

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan R. Peabody, Editor

SFC 241, No. 60-102
January 22, 1960

ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS was the theme of a Seminar attended by Editor from January 4-8 in New York City. Sponsored by the Church Peace Union, one of the several World Affairs endowments of Andrew Carnegie, the Seminar brought together about 40 selected persons from 22 states, clergymen of the three major faiths, people from the academic world, community leaders-- and some people from the government for intensive and extensive thought and study about the complex problems confronting the nation. This issue of PNL is devoted to sharing some highlights and insights from that experience.

It will not be possible to attribute all statements to particular persons because of the nature of their work. Suffice it to say that moral theologians, experts on the Soviet Union, a member of the faculty of the U.S. Army War College, a Specialist in International Economics, a former chief of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State, and Political Scientists were the speakers and discussion leaders.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE of the International Order, said W. Morris Clarke, S. J., is "the psychological or spiritual dynamic of self-centered wealth confronting self-conscious poverty."

Wealth and poverty existing side by side are not new phenomena in our world, but now the problem has been transposed from the national to the international order. The United States now faces the problem which has confronted every wealthy elite in the past. Wealth has its temptations. To what uses will it be put? Will it be used by the wealthy to expand their range of choices, and to satiate their expanding desires? Or will the wealthy use their wealth to share with others the good life?

In the past most wealthy elites have gravitated to self-centeredness until they have been confronted with a self-conscious people aware of the disparity in well-being and conscious of what can be done about that disparity. Are we ready for self-sacrificing sharing?

ECONOMIC POLICY is moving from the liberal to the protectionist point of view. Why? Because if you cut duties, you'll hurt someone; if you don't cut duties, you won't expand trade.

The Free Trade doctrine evolved when England was the manufacturing center of the world with no competition. Then economies were complementary. Today economies are more competitive than they are complementary.

For some nations expanded trade is necessary for survival, as in the case of Japan. And it is in the American interest that Japan be strong and "free." Yet a lower standard of living in that nation, coupled with the use of the latest industrial techniques, means that Japan can undersell or compete with American manufacturers in domestic markets.

The question arises, why should a few industries and the people employed in them have to bear the burden of the dislocation caused by an expansion of trade which is important to the overall foreign policy objectives of the United States? Should not that burden be shared by all the people through some kind of governmental Adjustment Assistance Program?

Congressmen represent local interests. The most vocal of local interests are frequently those most directly hurt by the increased competition from overseas. Hence the pressure for protection in Congress. To what extent should Peacemakers work for a sharing of the burden of industrial dislocation caused by expanded trade?

CIVILIAN DEFENSE can be viewed within the context of overall American strategy. Military strategists or philosophers, however, are not agreed as to the role which Civilian Defense ought to play in overall American strategy. The disagreement comes because no one can be certain as to how Soviet military strategists would interpret American Civil Defense efforts.

One group feels that expanded Civilian Defense is needed to impress the likely enemy that the United States would be prepared to retaliate should it launch a pre-emptive attack on the United States. A second group feels that expanded Civilian Defense activity might convince the likely enemy that we are preparing to mount a pre-emptive attack and that we are preparing to withstand its retaliatory strike. A third group feels that we may be feeding into the Soviet calculation system the idea that we plan to attack first because we make so little of Civilian Defense. Confusing, isn't it?

THE FIRST CRITERION for judging American policy in the minds of those responsible for thinking through these matters at the governmental level is, does this or that policy or action contribute to safeguarding the physical security of the United States?

MILITARY then becomes one component in overall American policy vis-a-vis the rest of
POSTURE the world. Other components include diplomacy, economic aid, and trade.

Americans who have been grateful for American productivity in the field of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons can take no comfort that our 20,000 bombs will, in any deep strategic sense, offset the U.S.S.R.'s 2,000 bombs. If both sides use their stock-piles, most of us will be dead before we'll be contaminated.

The ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistics Missile) has tipped the military balance in favor of the U.S.S.R. Thus Khrushchev, like Dean Acheson, can negotiate from "positions of strength." The critical period in the missiles race will come between 1961 and 1963 when quite clearly the Soviets will have the lead, and might be tempted to make the first strike.

The argument is that if both sides have parity in missiles, they will be less likely to use them. Indeed, the Theory of Deterrence is that one side will not launch an all-out nuclear war so long as the other side has an effective counterforce with which it could retaliate.

LIMITED becomes the corollary of Nuclear Deterrence. A war is limited when each side
WAR puts limits on the forces which it uses because it feels that the risks in expanding the scope of the war, geographically or in terms of the type of weapons used, are not appropriate to the strategic prize involved.

Korea is a case in point because on its part the United States did not use atomic bombs, because it did not engage in strategic bombings (although the threat may have been a deterrent to the other side), and because it chose not to expand operations beyond the Yalu River. On the other side, North Korea and China did not give tactical air support to their troops or mount air attacks on our supply lines.

Because the United States has built its post-war policy on the Doctrine of "massive retaliation," and has a large arsenal of nuclear weapons, it finds itself ill equipped at this time in the conventional weapons with which limited wars ought to be fought if they are to be kept limited. Therefore the drive to give the nation a larger and more balanced "defense capability."

THE SOVIET is so strong that we can no longer think of a compelled roll back of Commu-
UNION nism. At best we can hope for a non-violent evolutionary roll back which might come through a relaxation of international tensions.

Certainly the relaxation in the Soviet Union since Stalin has led to a better performance by people within the system, and people will not discard the system which has made the U.S.S.R. one of the two great world powers.

Soviet leaders loyal to Communist doctrine have a Messianic Mission to perform in the world. The posture of leaders, especially those ignorant of the outside world, is arrogant and confident. Yet they are baffled because their predictions about the collapse of Western Europe have not come true.

NEW will be an important new factor in the International arena. One observer sug-
NATIONS gests that in the next 10 years there will be 40 new nations. In 1960 there will probably be 4. By 1970 the new nations, lining up with some of the present smaller ones, will on some issues interject themselves between the East and the West.

THE REAL revolves around the will of the American people to face the threat to the
QUESTION institutions and values of a free society. Can a free society muster the self-discipline to mobilize its resources to meet the challenge? Or is there some fatal weakness in a free society which is enjoying its comforts?

It has been said that "At any moment in history the race goes to the passionate and the dedicated."

Very much related to this is the question of national leadership - a leadership which understands the situation and which will challenge the American people to heroic efforts to meet that challenge.

THESE do not necessarily reflect the editor's own views. However, they should receive
IDEAS the careful attention of those who do not share them because they are widely and sincerely held in our society.

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HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE 20th SYRACUSE INSTITUTE of INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHANGING DIMENSIONS in AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY was the topic of the Keynote address of Darrell Randall, Associate Director of the Department of International Affairs, the National Council of Churches. American policy, he said, is being modified by a number of factors.

1st, Changes in Weapons. Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Warfare, plus the future possibility of manipulation of the weather suggest that "defense" is now based on military equipment that we dare not use. The theory of Deterrence is being questioned even in the highest military circles.

The National Planning Association in a study made clear that the increase in the number of nuclear powers would increase the unreliability of deterrent power. (During the Institute, France demonstrated that it had joined the "Nuclear Club.")

The West is now being challenged by the Soviet Union to a Race for Disarmament.

2nd, Changes in the Political Arena. The real struggle will not be on the military level but in the political arena where Mr. Khrushchev has challenged us to a race to share our know-how with the underdeveloped areas of the world.

It is curious that the people who say we can't trust the Russians to make and keep agreements in the political and social arena, nevertheless, trust the Russians not to throw back at us something worse than we might calculate to use in a so-called limited war!

The economic growth of the United States for five years has averaged less than 1% per year - a poor example for the people of underdeveloped countries who have watched the tremendous strides of the Soviet Union.

3rd., Changes forthcoming in the structure of the United Nations. If we are serious about disarmament, we have to do something about the China Question. When Red China comes into the UN, we must be prepared for an effort to get the Communist bloc more votes. We cannot expect the Communist powers to act responsibly in the UN when the voting arrangements are rigged against them. The Communist powers have a total population almost equal to that of the West. Presently, on the basis of one vote to each nation, their voting state is not approximately equal to that of the West.

At another point in the Conference, Dr. Randall pointed out that more people are seriously searching for other ways than violence than ever before. Not only is the theory of deterrence under attack, but many people are questioning Mr. Kissinger's theory of "limited" wars. One of the dilemmas posed by the technological developments is the possibility that an anonymous war might break out, and we would not know where to retaliate!

Religious people must seek for the implications of living by the Spirit.

INDIA: PROBING BENEATH THE SURFACE was the theme of Jim Bristol, AFSC staff member recently returned from a two-year tour at the Quaker Center, New Delhi. He pointed out that the picture in India is exceedingly complex because of the cultural diversities within the country, and the enormity of the task confronting the nation as it seeks to raise the Living Standards of the people. This is India's first and foremost job.

The USA and the UN must assist India in every possible way "but in the way India wants help." In this regard, the United States must remember that we were the recipients of Economic Aid during the 19th century in the form of Capital Investments from Europe, help given essentially in the way we wanted help.

We sometimes feel that we can decide what is best for the people of India. The people of India are sensitive to the domination of the white man in the past.

The fatalism so prevalent in India is without doubt related to the fact that life is so desperate and tragedy so frequent for many of the people. People build up an attitude that keeps them from going insane, accepting this tragedy as the Will of God.

India thus far has not achieved the sense of drive which seems to prevail in China (although bought at a tremendous cost). Nevertheless, there have been many accomplishments in terms of factories, dams, and village development projects.

The United States must go much farther than it has in the past in giving economic Aid to India. (In the past 10 years our total aid has approximated only 2 billion dollars.) And the United States must be on the side of Revolution. It is easy to wring our hands at the use of violence in achieving social change, but violence is a part of the existing order in India where, for example, mothers sometimes throw babies down village

wells because they think it kinder than to try to keep the baby alive. Many social changes will be necessary to deal with the tremendous needs, and the United States must be prepared to accept such changes.

AFRICA IN TRANSFORMATION was the topic of Fenner Brockway, Labor member of the British Parliament, pacifist, and expert on Africa. In England he is a leader in the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and he writes a weekly column in Peace News (distributed in the USA by the American Friends Service Committee).

The Industrial Revolution led to competition among the European powers for the domination of Asia and Africa because of a demand for raw materials, a demand for markets (British people were too poor to buy the flood of goods suddenly available), a demand for a place to invest surplus capital, and later a demand for more foodstuffs, particularly in Britain.

By the end of the 19th century all of Africa was in the hands of European Countries. The 19th century was a century of Occupation. The 20th century is the century of the Liberation of Africa by the African people. By 1985, Brockway prophesied, all of Africa should be free.

The major colonial powers based their policies on different theories and techniques.

The French, who controlled roughly the Northern third of Africa, regarded the territories as a part of France itself. The Colonies (Frenchmen in the territories) plus certain Africans had citizenship status. The French system, but for Algeria, has now collapsed. DeGaulle has created the French Community of self-governing areas in internal affairs, but already four of the African colonies have chosen absolute independence. In Algeria there are about 1 million Europeans to 9 million Arabs. Brockway anticipates Algerian independence.

Belgium put managerial concepts to work in administering the Congo. Administration was entirely by industrial technicians and a professional colonial service. It was successful in terms of housing, schools, medicines, etc. Up to two years ago, the Congo was a zone of silence in Africa. But you can't have education without giving people a sense of self-reliance. Recently there has been evidence of unrest, and the Belgian government has consented to grant independence by June of 1960 to the Union of Central African Republics. (There will be six regional units within the Union based upon tribal and cultural loyalties.)

The British adopted a third major approach, assuming that the African people should be advanced towards self-government so that they might join the Commonwealth. But the advance was to be undertaken cautiously. The British program worked well in West Africa where Ghana, and soon Nigeria (October, 1960) have achieved independent status. This may have been partly due to the fact that there were few Europeans in that part of Africa.

The countries which have advanced most slowly towards self-government have considerable European populations. Kenya, for example, was a place where the old African culture was destroyed. It was not replaced with one in which Africans felt a place. There the Africans were restricted to reserves. On the Kiki reserve the population density is 1,000 per square mile. On the opposite side of the road dividing the reserve from European plantations, the population is only 12 per square mile. Color discrimination manifested in signs - "Colored Not Allowed" - was a third cause for the rise of the Mau Mau Movement.

