

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 251, No. 61-114
January 19, 1961

PEACE was in Waco, Texas recently as she continues "Walking 25,000 Miles For World PILGRIM Peace." Her intent is announced on her simple tunic, and already she has walked some 17,000 miles in accord with her vow to "remain a wanderer until mankind has learned the way of peace..." Her only possessions are the clothes she wears and the few items she carries in the pocket of her tunic - a toothbrush, a ball-point pen with which to answer letters, and a few leaflets. Adhering to the admonition of Christ to his disciples to go forth in faith, she walks until given shelter and fasts until given food.

This handsome woman with silver grey hair is both spiritually and intellectually well prepared for her lonely and unusual mission. Her deep devotion is readily apparent. She cannot be dismissed as a crank unless one dismisses all the great religious leaders of old, all the prophets and seers as cranks. In a world where crisis after crisis develops with a rapidity confusing to the average system, her message is eminently simple, and the word she addresses to the individual concerning the need of "inner peace" is the same word that she addresses to individuals in community - nations - concerning "outer peace." Listen:

"There is a magic formula for resolving conflicts. It is this: Have as your objective the resolving of the conflict ---- not the gaining of advantage.

"There is a magic formula for avoiding conflicts. It is this: Be concerned that you do not offend ---- not that you are not offended."

Simple words, powerful words, practical advice to a world in which national leaders too easily say, "there is a limit to what any nation can endure" from another.

POLITICAL The Urgent Problem, is the title of a paper by Raymond English of Kenyon EDUCATION: College which is being circulated to a limited audience. It summarizes the "partial and preliminary" results of a two-year group research project undertaken with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation. We quote:

1. The Problem

"Q. Defendant, did you realize whether by intruding into the airspace of the Soviet Union you were violating the sovereignty of the U.S.S.R.?"

A. Yes, I did.

"Q. Do you think now you did your country a good or bad service? A. I would say a very bad service.

"...Q. Did it occur to you that a flight might provoke military conflict? A. The people who sent me should have thought of these things. My job was to carry out orders. I do not think it was my responsibility to make such decisions.

"Q. Do you regret making this flight? A. Yes, very much."

"In this exchange, the pilot of the notorious U2, captured in the U.S.S.R. in May, 1960, exposed his lack of political sophistication and his unawareness of any reasons which the government of the United States might have to suspect and fear the aggressive preparations of a totalitarian dictatorship confessedly dedicated to the project of burying his own country. The dramatic irony of the situation was underlined several times in the course of the examination, the accused being, among other things, made to admit that he knew nothing about politics and that he had been principally motivated by the desire to earn money on a fairly lavish scale.

"Most of us would in similar circumstances probably have behaved as abjectly unheroically as the pilot of the U2. (We are an unheroic lot, the spineless, latter day generations of a civilization upon which the barbarians appear to be closing in.) And, no doubt, even if the pilot in question had had a spine -- if, that is, he had possessed vigorous moral and political loyalties based on real intellectual conviction -- the Russians would not have brought him to trial until they had thoroughly broken it. However, the disquieting evidence - for Americans and for the whole world - was that hardly any pressure was needed to make this young man appear as he did; that is, as a young American, presumably handpicked in order to undertake a daring patriotic mission, exhibited before the whole world as a political and ethical ignoramus, whose attitude towards his country and its government appeared to be that of a mere mercenary rather than that of a free citizen serving with affection and honor...."

While the main burden of the article has to do with the need of strengthening public education in this country, the opening paragraphs cited above suggest a new conception of ethics which is related to the national interest rather than to any enduring and supra-

national values.

COEXISTENCE is the title of a perceptive article by Fred Warner Neal, professor of AND THE International Relations and Government at the Claremont, Calif., Graduate KREMLIN School. It appeared in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September, 1960.

In this article, Neal reviews the history of Soviet Foreign Policy. He suggests that "the failure of the West, and in particular the United States, to understand the intensity of Moscow's reaction to the U-2 incident seems to indicate an even more important failure to understand Khrushchev's significant revision of the Soviet concept of coexistence..."

Both Marx and Stalin believed that war with capitalism was inevitable. In 1956, at the 20th Party Congress, Khrushchev outlined a foreign policy in which he was faithful to his predecessors - "with one important exception." "The reason for the important exception was an extremely important development in the world--perhaps the most important in mankind's history: the hydrogen bomb." The new ideological position which Khrushchev announced is that "war was no longer inevitable."

This means that "for the first time since 1921, the essential nature of the Soviet theory of coexistnece was changed" and this has implications for the means by which the goal of universal communism will be approached and pursued.

In Khrushchev's vision, "the important element... of communism was economic plenty... Soviet capabilities are not such that these possibilities (for greater amounts of consumers' goods) can be altered radically in the foreseeable future unless fewer Soviet resources are devoted to military purposes. Given the present state of the world, with hostile capitalist countries and H-bombs seen lurking behind every launching pad, a major curtailment of resources devoted to defense cannot be risked unless there is some measure of disarmament."

In seeking disarmament and coexistence the Soviet Union will not "make any agreements or take any steps deleterious to its hegemony in Eastern Europe" nor will it "abandon its efforts to further communism, especially in the underdeveloped areas, by non-military means." As center of the Communist movement the Soviet Union "cannot abandon its posture of ideological opposition to capitalism or fail to work for communism" but the implication is "that such Soviet efforts are less likely to be through covert political subversion - although by no means can one rule this out completely - than through more or less open propaganda and economic maneuvering...."

"Western acceptance of the Soviet view of coexistence would mean no military intervention in the event of revolution. Similarly, however, it means no Soviet military intervention. There is, however, nothing in the concept to indicate that the West could not work against the development of communism by other means..."

Further, the West cannot expect the Soviet Union to "give up its Communist dictatorship at home" and this suggests that "the surprising thing is not that the Russians do not accept full inspection (under an arms control agreement) but that they have gone as far as they have in accepting limited inspection."

