances both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. prob-
AGREE ably are paying individuals to sell information to both sides.

Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, the only newsman among 100 invited guests to the White House Dinner on Sept. 15th, described the encounter as 'the most amusing episode' of the evening. The head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles, accompanied by J. Edgar Hoover, came over to chat with the visiting Communist. Reported Canham:

"...Allen Dulles said to him rather blandly, 'Mr. Khrushchev, you may have seen some of my intelligence reports.' And Khrushchev said, 'Yes, I believe we get much of our information from the same people, and we both pay the same people.'

"Dulles then said, 'Perhaps we could save the wealth a little by getting together and only paying them once.' And Khrushchev said, 'Yes, that's an excellent idea.'"

--Boston Herald, September 17, 1959

THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE Many people have observed that the Communist challenge to the West is no longer so much military as economic; that many underdeveloped nations are more attracted to Communism than to Western democracy.

Clarence Randall is a businessman (Inland Steel) whose views have been modified over the years ("my record was not good," "inexpressibly naive," he writes). He backs foreign aid and lower tariffs on the ground of the national interest and safety. He tells why it is far more difficult than usually believed to make a democracy out of Egypt, to make private enterprise flourish in Thailand, to make a cohesive state out of Nigeria. He has discovered that people can have verve and satisfaction not only in European-type socialism but in Russian-type communism.

Mr. Randall worries about the Russian aid-and-trade offensive, and arrives at the conclusion that an American business community willing occasionally to sacrifice self-interest is a prerequisite for meeting that offensive. "The time has come for industry to make it clear that what is best for the United States will be at the top of the agenda when the board of directors meets to make basic decisions, even though that may cut earnings somewhat in the third quarter."

Randall recognizes the antipathetic attitude of businessmen towards government. Sadly he tells of his conviction that the "broad American public" is acquiring a sense of responsibility about world affairs but that "it is only as to the business community that I have doubts and reservations." Randall hopes that the business community will be spared some of his own foolishness about the world.

The Communist Challenge to American Business by Clarence B. Randall.
Boston: Atlantic - Little Brown. \$3.50.

WHICH WAY THE WIND? The AFSC Docu-Drama played to more than 400 in Syracuse, and to lesser audiences in Rochester and Buffalo. Everywhere it has been enthusiastically received. Clark Larrabee in the Philadelphia Inquirer (Sept. 24) said, "Which Way the Wind?" is guaranteed to jolt any viewer who is complaisant about the way in which the world is heading...

"In a series of short interludes, flashbacks, Socratic discussions, arguments with a heckler and quotations from various sources such as newspapers, Civil War letters, articles by scientists and Presidential statements, the author, Philip Lewis, manages to put his point across like a slap in the face.

"And yet all this is not completely grim. There is humor, always intentional, and gentle endearing touches that soften the impact..."

It is possible that a troupe in Western New York will undertake to put on "Which Way the Wind?" for additional groups. Meanwhile, if you have not seen the play (or if you have) and want a terrific source book of powerful quotations, why not order a copy of the script from Lena Gray, \$1.00 postpaid?

FOOD FOR PEACE ? The United States government has \$8.8 billions invested in surplus foods. Storage costs are presently \$1 billion per year, and by 1961 will probably reach \$1.4 billion.

It is expected that the 1959 wheat harvest will reach 1.1 billion bushels of wheat. Of this, 600 million bushels are sufficient for domestic needs. There will be 500 million bushels to add to the storage bins.

Disposing of surpluses is a complex problem, lest the economies of other exporting nations be disturbed. Public Law 480 was designed to provide for the disposal of some surplus foods. 9 agencies are involved in its administration.

Senator Humphrey wants to rename the law, simplify its administration, enlarge its scope, and make it permanent. "Does it make sense to continue our aid programs on a year to year legislative basis...? In the case of food, as in other foreign-aid programs, a long term program makes a good deal of sense. For one thing, it would encourage the kind of continuity and purposeful direction so notably absent from our sprawling foreign-aid apparatus. For another, it would enable consuming countries to count on an assured supply of American foodstuffs in their long-term development plans..."

In spite of the problems involved in sharing our surpluses, is there not "an enormous potential for human good that lies locked in our storage bins?"

Karl Meyer
"Too Much Food for a Starving World"
Reporter, Sept. 17, 1959

NO CHANCE OCCURRENCE In recent months, many news and feature stories have been appearing in American newspapers and magazines on the subject of germ and gas warfare. Walter Schneir says it is no chance occurrence."