In the Central African Federation there is an unstable situation where Nyassaland does not want to be linked with the Rhodesias. All in all, there are 7 million Africans to 300,000 Europeans. In the Rhodesias Apartheid is coming into being. Central Africa might become the British Algeria.

In the Union of South Africa it will not long be possible for Apartheid to be maintained. In theory it implies the development of two separate cultures physically separated and with a minimum of contact between the two groups. The whites are dependent upon the Africans for labor. The Africans are growing in self-reliance, unity, and self-respect.

There are three British Protectorates surrounded by South African territory which may be in process of becoming models of racial equality and advance. For instance, in two of the Protectorates new parliaments will be elected from one voter's list which includes both whites and blacks.

A third influence is moral, namely the UN. In the last session even the United States voted against South Africa's Apartheid, leaving only France, Britain, and Portugal to support the Union.

The Portuguese Colonies are regarded by Portugal as provinces of the mother country. Portugal refuses to report to the UN on conditions in them. However, it is clear that there is ruthless suppression of the Nationalistic movement and forced labor on the European plantations, even by children of five years of age. In Spanish Morocco there is little evidence of a dynamic independence movement. One may be developing, and it is possible that it will take the form of unity with independent Morocco.

WITNESS At one point in the Conference, James Bristol addressed himself to the question of how we appear to others. The curse of our age, he pointed out, is that words have lost their meanings. We talk about "love" and the Asians see hatred. We talk about justice, brotherhood, and so forth, but many people remember two Atomic bombs dropped on Japanese cities; they remember the firebombing of Tokyo, which took longer than the Atomic bombs but was far more cruel:

"People see what they see and we appear as brute savages." "The reason we appear to be barbarians is because essentially we are."

Bristol went on to discuss the possibilities of non-violent non-cooperation, and concluded by saying:

"If you get a whole people determined to resist an occupation government in every possible way, there is no possible way that government can do anything about it."

AFROPOS, In Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, the Africans are practicing "civic disobedience." "For instance, they refuse to pay the taxes due on their cars and bicycles due about the middle of January. There are many thousands of bicycles in use and the tax is only sixty cents a year. The Belgian government feels it would cost more than that to confiscate the bicycles and collect the tax forcibly - and the city wants these bicycles used because the men ride to work on them. It would be a serious blow to the commercial and industrial life of the city if all these Africans did not come to work. The government has apparently not yet made up its mind what to do about it. And this is a sample of a multiplicity of little things which added together make for a great big headache. The Africans declare that they will not pay taxes until they can pay to their 'own government.' "

-- From a letter written by Bishop W. Earl Ledden
Syracuse Area, the Methodist Church

WONDERFUL Mr. Paul H. Silverstone, after a recent trip to the Soviet Union, wrote
PUBLICITY (NY Times, Nov. 4, 1959), "I visited the great Soviet Navy Museum in Leningrad... In the center of the showcase was a map from a well-known American magazine showing routes of attack which could be used against Russia, complete with vivid arrows. The museum was crowded with people... I am sure that they do not understand our freedom of the press, and do not realize that such articles and maps are not published by the government."

CALCULATING One of the great problems confronting military strategists who accept the
HOW A POTEN- theory of deterrence is how their opposite numbers on another Military
TIAL ENEMY Staff will interpret any actions of this country which are supposed to
WILL RESPOND increase our military security. This is at the root of the debate over
TO SIGNALS the so-called Missile Gap and the desirability of a continuous airborne alert by the United States Strategic Air Command.

Gen. Thomas D. White, the Air Force Chief of Staff, says the establishment of a round-the-clock United States airborne alert now might prod the Soviet leaders into rash decisions.

Such a rash decision might be that the Soviet Union's military leaders would launch a preemptive attack on us before we have sufficient missiles to retaliate in kind, an attack which would from their point of view hopefully catch many of our bombing planes on the ground so that we could not retaliate in strength.

THE PARTICIPATION is circumscribed by the Connally proviso, adopted by the Senate
OF THE U. S. IN THE in 1946, which reserves to the United States "the power and author-
WORLD COURT ity to determine which issues are 'domestic' and which issues are
'international,'" to quote Louisiana Senator Ellender.

President Eisenhower has requested repeal of this United States veto over jurisdiction of the World Court. Senator Fulbright has conceded that backers of repeal face a very difficult fight in the Senate.

In an address recorded for Louisiana radio and TV stations, Senator Ellender said, "What today would prevent the World Court from deciding to invoke its jurisdiction over the controversy between Panama and the United States as to the rights of Panama's flag to fly over the canal, if the Connally reservation did not exist?"

The Administration argues that the existence of the veto provision weakens the Court as an organ for the judicial settlement of international disputes and frustrates the President's efforts to persuade other nations to accept the rule of law.

U. S. SEEN EARL Ubell, Science Editor of the N. Y. Herald Tribune (Feb. 1, 1960) writes:
FAR AHEAD "If the Russians get a chance to test their atomic weapons freely for two
UNDER TEST years they will close the gap separating them from the more advanced American
BAN nuclear bomb technology. They will do this even though this nation continues testing weapons.

"Therefore, the United States will gain a military advantage if an agreement is signed between the two countries to stop atomic testing now. If testing had ceased four years ago, this country would have been left with an enormous nuclear lead.

"This is the assessment of a prominent physicist who spoke privately to this reporter ... at the annual meeting of the American Physical Society. Only his connections with the government prevent him from speaking out publicly."

HOW WELL The World Peace Foundation has recently completed a series of six studies on
INFORMED Citizenship Participation in International Affairs. The proportion of people
ARE WE? meeting tests of informed, concerned, and responsible citizenship in world affairs is in some localities as low as one out of each 100.

World problems are remote and baffling, yet we expect interest and response from people who are unready and uninformed.

The studies reveal that by far the most effective means of reaching people is found in face-to-face communication within small groups. One section of the report lists eight basic factors in small-group communication:

- Begin with an open-minded, or non-conformist, member of the group.
- The importance the group holds for each member makes entree hard or easy.
- An average group member is usually more responsive than a leader.
- Democratic, informal groups are more approachable than authoritarian ones.
- A group member interested in entering another and superior group is more easily influenced.
- Study the individual's personality. It reveals his approachableness.
- Entree is easier in cultured and educated groups.
- Receptivity of the group is largely determined by its basic purpose.

--- Taken from The Methodist Story, Jan. 1960

SOBER COLIN Bell, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, in
FACTS an address at the annual meeting of that group, challenged "the West to stop living in a dream world and face stupendous facts of life coming between now and the year 2000.

"For some centuries we have dominated history while other great races and nations which have known glory and power lay static, fallow, exhausted. We have grown used to the idea that history happens when we are ready for it... that assumption that we are the world's first class citizens..."

Among the facts of life he listed are:

1. Other men want to change the world faster than Western man does.
2. We are thrown off balance by this acceleration in the pace of history.
3. We say we want the four freedoms for all others but we do not want to face the social, political, and economic consequences which would result.
4. The population explosion and technological advance will lead to the greatest industrial revolution of all time - which will be global rather than Western.
5. Man now possesses power which we have hitherto regarded as the prerogative of God.

NEW At the Annual meeting of the N. Y. State Peace Council held on Saturday,
OFFICERS February 13th, Alan B. Peabody was re-elected chairman; Dick Moses, former Field Secretary, was elected vice-chairman; Martha Turner, pastor's wife, was elected secretary, and Lena Gray was once more elected Treasurer.

Jim Syphers will continue to serve as Field Secretary for the Peace Council in up-state New York under an arrangement with the AFSC. All the above persons will endeavor to render whatever service they can to the readers of PNL.

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FOOTNOTE ON THE IROQUOIS In a 6-3 decision, the United States Supreme Court ruled, March 7th, that the Tuscarora Indians must surrender, for compensation, a sizeable tract of land to the New York State Power Authority for use in connection with hydro-electric power development at Niagara Falls.

A dissenting opinion by Justices Black, Warren, and Douglas contained these significant words:

"This is their home - their ancestral home. There they, their children, and their forebears were born. They, too, have their memories and their love. Some things are worth more than money and the costs of a new enterprise. I regret that this court is to be the... agency that breaks faith with this dependent people. Great nations, like great men, should keep their word." (Emphasis supplied).

THOSE IMPOSSIBLE PEOPLE! "From its launching site near the Aral Sea, the Russian rocket hurtled 7,767 miles in 36.5 minutes. It soared to a 765-mile altitude, streaked back into the atmosphere at 16,156 miles an hour, and plopped into the ocean only 1.2 miles from the bull's-eye. The war-head was huge enough to hold an 8-megaton bomb (equivalent to 8 million tons of TNT). These frightening figures add up to one answer: our cities are now only minutes away from possible total destruction." -- Jack Anderson, Parade, March 6, 1960

WHERE WE STAND! Atomic scientist Ralph Lapp predicted on March 6th that by 1963 Russia could fire long-range rockets with sufficient accuracy to knock out foxed missile bases in this country. (270 such bases are contemplated in this country.)

"And that means," said Dr. Lapp, "your deterrent will not be believable."

BUT WE BRAVELY PLAN & DEVISE One of the major problems confronting the military is this: "If major United States cities or military targets were hit by a sneak nuclear attack, would our military and missile commands get word soon enough to launch a quick retaliatory attack? Communications lines would be wiped out, even if there were survivors to use them.

"And if the attack were aimed at the retaliatory forces themselves, how could the military determine rapidly what they had left to work with in launching their counter-attack?"

The Air Force tells Congress that it has "a simple, fool-proof bomb system that will flash a report of local destruction to key military centers fast enough to outrun the atomic shock waves." Small, light-sensitive units which will be mounted on phone-poles will be tied together by wire, the units being sensitive, so it is said, only to the blinding flash of a nuclear bomb. It will cost only about \$2,000,000 a year to operate the system.

UPI dispatch in New York Herald-Tribune, March 7, 1960

MEANWHILE "we find leading Christian thinkers who, while they support the nuclear arms race in the interest of maintaining a supposed 'balance of terror,' recoil from the gaping void toward which it leads: they prescribe nuclear armaments only as a bluff, for they know now that they cannot sanction in the name of their Master, the actual triggering of the destruction of the world He came to redeem! Forgetful that nuclear missile systems require the delegation of decisive power from the Congress and the Executive to the battery commanders and ultimately to the electronic brain, they conclude their arguments in support of the arms-race by declaring that, were the enemy to come to the point of employing the weapons of all-out war, they as Christian theologians could only counsel the choice of the lesser evil, surrender on the enemy's terms, even though nothing had been done to prepare the population for the non-violent resistance which would then be the nation's only hope!"

- Howard Schomer, Social Action, Dec. 1959

ROCKY ROAD FOR ROCKY Governor Rockefeller's proposed law making the construction of fallout shelters obligatory has been running into much opposition. Alexander Jones in a strong editorial in the Syracuse Herald-Journal called the proposal "living like rats in a hole." The proposal seems to be dead for this session of the New York Legislature, but it has been announced that a public relations campaign will be carried on to win public support for another year.

A BIG MORAL DILEMMA "The moral dilemma raised by the problem of national defense is almost intolerable. No other organization presents the spectacle of two-facedness as does the national state. On the internal level it is the most basic organization of social life, the framework of society, the suppressor of violence, the protector of the weak, the benefactor of the poor, the executor of justice. It is no wonder that men have seen in the state an expression of the Divine Will; it is a greater instrument even than the church for the expression of that concern of all for all which to the Christian at least is the most perfect symbol of the Divine. Toward its enemies, however, the national state is a monster, a liar, a thief, a murderer, a creator of orphans, a destroyer of cities, an immense machine to create pain, death, destruction, madness, famine, and intolerable woe. It is selfish; it cares for none but its own; its only objective is its own power and its own defense; it is sadistic, ruthless, inhuman, diabolical... The nobler the nation, the more self-sacrifice it can call forth from its people, the more likely it is to lay the world desolate and to consign to the maw of war everything that the patience of enterprise has built up..."