"The west... is faced with the necessity of either accepting the new Soviet view of coexistence, with all its limitations, or rejecting it." Unfortunately the U-2 incident struck a blow at Khrushchev's efforts to secure acceptance in the Communist world for his new concepts, particularly when the Secretary of State, "backed by the President," said "that we had a right and duty to continue" the flights. "This amounted to asserting a right to violate the sovereignty of the Soviet Union."

"Mr. Khrushchev appears to be sticking by the new concept of coexistence despite the trial to which it has been subjected... The great danger now seems to be not that the new posture has been abandoned but that the American reaction to the Soviet reaction will prevent a new and possibly more adept Administration from putting it to the test.

"The big question for the West.. is whether the new posture is such as to merit the risk of making agreements on terms the Soviet Union can accept. Better stated, perhaps, the West must ask itself whether it --- or mankind --- can run the risk of not making such agreements. There is still time for decision, but who knows how long it will last?"

OUR 25th Syracuse Peace Council Birthday will be celebrated January 24 at 6:15 p.m. at First Presbyterian Church Parish House, Syracuse, with Norman Whitney as speaker.

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
P A I D
Syracuse, N. Y.
Permit No. 2380

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 252, No. 61-115
February 3, 1961

BACKGROUND ON CUBA

Cuba is the largest island in the West Indies with 44,218 square miles. It stretches 745 miles from west to east, and lies only 112 miles from the continental United States. Its climate is semi-tropical with an average temperature of 75°. The Cuban farmer never worries about frosts, but severe droughts do occur on occasion. The island has no coal and little oil. It has extensive deposits of iron, nickel, chrome, manganese and copper.

There were (in 1957) only about 6.4 million Cubans - less than the population of New York City. Most of the people of Cuba were desperately poor. In the years 1950-54, while the average per capita income for Delaware was \$2,279, it was only \$829 for Mississippi. But the average per capita income for Cuba was not half that of Mississippi. The average person in Cuba lived on \$6.00 per week. Actually most of the people got less than that.

In 1953, Cuban population was 57% urban and 43% rural. Housing was better in the city than in the rural areas. In fact the people in rural areas lived in huts. Wood chips were used for cooking fuel, and there were no electric lights or modern toilet facilities.

With the lack of proper water and sewage systems, with many Cubans not having enough to eat or the wrong kind of food, with almost total absence of teaching of the fundamentals of good hygiene, yellow fever, typhus, malaria, tuberculosis and syphilis have taken an enormous toll.

Cuba was a miserable failure in education. Eight years of school attendance was compulsory, but government officials did not supply the teachers, schools and equipment to make enforcement of the law possible. A report showed that "while 180,370 children start the first grade, only 4,852 enter the eighth grade." In 1953, only one out of four persons ten years of age or over could read and write.

Employment figures during the same time showed that on an average day one out of four Cubans who were able to work and wanted to work could not find a job. Cuba's large rate of unemployment was a reflection of the fact that its economy was in a permanent state of crisis. The trouble was sugar. Cuban economy came to center almost exclusively on this single crop, and the sugar industry employed 23% of the total labor force.

From almost the beginning of its history, the United States has been interested in Cuba. Its closeness to our shores with the possibility that its fine harbors might be used by enemy navies to raid our seaboard and our commerce was one reason for our early interest in the island.

In the early nineteenth century the United States felt that one day Cuba would become a part of the United States. Mr. C. Wright Mills in his book, Listen Yankee, gives an account of what the Cubans themselves are thinking about the United States' interest in the island:

"First, in 1848, you tried to buy Cuba outright, for \$100 million. You tried again a few years later. Do you realize what that means? But Spain would not sell and the U. S. was not satisfied. The Old South wanted Cuba for slavery. And when they couldn't buy it, some U.S. envoys issued the 'Ostend Manifesto.' Cuba, it said, was geographically part of the United States; if the United States could not buy it, 'by every law, human and divine, the United States had the right to take it by force.' Your Southerners, in brief, wanted to turn Cuba into two slave states."

In 1868, the Cubans rose in armed rebellion to fight for their independence. In this struggle that lasted 10 years, 80,000 Spanish soldiers died and half a billion dollars were spent by Spain. A large part of the countryside was laid waste; farmers suffered terrible losses, but the American merchants who had financed Cuban sugar estates were now able to pick up good sugar properties at bargain-basement prices. In 10 years American capitalists had about \$30 million worth of sugar properties and 10% of Cuba's sugar production came from American owned mills.

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain. The treaty of peace signed in Paris on Dec. 10, 1898, provided for the independence of Cuba and for the protection of private property and the pacification of Cuba by the United States.

On March 3, 1901, the Cuban Constitutional Convention was handed a set of articles known as the Platt Amendment, which the United States Congress had made into law, and which were now to be incorporated into the new constitution. The Platt Amendment defined Cuba's relations to the United States. The Convention was forced to add the pro-

visions of the Platt Amendment to its Constitution or face continued American military occupation.

The United States did, indeed, have the key to the Cuban house and could enter at will; and the Cuban government had to be run by politicians who could be relied upon to do the bidding of Washington.

In 1920 a great economic crisis hit Cuba. Sugar mill owners could not repay their loans to the banks, and banks could not pay depositors. Hence many closed their doors. This is when American corporations stepped in and took over a large number of Cuban properties. The Cuban people discovered that they had won independence only to still be ruled by outsiders. There were corrupt governmental officials who were lackeys of the foreign investors and who ran the government not in the interest of the people of Cuba but for their own enrichment.

This, then, is the background for the Castro Revolution which was fought against an army well supplied with weapons from American arsenals. When it began, there were 300 revolutionists against 12,000 Batista troops, but unlike government troops, the rebels were fighting not for pay, but for something they believed in, and they were led by able strategists in guerrilla warfare. In December of 1958 the Revolution was over.