"A sizeable public relations campaign is currently being conducted in order to counteract traditional public revulsion against the use of germs and gas as weapons." The Campaign began in earnest in April, 1959, with public addresses by military officers on the subject, as well as the news and magazine articles. The program is directed by a specially hired public relations man.

In outline, this is the Chemical Corps' message to the American People:

- "The public must be informed about germs and gas to correct the mistaken impression that these weapons are barbarous.
- "Actually these weapons are humane. Some of them such as psychochemicals and non-lethal gases can cause temporary insanity, destroy the will to resist, turn brave men into cowards - all without killing people.
- "Germs and gas do not destroy property.
- "The Soviet Union has such weapons and would use them.
- "Our present policy not to use these weapons except in retaliation is dangerous and exposes us to disaster.
- "A man with a briefcase filled with germs or gas would be able to introduce one or both of these weapons into the ventilating system of a building.
- "In order to improve its research and development of germ and gas weapons, the Chemical Corps needs more money."

Nitrogen mustards, nerve gases, tear gas, and vomit gas are being stockpiled. At Fort Detrick, Md., infected insects are kept constantly available: mosquitoes with yellow fever, malaria and dengue; fleas with plague; ticks with tularemia, relapsing fever and Colorado fever; houseflies with cholera, anthrax, and dysentery.

Studies are under way on the most effective means of spreading plant diseases, and on the use of aerosols in spreading bacilli, viruses, and toxins.

Walter Schneir

"The Campaign to Make Chemical Warfare Respectable"

Reporter, October 1, 1959

GOOD QUESTION At Schenectady, the editor was participating in a Convocation on Christian Responsibility. One of the laymen present asked this question in the light of discussion about nuclear and biological-chemical warfare: "Which would be better: For the United States to be wrong and survive, or for the United States to be right, and wiped out?"

Readers' comments are invited on this question.

CHURCH HOME MILITARY The Army's Chief of Staff, Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, speaking to the New York State Eastern Stars Convention (October 12th), said that military service has taken its place with the home, the church, and the school in shaping "the thinking and attitudes of the American people."

Because so many American youths are required to perform active military service, it is a major factor in their development. Therefore the Army spent "almost \$5,500,000" in the last fiscal year on educational programs and maintaining other services to help make military life "rewarding for the individual and beneficial to the nation."

- New York Herald-Tribune, October 13, 1959

ANOTHER LOOK During the past year, two articles have been published in the Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors on the subject of ROTC programs on college and university campuses.

The first, written by G.M. Lyons and J. W. Masland suggests that the colleges and the Defense Department work together to revamp the ROTC programs, giving them greater intellectual breadth and less technical training. Many observers and participants have long regarded ROTC as a waste of time. It has been often noted that the better college students, by and large, discontinue ROTC at the earliest possible date.

Allen R. Brick questions the wisdom of having ROTC units based on the campus at all. "ROTC uses from one-fifth to one-fourth of a man's curriculum in non-academic courses" and tends to force the college man "into scientific and technological courses rather than courses in social science and the humanities..."

"By giving ROTC a place in its curriculum, a building on its campus, and in general a position of high prestige in its functions, the university grants ROTC, and ergo military forces, uninhibited entry into a young student's mind - undeserved prominence in his thinking and his search for values."

LAWYERS An American Bar Association Committee urged that the United States abandon
WANT TO its veto power on jurisdiction of the World Court.

END U.S.

VETO The Committee stated that the Senate should repeal the so-called Con-
 ally reservation of 1946 under which the United States determines for itself
whether cases against it in the International Court of Justice are international rather
than domestic in character.

Such action would be "a major, practical and dramatic step toward the goal of the
rule of law among nations."

The report of the ABA's section on international and comparative law said that the
reservation amounts to the power of this country to veto trial by the international tri-
bunal of cases brought against the United States. Other nations can also reject world
court suits on the same grounds.

STRANGE Washington Newsletter, October 1959, of the Friends Committee on National Leg-
AND islation reports that Congress gave the Pentagon \$2,650,000 for "legislative
OMINOUS: liaison with Congress next year, a sum which does not include additional mil-
 lions for "public relations."