Kenneth W. Boulding

Page 195 of "The Organizational Revolution."

START OF A GOOD WILL TOUR "The crowd at the airport was small, no more than several hundred people... For security reasons - the Secret Service was unhappy about the entire Puerto Rico stop - the President skipped any appearance outside the airport and any procession into San Juan. Instead, after a brief ten-minute private talk with (Governor) Munoz, he took off again in his big MATS jet to spend the afternoon and night at Ramey some 90 miles away. There he put in some practice time on the golf course and gave a small reception for top military brass..."

- Wall Street Journal, from San Juan, Feb. 23, 1960

While we have no way of knowing the relative strength of the various groups, it is well that we should be aware that there are three attitudes current in Puerto Rico as to relations with the U.S.A. One group is content with the existing "Commonwealth" status; another wants Puerto Rico to be the 51st state; another group wishes complete independence of the United States.

INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION "The practice of negotiation with one's enemies is to be recognized, not merely as a practical necessity in a divided world, but as resting upon a profound moral basis. In the first instance, it is the expression of a 'decent respect for the opinions of mankind,' for obviously there are men and nations who differ vigorously with us in their outlook. Secondly, negotiation between opponents rests upon the truth that there is a common destiny and therefore a common interest binding all men, even enemies, together. We may and should deny the moral right upon which the Soviet system rests, as vigorously as they do ours. Yet in negotiating with Russia, maintaining relations with her and extending cultural and economic contacts, we are not merely yielding to expediency. For the Soviet bloc shares one overriding common interest with the free world, if no other - the desire to survive and be spared the perils of atomic destruction."

--Dr. Robert Gordis, Jewish Theological Seminary
in a Church Peace Union pamphlet: Religion and International Responsibility.

SPRING, 1960 "The spring of 1960 will be a critical period for disarmament negotiations. It is fully expected that the Geneva nuclear test ban talks will reach a climax within the next few weeks. On March 15 the 10 nation Disarmament Committee will meet in Geneva. And on May 16 the Big Four will gather in Paris for their first Summit Meeting since July, 1955.

Will there be progress? Or will the sessions end - as they have so often before - in a stalemate? Some kind of agreement on disarmament would be a fitting way to start a new decade - but one wonders whether the governments concerned really want disarmament. Maybe it is only disarmament negotiations that governments are in favor of, so that they can point with pride to their cooperativeness and willingness to discuss the problem. History shows that there has in fact been no paucity of negotiations, but one has yet to see a disarmament agreement. But who knows? Maybe this will be the Year of the Beginning, rather than the Year of the Rat (which, according to the Chinese calendar, it is).

February bulletin, Comm. for World Development and World Disarmament

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April 7, 1960

SLOWLY PROGRESSING BACKWARDS is I. F. Stone's characterization of a recent "working paper on general disarmament" released by the U. S. State Department recently. While an improvement over the 1957 "package plan" in that it does not tie all issues together in an inextricable knot; "it does not 'forbid' the spread of nuclear arms to allies except for 'defensive' purposes!"

In other respects it represents a step backward. Eight years ago (May, 1952), the United States proposed a ceiling of not more than 1,500,000 men each for the armed forces of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and China. The new proposal is for a ceiling of 2.5 million men for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., with later reduction to 2.1 million men. "When we phoned the Pentagon to ask for the latest figure on the U.S. armed forces, the reply was 2,490,035. So we could hire 9,965 more soldiers under the first stage of this disarmament plan! Khrushchev ... offered a first stage reduction for the Big Three to 1.7 million men each. After all these years of claiming that we have to have nuclear arms to counterbalance Soviet armed 'hordes,' and insisting that conventional forces must be cut first before we could 'ban the bomb,' we're talking of bigger armies than the Russians."

-- I. F. Stone's Weekly, March 21, 1960

NUCLEAR TEST BAN POSSIBLE Much of this issue of PNL is devoted to the question of the Nuclear Testing Treaty which is, perhaps, closer to realization than ever before. There is still much stalling around over the question of underground shots and their detection. But, as Joseph Alsop points out in his column of March 30th, the United States is confronted with the possibility that Russian intransigents might "conclude that this country was not negotiating in good faith if we rejected out of hand the Soviet proposal for an inspected treaty covering detectable tests, plus an agreement for a moratorium on tests that are as yet undetectable."

Alsop related that much evidence available to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter indicates that there is a division in the highest levels of the Soviet government "between a majority genuinely desiring agreement with the West and a minority wanting nothing of the sort." The minority seeks proof that the United States has not been negotiating in good faith. "If we had given them anything they could use as such proof, their 'I told you so's' would have been deafening... The hard-nosed minority would then have become a hard-nosed majority."

ON OUR SIDE it is apparent that similarly the highest circles of our government are not unanimous in their desire for a nuclear test ban.

"Leader of the implacable opposition is Chairman John McCone of the Atomic Energy Commission.

"He has never wavered in his determination to see testing resumed. Again and again in conferences at the State Department he has dramatically invoked the Chinese-Russian Communist hordes who will sweep away Western civilization unless they are deterred by troops equipped with tactical atomic weapons for use in limited nuclear war...

"Once or twice in these heated conferences it has been pointed out that the Russians could also resume nuclear testing and development and equip the Communist hordes with smaller nuclear weapons...

"The distinguished physicist, Hans Bethe, who favors a compromise agreement, makes

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"Once or twice in these heated conferences it has been pointed out that the Russians could also resume nuclear testing and development and equip the Communist hordes with smaller nuclear weapons...

"The distinguished physicist, Hans Bethe, who favors a compromise agreement, makes a good case that if the West had accepted the Russian proposal to stop testing in 1955 the advantage today would be much stronger, since the Russians have used the interval to catch up. But these contentions make no impression on McCone.

"Back of him is the brilliant and impassioned physicist, Edward Teller, director of the AEC's Livermore laboratory in California. Out of Livermore came the concept of Project Plowshare, aimed to prove that underground atomic explosions have important peacetime uses..."

-- Marquis Childs, March 30, 1960

WHERE WE STAND "Both sides have agreed to stop all nuclear-weapon testing causing poisonous fall-out; that is, all tests in outer space, in the atmosphere, under water, or anywhere above ground.

"Both sides have agreed on the methods of verification and control for such a test ban.

"Both sides have agreed - and this is a new position for the Soviets - that inspection methods are not yet adequate to detect small-yield underground tests.

"Both sides have agreed to undertake joint scientific studies to try to devise better means of verifying underground tests."

-- Roscoe Drummond, March 29, 1960

WHAT ARE THE RISKS? "There is no risk at all that the big explosions prohibited by treaty could be carried out in secret. The treaty itself provides for a network of monitoring stations. But even more important, so it seems to me, is the fact that we are now capable by our own instruments, of detecting the kind of explosion which the treaty would prohibit. We are able, so to speak, to monitor the monitors, to check and to double check."

The problem is with "the smaller underground explosions which would not be prohibited by the treaty but which would be subject to a short moratorium." Sneak tests would be dangerous. "For while the scientists agree that the smaller explosions underground cannot surely be distinguished from earthquakes, it is also true that they cannot surely be concealed. The penalty for cheating would be enormous." The penalty would be in the loss of prestige at a time when the great powers are vying for influence in the rest of the world.

-- Walter Lippmann, March 29, 1960

UTOPIAN THINKING "Only a foolproof disarmament scheme, involving destruction of all nuclear weapons in every category that have been manufactured and are now in the stockpile, will begin to assure the world against a holocaust. Neither side is ready as yet to agree to such a plan."

-- David Lawrence, March 31, 1960

A REAL DANGER Such thinking as that of Mr. Lawrence might lead one to the fruitless conclusion that since no absolute certainties are possible with disarmament, and since we can think of nothing else to do, we must continue with all speed to make bombs, gas, germs, rockets, missiles, submarines, etc.

"It is said that we are now following the only feasible road in seeking disarmament with iron-clad agreements on inspection. This is not the 'middle road' it is claimed to be, for the preparations for war continue without let-up. This argument contains, moreover, fatal fallacies. Inspection cannot be devised that will give absolute assurance against manufacture or stockpiling of lethal weapons. Highly productive countries like the U.S. and Russia will always be able to maintain facilities for making such arms, convertible almost overnight from peacetime industry. An inspection system is institutionalized distrust, and as fragile as any understanding so based."

-- W. H. Ferry, Vice-President of the Fund for the Republic

THE POLITICS OF DECIVILIZATION "Violence is not the same as power; indeed, violence may be considered to be the failure of power."

"The field of military psychiatry has become the inverse of psychoanalysis, just as bacteriological warfare has developed as the inverse of medical science. Military

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-- Eugene V. Walter in Identity and Anxiety,
a collection of readings on "survival of
the person in mass society."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

\$1.00 per year

SPC 245, No. 60-106
May 14, 1960

PERSONAL NOTE During the last five years, the editor has been doing graduate work at Syracuse University with a view towards securing a Doctorate in Social Science. Frequently Norman Whitney has asked, "What are you going to do with that education?" Now the answer is apparent, at least for the immediate future.

In September I will assume the post of Associate Professor of Social Science at Paul Quinn College in Waco, Texas. This small, liberal arts institution is related to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. There is a theological training program in connection with the college.

At this writing there are many things which I do not know about Paul Quinn College. Similarly, there are many things about me which Paul Quinn College does not know. But a challenge was given to me, and this I must attempt to meet.

Consequently I have resigned as pastor of the DeRuyter Federated Church and of the Lincklaen Community Church. Sometime in August we will leave for Waco.

In a subsequent issue we shall let you know just what steps will be taken to insure the continuation of PNL and the work of the New York State Peace Council. Meanwhile, I trust that each reader will do his utmost to maintain a testimony for peace and justice where he stands.

Faithfully,

Alan B. Peabody

AFRICAN NATIONALISM "It has been a revealing experience for me to read Ndabaningi Sithole's book, 'African Nationalism.' (It has recently been released in the U.S.A. I had thought that I was well aware of how educated Africans feel about things, but this book was a real eye-opener. The educated African mainly wants western style democracy based on the will of the majority. Then he would no longer be a 'second class citizen in the land of his birth.' And he sees that this is the last thing in the world that the white electorate wants to give him, because to maintain the status quo is so much to their advantage. The white group often rationalizes its actions to itself by saying that it is the guardian of civilization, and the values thereof, and so it should keep control. Yet it is the western nations even now, as Sithole points out, which are endangering the existence of the whole human race by their onrushing preparations for nuclear and germ warfare. It was the highly 'Civilized' German nation which allowed six million Jews to be exterminated during the dark days of the Hitler madness, and the fighting of 'Christian' and 'civilized' nations that followed rent the lives of many millions more. Sithole and others see that you cannot call any government really civilized which does not base its rule on the principles of justice, support of the governed, and good will. He says we should all recognize that 'objective truth which cannot fail to bring us down on our knees... with contrite hearts... that through the whole human race runs a strong vein of ruthlessness, savagery, cruelty, weakness, and frailty. It is this comprehensive truth that will make the black man, the white man, the yellow man, and the brown man realize that we all have gone astray like lost sheep, and we all stand in great need of redemption through divine action.' ... But you must read it for yourself."

--- Letter from a missionary in Africa

SNOW JOB ON A-BAN? "The opponents of a nuclear test agreement are doing their very best to try to insure that if a treaty is submitted to the Senate it will either be strangled in committee or defeated on the floor.

"The lengths to which they have gone are quite extraordinary. They have sought to make it appear that the scientists who testified before a subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee were all in agreement that detection methods as currently known are so faulty that no control and inspection system would be acceptable."

Hans Bethe, Cornell physicist, is one who testified in favor of a test ban. "Previous to the public session, Bethe had been brought up before hostile committee members in a closed meeting and subjected to such savage bullying that he told associates later it was perhaps the most painful experience of his entire career."

--- Marquis Childs, May 4, 1960

STUDENTS ON THE MARCH It is a striking thing that in Korea, in Turkey, and in America's Southland, students are in the forefront today in the struggle for dignity and democracy. Is it because, having studied about democracy and freedom, they now want to see ideals translated into substance?