The new revolutionary regime, with the full backing of the army and the peasantry, introduced a series of reform measures. There were price-control laws aimed at reducing rents, putting ceilings on real estate prices, lowering utility rates, the price of medicines, and so on.

American investors were hit hard by the Agrarian Reform Law of May 17, 1959, which reduced sharply the number of acres of land which could be held by one owner. The surplus lands were expropriated and turned over to cooperatives. Mills expresses the way Cubans themselves think about this law in the following words:

"Our agrarian reform is the taking back of what's ours. The old order was a private appropriation of public property. We've taken it back into the public domain and we're using every inch of it for the benefit of everyone now."

Every revolutionary movement steps on toes, and this one on American toes. U. S. corporations owned most of the arable land of Cuba. Castro's program of land reform, which is the heart of the revolutionary program, was bound in time to transfer the ownership of the great holdings from the absentee landlords to the Cubans who will work the land. Frederick Libby wrote, "how to make these reforms as painlessly as possible is Castro's problem. But at the best it will be painful for the present rich owners."

The foregoing is adapted from a term paper in International Relations by Charles Gilkrist, senior student at Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas.

Recommended reading on Cuba:

Huberman, Leo, and Paul M. Sweazy, Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1960. Good background on the history of U.S. - Cuban relations and the economic facts basic to the attitudes of some Americans towards the changes.

Mills, C. Wright, Listen Yankee, New York, Bantam Books, 1960. Paperback available on many news stands for 50¢. Much of the book is an attempt by its author to speak with the authentic voices of Cubans themselves, an interesting literary style which reveals the emotional intensity with which Cubans face their problems. Mills feels that he speaks for the majority of Cubans.

Matthews, Herbert L. and Hiram Hilty, Understanding Cuba, Philadelphia, American Friends Service Committee, 1960. 30¢. Matthews is Latin American editor of The New York Times. Hilty is Spanish professor at Guilford College and a former school teacher in Cuba. This pamphlet is brief, perceptive and penetrating. Order from NYSPC.

The Syracuse Peace Council has passed the quarter century mark. This is a significant record for an informally organized peace group in America. During much of that period, the office secretary, Miss Lena Gray, has cared for the details of both the SPC and the NYSPC. On January 24th, at the Birthday Party, Miss Gray was the recipient of the annual citation given by the SPC to that person who over the years has contributed much to the program of peace education and action in Syracuse. This editor shares with all those who know the quiet dignity and capability of this woman the joy which comes in knowing that in this small way her efforts are recognized and appreciated.

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Syracuse, N. Y.
Permit No. 2380

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 253, No. 61-116
March 16, 1961

BACKGROUND ON THE CONGO CRISIS

Four days after the Congo was granted independence;.. the crisis exploded... The Belgians can now see and admit their mistakes in dealing with the Congolese.

"We made two big mistakes," confesses Maurice Van Hemelrijck, the former minister for the Congo. "First, we had a chance to announce our intention to free the Congo at the end of World War II, when a New Deal for Africa was in the air. We missed it. Second, we neglected to form a Congolese elite and to improve human relations between white and black. Had we done this in time the Congo might have been prepared for self-government."

Apparently the Belgians did not want an African elite. The rigid color bar that existed was deliberate. The natives were kept away from secondary education and the good jobs. The inhabitants of the French Congo next door had civic rights and kept telling the inhabitants of the Belgian Congo all about it for they worked together every day.

In 1954, two universities were set up in the Congo and an offer of good jobs was instituted. But this came too late and few Congolese were qualified for jobs higher than accountants.

There are no real leaders in the Congo. The colonial leaders in the early days gave no attention to raising Africans to national leadership. There are in the Congo 14 million people and of this number there were fewer than 50 college graduates. Congolese were being appointed to governmental posts and they knew little or nothing about the jobs. 60 to 70 percent of the Africans have little more than a primary education. At independence, the local army - the Force Publique - consisting of 24,000 natives and 1,000 Belgian officers did not have a single Congolese of officer rank.

King Badouin announced independence in his January 13, 1959 broadcast. He announced the abolition of all race discrimination in the Congo, but no date was set for independence. Van Hemelrijck recommended independence in three or four years, but he was bitterly opposed and resigned in 1959. Everyone else wanted to wait and see what would happen. Shortly things began to happen. When it was felt that things would soon get out of hand, Congolese leaders were called to a Round Table discussion. Independence was now granted with no strings attached in less than six months' time. Everyone was stunned by this sudden decision.

But the Belgians, in granting independence, did not really expect to lose the colony. They foresaw a divorce without a separation. So sure were they of getting this that families were told to stay on. A treaty of friendship was concluded with the Congolese. Belgium promised to place 10,000 technicians at the disposal of the Congo, and these were just getting settled when on January 4, 1960, the Congo exploded.

The African colony was to become a sovereign nation, but the nation was totally unprepared for self-government. There was no middle class to contribute any constructive thoughts and free lance politicians lost no time in an all out fight for power.

In addition to the educational problem mentioned above, there were other problems resulting from Belgium's occupation of the Congo. The structure of African society is tribal. Yet, when the colonial domains were carved out by the European powers, little attention was paid to tribal boundaries. The national and provincial frontiers were set by Europeans to meet their own military, commercial or political convenience. The result is that today there are national and provincial units whose people have no common heritage of culture, religion, language, or history. Every new African country has many tribes, and many of the tribes find themselves divided between adjacent countries or, in the case of the Congo, between adjacent Provinces. Now that the Congo has moved towards freedom, tribal rivalries have risen to the surface. Full scale wars have raged among tribes using primitive and modern weapons.

Economic development is also a problem. The per-capita income for Africans is \$200 per year with many countries falling below this figure. Income in tropical Africa is based mainly on the production of raw materials for export. In normal years 4% of all Belgian exports went to the Congo, and 5 1/4% of all her imports came from the Congo. Belgian interests processed copper, tin, cobalt, cadmium and palm oil. Independence will have marked effects on the Belgian economy. The Congo is mineral rich but under-developed.