CHURCHES At the White House in Washington, the most representative group of Protestant
AND PEACE and Orthodox Christian Church leaders ever received by a President of the
 United States presented plans of the Nationwide Program of Education and
Action for Peace, on September 9th. In responding, President Eisenhower said:

"What you are doing...is, to my mind, one of the finest things that you could
possibly undertake."

The delegation of 100 church leaders from 30 of the constituent communions of the
National Council of Churches went to Washington to inform the President and other govern-
ment leaders that church members among a constituency of 39 million throughout the 50
states will be studying, discussing and acting on important questions confronting our
nation and the world from now through June 1960.

However, the program will mean nothing but for work at the "grass roots." It is up
to every pastor, layman, woman, student and youth to do his utmost NOW to see that effec-
tive programs are planned to take place between January and June 1960 in every possible
local church and community.

The Peace Council staff believes that the National Council program provides an
unprecedented opportunity for Peace workers to reach beyond the circle of the already
committed into an audience which, by virtue of its tradition, should be receptive. Be-
cause of the need of some public officials for support in their efforts to thaw the cold
war, it is imperative that this audience be reached.

The office has available for you the Report of the 5th World Order Study Conference
for 35¢ each, and of the Study Guide for Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet
at 25¢ each. It has films, tapes, and other program resources. Jim Syphers is eager to
be of service to you in helping you plan local programs.

ONE MAN Did you hear Eisenhower say to MacMillan in their TV discussion on August
TO ANOTHER 31st: "I like to believe that the people, in the long run are going to do
 more to promote peace than our government. Indeed I think that people
want peace so much that one of these days governments better get out of their way and
let 'em have it."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Rev. Alan B. Peabody, editor \$1.00 per year

No. 59-100
SPC 239
November 25, 1959

A NEW LOOK FROM BIG BUSINESS Nation's Business, official organ of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in its October 1959 issue, deals with the question: "What Peace Would Do To You."

"Any abrupt softening of cold war pressures - if it comes - can bring this country a boom, not the recession suggested by such phrases as 'peace scare.'

"It will bring changes... The principal changes you should expect are:

"A rise in consumer spending far surpassing the cut in military spending and concentrated on such things as houses, automobiles, furniture and household appliances.

"A terrific upsurge in spending for new plants and equipment.

"Larger incomes for everybody to spend and invest.

"A higher standard of living.

"Lower taxes.

"A larger labor force.

"Increased pressure for federal aid of various kinds.

"A temporary threat of inflation which can be readily countered.

"Some industries and individuals would be hurt temporarily. Soon these industries and all the rest of us would be wondering how we ever paid such high taxes and denied ourselves so many of the benefits our productive capacity makes possible."

DOMESTIC NATIONALISM We have become familiar with the spread of Nationalism among the peoples of Asia and Africa. We see the effort of American Negroes to attain first-class citizenship. Few of us are aware of the rising tides among Indians of the United States and more especially within New York State where most readers of PNL reside. Edmund Wilson, writing in New Yorker (October 17, 24, 31 and November 7) writes:

"This nationalist self-consciousness of the Iroquois has been stimulated and much embittered in the course of the last two years by a whole set of white encroachments, incidental to various engineering projects, which have seemed to converge on them all at once, hitting one reservation after the other, and which have ended by causing the Indians to suspect a systematic persecution intended to drive them out of their lands and to disperse them as a troublesome minority that would be better out of the way."

These efforts which have hit the St. Regis, Tuscarora, and Allegheny Reservations have been characterized by ignorance of Iroquois civilization and a contemptuous disregard for Indian rights.

The reawakening of Indian nationalism has causes. "For one thing, it is a part of the worldwide reaction on the part of the non-white races against the meddling and encroachment of the whites. The leaders of these Indian movements are well aware of what is going on in Asia and Africa... They have sensed that the white man has been losing his hold, and, like the rest of the non-white races, they are sick of his complacency and arrogance..."

The decision in favor of the Tuscaroras in connection with the Niagara Falls Power Project and the delay in building the Kinzua Dam which would flood 9,000 acres of Seneca land "have been due to a certain embarrassment on our part vis-a-vis the rest of the world. For whatever the difference in scale, is there any real difference in principle between uprooting whole communities of well-to-do Russian farmers and shipping them off to the Urals, and depriving the Senecas of the use of their lands in such a way as to shatter their republican unit and telling this intelligent and capable people to go and find homes where they can?"