WIDESPREAD PROTEST OF CD ALERT On Tuesday, May 3rd, all citizens of the United States were exhorted to "take cover" for a fifteen minute period during a simulated nuclear attack on the United States. For several years now, a group of people in New York City has regularly exposed itself to arrest in violation of New York State Law which proscribes non-compliance with a test alert.

This year, in City Hall Park, "when the sirens first began to wail at 2:15 p.m., there were perhaps 1,000 persons in the park. About 500 of these left. Most of them simply crossed Broadway and stood on the sidewalk opposite the park." The remaining 500 persons were urged to take shelter twice by Henry G. Hearn, assistant chief of the Civil Defense Auxiliary Police. Failing to be heeded, he announced: "I now place you all under arrest for not obeying the law." The police moved through the crowd, selecting 26 persons for arrest out of the crowd.

Among those gathered in City Hall Park were Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy of the Catholic Worker movement, and Kay Boyle and Norman Mailer, well-known authors. Miss Boyle said, "War is not possible if we all say 'No.' Civil Defense is a way to say to the world, 'Go ahead and drop your damn bombs.'"

Altogether, 33 persons were arrested in the city, at least four in New Jersey, six in Rockland County, and one in Westchester County. In addition, about 300 students demonstrated against the alert at City College and 150 students at Brooklyn College. "Those who balked at seeking cover during the alert were, however, very much in the minority" wrote reporter David Lyle. The minority has grown in one year, however.

-- N. Y. Herald-Tribune, May 4, 1960

WHICH COMES FIRST? "A favorite story of comedians in the golden days of vaudeville was the old saw, 'Which comes first? The chicken or the egg?' In diplomatic discussions about disarmament, there has been added a new rhapsody on the same theme. The question is: 'Which do we talk of first? Inspection and control or general principles?'

"In the first flurry of activity at the 10-nation Disarmament Committee talks which began March 15 in Geneva, both East and West strutted their hour upon the stage, and then seemed to settle down to the usual impasse. The Soviet bloc wanted the West to agree conditionally to a whole range of disarmament proposals and then move into the inspection and control negotiations which would permit the proposals to be put into operation. The West's attitude was that disarmament steps should be taken up one by one and the inspection and control problems for each should be solved one by one. In other words, the Soviet Union said it is for complete inspection from beginning to end, but it wants agreement first on the basic principles of total disarmament. The West said it is for total disarmament, but wants agreement first on the basic principles of inspection and control."

-- April Bulletin, Comm. for World Development and World Disarmament

WHO SAID AGGRESSION? "Just bear this in mind: Russian aircraft carriers aren't lying off the U. S. coasts, nuclear-armed. U. S. carriers, however, are off Russia's coast. And: Russia doesn't have 2,000 nuclear-armed aircraft posed on U. S. borders. Yet U. S. has on Russia's. Also: Russian troops aren't on the Mexican or the Canadian borders of U. S. Troops of U. S., however, happen to be on the border of Russia's empire. Missiles? Russia needs 6,000-mile missiles to cover U. S., and has few. U. S. needs only medium-range missiles to cover Russia, and has many, plus about as many long-range missiles as Russia possesses. In addition: U. S. has the world's only real strategic air force, with very latest in nuclear weapons. That force alone is a dominant power."

-- U. S. News & World Report
Feb. 8, 1960, page 26

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
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SPC 246, No 60-107
June 15, 1960

U-2 The month of May, 1960, has seen a number of events which suggest that not all is well with America's approach to world affairs. The most upsetting event - at least to large numbers of Americans - was the downing of the U-2 espionage plane 1300 miles inside of Russia. Reams of material have been written about this event, and this news-letter hopes only to share some of the provocative insights into the incident which may help its readers to an "agonizing reappraisal."

One observer asks, "What greater irony than that the very week when the Crusade for Freedom was making its nation-wide appeal for funds 'to get the truth to the people of Europe' the breaking of the news about the U-2 espionage plane... should announce to all the world that our own Government has been for years deliberately lying not only to the Government and the people of Russia, but to the people of the United States and, indeed, to the whole world!" Your editor can testify that the admissions of our Government of the spying by high altitude planes, coming after evasive explanations of a weather plane having strayed from its course, caused consternation and astonishment among some of his parishioners who simply did not believe that their Government did the kind of thing the Russians do.

The Wall Street Journal (May 10th) editorialized: "Up until now it has been possible to say to the world that what came out of the Kremlin was deceitful and untrustworthy, but that the people could depend on what they were told by the Government of the United States.

"Now the world may not be so sure that this country is any different from any other in self-righteousness... It is going to be hard to convince people hereafter that explanations from Washington can be taken at their face value...

"No one will argue... that this country has done anything different from what the Russians do all the time. Being provocative is habitual with them; deceit is part of their normal way. Therefore the argument that we have done no more than others do all the time is quite accurate.

"The difficulty is that we have told others and ourselves we are different. The image we have created before the world is that 'we don't do what the Russians do,' we don't engage in international provocation. We do tell honestly what is going on.

"And now the sad part is that this image, which has been one of the strengths of America, is now sullied by our own self-righteous zeal that led us to believe that anything we choose to do is right."

BUT IT WAS TO PROTECT U. S. OTHERS Most morally questionable activities are justified for the noble ends which they serve, and the U-2 incident is no exception. President Eisenhower in explaining the failure of the Summit Conference to us has told us just that, and this view is reflected in a recent communication your editor has received from a Congressman: "Basically the mission of the U-2 was to protect this country against an atomic Pearl Harbor. It had a mission which may be described as spying but its purpose was clearly one of defense. It is my sincere hope that the nations will accept a program for disarmament which can be policed through open sky inspection. It would be fine if we could rely solely upon the world of other nations but the disregard of treaties has been too reckless for us to disregard the danger."

ABOUT TREATIES In his address to the Security Council of the United Nations on May 25, 1960, Sir Claude Corea of Ceylon said: "We hold that, at the present time, it is a rule of international law that the air space over the territory of any country belongs to that country and cannot be violated without a breach of international law."

The International Civil Aviation Organization, Mr. Corea continued, "negotiated an international agreement which was signed in Chicago in 1944. The signatories, who were sovereign states, big and small, accepted in that agreement the principle of the sovereign right of each state to the air space over its territory. Among the big states which subscribed to this principle is the United States..."

"It is ... a fact that, secretly, there have been violations of this principle for the purpose of espionage. Espionage has... existed for centuries and will continue as long as human frailties continue, and will last as long as states suspect each other, fear each other and seek to dominate each other. But espionage is carried out in darkness, shunning publicity as if it were ashamed of its ugliness. We suppose it is considered necessary in the so-called civilized society of today, although the act itself is demoralizing and degrading."

ITS EFFECTS A number of observers have suggested that the U-2 incident has played into the hands of the Stalinist elements in Russia who have opposed Khrushchev's "peaceful co-existence line." The Stalinist group in Russia occupies a position within its government analagous to the faction in Washington which opposes any understanding with Russia, a group which Marquis Childs describes (May 20) as including "the hard-core anti-communists who are convinced that the communist system is so immoral, wicked and menacing to Western civilization that a policy that sanctions its existence is not acceptable" and a "somewhat less emotional but no less implacable" group "in the Atomic Energy Commission and the Pentagon who are convinced that America's policy must be one of strength pushed to a point at which in one way or another it will overwhelm the Soviet Union."

SOME QUESTIONS A correspondent to the Christian Science Monitor, (June 7, 1960), Marion R. Hart, said "President Eisenhower's report to the nation still leaves a couple of questions unanswered." She then proceeds to frame the questions:

- "1. If, as the administration believes, Mr. K. was in trouble at home because of his 'soft' policy toward the West, wouldn't it have been a **good idea for us to help him stay in office** and not to go out of our way (by the U-2 flights) to give his political enemies a weapon against him?
- "2. We were told that the Russians knew all about the U-2 flights for years and it was no secret from them. Then we were told that the flights had been abandoned because their exposure had destroyed their usefulness.

"Exposure to whom? Apparently the only people kept in ignorance were the citizens of the United States and our allies."

BUT BE ASSURED "From a strictly bread-and-butter point of view," wrote Sylvia Porter in her syndicated column, Your Money's Worth (May 24), "one 'bright' result of the Summit debacle is that you need not fear any progress on disarmament will undermine your job, shrink your paycheck." Cuts in military spending will not quickly hit industry.

"While sanity cries out that we should greet with delight any chance for relief from \$41 billion a year of Pentagon spending, the fact is that every time there has been a suggestion of a major cut, the stock market has gone into a tailspin.

"The fact is that the arms cutbacks following the Korean war - from an annual rate of \$54.3 billion to \$40.6 billion between early 1953 and late 1954 - did lead right into the recession of 1953-54."

She concludes that "'the threat of peace' is back on the shelf..."

CRUMBLING BASTIONS of freedom are to be seen all around the world. Unrest in Korea and in Turkey has led to the overthrow of governments America has long considered its firm allies, and in Japan the Kishi regime is faced with great unrest.

Joe Alex Morris, Jr., writing in the New York Herald Tribune (June 1, 1960), says: "The revolution which... snuffed out the ten-year-old reign of Premier Adnan Menderes can be ranked with Korea as a case where the United States and the West all too uncritically accepted, financed and supported a government just because it was on our side..."

"The United States, which has invested some \$3,000,000,000 in Turkey since the war, had gone so far as to insist on an economic stabilization program to slow down the runaway Turkish economy. But the U.S. diplomats and politicians were prone to excuse or ignore Mr. Menderes' domestic excesses, which in fact led to last week's revolution, on the ground that he was supported by Turkey's rural population - a heavy majority..."

"This was at one time true... Then a combination of things caused a sudden and drastic change which affected the Army and the countryside.

"Perhaps the most important was the establishment of a Parliamentary committee to investigate the opposition - a move which met with widespread disgust. The severity of the repression of student riots in Istanbul and Ankara added to this and the government's obviously untrue statements about deaths and arrests made feeling worse.

"All this followed a year of growing repression of the opposition. Journalists were arrested and Mr. Menderes freely used the Army and police to curtail the activities of respected elder statesmen like Ismet Inonu, the Republican party chief and former President, who in 1950 voluntarily stepped out of office after a free election had voted Menderes Democrats in."

Morris points out that the Army has a tradition of staying out of politics, but felt it necessary to intervene because democracy had lost its meaning. The care-taker cabinet is composed of non-political civilians who, together with a professorial com-

mittee, "have been given the painful task of repairing the damage done to democracy in Turkey in the past decade. It remains to be seen how close to a Western-style democracy they can bring a nation where the illiteracy rate is still 67 per cent."

FROM comes reliable word that, contrary to the impression created in the American JAPAN press, not all of the students involved in the demonstrations in the Japanese-USA security pact are motivated by leftist leanings.

Your editor has had an opportunity to read a lengthy letter from an American staff member of a leading Christian University in Japan. The writer makes it very clear that a number of Christian groups have participated in the demonstrations, not because they are anti-American, but because they are anti-militarist. The United Church of Christ in Japan is on record against the Treaty. There is an almost perpetual crowd demonstrating before the Diet.

The author of the letter feels it highly unfortunate that President Eisenhower's visit is scheduled to begin on the very day that the Security Treaty is to go into effect. The author believes that this would create "a bad atmosphere" for the President. The Japanese Socialist Party is on record as not welcoming the President's visit.

MORE into the Japanese situation was provided by John D. Rockefeller the 4th in an INSIGHT article in the New York Times Magazine, June 5th. Mr. Rockefeller has spent approximately three years in Japan as a college student. He learned the spoken and written language, and shared the hardships of life with Japanese students. Here is a portion of what he wrote:

"In national and international thinking the students distinctly lack the long view, as the short view is what they have brought themselves up on. They wish fervently for their country to be neutral between the two power blocs. They want Japan to recognize Communist China and to have cordial dealings with it. And they are united in their condemnation of Japan's economic and military reliance on the United States. Their reasoning is realistic. Since China and all its might lies only a short distance away from Japan, is it not unwise to antagonize it by trying to pretend it doesn't exist?"

"The students are absolutely and unalterably opposed to militarism in any form, and, as recent events have shown, they have reacted strongly against the security pact with the United States. For this they have been called Communist inspired..."