A crucial issue in the Congo affair is what happens to the Congo's share of stock in Belgian controlled concerns doing business in the Congo. If this stock goes to the provincial government of Katanga, as the Belgians hope it will, the stock will be in hands that they control. But if the stock goes to the central government, it will sit as a major stockholder in the country's most lucrative business, the Union Miniere Du Haut Katanga.

The Rockefellers have a large and growing interest in this great company, and are now the most powerful allies of the Belgians in the struggle to maintain control of the Congo. UMHK employs 2,216 Europeans and 19,651 Africans. It has 24 affiliates in fields such as hydro-electric power, railways, coal, housing construction and real estate, chemicals, flour mills, forestry, mineral and geological research, metallurgy, explosives, cement, health and welfare, insurance, banking, and nuclear energy. (The bombs which fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were made from uranium of Katanga.)

The Belgians blame the United States for the sudden rush towards independence because it is against colonialism. The Belgians were further enraged by the reception given Lumumba in Washington last July, for they feel he was the instigator of the Congo crisis. But the Belgians later felt that they were given American sympathy when the State Department defended Belgium's motives in returning civilians to the disordered Congo and asked the United Nations to collaborate with Belgium in restoring order in its former colony.

On July 14, 1960, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, was granted authority to go into the Congo to take action to alleviate the crisis. Nine small nations were asked to contribute troops to the U.N. force. Seven were African countries plus Sweden and Ireland, none of which were members of either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. The United States was asked to move these troops to the Congo and keep them supplied. The Soviet Air Force took troops and supplies from Ghana into the Congo. Egyptian and Ethiopian planes also helped. Volunteer officers were accepted from some other nations.

The U.N. Command took a neutral position between the contending political groups. African nations became discontented with the U.N.'s course in the Congo and its failure to work with the central government of Lumumba, but they had no desire to become dependent on Russia. Mr. Kasavubu, Chief-of-State for the Congo, said "that he was displeased with U.N. progress" because it had failed to get the Belgians out of the Congo, but if they were ever attacked again, they would seek U.N. support.

Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, addressing the U.N. General Assembly on Sept. 23, 1960, said, "What is happening in the Congo today may happen in any other part of Africa tomorrow." He further asserted that "when the U.N. goes to the assistance of a country which invites intervention, it owes an obligation to the government and people of that country not to interfere in such a way as to prevent the legitimate government that invited it from fulfilling its own mandate." In other words, it is impossible for the U.N. to preserve law and order and be neutral between the legal authorities and the lawbreakers.

The big problem today is how the West can extend needed assistance without imposing political strings on the outcome of native affairs in the Congo.

The foregoing was adapted for PNL from a term paper in International Relations prepared by Mrs. Leotia Howard, a Junior at Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas.

GEORGE LOFT, speaking at the Houston (Texas) Institute of International Relations, after three years' service with the AFSC in Africa, reported that Lumumba, of all Congolese native leaders, had the broadest experience and support. But the United States decided to write him off and support Kasavubu. Further, several well-placed rumors indicate that the role of the United States in the Congo may have, for some time, been that of direct intervention covertly and outside of the work of the United Nations, helping to confuse the work of the United Nations in that bleeding, unhappy land.

Loft also made it clear that Western observers and Western governments need to look at politics in Africa through the eyes of Africans, and not through the eyes of Westerners. We need to see how things look to the Africans, and then perhaps we can more wisely choose a course of action which will be helpful and beneficial to all concerned.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY, speaking at Paul Quinn College from his broad experience as a close observer of United Nations and from the perspectives of his personal acquaintanceship with many of the diplomats of the United States and the World, reports that the African desk of the State Department (this prior to the change of administration) was convinced of the necessity of backing Lumumba, even if Lumumba did not represent all that we desired. The decision not to support Lumumba, though he invited U.N. intervention, was made at a higher level in U.S. political circles.

PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH of Ghana presented a new plan recently at the U.N. for handling the Congo Crisis and went to Washington for a conference with President Kennedy. Following the Conference, Prime Minister Nkrumah said that the Kennedy administration "quite clearly" had a different attitude toward Africa than the Eisenhower Administration. "The general outlook portends something good and hopeful for both sides," he said.

Permit No. 2380
Syracuse, N. Y.
P A I D
U. S. POSTAGE
Bulk Rate

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

REPORT ON 21st ANNUAL SYRACUSE INSTITUTE

This report will hit the high lights of the Institute; it is not intended to be a comprehensive report. This was a good institute, an unusual one in many ways. Consider the breadth of its outreach.

There were adults present from at least 22 communities that we know of. They came from all over New York State. 39 students came from 15 high schools, plus 28 students who came from 11 college campuses. The average attendance at the program sessions was 121.

There were discussion groups for each age group, which met three times during the week end. An attempt was made to make these groups really vital in terms of the participation of the people. Participation was vigorous, many concerns were raised and a sense of an emerging peace movement lurked around the edges.

George Loft, speaking on developments in Africa, made a startling observation. He feels that we may have passed a point of no return in Africa, a point beyond which it will be impossible for white people to participate in the new Africa. Upon being questioned he said that there were about five million whites in Africa and commented, "You show me where there is a large number of whites in Africa and you will have shown me the trouble spots." There are three million in South Africa, one million in Algeria and the other million is largely in Kenya, the Central African Federation, and the Portuguese territories. All have unresolved frictions. George Loft feels that the conduct of the whites is largely responsible for this development.

Byron Rushing, speaking on his experiences in eleven European countries as a member of an A.F.S.C. Travel Seminar held last summer, was perhaps most provocative not by what he said but by the fact that he was saying it. He showed a remarkable insight and awareness of what goes on in the world and the people who take part in these events. He illustrated that some students are very concerned about developments in their world and willing to sacrifice, if necessary, to find answers that will build a peaceful world. His comments on Swedish youth sparked some remarks in a discussion group. They showed that he is aware that the mere absence of war is not enough, that people need to catch a spirit of the positive things that need to be done.