(If readers can supply a set of these issues of New Yorker to the Peace Council, they would be much appreciated. - Editor)

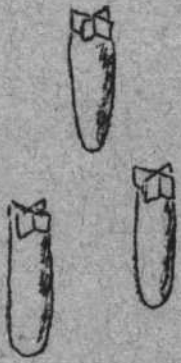
UNDERSTANDING THE RISING TIDES is to be the Theme of the annual Institute of International Relations at Syracuse, February 12-14, 1960. The Faculty will include Dr. Darrell Randall, Associate Director of the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches; James Bristol, former Lutheran pastor and for several years associated with the American Friends Service Committee in various capacities (just returned from a two-year assignment in India); and Fenner Brockway, Labor member of the British Parliament, long associated with the Movement for Colonial Freedom. It is not too early to make plans to attend, and to begin calling the attention of others to this program.

SPC's 24th BIRTHDAY Dean Virgil Rogers of the Syracuse University School of Education and recently returned from a study tour of the Soviet Union will be the speaker at the Annual Syracuse Peace Council Dinner on Tuesday, January 19, 1960.

THE ONLY THING WE HAVE TO FEAR IS FEAR ITSELF Norman Whitney reports a conversation with a Russian Communist at the United Nations:

"I had the privilege a few weeks ago of an evening's conversation with a Soviet citizen who is a member of the Secretariat at the United Nations. We were speaking of disarmament and of Mr. Khrushchev's address. I asked him, 'Suppose we were to take your leader's proposals so seriously that regardless of what anyone else did we disarmed completely, what would you do?' Without a moment's hesitation, he answered, 'Why, disarm immediately, of course.' 'Then,' I continued, 'Why don't you disarm unilaterally, so that we can?' His reply was just as prompt and decisive: 'Because we are afraid.'

"If the questions and answers had been reversed they would have been the same. And there you have it, complete: the whole vicious circle of fear and suspicion spiraling ever toward greater fear and more terrible suspicion until the ultimate, inevitable doom unless alternatives are found promptly. It is our business to find them."



BUY YOUR BIG BEAUTIFUL BOMB SHELTER

Yesterday's whisper, tomorrow's shout
For what no home can be without

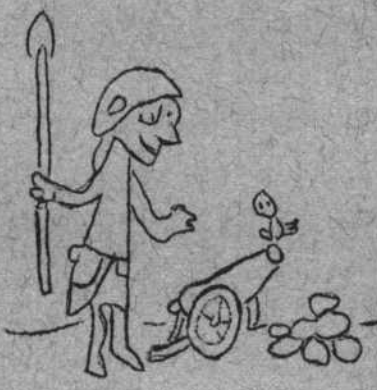
Compact unit -- no money down
Small one at home -- large one in town.

Pay as you go and go you will
When the siren blows its signal shrill.

Buy it now, they're all we've got
Someday you'll need a place to rot.



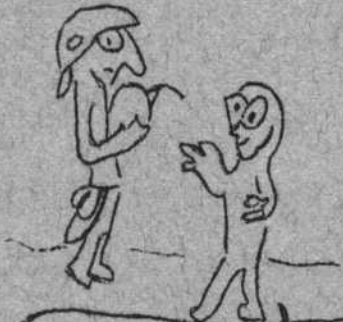
From Club
to Mace...



...Spear to
Cannon...



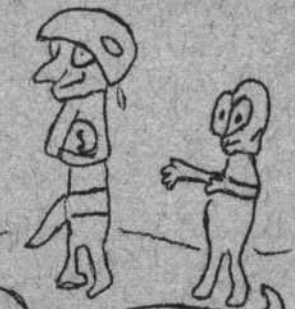
...to one Bomb that
will blow up every-
thing - Man, that's
PROGRESS.



What if the enemy
gets a bomb that will
blow up everything?



First they drop their
bomb - then we drop
two of ours...



On what?

From "Man Struggles Forward" - Methodist Student Foundation - Syracuse Univ.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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240
SFC 239, No. 59-101
December 17, 1959

HOW CAN GREATER FREEDOM BEST BE ENCOURAGED IN EASTERN EUROPE? On December 9th, the General Assembly of the U.N., by a vote of 53 to 10 (with 17 abstentions), censured the Soviet Union and the Communist rulers of Hungary for repressive measures against the Hungarian people. Accepting the fact that repression continues there, the continuing question for the U.S.A. is, how can it best encourage a relaxation of repressive controls in Eastern Europe? Is it possible to do this by direct confrontation and accusation, or would it accomplish its purpose better by indirection?