"I believe completely in the younger generation's desire for peace, because it is realistic, not idealistic. They want peace because they knew war the way no other nation ever has. People still die from the two atomic bombs."

TO AN ATOMIC SCIENTIST

What does your wife say when you come home?
"Dear, how many people have you blown up,
theoretically, today?
The children were asking; I had to say
I thought it not likely you'd be blasting
Before October, but you know their way -
'What's Daddy doing?' - the same everlasting
Round of questions, day after day.
So - how many people have you blown
Up - theoretically, of course, dear - today?"
- M. M. Darcy

SOME HAPPENINGS IN NEW YORK STATE Binghamton Press, May 3, 1960: "A small group of Harpur College students refused to take shelter this afternoon during the national Civil Defense Drill." About 30 took part in the drill and another 30 looked on. "The group apparently represents the 'intelligentsia' of the college. One student said 'almost every student here is on the Dean's list!'"

NYSPC vice-chairman Richard Moses was one of the active participants in the demonstration. He had an opportunity to explain the why's and wherefore's of the demonstration on the Binghamton TV station that evening. (Newspaper pictures showed "Dick" with a beard after the demonstration and without a beard before his TV appearance!)

The student group which planned the demonstration posted notices of its intentions on school bulletin boards, notified the administration, and issued a public statement of the basis for their non-cooperation. This statement said, in part: "Civil Defense is distracting. It shifts the emphasis from the central problem of how to avert war, to the defeatists' problem of how to adjust to war."

Buffalo Evening News: May 17, carried a picture of Buffalo's first Peace Walk sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends Meeting, and the Social Action Committee of Riverside Salem Evangelical & Reformed Church. The walk, held on May 16, the opening night of the Summit fiasco, was conducted in the downtown area for approximately one hour. (Your editor, former pastor of Riverside Salem Church, has had no details on the walk, but he did see many familiar faces in the picture!) Following the walk, a public forum on Summit prospects was held in the Richmond Avenue Church of Christ.

The Syracuse Peace Council held its annual meeting on May 24th, with Stewart Meacham of the AFSC as speaker. New officers elected include:

Chairman - Adelaide Webster Secretary - Jean Young
Vice-Chairman - Russell Williams Treasurer - M. Lesley West

It was reported that the Peace Council is solvent at the local and state levels, but it must not be supposed that additional contributions are not needed!

The NYSPC is once more sponsoring a Peace Caravan which will operate from the following centers:

Syracuse -- July 1-16 Schedule coordinator, James Syphers, Peace Council
Syracuse HA 2-5316

Auburn -- July 16-25 Schedule coordinator, Herman Kufs, YMCA, Auburn
AL 3-7377

Cortland -- July 25-Aug. 2 Schedule coordinator, Robert McCune, Council of
Churches, Cortland SK 3-0754

The Caravan evaluation will follow at Pendle Hill.

AFRICAN NATIONALISM Last month we included a brief review of Ndabaningi Sithole's book, African Nationalism. Shortly thereafter we were able to locate a copy from which the following quotations are taken:

"World War II, as many people have frequently noted, has had a great deal to do with the awakening of the peoples of Africa. During the war the African came in contact with practically all the peoples of the earth. He met them on a life-and-death-struggle basis. He saw the so-called civilized and peaceful and orderly white people mercilessly butchering one another just as his so-called savage ancestors had done in tribal wars. He saw no difference between the primitive and the civilized man. In short, he saw through the European pretensions that only Africans were savages."

"Since men and women of good will are working to bring about understanding and peace in a world whose only legacy now seems to be tension, insecurity, and fear, it is necessary that subjectiveness be put aside in the interest of getting down to the truth - the objective truth which cannot fail to bring us down on our knees so that, with contrite hearts, we may recognize that through the whole human race runs a strong vein of ruthlessness, savagery, cruelty, weakness, and frailty. It is this comprehensive truth that will make the black man, the white man, the yellow man, and the brown man realize that we all have gone astray like lost sheep, and we all stand in great need of redemption through divine action."

ABOUT For the present, the Peace News Letter will continue to be edited by Alan PNL & Peabody, with the copy being mailed to the Syracuse office from Texas. Since NYSPC Jim Syphers will continue his relationship to the American Friends Service Committee as Peace Interne through June, 1961, and since he will continue to be assigned to the work in New York State, there will be continuity in program. Since more and more have become acquainted with Jim and his work, it is to be hoped that you will keep him busier than ever in the coming year.

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Swimming

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

SPC 246a, No. 60-108
\$1.00 per year July 11, 1960

MORE TALKS BREAK UP The recent walk-out of the Soviet Union from the Geneva disarmament discussions has caused dismay in many quarters, following as it has the breakdown of the Summit Conference scheduled last May in Paris. The following comments by Walter Lippmann (N.Y. Herald-Tribune, June 30, 1960) may be suggestive as to why this occurred:

"Once again we see that progress in disarmament can follow, but it cannot precede a detente, that is, a relaxation of tension. After the U-2 and the collapse of the summit meeting a breakdown in Geneva was to be expected. Soviet-American relations had suddenly become much worse than they had been at any time since the death of Stalin, and there is not nearly enough good will to go on pretending that we are anywhere near a meeting of minds on disarmament. Discussions like those at Geneva about disarmament are possible only when there is a general and common feeling that relations are becoming more friendly, even if specific issues have not yet been resolved...

"We must now expect a long pause before the talks about disarmament are resumed. In itself this pause would be a good thing if it meant that in Washington the problem would be restudied. For there is good reason to think that while the Soviet aim of total disarmament is almost certainly impossible and also undesirable, our stereotyped principle of disarmament with inspection is almost certainly not practical and increasingly obsolescent..."

Lippmann summarizes a recent article by Henry Kissinger in "Foreign Affairs" which points out "that inspection, aerial or even on the ground, belongs to an age which is past - to one in which war is conducted by mobilizing armies and congregating bombers.

"In the missile age, the more perfected the missile, the more ineffective will be any kind of inspection. For the essence of a perfected missile is that it is always ready to attack. Therefore inspection from the air or even on the ground cannot hope to show in advance whether the missile which is ready will in fact be fired. To know that it would be necessary to inspect not the missile but the intention of the adversary.... The weapons that matter most, because of their almost instant readiness, are uninspectable. What, then, are we to rely upon? We have to rely upon what has now become the accepted doctrine of the Pentagon - that is to say, on developing a deterrent power that cannot be knocked out by a surprise attack. This, and not inspection, is the way to reduce tensions which are caused by the race in nuclear armaments..."

NUCLEAR WAR IS FATAL said American physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer at a recent conference of the Congress for Cultural Freedom held in Berlin.

"The destructive power of atomic stockpiles has increased far more than a hundredfold - how much more it may be neither permissible nor relevant to tell... The new means of delivery and use have made of the command and control of these weapon systems a nightmare fully known only to those responsible.

"What some of us know, and some of our governments have recognized, all people should know and every great government understand: if this next great war occurs, none of us can count on having enough living to bury our dead!"

-- N.Y. Herald-Tribune, June 17, 1960

DOCTRINAL PROBLEMS are occurring in the Communist world. Soviet Premier Khrushchev said in Bucharest (June 21st) that the teachings of Lenin must be interpreted to conform with the actualities of today's world.

He again repudiated the Lenin and Marx doctrines that war between capitalist and communist states is inevitable and that there can be no peaceful co-existence between states with rival ideologies. Mr. Khrushchev first advanced his radical theory in February, 1956 when it was hailed in the Communist world as his major contribution to post-Stalinist and Marxist thought.

It is significant that he should have reiterated this position so recently since it has been widely reported that there is an ideological gulf between Communist leaders in Russia and Communist leaders in China over the point. The latter adhere to "pure" doctrine as given by Marx and Lenin, and say that war is inevitable between the East and the West. Their "line" has become more rigid in the light of recent events such as the U-2, the breakup of the Summit, and continuous American hostility to and non-recognition of the government on the mainland.

The ideological conflicts of the Communist world remind students of modern Church history of the fundamentalist-modernist split which rocked American Protestantism in the 1920's.

JAPAN NOT ANTI-U S A Ezra F. Vogel, Research Fellow at the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, recently returned from two years of research in Japan. In a recent letter to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune (June 18, 1960) Mr. Vogel made the following points:

"Demonstrators against the security pact and the U.S. are not limited to Communists and Left-Wingers. Recent public opinion polls show the Japanese about four to one against the Kishi government, and all major newspapers in Japan, including those previously in favor of the Kishi government, are now opposed to the Kishi government. The extreme reaction against the Kishi government was the immediate result of ramming through the vote on the security pact while the opposition had been removed from the corridors of the Diet by policemen at the order of the Kishi government. This vote was timed so the pact would go into effect just in time for Eisenhower's arrival in Japan, and the extreme tactics used by Kishi were considered by the Japanese public as an attempt to please America, and Eisenhower's determination to follow through with his visit was widely interpreted by Japanese as condoning Kishi's tactics...

"If Kishi had not resorted to such extreme police tactics the prospects were that the security pact would have been passed, though perhaps in somewhat modified form... the fear of another military government helps explain the strength of emotion of opposition to Kishi."

DILEMMA IN FOREIGN POLICY is the title of a perceptive article by Harvey Seifert in the Christian Advocate for June 13, 1960. Mr. Seifert, Professor of Social Ethics at Southern California School of Theology, refutes "the contemporary mood of 'realism' which leads specialists in international affairs to emphasize power and national interests while norms and long-term goals tend to be regarded as unreliable guides..."

"Within its limited framework our present foreign policy has had certain values. National interest has often roughly coincided with a wider international interest. Occasional references to the United Nations and somewhat niggardly beginnings of economic aid have cleared trails which may become more heavily traveled highways.

"The way of national power has also carried serious liabilities which we have been forced to accept in addition to its limited assets. These weaknesses must now be reduced through substitute or supplementary policies.

"For one thing, an unadulterated national power approach stimulates counter-measures. The bombs and bases considered essential to our security spur the production of hostile rockets and submarine launchers which threaten our security. Among great powers security, like prosperity, proves to be indivisible. Threatening another nation's safety also tends to undermine our own. Action aimed at a preponderance of power to deter war inflames the hostility and fear which make war more likely.

"A policy designed to compel compliance also increases intransigence. In some respects we strengthen the very elements within our nations which we aim to weaken. We unite the people of Russia behind their government by seeming to threaten their homeland. In times of grave threat, the most militant leaders are more likely to gain a hearing.

"Undue emphasis on the power aspects of policy also impedes any more constructive program. Using both hands to clamp on the lid of a boiling pot leaves no muscle for turning off the gas. Maintaining a 'balance of terror' may be temporarily necessary, but this alone does not get at fundamental disagreements. Resources used in expensive arms programs cannot be invested in economic aid.

"A country engaged in a power struggle is less likely to make concessions which may be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Any more basic international accord depends on negotiation. Yet great powers now hesitate to negotiate. While ahead in the power struggle they feel they do not need to. When they are behind they are afraid to."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

SPC 246b, No. 60-109
August 12, 1960
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PERPLEXING CUBA! Dr. Stuart Gerry Brown, Maxwell Professor of Citizenship at Syracuse University, was recently critical of the U.S. position in Cuba. "Both parties agreed on a policy, that of supporting Batista, which brought disaster."

"Both the Republicans and Democrats were indebted to big business in Cuba and had to support Batista. We were against Castro only because these businesses had interests in Cuba and wanted a stable government.

"Both parties are now using the Communists as a scapegoat for their failure to see this and because of resentment of Castro....Now we are on the right track, I believe. We must have patience with the Castro government and work this out through the Organization of American States. We must show good will to them. We cannot take any unilateral action on the Cuban situation..."

--The Summer Orange of Syracuse Univ., July 29, 1960

UNCLE SAM OVER A BARREL? "Even Americans with no direct financial stake in Cuba must be angered by the Castro government's arrogant seizure of U.S. owned properties on the island," states an editorial in the Berkshire Eagle, July 1, 1960, a paper published in Pittsfield, Mass.

The editorial points out that the State Department faces a real dilemma in dealing with the Cuban situation. A severe crackdown could only do great harm to United States' total interests in Latin America, and the shift to a sterner line, represented in the cut in the Cuban sugar quota, "is reluctant."