William Meyer, speaking on U.S. policy, also said some startling things. He said he is not a pacifist as he understands the term, but that he can in no way justify nuclear war. He feels that we must have disarmament, but he said he was not confident that disarmament would do away with war if we continue to have an economic and ideological competition. He said the knowledge for making nuclear and germ war will always be with man. A much deeper change is called for if peace is to remain a reality. He feels that we must act without success being our main goal. His own personal experience is a case in point.

Speaking on why he ran for Congress in Vermont, he said that his silence had become intolerable and he had to speak. For him the means of speaking was to enter the primary to raise the issues that he felt were important. He had been in politics only two years, having helped to form the Democratic Party in his home town just two years before he declared for Congress. Despite his defeat in the last election he does not feel that it was his stand on disarmament which hurt him. He received more votes in 1960 while losing than he had in 1958 while winning.

If the writer has any conclusions from this institute they might be put as follows: something is moving, a climate of opinion is developing that brings many searching youth and makes adults dig into the role that the N. Y. State Peace Council can play. Perhaps a real peace movement is being born; at least a clarity comes to some in the face of tremendous odds that make them say, "I must speak." If we can speak together, speak soon enough, and speaking give hope, perhaps another way will open and peace will come.

NEW YORK STATE PEACE COUNCIL

The business meeting had a better representative attendance from around the state than in recent years. The agenda caused lively discussions. The election of officers was combined with a reconsideration of its purpose. It was decided that the old pattern of four officers would be dropped in the light of its lack of a role to play. A new set-up and clarity of function emerged from the session.

There is to be an executive committee composed of representatives from around New York State. These representatives are to be chosen by peace groups in local communities. A key person, in those areas where there are peace activities, will call together representatives of church groups, FOR, SANE, WIL and any other group working for peace. These people from the local community will then select a person to be their representative on the State Peace Council.

This NYSPC executive committee will meet four times a year; at the mid-winter institute, at the fall round-up in October, once during the late spring, and between Thanksgiving and Christmas. The committee will select its own chairman. The function of these meetings will be to try to coordinate plans and efforts for the best use of available resources and to gain a better perspective on the part each group has to play in the over-all job of peace education.

The Peace News Letter also came up for a review of its function. It was felt that two things are needed and desired. One is a content sheet of information and interpretation of news such as we have had. The other is a sheet of ideas and plans for peace education; information on what is going on in the peace movement in New York State. This is to be further clarified and worked out by the executive committee.

April 1, Saturday night at 7:00 p.m., in Rome, N. Y., there will be the first meeting of the executive committee. This is the middle day of the three-day Vigil which is being held at Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome. This date was picked because many people who would likely be on the committee will be in Rome at that time. Anyone selected as a representative who does not wish to participate in the Vigil should feel free to come to the meeting.

The Vigil, protesting the Titan ICBM installation was also vigorously discussed. Participation of all who share its aims was invited. Promotion around the state was discussed. Some are thinking of send-off demonstrations for carloads of people who are going from their area.

Finally, the Acts for Peace project was discussed. Materials were passed out, and are available from the Peace Council. These materials describe the operation of peace centers for literature distribution and projects related to literature. Also available are materials on audio-visual projects and other specific things that allow people to act for peace. Doing something right where you are to reach others is vitally important for us as individuals, and possibly for the survival of our world.

The meeting was adjourned with a period of silence and is to be convened again by Jim Syphers at Rome on April 1.

Jim Syphers

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 254, No. 61-117
April 21, 1961

"Most of the miseries of the world were caused by war, and when the wars were over no one knew what they were about."

Ashley Wilkes in
Gone With the Wind

MORE "Americans who have been critical of the U.S. government's Cuban policy of the
ON past two years and whose criticisms have been based on moral principles and
CUBA idealism will find their stand undergirded by this historical survey of the role
American business interests, supported by the State Department, have played
in Cuba's affairs....

"The author suggests that his book might have been subtitled The Prelude to Tragedy 'because it provides a case study in a field of United States diplomacy which has been characterized by errors and short-sighted policies.' Because of the ambivalence of the U.S. toward 'nationalistic movements, cultural change, strivings for higher living standards,' its loss of ideological leadership as the champion of national self-determination, its support of the status quo in depressed areas of the world, nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have turned elsewhere for leadership and support....

"It was not communism... it was not that Castro was a dictator, that he was boorish and eccentric, that alienated American good will from the Castro regime. Rather, Smith suggests, it was the fact that Castro was determined to break the grip of American business on Cuban life..."

From Kyle Haseldon's review in Christian Century of The United States and Cuba by Robert F. Smith, Bookman Associates, \$5.00.

DISPUTE IN NEW James Reston, writing in the New York Times, April 11, 1961, reports a
ADMINISTRATION sharp dispute in the top echelons of the U. S. government as to how far
the United States should go in supporting Cuban refugees who aim to
overthrow Castro.

"Some officials are urging the President to provide enough military and economic assistance to enable the refugees to establish effective control over at least part of Cuba. It is understood, however, that the State Department is worried about the political and military consequences in the hemisphere and elsewhere of providing military force to achieve political ends...."

Article 15 of the Charter of American States forbids the signatories, including the United States, from interfering in the internal affairs of any other American Republic.

President Kennedy "has made it clear that in any military moves against the Castro regime, United States forces are not to be used..." The problem has some urgency in that the Cuban regime is receiving Communist bloc arms which would enable it "to remain in power even if the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people turn against [Castro]."