A former advisor to President Eisenhower, Emmet John Hughes, has written America the Vincible which was reviewed in THE NEW YORK TIMES by Adolf A. Berle, Jr., a former Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Berle writes:

"American policy, Hughes thinks, has indulged illusions and believes in myths... On the whole, he believes America has talked too much, has had no sense of humor, and has refused to meet realities.

"For example, America (he means, I think, Secretary Dulles) talked about 'liberation' of the Iron Curtain countries and Communist-occupied territory. But she had no idea of how, when, where, or whether this could be done. Again, she threatened 'massive retaliation,' which in Hughes' lexicon was massive bombast... Worst of all, she refused serious negotiation with Soviet Russia on almost everything worthwhile. The result has been a sterile and deadening stalemate..."

In this stalemate, it may be that the continuation of East-West tensions has meant that the peoples of Eastern Europe and elsewhere have continued to be cold-war victims. In this connection, Sidney Lens, a perceptive observer of the world scene, writing of Khrushchev's disarmament proposals (LIBERATION, Nov. 1959) says:

"By agreeing to disarmament America would not be strengthening the harsh aspects of Communism but would be seriously moderating them. Already Khrushchev has attempted to stay the hand of a more aggressive Mao in China. The Soviets, according to Vice-President Nixon, tie up one-fourth of their productive facilities in armaments. If that were cut back it would result in more consumer goods and a more relaxed atmosphere inside Russia as well as in the satellites. The 'softs' and the 'revisionists' within Communism would be favored against the 'hards' and the 'Stalinists.'"

Nora Beloff, following a three-week trip to Hungary, reports in the London OBSERVER (Nov. 29) that the U.S., in raising the Hungarian issue at the U.N. may indeed be more interested in making cold war propaganda than in helping the Hungarian people. She says that Hungarians have "no use for our oratorical solicitude" and see their only hope in a general relaxation of the international atmosphere. "For many anti-Communists there," she writes, "it may make the difference between freedom or arrest, continued imprisonment or amnesty... For a far vider group it means the ending of intellectual claustrophobia... For tens of thousands of heart-broken Hungarian families it is the only chance of recovering contact with missing refugee members."

Lens reminds us in the article referred to above that Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are not the only places which would benefit from a relaxation of tensions:

"Here in the United States, disarmament would help release our citizenry from the grip of military domination. It would send thousands of generals, admirals, et al., packing. It would reduce their towering influence in civilian government. It would render less effective the military-big business alliance which defends conformity and the status quo."

DISARMAMENT, CONTROL, & SEMANTICS When Mr. Khrushchev spoke to the U.N. on Sept. 18th, he outlined a disarmament proposal which in four years would lead to the dissolution of all military forces except those needed for internal policing and which would liquidate general staffs, military educational institutions, and war ministries. In many respects it and the British proposals hastily made a few days earlier are quite similar, although the British proposals are more detailed.

"So far as the United States is concerned, the crux of any disarmament plan, whether it be piecemeal or total, is that of control. Said Mr. Herter after the Soviet Premier's address to the U. N.: '... the great stumbling block to any disarmament scheme of the ambitious size of Mr. Khrushchev's is the question of controls.' Press reaction in the U.S. was the same, and the Russian leader was scored for serving up a pie-in-the-sky proposal and for staging a propaganda coup."

Perhaps the problem is one of semantics. It is possible that the word 'control' means the same thing to Mr. Khrushchev as it does to Mr. Eisenhower. The Soviet Premier said at his press conference on September 28: 'We believe that ... each state of disarmament ... should be accompanied by the development of inspection and control. That is to say that, in accordance with each stage of disarmament, there should be introduced the appropriate inspection and control and this throughout the whole process of disarmament. When disarmament becomes general, the controllers should certainly remain in order to make sure that the agreement is fully observed.' This does not sound too different from similar statements made by President Eisenhower, the late Secretary Dulles, and Ambassador Lodge. Yet no matter what Moscow proposes, Washington still seems to hesitate. What then is the problem? Actually, what may be needed, rather than to search for alleged defects in the proposals, is to correct the defects in attitudes. The old saw that 'you can't ever trust the Russians' is obviously in need of re-examination."