"As it happens, a more promising course would be available to us now if short-sighted statesmen in years past had not closed it off. The Cuban confiscation would make an appropriate case for the International Court of Justice to decide - except that the United States has already debarred that approach.

"By adhering to the so-called Connally Reservation, this country in effect rules out recourse to the World Court for any international dispute in which it is a party. Since the reservation permits the United States to decide when any controversy is an internal affair, the net effect is to keep from the court all cases that this country might lose. Moreover, the reservation can be invoked by any other nation with which the United States may be in legal dispute. Hence Castro's Cuba, which has no such 'self-judging' provision, still may invoke it in dispute with the United States.

"The upshot is that the Cuban government (or any other government) can unilaterally seize the property of U.S. citizens, and then prevent the complaint from being aired by the World Court. Obviously this nullifies the court's usefulness in such matters.

"It is sad to realize that the Cuban issue cannot be taken to the World Court for an impartial settlement of claims and adjustment of grievances. It is especially sad to realize that this is largely the United States' own doing. If we find ourselves in a box attempting to cope with Castro's excesses, it is a box we have helped to construct ourselves."

THE CONGO again illustrates that the United Nations is not a mere "talking machine." Walter Lippmann points out (N.Y. Herald Tribune, July 21) "that the situation is very bad and that the future of the Congo Republic is sure to be full of great trouble. But he will find also that without the U.N., as it is now administered with the genius of Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, the situation would be worse than very bad. It would be desperate and hopeless."

Tribune correspondent Marguerite Higgins (July 27) says that top officials of the U.N. and U.S. believe that "A United Nations presence in the Congo will be required for many years." A disciplined army is needed to maintain order within the Congo. With Belgian officers gone, the U.N. will have to train new officers. It will also have to train civil servants to take over the governmental tasks vacated by Belgians.

WHY DID THE CONGO DETERIORATE? The rapid deterioration of order within the Congo Republic can be attributed to lack of preparation of the people for independence. Natives were not given responsible positions in the Army or the Civil Administration; educational opportunities were limited so that only a relatively small number of Congolese have had the advantage of collegiate preparation; and there have been no native technicians and administrators in industrial enterprises.

What has occurred in the Belgian Congo illustrates how not to prepare a people for independence.

TW) ITEMS From the daily press this spring: Marshall, Texas (Associated Press)- "Firemen turned streams of water into a crowd of young Negroes (college students) to calm a demonstration over lunch counter incidents."
Moscow (New York Times)- "The Soviet Union will open a university for students from Asia, Africa, and Latin America this year. The school will offer specialized training with all expenses paid."
-- from The Sign, May 1960

U.S. PRESTIGE has been dealt a blow throughout Asia, fears Dr. Acharya J. B. Kripalani, a political personality from India who was interviewed in Hong Kong following a two-month visit to the United States.

Dr. Kripalani, a leader of the Praja Socialist Party and a merciless critic of India's Communist Party, pointed to the clumsy handling of the U-2 affair and the suddenly canceled trip of President Eisenhower to Japan.

A. T. Steele, the interviewer, gave the following report: "Of American policy, Dr. Kripalani said American efforts to convince the world of the benefits of democracy would make a better impression if we practiced what we preached. He felt that a more rapid solution of the race problem in the United States was important to the raising of American prestige abroad. Moreover, he continued, the United States is hurting itself internationally by being allied militarily with totalitarian regimes. 'I think your bases abroad are making you more enemies than friends,' he said. 'They put everybody in a nervous state, especially the neighboring countries.'..."

"The Indian visitor argued that the United States should welcome neutralism in other countries. 'Democracy,' he went on, 'cannot work on the principle that those who are not with us are against us.' The United States, he said, should make a more serious effort to understand other countries, for instance, by relying less heavily on the official point of view, which is not always a true reflection of public opinion."

-- N.Y. Herald Tribune, July 21, 1960

FALLOUT STATIONS are being set up at 18 locations in New York State to detect radioactive fallout on agricultural land, water, and on stored and harvestable crops. The stations, to be manned by personnel of the Soil Conservation Service, are scheduled for Malone, Oneonta, Norwich, Penn Yan, Belmont, Lowville, Saratoga Springs, Fultonville, Cobleskill, Walton, Oswego, Auburn, Owego, Canandaigua, Albion, Mt. Morris, Hornell, and Salamanca.

--Syracuse Post-Standard, July 14, 1960

DEATH RAY "Speculation is increasing in the United States that the next development in nuclear weapons may be a neutron bomb.

"Reports say that such a bomb would emit radiation fatal to living things without the massive physical destruction of a hydrogen bomb."

Dr. Freeman Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Study hinted at the possibility of such a development in the April issue of Foreign Affairs. Senator Dodd of Connecticut, in a mid-May speech, described the theoretical possibility of such a bomb and explained "it would...operate as a kind of death ray."

-- Peace News, June 10, 1960

NUCLEAR MISSILES have been requested by President Garcia of the Philippines. Leaders of his government and of the armed services want such weapons for use by Filipino troops rather than to have them deployed at U.S. bases on the islands.

It is reported that this matter was discussed in general terms on June 15 in private talks between President Eisenhower and Filipino officials as part of an agenda on "modernisation" of the Philippine Armed Forces.

-- Peace News, June 24, 1960

RB-47 The U.S. claims that its RB-47 never flew closer than 30 miles to the Soviet territory. The Russians claim 12 miles as the limits of their territorial waters. But do we recognize any 3 mile or 12 mile limit on our own air defense?

Loftus Becker, Legal Advisor to the Department of State, wrote in the Journal of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy in February, 1959; "The U.S. has never considered that it is limited in the protection of its security interests to the air space above our territory and territorial waters." For example, "we have established coastal air defense identification zones extending 200 and even 500 miles from our shore although our territorial sea is only three miles in breadth."

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Round-Up

The New York State Round-Up of Peace Workers will be held on Saturday, October 15, Rockefeller Memorial Church, 350 Nottingham Rd., Syracuse. Dr. Julian Friedman of the Maxwell School of Syracuse University is the main speaker. Dr. Friedman was involved in the peace education program while he was in California; he has traveled and kept up on what is going on. He will speak on "New Things in the Peace Movement and Their Implications." Dick Hiler will also be present and is in charge of reporting on the European Travel Seminar for youth that he led this summer. Registration is at 9:15 a.m.

Available Dates

Milton Mayer is to be in Buffalo on November 11, and is still available on November 12. Journalist and world traveler, Milton Mayer is always stimulating. "Which Way the Wind" the DocuDrama written for AFSC to dramatize the message of "Speak Truth to Power" is available November 20, 21 and 22. The second road tour has been formed; as before, the cast is made up of professional actors. It was excellent theatre the first time and I know it will be this time, because I have seen this same producer's work with it when he formed a company to do it around Philadelphia. I saw his group give a special performance at Cape May. He did so well that he has been commissioned to form a road company. The message really comes through that we must find an alternative, we must act. --- If you are interested in either of these opportunities, contact James Syphers, 841 University Building, Syracuse 2, N. Y.

Report for the Program Year '59-'60

I have been in 31 communities in upstate New York. I took speakers to 14 communities. I had 19 days of time from different speakers. I took them into 14 communities. I was in 21 communities to plan for programs in peace education or just to explore the possibilities of action. I visited 20 colleges to promote the Syracuse Institute on International Relations.

Sometimes my entrance into the community was in connection with a speaking engagement. I spoke to 75 different groups. I worked with 10 projects or institutes, most of which were AFSC sponsored, and I represented them at one gathering. In addition to these activities I went to Philadelphia four times for the purpose of planning, consulting, reporting, and learning more about the various areas involved in peace education, plus attending the Round-Up of peace staff in Texas.

In all of this there comes the awareness, time and time again, that peace education rests with you in the local communities. The purpose of the program of peace education, as I have written before, is on-going concern and action in local communities. I do see some of it developing, I see some wanting to begin, I see a lot more that must come to life. The work has its rewards and satisfaction but also its failures and a sense of uneasiness. Most of the satisfactions come in the doing and most of the uneasiness comes from what is not yet done.

Peace Caravan

This past summer there was another AFSC Peace Caravan in upstate New York. The caravan spent two weeks in the Syracuse area, 9 days in the Auburn area and 9 days in the Cortland area. They spoke to 2,831 people during 27 speaking days. They were with 47 different groups and meetings.

The Peace Caravan was made up of four students: Becky Bahlman of Kalamazoo, Michigan and a student at Kalamazoo College. Mahender Mohallajee of Delhi, India and Howard University; Martha Singleterry of Clanton, Alabama who will enter Fisk University this fall; and Jerry Voorhis of Winnetka, Illinois, a graduate of Grinnell College who will enter Michigan Law School this fall.

They spoke to a variety of audiences: No youth meetings, coffee hours, summer school classes, and service clubs. They also went to 5 youth camps and spoke in 13 services of worship. In addition they got on TV once and had three radio interviews. The Peace Caravan program does not plan to have any specific theme, but each caravan usually develops one. This group's main consideration was the relevance of non-violence. Each touched on a particular area: race relations, foreign policy, personal opposition to war, and the witness of India in today's world.

This program offers an outreach to audiences that are open to an international and interracial group of students; they are open in a way that they might not be to other programs. This caravan agreed with most of those who went before them that the work

they do with youth is very important. The response ranged all the way from enthusiasm to rejection. Only once did the old communist bugaboo get brought out. Most of the time honest differences remained just that, honest differences. Each one of the four caravaners felt that the experience was worthwhile and that they were amply rewarded for giving their summer to this project. And it did something to unify people in the communities, drawing in some people who had not been involved before.

There are two of the Caravaners whom I should like to report on. Jerry Voorhis left the caravan two days early to go home to a Department of Justice hearing on his appeal as a CO. Jerry is appealing because his draftboard has refused to grant him a non-combatant status which he sought on grounds of conscience. The summary of this hearing goes to the Appeal Board along with his file and the summary report of the F.B.I. investigation. The Appeal Board then considers his case. If anyone gets turned down by their Appeal Board they have just one thing left to do and that is appeal to the President. We wish Jerry Voorhis well and hope that he gets his classification as a CO because we feel it is rightfully his.

The other little report concerns Becky Bahlman. Becky has decided that she wanted the experience of being in the minority and of witnessing to her belief in equality. This led her to apply at Howard University where there are only a handful of white students amidst hundreds of Negroes. If she is accepted, she applied very late in the summer, she hopes to gain something from the experience that she can take back to Kalamazoo College the following year, and perhaps even get an exchange program set up between Kalamazoo and a Negro College.

The impact of the Caravan program comes largely from the fact that the caravaners are willing to live out their concerns and convictions.

Summer Camps

Programs on peace were placed in six youth camps by this office. One of these occurred only because someone volunteered as a result of my appeal last year. More volunteers are needed to take a point of view into camps that sharpens things up so that real explorations can go on in searching out how to work for peace.

In addition to our volunteer, I was at a camp and the peace caravan took care of the rest. Where the expectations are in perspective, both on the part of the camp staff and on the part of the peace program, the invitation to return is almost always present.

I was not able to get to as many camps myself because of added responsibilities in the overall AFSC summer program for the region, and because the schedule was too heavy the year before. We have hardly scratched the surface of the many camps in up-state New York; we should plan for a more extensive job next summer.

Other Summer Activities

In addition to working with the Peace Caravan and being a resource for peace at a youth camp, I spent my summer, among other things, doing the following.

I was the co-director of the AFSC College Institute for the region. I assisted in the running of the camp and was able to observe the problems and some methods for working in this area. This was a new experience for me and should be of assistance in my work. In new situations I usually find out some new things about myself.

I was a counselor for the High School Section of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends. I also met with the Peace and Service Committee while I was there. I am very happy to report that New York Friends reaffirmed the peace testimony in this 300th anniversary year. It was in 1660 that George Fox went before King Charles. Friends are going to Washington in October to again present their views. Well, back to my part at the Yearly Meeting. I very much enjoy working with high school youth as a CO in the flesh. And I have the opportunity at the same time to meet and talk with people from all over the state about what can and is being done in peace education.