Arguments for more military and economic aid can be summarized as follows:

- "If the United States does not help those who are fighting for the freedom of Cuba, Dr. Castro's influence throughout the hemisphere, already strong in some countries, will rise sharply and help promote pro-communist revolutions in other parts of the southern continent.
- "This in turn will encourage the Soviet Union and Communist China, whose agents are already active in this hemisphere, to set up their activities against the vital interests of the entire inter-American system."

Arguments against giving such aid are these:

- "That United States assistance to the anti-Castro refugees is a clear violation of Washington's treaty commitments.
- "That a United States backed invasion of Cuba would seriously weaken this Government's efforts to stop Communist aggression by proxy-armies as in Laos and South Vietnam.
- "That the use of force, even indirectly to bring down Castro, would damage United States influence in the United Nations, whose charter specifically forbids the use of force in settling international disputes."

"The State Department," reports Mr. Reston, "is more dubious about backing a kind of proxy war in Cuba than any other section of the Government." He goes on to report that officials of the new administration are asking moral as well as political questions, and

among these are the following:

- "Are we going to carry out our treaty commitments or aren't we?"
- "Is this not relevant to the whole struggle in the cold war?"
- "Are we going to condemn the use of force as an instrument of international policy? Or are we going to condemn it only when the Russians are involved?"

RACISM AND AMERICA'S REPUTATION "Janitzio is a small island in Lake Patzcuaro, high in Mexico's Sierra Madres. Tarascan Indians... live there. They fish the famed whitefish and charales from the surrounding lake. Recently another journalist and I witnessed a tragedy there.

"At dawn we walked down a steep cobblestone street toward the piers to take a launch to the mainland. In an open-air eating stand a Tarascan fisherman sat drinking coffee. A newspaper lay open before him. He studies the photo of a young New Orleans woman, her face hideous with hate. He read that she and the sullen-faced ones around her were there to keep a handful of little Negro girls out of some school.

"He no longer liked America, and today, all over the world, those who resent America are automatically predisposed toward America's enemies.

"'Mr. Khrushchev can thank that dear lady in New Orleans for another convert,' my friend said.

"No place in the world could be less important strategically than the island of Janitzio. The scene we witnessed was tragic because it typified similar scenes all over the world. It does not indicate that the man has turned Communist. But the next time a Communist speaks against the U.S., that Tarascan will say 'Yes, it is true -- I have seen pictures.'"

-- John H. Griffin
Sepia, February, 1961

WITHOUT COMMENT "The world is spending \$14 million an hour on arms and armies, according to an Associated Press report from Washington on February 25. The United States and the Soviet Union together spend about 73% of the total -- \$88 billion a year. The United States is spending more on armaments than any other nation -- \$46 billion a year for missiles, manpower, tanks, guns, ships, atomic explosives and military aid to allies. The total cost of the arms race is approximately \$40 a year for each person now living.

"If the world were to pool this money for peaceful purposes, the average annual cash income of the 1,200 million people who make less than \$100 a year could be more than doubled. Adequate housing could be provided for 240 million families in underdeveloped nations. The hungry among the world's people could be fed and the sick provided with care.

"An absolute end to the arms race would release the constructive energies of at least 15 million men now being trained to kill each other. This, however, does not tell the whole story. One of the world's rules of thumb is that at least four men must labor to keep one soldier armed, fed and supplied. Thus, an end to the arms race would enable 75 million men to turn to providing goods for a better life."

-- Editorial, United Church Herald, March 23, 1961

WITNESS FOR PEACE Initiated by Friends in Central New York, a Witness for Peace was conducted Good Friday through Easter Sunday at the Griffiss Air Force Base at Rome, N. Y., to protest against the installation of a Titan ICBM complex in Central New York and to witness against all preparations for nuclear war. 125 persons took part in the demonstration. Considerable interest was shown by the area press; there was a moderate interest on the part of residents, and only a few contacts with those coming in and out of the base.

JOTTINGS: Norman J. Whitney spoke on April 10th and 11th at Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas.... The N. Y. Times has reported that some 5 million Chinese on the mainland have starved to death this year. Have you done anything for the Food-for-China campaign being sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation?

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Syracuse, N. Y.
Permit No. 2380

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 255, No. 61-118
May 25, 1961

THE NEW MORALITY "In reading the press columnists on Cuba, two things stand out: the cloddish uniformity of the commentaries, and the frightening attempts to rationalize an act that no amount of theorizing or explaining can ever justify."

On April 24, Stewart Alsop, Roscoe Drummond, Marguerite Higgins, and David Lawrence, all writing in the New York Herald Tribune, "each, independently, and we must assume without coercion, concluded that our fault, if fault there was, lay not in plotting an anti-Castro invasion, but in bungling the job."

Marguerite Higgins put it this way: "'The quelling of the anti-Castro "invasion" was a setback -- not because (the invasion) was morally wrong, but because it did not succeed," which is to say: "Sufficient might makes right; insufficient might makes wrong. Ergo, right and wrong are merely degrees of the same thing."

Richard Seaver, "Typewriter Commandos," Nation, May 6, '61

THE RIGHT TO BE LIED TO was the title of an Editorial in the May 10, 1961, New York Times. The writer said, "The Cuban tragedy has raised a domestic question that is likely to come up again and again until it is solved. The cause may be something that is happening in Laos, in Central Africa or in Latin America, but the question remains the same: is a democratic government in an open society such as ours ever justified in deceiving its own people?"

The author acknowledges that there are sometimes secrets which must be kept, but "neither prudence nor ethics can justify any administration in telling the public things that are no so" as it did in the case of the U-2 and with regard to Cuba.

"What some leaders of our government stated in this regard did not square with the facts. If they could not reveal the facts, they would have done better to remain silent. A democracy -- our democracy -- cannot be lied to...."

"A dictatorship can get along without an informed public opinion. A democracy cannot." Government by consent requires popular understanding, and the implication of the editorial is that deliberate efforts to provide falacious "cover stories" can not serve the purpose of providing for an informed citizenry.