-- Monthly Bulletin

The Comm. for World Development
and World Disarmament, Oct. 1959

FORMER
AMBASSADOR

to the Soviet Union, George F. Kennan, who knows the Russians as do few Americans, warns that "if we insist on viewing the Soviet leaders as wholly inhuman and treat them as such, we will leave them no choice but to behave like that."

ANOTHER
FORMER
AMBASSADOR

to the Soviet Union has been recalled from "exile" in Manila to become special assistant to Secretary of State Herter with special responsibilities in Soviet-American affairs. Charles E. Bohlen spent 10 of 28 foreign service years in Russia, attended the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, and has engaged in some 4,000 hours of talk with Russian leaders. His basic approach to the Soviet Union can be summed up as follows:

"The key to an understanding of the Soviet Union is its economic problem - the clash of economic development with consumer needs, and the race to catch up with the West. Its industry has grown enormously, but now needs to be rationalized and integrated. The deconcentration of industry brings a host of political problems in its wake - how to decentralize administratively, and how, in a less centralized state, to control minority nationalities.

"Ideology is playing a steadily decreasing role in determining Soviet action. When the Communists were fighting for power, ideology was their master. Now it is their servant. Doctrine is cut and tailored to fit practical needs. An iniquitous effect of this is that ideology tends to become a permanent dispensation from observing normal ethics.

"It is a mistake to regard the Soviets as a sort of precision machine, moving along predetermined dogmatic lines. Many Soviet moves are hasty improvisations, later dressed up in ideological terms.

"The general trend in the Soviet Union is toward liberalization. It is a trend occasionally checked by some event such as the Hungarian rebellion, but it was not reversed, nor is there any present evidence that it will be. Vital, in this connection, is the subordination of the police system to the Communist party.

"Externally, there is little reason to fear that the Soviet Union will start a war for some time, absorbed as it is with economic expansion. This does not mean that the Kremlin will assent to any quick solution of the principal East-West problems. Many of these we will simply have to live with for some time to come."

From NEW YORK TIMES Magazine
October 18, 1959

SMOKE

James A. Rork, Arizona employment service director, suggests Indian smoke signals as the answer should nuclear attack wipe out all modern communications. He made the proposal at a conference of civil defense officials in San Francisco.

"In Arizona we use smoke signals to reach Hopi Indian fire fighters in an emergency," he said. "We burn old automobile tires to make good black smoke."

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Notes on Community Peace Education, Jim Syphers, AFSC Peace Intern in New York State
New Year for Peace Intern

A year has gone by since I came to work in New York State. One year of my Alternate Service is completed and the second year begins. The program of having a staff person working in New York State has been reviewed; it has been decided to continue my work in the state.

My major concern is setting up on-going programs of peace education. Unfortunately they do not want to go on. The central problem is a need for continuity; all too often the continuity is lacking. The forces that make for misunderstanding and hatred seem never to rest. We must discover eternal resources and use them, or be used by them, in a way that brings life to our individual and collective concerns for peace.

Coming Events

- January 19 24th Syracuse Peace Council Birthday Party, - Dean Virgil Rogers of Syracuse University, speaker.
- February 12-14 Mid-Winter Institute of International Relations - Speakers: Jim Bristol, Ferner Brockway, Darrell Randell
- February 15 Jim Bristol will speak in Jamestown, N. Y.
-

Gift Received

S.P.C. has received a recorded sermon by the late Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, "The Wonder of Jesus." It is a Christmas sermon which may be borrowed by groups seeking inspiring material for Christmas programs.

This gift, given to further the cause of peace, brings a thought to mind in this season of giving. We need concrete connections between our concerns for peace and those organs of education and action which are working for peace. It looks as if the amount spent in preparation for war may decrease this year. Yet, this can only be a long-term step for peace if funds are freed for constructive action in building a better world. Let us take renewed concern about how our money is spent individually and nationally. The peace movements need your support.

Report on Speaking Engagements

This fall I have spoken to youth groups in Camillus, North Syracuse, Syracuse and Glens Falls; met with adult groups and committees in Alfred, Albany, Schenectady, Seneca Castle, and Syracuse; and have spoken to the Christian Union in Troy, a college group drawing from the two colleges there.

Reday-made groups are a challenge and a problem. The wall of blank looks or frowning brows becomes a too familiar sight. Both youth and adults need to be drawn out of their protective shells where they will be free to think and respond to concerns that we learn to repress and bury so very early in life. Often the institutions, the groups themselves, add to the shell.