My last big project was being the co-director of the AFSC Family Camp for the region. This camp provides a place where the whole family can come for a vacation and find an enjoyable and stimulating program for all ages. The adult program had a two-fold concern this year: To understand more about just what is going on in our world, and to explore the resources for a better world. The family, the community, and the world all came in for their share of consideration. As usual it was for many a time of renewal at various levels; physically, mentally and spiritually.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

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DEEP IN THE HEART OF TEXAS On arrival in Waco, we felt the need to obtain some light reading, suitable for relaxation, to while away some time until the pressure of new duties should force vigorous intellectual pursuits.

So we went to the magazine rack of one of those miniature department stores, called a drug store, and on the advice of a teen-ager who does not yet share his parents' distaste, secured a copy of the September issue of Reader's Digest. And then to satisfy more noble yearnings, we obtained a copy of the August Atlantic.

It may be supposed that the majority of PNL readers have seen the former, and that, unfortunately, only a minority have seen the latter. The former contains an article, "Why We Must Repeal the Ban on Nuclear Testing" by Connecticut's Senator Thomas J. Dodd, while the latter contains "The Case for Ending Nuclear Tests" by Cornell Physicist Hans A. Bethe.

THE DODD ARGUMENT rests ^{on} the assumption that "we can take it for granted that the Communists will cheat" on the USA-USSR voluntary moratorium on nuclear tests and that to think otherwise "rests on blind trust in the honesty of the Kremlin," something which we ought not to do because some nuclear tests are undetectable.

Mr. Dodd admits "methods of detection may be improved, but the technology of cheating may well outrace the technology of detection." He cites what others have called "the big hole" theory of Edward Teller, to wit, "that if a test device is exploded in the center of a larger, spherical chamber, the surrounding air muffles the impact and sharply reduces the tremor." Since the tremor might be indistinguishable from that of an earthquake, inspection teams might have to engage in extensive, costly drilling in order to verify whether or not an underground seismic disturbance was due to an earthquake or a nuclear weapon. Such drilling might take as long as 1008 days to complete.

It logically follows from Mr. Dodd's basic assumption that the Russians will cheat and are cheating, and his second main assumption that there are "virtually insuperable technological difficulties" to the development of an adequate inspection system for low yield (under 20-kiloton magnitude) underground tests, that the United States is losing ground relative to the Soviet Union with respect to the development of nuclear weapons. Therefore he urges, unless the Soviets accept completely our proposals on inspection, that "we commit ourselves to an all-out program of nuclear weapons development and testing conceived on a scale that will not merely maintain our lead over the Soviets but will increase it from year to year."

BETHE'S CASE FOR ENDING TESTS makes interesting reading against the background of the article summarized above.

In the first place, if Dodd is correct in pointing to the difficulties of checking on a suspicious seismic disturbance (a possible 1008 days of drilling), Bethe points to the difficulties of finding or creating a big hole in which to muffle (or decouple, to use a technical word of nuclear physicists) 20 kiloton weapons. It would require "a spherical hole of about fifty million cubic feet, or nearly five hundred feet in diameter... Moreover, the hole has to be three thousand feet below ground..."

"It would obviously be very slow and very expensive to excavate such a hole by a normal mining operation with pick and shovel and high explosives. However, in salt domes, large holes can be made by washing out the salt; that is, by pumping water in and pumping brine out. Experts in the oil industry have estimated that to excavate a hole big enough to muffle a twenty-kiloton explosion would take more than two years and would cost about ten million dollars. This is quite a lot of money, but the time factor is probably more important. The actual washing operation has to be preceded by an engineering study, and after completion of the hole, considerable time is required to set up and complete an atomic test..." (Emphasis supplied.)

Dr. Bethe reports his personal embarrassment at the Geneva conference on Nuclear Tests Suspension last November when he had to present the theory of the big hole to the Russians. "I felt deeply embarrassed in so doing, because it implied that we considered the Russians capable of cheating on a massive scale..."

"The Russians seemed stunned by the theory of the big hole. In private, they took the Americans to task for having spent the last year inventing methods to cheat on a nuclear test cessation agreement..."

Bethe mentions recent testimony of Dr. Teller before the Congressional Joint Atomic Energy Committee in which Dr. Teller urged continued American efforts to find ways of reducing the seismic signals from underground nuclear tests on the grounds that if we are to develop a detection system which can deal with them, we must know all possible methods of concealment. "This may be so," comments Dr. Bethe, "but should we really spend our time and effort in drawing up a blueprint for a violator of the treaty, and also do the engineering development for him?"

Dr. Bethe differs from Senator Dodd on the matter of keeping ahead of the Russians in Nuclear Weapons development. Surely we can make progress in such development if we resume tests, he admits, "However, we have already gone far enough so that very little we can do in the future will be of great military significance....if nuclear tests were resumed legally, the Russians would probably make more rapid progress than we would."

Dr. Bethe reminds us that in the fall of 1958, the United States put in an extra series of tests, Hardtack II, carried out in Nevada. This was to develop small weapons from twenty kilotons down to a fraction of a kiloton.

This gave the Soviets an excuse to carry on a series of tests in September and October which they devoted to "the largest weapons they have ever tested" and "they probably obtained in that test series the warhead for their big intercontinental ballistic missile...."

Hardtack II was to our disadvantage. Had President Eisenhower made a bold declaration of suspension, "I do not believe that the Russians would have conducted their test series... They used our ...series as a very welcome excuse to conduct their own. The bold political decision to stop tests altogether would have been much more to our military advantage, since such a decision would have made it difficult for the Russians to resume testing and to test their big warheads. Had the Russians tested nevertheless, we would still have been free to conduct the small Hardtack II series. We got comparatively little from our small test series; they got a great deal, and very big weapons, out of theirs."

Dr. Bethe concludes that, "even from the purely military point of view, for our purely military strength compared with Russia's, we would gain by a test cessation agreement." Furthermore, "the political gain would be enormous."

Earlier in the article he points out that "the Russians have by now accepted the major principle on which the United States has insisted; namely, that there should be a control system for the test cessation agreement." To actually consummate an agreement would mean that for the first time Russia would "permit foreign international inspectors to go on their soil, to have the right to check up on their activities." This is a far more difficult thing for the Russians to do than it is for the West.

Senator Dodd and Dr. Bethe have different starting points. Whereas the former assumes that the Russians cannot be trusted, Dr. Bethe writes: "Having participated in the negotiations with the Russian scientists at Geneva on three occasions, I believe that they are sincere in wanting the test cessation agreement and do not intend to cheat on it."

SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECIES is a term familiar to Social Scientists. In brief, it indicates a common human phenomenon, that what we believe about others influences our behavior towards them, and this combination of beliefs and behaviors tends to elicit the kind of responses in others which confirm our initial beliefs.

The points of view of Senator Dodd and of Dr. Bethe might be evaluated in terms of the possibility of the self-fulfillment of basic expectations about human beings.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DISARMAMENT is the title of #5 in an AFSC series of papers, "Background on Disarmament." Dr. Frank, professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, sees a parallel between the action of mental patients and the behavior of nations.

"There are certain striking parallels between the behavior of nations today and that of mental patients. Though the extent to which such parallels are valid is always open to question, our present peril is the consequence of human attitudes and can be changed only by a change in human attitudes...The basic problem of nations as well as of psychiatrists dealing with individuals is to bring about the kind of behavior which is adapted to the real circumstances which people must deal with. Many patients come to a psychiatrist when they are faced with disaster because their habitual ways of coping with personal problems have failed. At present the inappropriateness of reliance by major powers on ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction has become very evident, since any use of the weapons would result in general destruction which would defeat the purpose for which the weapons were created..."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

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THE U. N. has opened with a parade of top officials from many of the member nations. **GENERAL ASSEMBLY** The result has been a deafening crescendo of charges and countercharges as representatives of the two major blocs (East & West) have attempted to score victories in the making of propaganda both for the consumption of people at home and for the ears of people in the uncommitted nations. At this writing, a proposal that the U.N. sponsor a meeting between Soviet Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower seems to be bearing no fruit as the two leaders continue to insist on the other meeting certain conditions before such a meeting can be arranged.

BALANCE OF POWER SHIFTING It seems to be the consensus of informed opinion that Mr. Khrushchev, in choosing to come to the General Assembly meeting, came to make a bid for the support of the new members of the United Nations. Joseph Newman, (Herald Tribune News Service) writes (Dallas Morning News, Sept. 18):

"For the 14 years since its inception, the United States and its allies enjoyed a relatively safe majority in the General Assembly, the supreme body of the United Nations. The United States could boast, as its former representative, Henry Cabot Lodge, frequently did, that it never lost a vote or an important battle in the United Nations.

"In the course of the 15th General Assembly... the world organization will undergo a radical transformation. Newborn states will swell the African ranks, hitherto composed of nine members, to a total of 25. Africa will emerge as the largest single bloc in the United Nations, overtaking the 21 American republics.

"The Africans are closely associated with the Asians of the Middle East and the Far East. Together, the Afro-Asian bloc could command 46 votes - nearly half of a new United Nations of about 90 members.

"By winning the support of this bloc, Mr. Khrushchev, with nine and sometimes 10 Communist states (the 10th being Yugoslavia) plus Cuba, could bid for a majority in the United Nations. He would still fall short of the two-thirds required to decide an issue, but he could deny the United States the two-thirds majority it has hitherto been able to muster.

"That would mark the beginning of the end of Western domination of the United Nations.

"More than that, if the Soviet Union succeeded in establishing a simple majority, it could claim to be the dominant power in the United Nations - and as such, the dominant power in the world..."

It is still too early to determine how successful Mr. Khrushchev's bid has been, and yet it appears that on the key issue of transforming the office of Secretary-General into a Soviet type presidium of three he has already failed. Further, countermoves by Western leaders have already had an enormous effect upon the representatives of the newly admitted African states.

U.S. AID PLEDGED Secretary of State Christian A. Herter pledged strong and continuing U. S. Aid to the newly independent nations of Africa. Speaking at a luncheon honoring the U.N. delegates from 12 newly admitted African states and the new Mediterranean Republic of Cyprus, Herter said:

"I can assure you that we in America are genuinely interested in assisting you to achieve your natural aspirations of social and economic progress leading toward the elimination of poverty and illiteracy and disease, and the orderly development of your countries consistent with the ideals of freedom and justice..."

CASTRO SPEECH At the opening session of a public series on International Issues, Dr. Robert Miller of Baylor Univ. urged his audience to give attention to Fidel Castro's speech before the U.N. as "in many ways a highly effective speech." Castro spent a good portion of that speech in touching on sordid aspects of America's relationship to the Cuban Republic which cannot be easily dismissed because the fact is that the United States did follow imperialistic policies for a long time and because the United States did support the Batista regime for a great many years.

OF THE FUTURE At the same series, Dr. Guy Harrison, an expert on Russian History, suggested that the Russian Revolution has lost its momentum. While present Russian leaders, including Khrushchev, still talk the language of Revolution, and while the Soviet Premier wishes to pose as the leader of the Revolutionary forces in the world, there is in Russian leadership more concern with perpetuating its own power. Furthermore, there is a serious cleavage within the Communist world between Russia and China. While "K" understands perfectly well the dangers inherent in nuclear weapons, it is not clear that the Chinese leadership shares his concern.

In terms of growing Power potential, it must be remembered that Communist China has the largest population of any nation in the world. When China industrializes, her strength may well exceed that of any other single nation in the world.

Dr. Harrison reminded his listeners that there is a long history of ill will between China and Russia. What will be the future relationship when China, with great population pressures, eyes enviously the open Steppes of Siberia and thinks of them as a place where some of her excess population might live. At that point a worried Russia may be looking around for friends in the West.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SEE THIS Vice-Presidential candidate Henry Cabot Lodge, in an address at El Paso, Texas, on September 28th, predicted that the time will come when Russia will turn to the United States for help against Communist China.

U.S. CULTURAL PROGRAMS in Latin America were vigorously attacked by Baylor University Professor, Dr. Juana Laban, who recently returned from 18 months in Chile. She charged that U. S. cultural programs are so bad that the United States' cultural standing in Latin America is at zero.