INSIGHT ON IRAQ "A major fact of this mid-twentieth century in every country of the world is the awakening of great masses of people to a new realization that life for them can be better, and we can hear the upsurge of hitherto voiceless, resigned, hopeless people inspired by new hope for new life. The military insurrection of July 14, 1958, in Iraq precipitated the revolutionary will of the people and directed it against the social, economic and political institutions of the Nuri es-Said regime. This regime had stood internally for a system of mixed feudal and authoritarian elements, and externally for the Western-sponsored Baghdad Pact. A more provocative combination could hardly be imagined with the majority of the peasants -- 70% of the total population -- under feudal land-owners and the country subordinated in the pact to British and U. S. interests.

"The 'utopia' expected suddenly has not arrived, needless to report, and diverse groups have sought to exert influence and control. Yet all connected with Iraq at the end of 1960 express great hope for progress. The extremists have not gained control. Substantial reforms have already been made -- the abolition of the feudal tribal laws, limitations on land holdings, women's suffrage, more equitable tax laws, and the necessary purge of the civil service..."

From Report of Margaret W. Blemker in the 1961 Blue Book for the Synods of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

PEOPLE TO PEOPLE A number of prominent American citizens will hold a week-long conference with a similar group of Soviet citizens in the Crimea, beginning on May 22nd. Three members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party will attend. The meeting is similar to one held at Dartmouth College last fall.

Topics to be discussed include disarmament and international security; agreement on prohibiting nuclear weapons testing; the rule of law and international peace; the role of the U.N. in strengthening international security; the role of advanced nations in aiding under-developed nations, and prospects for peaceful and improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

The American group of 17 will be lead by Dr. Philip E. Mosley of the Council on Foreign Relations and Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review.

THE LESSON OF LAOS "The United States has failed in the expensive attempt to mold the situation in Laos to its purpose. Far worse, conditions in Laos are now rapidly developing to the advantage of the Communist bloc, with the result that our position is being weakened. Those developments are, in major measure, of our own making, for they represent the costly consequences of years of short-sighted, blundering diplomacy. Moreover, as our allies well know, we have been guilty of moral transgression in violating the neutrality of a nation protected by international agreement."

The United States poured \$2 billion into support of the French in the colonial war in Indo-China from 1946-1954; it reluctantly attended the Geneva Conference of 1954 which ended French rule and established three independent states. We "did not sign the final agreements. We did no more than promise not to overturn those agreements by the use of the threat of force.

"The Geneva settlement provided that Laos, in particular, might maintain strictly limited military relations with France, but stipulated that it was not to enter into any other military alliance and that, prior to the settlement of its political problems, it might not accept other foreign military assistance, whether in the form of arms, personnel, or military instructors. There was no exception made for the benefit of the United States, although we were soon to play the game -- and a dangerous one it was -- of pretending we had a special permit to destroy Laos' neutrality."

The author traces the effort to form a neutralist government and how this was thwarted. In 1960, the second attempt was made by Souvanna Phouma to form a coalition government. The New York Times, Nov. 20, 1960, reported: "'British, French and other foreign diplomats here ... said that support for (right wing) General Phouma Nosovan from the United States has thrust Premier Souvanna Phouma into the waiting arms of the Communists.'" It was subsequent to the U.S. support of the rightist revolt that the Soviet Union began airlifting arms to what was the legally constituted Government.

The prospects for settlement favor the cause of international Communism "which the United States viewed itself as combatting."

"We have invested more than \$300,000,000 in anti-Communism in Laos only to lose. Yet if this experience teaches, we can still count some gain, for there are deadly parallels in our postwar actions in China, South Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, and now in Laos, that are indicative of fundamental faults in our strategy toward Asia..."

First, revolutionary ferment has "deeper roots than any inherent urge toward 'international' Communism." The United States has often aided 'anti-Communists' "who often turn out to be corrupt and ineffective time-servers almost entirely detached from the sentiments of their own respective nations..."

Second, "For years, the United States government has been manipulated by Asian politicians to serve their selfish ends," as in maintaining their own power against formidable domestic political foes.

"We cannot have a viable and effective Asian policy until we learn how to align ourselves with the thinking and hopes of Asian peoples instead of with the ambitions of individual politicians maneuvering for power. The politicians in due course pass on to their respective rewards. The people remain."

-- O. Edmund Chubb in Progressive, May, 1961

IS "Q. Is the man in the village aware of the power plays going on around his country?"

LAOS "A. Only in a vague and confused sense. For him it becomes concrete in the form of actual fighting in and around his village, Communist seizures of young men and rice and Red propaganda which is effective either in form of persuasion and promises of when the village headman is assassinated for 'cooperating with the imperialists.'..."

"Q. Doesn't he want to remain a free citizen under his own independent government?"

"A. Such terms carry very little meaning in Laos. For example, the present three-sided factional struggle for power in government is regarded as a 'battle of princes.' The average man has seldom heard of the United States and Russia. He can visualize his village but not a 'Laos' he might have to fight for."

--Relman Morin, Associated Press reporter in Southeast Asia.
The Dallas Morning News, May 14, 1961

SPC ANNUAL MEETING Monday, June 5, 6:15 p.m., Carriage House, 930 James Street, with Robert Lyons, AFSC Executive Secretary in Cambridge, who recently returned from Cuba. Dinner reservations, please, to HA 2-5316 by June 3.

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
Permit No 2380

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

New York State Peace Council Report Sheet

Meeting of the executive committee of NYSPC was held in Rome, N. Y., on April 1. Representatives from the different areas of the state had been invited to be members of this committee as liaison between individual community groups and the wider state concerns. The areas represented were Syracuse, Rochester, Unadilla and Rome. The Schenectady representative had to miss the meeting because of car trouble. Regrets were received from Albany and Canton.

Agenda of the meeting consisted of (1) reports from the communities represented in person or by letter; (2) discussion of important issues to center our efforts on, and (3) the next organizational steps for the NYSPC.