But under each shell is a person, a person who will feel quite helpless without his shell; we all do. Yet each is a person capable of being free to love and understand, perhaps most free when loved and understood.

Finance Drive

The annual drive for funds is under way. The work of our office in Syracuse, the Peace News-Letter, and all of the related services of literature, audio-visual resources, and meetings take money. There are two outstanding facts:

1. Subscriptions to the News-Letter are very low. All contributions include a subscription. But a large number of people receive it who have not even contributed to the publishing costs in recent years. Peace-News-Letter, \$1.00; with Friends Committee on National Legislation Newsletter enclosed, \$1.75.

2. Contributions from across New York, which come under the heading of the New York State Peace Council, have been falling off.

Utica Overseas Friendship Center

Here is an unusual organization. I represented the A.F.S.C. at its semi-annual membership meeting and banquet. Reports covered a wide area of concerns. Projects for Self-Help in India and South Italy are to be a big part of this year's program. Gifts for others during the holiday season is another project, as is a pen pal committee and vacation with a purpose, - plus taking a part in the International Refugee Year.

The membership of the Center, made up of all three of the major faiths, is open to all. It cooperates with A.F.S.C. in peace education. This summer it sponsored the Peace Caravan in the Utica area. It also handles literature and has a speaker's bureau. It is very ably served by Gelston McNeil, now in his 10th year as Administrative Secretary.

Slides of his trips around the world were shown, with illustrations of people and places with which the Center has contacts.

Concern at Alfred

The Friends Meeting in Alfred along with other interested people is trying to reach the student body with information on conscientious objection, and to stimulate interest in questions about how to obtain peace and what people can do. Last year some students were excused from R.O.T.C. The film "Alternatives" and speakers on peace are being considered as possible programs.

Vigil at Fort Detrick

New York State people have been going to Frederick, Maryland, to stand in the Vigil line. Some have gone as individuals; a few went on the day for ministers, a group of a dozen went down from Buffalo for a week end. Why? Why do people go all the way down to Frederick, Maryland, to stand in line?

While I was there people were present from Ohio. People come long distance because they feel that this is a worthwhile project. It is disciplined protest against something they detest, preparation for germ warfare. The discipline and the silence have proven time and time again to be of value to those who take part.

People come back, sometimes again and again. The protest began for five days on July 1. It is to go on as long as people continue to volunteer. Bob Adams has been there twice, and after his first visit prepared "Thoughts on a Vigil" and a most complete bibliography on Germ Warfare. They are available at cost. Write:

Rev. Robert Adams, 23 Calumet Place, Buffalo 7, N. Y.

Why not plan a group to go to Fort Detrick? Contact me as to your interest in going when others from New York State go.

Summer Camps

Last summer I visited church camps for youth and for adults. At the first camp I met a young person who came to a voluntary meeting during free time. When the group was asked when they became interested enough to attend this special meeting, this particular person answered: "Last year there was a young CO who came to the camp that I attended and I have been thinking about peace ever since."

Dick Moses was the young CO who was at the camp last year. Dick said he felt he had one of his poorest responses at that camp and could not recall the young person whom I had met. Here is the case for continuity in presenting peace at summer camps. The results do not show up fast, but they come. Having had someone there two years in a row is a part of the answer. I hope some Peace Council people will volunteer to be resource leaders at summer camps this year.

William Simpson Series

William Simpson, Executive Secretary of the British Council for Christians and Jews, has led many A.F.S.C. seminars in Europe on both sides of the Iron Curtain. He spoke in Saratoga Springs, Cairo, Greenville, Potsdam, Massena and Lowville. Simpson spoke to adults in meetings five times, to youth once, to college students twice, and once at a service club. This kind of program when well planned provides information and stimulus. It can come to smaller communities when the cost of the speaker is not too great.

Peace in the State Capital

In Albany there is a small group which meets twice a month for lunch. At present it has been very much involved in the Albany SANE group, in the Great Decisions program, and in the Albany area program to carry out the National Council of Churches' Peace Study emphasis. In addition, it has arranged an interview with Governor Rockefeller on his attitude toward testing nuclear weapons.

Things will probably not always be so active in Albany, but they are more apt to keep going when there is a group that shares together their efforts, tries to draw in key people, and can keep their balance.