Dr. Laban said that American teachers assigned to South America are given inadequate and improper preparation for their assignments. Orientation lectures in Washington consists of "useless banalities" and "generalities." On reaching the field, American teachers are on their own. "You can't find out whether materials for teaching are available, whether American cultural attractions are scheduled for presentation until a few days before they arrive, and there is no coordination at all between the U. S. Embassy staff, the Fulbright fellowship officials, and the Overseas Education Agency. Each stays in a little tur of its own, not interested in working together to produce a better image of the United States."

The cultural promotions in South America by the Soviet Union, Germany, France, and Britain are all conducted on a quite different basis. France has built a lavish center in Chile, staffs it and serves refreshments along with a wide array of art and literature offerings to young Chileans. Russia, she said, floods South American countries with literature, with top drama, music and dance performances and will take students to the foreign studies center in Moscow for as long as four years, all expenses paid. Germany and Hungary and Britain all send their best traveling performances in music, theater and ballet to South America, as does Red China.

The Chilean and Brazilian estimate of Americans runs something like this, Dr. Laban reported: 1. naive about life; 2. money mad; 3. eager for scientific progress because it means world power; 4. culturally zero. "We are spending money on what we call a cultural program but so foolishly and ineptly that it is hurting our standing, not helping it," she said.

HOPE SAILS At long last the international hospital ship, S. S. Hope, the former Navy Hospital Ship U.S.S. Consolation, which served in World War II and the Korean War, has sailed for Jakarta, Indonesia, in the vicinity of which she will remain for a year.

Project Hope is a privately sponsored program designed to carry American medical knowledge to doctors, students and technicians who might otherwise never have the opportunities to improve their skills.

In Indonesia there is but one doctor for every 71,000 persons. To take doctors from the country for training would seriously impair an already inadequate medical program. Therefore the object is to take teaching personnel to the countries to share knowledge and skill with local physicians, health officers, sanitation officials, nurses and mid-wives.

PANAMA FLAG now flies over more of the nation's territory. Recently President Eisenhower ordered that the flag of the Republic of Panama be flown at one place in the Panama Canal Zone in recognition of the fact that ultimate sovereignty to this land belongs to Panama, and not to the United States. Riots several months ago on the part of Panamanian people is the background of this action which has been attacked in some quarters as an act of Appeasement. A Texas paper comments: "Once we get started paying blackmail, the time may come when we will have to appease the Russians by flying the Red flag of the hammer and sickle over the Pentagon."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

SPC 249, No. 60-112
November 17, 1960

Since the last issue of PNL was written, there has been a spectacular session of the UN General Assembly, the choice of a new President, continued difficulties in the Congo, more confiscation of American properties in Cuba, disturbances in South America, and numerous other occurrences which are bewildering and confusing.

This Newsletter has had little comment on the Cuban situation thus far. Readers may look forward to an extensive background report on Cuba as soon as one of the editor's students completes a term project on the situation there. Don't expect to see repeated the story made familiar in the daily papers.

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE In September, the Ecumenical Council of Protestant Churches in Czechoslovakia sponsored a Christian Peace Conference in Prague, attended by Norman Whitney, who offered this comment in Spectator Papers, September:

"This is no place for a serious report of the Conference, attended by 200 churchmen from countries both East and West except that, unfortunately, America was represented only by a half dozen members of the historic peace churches. This lack of representation gives Eastern Christians a very sad view of the interest of American churches in peace. Indeed it suggests to them that the church in America is not 'free' from the influence of American foreign policy. It was a bit startling to us to see ourselves, thus, 'through the looking glass.'"

KHRUSHCHEV AT THE UN The American press was quite generous in allotting space to the discourteous and boisterous behavior of the Soviet Prime Minister at the UN. There is no need to recall all the details recorded, but one item stands out because if the whole story had been told, it might have modified our estimates of the man. Here is what Carl Soule of the Methodist Division of Peace and World Order reported as an observer at the UN.

"When the representative of the Philippines argued that the Assembly should be mindful of the lack of freedom in Eastern Europe as well as colonial areas of Africa, Khrushchev showed his indignation by taking off his shoe and shaking it at the speaker. (Later he applauded Mr. Sumulong's rebuttal of his speech and laughed good-naturedly with him.)" (Emphasis supplied.)

"During the time Khrushchev was at the Assembly, only one of his motions, the discussion of the colonial question in plenary session was adopted. His group was defeated in its attempt to have a Czech elected President of the Assembly, to have the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China placed on the agenda, to keep off the agenda a discussion of Tibet and Hungary, to have over-flights discussed,* and to have disarmament debated on the assembly floor." *That is, U-2's.

-- From Concern, Nov. 1, 1960

SAVAGES IN WACO... "National survival through foreign policy and defense is the United States' biggest problem, Air Force Secretary Dudley C. Sharp told Republican workers in Waco..."

"'Domestic issues don't hold a candle to this great overpowering issue of survival that faces us today,' Sharp said. 'We're up against a bunch of savages that will destroy us if they can.' (Emphasis supplied, Editor.)

"'The only way we can survive is to deter war,' he said. 'We deter war by having a military force that can strike back at the enemy with such force that no nation will attempt an attack.'"

-- Waco, Texas, News-Tribune

RED CHINA vs. U.S.A. On October 6, 1960, the UN General Assembly was plunged into a wrangle over the Red China membership issue. "In a gesture to the African nations, Soviet White Russia's delegate, K. T. Mazurov, accused the United States of 'disgraceful' discrimination which he said deprives millions of Negroes of voting rights. This was in reply to the U.S. contention that Red China's suppression of human rights makes the Peiping regime unfit for membership." Associated Press dispatch.

Your editor brought the above comment to his International Relations class for discussion. The students - all young American Negroes from the South - felt that Mr. Mazurov had scored a telling point on the U.S.A. Reflecting their own experience with American discrimination, these students were not ready to concede that perhaps their lot was better than that of the Chinese peasants under the Communist regime at Peiping.

NATIONALIST "Lei Chen, organizer of the first major political opposition to Chiang
CHINA & Kai-shek's long rule of Nationalist China, was convicted of sedition
FREEDOM October 8th and sentenced to a total of 10 years in prison.

"A five-man military court found Lei - 64 year-old leader of the embryonic China Democratic party - guilty of charges of attempting to incite riots and rebellion on Formosa and of harboring an alleged Communist spy.

"Two associates on a fortnightly magazine published by Lei, 'Free China,' were also convicted of sedition."

-- Waco Times-Herald, Oct. 9, 1960

A-BOMB are still felt in Japan. Dr. Teruo Hirose of Chiba, Japan, speaking in Dallas
EFFECTS during October, said that during the past year, and some 15 years after the devastating atomic bomb explosions on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 150 persons died from skin cancer, leukemia, and cirrhosis of the liver - all traceable to the blasts that leveled Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945.

-- Dallas Morning News

THE NEW Your editor recently attended the 45th annual meeting of the Association for
NEGRO the Study of Negro Life and History, held at Huston-Tillotson College, Austin, Texas, at the end of October.

During the discussions, and in a number of the papers read, it was apparent that many leaders of this group feel that the United States has little time to put its house in order, with regard to minority groups, if it is to maintain - or regain - its position of leadership in the world. Further, there is recognition by many Negro leaders that the vigor of both Presidential Candidates on the Civil Rights issue was very much related to the emergence of the independent nations of Africa regardless of personal convictions.

The following is illustrative of the mood:

"Today there is a new 'Voice of America,' It is the 'Voice of the New Negro,' the educated Negro. It is the voice of democracy, which cries out in the wilderness of lingering bigotry. It is a voice which speaks to a world in which special interests, sustained by intolerant governments, are tumbling. It is a voice that warns our country that it no longer can be a respected world leader, if it continues to allow a large section of this land to be governed by an oligarchy of hate....

"In the final analysis, all the new Negro seeks is justice, and respect for his manhood. He does not ask special favors. He should be judged by his traits as an individual. He is sorry for the ignorance of those whose judgment is influenced by color-of-skin; but he also is insulted and humiliated. He no longer accepts the policy that any sort of facilities can be advertised as open to people in general, but closed to him because of his color (which makes him somewhat less than a person). The United States must be saved from bigotry which could destroy it in this world of shifting balances. The 'Voice of the New Negro' is a voice of warning to America. Time is running out for the United States to put its house in order...." (Emphasis supplied.)

-- Negro History Bulletin, April 1960

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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

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December 15, 1960

CUBA - Certain materials coming to the editor's desk suggest that consideration of the Cuban problem cannot be delayed, as suggested in the November PNL.

Item: Texaco, Inc., which operated in Cuba for over fifty years until its properties, valued at \$55 million were seized by the Castro regime last June, recently announced the gift of \$100,000 to relief organizations working with refugees from Cuba's Castro regime. "James W. Fole, Texaco president, called the gift a 'double-barreled' one. He said the company was interested in the humanitarian aspects and also 'we have a large investment (in Cuba) and some day expect to get it back.'" - Wall Street Journal, December 8, 1960

Item: A recent announcement by the U.S. government indicates that \$1 million in Federal funds will be spent for the relief of Cuban refugees in the United States.

Item: The Cuban middle classes are hostile to Castro. The nationalization of Cuban owned enterprises in October accelerated counterrevolutionary activity inside Cuba. If the Cuban economy reveals weaknesses "on which the bourgeoisie can capitalize; if, that is, the middle classes win allies, the United States will undoubtedly accelerate its diplomatic, economic, and indirect military offensive against the revolutionary government. The greater Castro's internal opposition, the less will be the prospect that the United States will withhold direct and unembarrassed support from anti-Castro exiles in this country...." - James O'Connor, "Cuba's Counter-Revolution," Progressive, December 1960.

Item: "There is also some ground to fear that the (Central Intelligence Agency) may be preparing an invasion of Cuba. The Nation (Nov. 19) said Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Affairs at Stanford, was told on a recent visit to Guatemala that the CIA had acquired a \$1,000,000 tract of land near the seacoast which was being used to train Cuban counterrevolutionaries for an invasion. From Guatemala City a New York Times correspondent Nov. 20 quoted President Ydigoras as denying this report and insisting that the land was being used by his army for guerrilla warfare training and that the project was not U.S. subsidized. But when opposition deputies asked for an investigation after these reports were published in the Guatemalan newspaper, LaHora, it was refused on the grounds of military secrecy." - I. F. Stone's Weekly, Nov. 28, 1960

Item: "The stage is set for Civil War, as the (Cuban) middle class turns against Castro for this class (approximately 30 per cent of the population) united with the 5 per cent of the wealthy Cubans who have always been anti-Castro are now arrayed against the peasants and unskilled workers (approximately 65 per cent) who are ardent Fidelistas. As thousands of middle class Cubans, including many once loyal Castro aides, desert the regime, many fleeing to Florida, the U.S. can easily support counterrevolution plans. While all such information is considered strictly 'classified,' it is rumored that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and special officers from the Pentagon are secretly organizing and arming the growing anti-Castro forces for intervention in Cuba by Cuban forces. Any mention of this is officially taboo but every informed observer knows it is going on. We did the same thing in Guatemala a few years ago..."

"Grave risks are involved in U.S. participation in Cuban counterrevolution. There are strong sympathies for Castro among all the peoples of Latin America, for Castro's propaganda... has made more headway than U.S. officials want to admit... If the U.S. exposes its hands too much in an attempt to destroy the Castro regime, the reaction against the U.S. will be serious, flinging a thousand doors open to larger Soviet influence. The memory of similar action by the U.S. in Guatemala is still fresh, although the American public was never told the real story of the way the U.S. secret intelligence manipulated the overthrow of the revolutionary government in Guatemala. Pro-Communist it was, but it also had brought desperately needed reforms which were promptly stifled when the U.S. puppet regime replaced the left-wing reform government. As a result, Guatemala again seethes with revolution..." - Between the Lines, Sept. 1, 1960

MISSING Claude R. Eatherly, 41, pilot of the plane which led the first atomic bomber over Hiroshima, is missing from the Waco, Texas, Veterans Administration Hospital where he has been a mental patient. Eatherly, decorated for his part in the world's atomic bomb raids on the Japanese cities has been a mental patient in VA hospitals several times since his discharge from the Air Force as a major in 1947. A psychiatrist, in 1957, testified that Eatherly has a guilt complex. - Waco News Tribune, Dec. 5, 1960