Steering Committee Appointed

Because of the need for a chance for wider representation from more areas of the state a chairman was not selected by the executive committee. Rather a three-man steering committee was set up to meet informally to work out some of the approaches to a more effective NYSPC. This committee is made up of myself, Emery Pesko of Syracuse, and someone from the Independent Political Forum of Rochester.

Special concern for the committee is the annual Fall Round-up to be held in Syracuse, at which time the next meeting of the executive committee will be held. It is hoped that enough representatives will be present to be able to select a chairman for the NYSPC.

Special Local Projects

Peace Literature Displays have been placed in the public libraries of Syracuse and Oneonta by local peace workers. Actual materials or a list of materials may be secured from the Syracuse office, but anyone may collect their own.

The Oneonta display was arranged locally. Many things can be done to stimulate the reading of literature on peace; libraries have even had a world peace week with special prominence being given to their own material on peace.

Operation Abolition is getting major attention by concerned people in a number of communities. Reports from Albany and Utica indicate some of the things that can and are being done. To begin with the film seems to have been given a wide showing without any of the other side being presented. Thus Albany reports that they have a job to do to get it shown in churches and other small groups with commentary.

The student group on the west coast has made a record, "Voices of Protest," and the March 22 issue of the Christian Century documents the distortions and places where the film has been edited. A group of students from Utica College formed "Operation Truth," and have been taking fact sheets to all showings they know of. They have gotten varying responses. Some have called them Communists, but the editor of one of the area papers has come out behind them.

Dealing With Controversy

Unadilla reported that the AFSC forum which brought Norman Whitney, in cooperation with the local Council of Churches, had been attacked. The attack came from a fairly well-known community figure who had not himself been to the meeting.

Their response is worth noting as a fairly good way of dealing with such attacks. They wrote a reply letter to the paper. They invited the attacker to talk. They were able to talk with him. Then they invited him to another meeting to hear another speaker on peace.

He was not converted, but he has moderated, and the possibilities of understanding and free inquiry were kept open. Another example also occurred in relation to the Vigil at Rome, and it shows how openness of action can remove the steam from such attacks.

The American Legion was considering a counter protest at Rome. The chairman of the Central New York Un-American Activities Committee called for such a counter protest and called those behind the Vigil a group of "questionable purposes." The Legion officials were contacted to show our purposes and who we were. We offered to meet with them.

As a result they voted not to protest our Vigil and stated that we had a perfect right to witness to our convictions.

Witness for Peace

The Vigil at Rome went well. 125 took part over the three-day period. Attendance was fairly constant. We began and ended strong. There were a couple of times that the line got small when shifts changed and everyone did not get back promptly.

Newspaper coverage was very good. Only one paper's concern for literal numbers gave any false pictures. They visited at a low point on the second day and, without asking any questions, assumed that we were very depleted when we were not.

Radio and TV coverage was also very good. The voluntary contributions which supported the Vigil exceeded the costs. The executive committee is considering sending the balance to the continuation of what was the Fort Detrick effort-- it has now moved to Washington.

Civil Defense

Greece Story was told by Rochester representative. Greece is a suburb of Rochester and a fall out shelter was proposed to go with the new school that was to be built. A 5½ million bond issue for the school and 65 thousand for the fall out shelter was on a referendum. The Independent Political Forum became concerned and went into action.

They had a meeting for members and supporters in the area. They wrote to the paper. They got a public information meeting called. They got permission to present the reasons for not having a fall out shelter, at the public meeting. They handed out Gov. Meyner's article at the meeting.

They got important people to support their request for an information meeting and kept things jumping in the press. Thus people were confronted and could ask questions. The bond issue was divided because there was some fear that the shelter might hurt passage of the basic desire for a school. The results were 2-1 for the school and 2-1 against the shelter. This was the second attempt to have a shelter in a school; the first got in, perhaps by default. The Rochester group asked that this story be spread and that similar public controversy over Civil Defense might be stirred up even without a school issue.

A concern was expressed for something to be done on April 28, which is the time of the compulsory C. D. alert. It was also reported that a major push on C. D. is probably coming. New York State already has much to do with about C. D.

Syracuse branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom prepared leaflets on Civil Defense and distributed them in Shopping Centers on April 27. More were distributed downtown in Syracuse on April 28 from three to four o'clock. At four o'clock three of the group, including myself, refused to take shelter and were arrested.

We were arraigned on Saturday morning and a disposition date was set for May 12. Coverage in the Syracuse press was excellent.

Peace Caravan

Schenectady and Watertown have shown interest in having the Peace Caravan for Central New York come to their communities. Utica is not sure. How about your community? This is an international, interracial team of students who put on programs that explore better understanding and ways to peace. The project begins with orientation on June 20 and ends after an evaluation on August 11. They speak to church groups, service clubs, summer schools, anything that is going or can be gotten going in the summer. They usually come for a week in an area.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SFC 256, No. 61-119
June 14, 1961

FREEDOM RIDERS have been much in the news in the last several weeks. The violence in Alabama has been deplored in the South. For instance, the Waco, Texas evening paper editorialized against the violence on the very realistic grounds that it would provide fuel for the propaganda machine of international communism. The New York Times reported that the Moscow papers had taken the violence in Montgomery as evidence of the bestiality of America which pretends to tell other nations what to do. Unfortunately the Waco paper did not see fit to deplore the segregation out of which the violence has arisen, thus leaving the reader to conclude that in the eyes of the editors the inconspicuous segregation, with its degrading of personality, is permissible in our society.

Negroes were heartened by the swift action of the Federal government in intervening in Alabama, and apparently the action of the Kennedy administration had some effect overseas in mitigating, at least in a small way, the damage which was done to American prestige.

Last fall, in commenting upon the differences between Houston, Texas, and New Orleans, Louisiana, as regards integration of the schools, a correspondent of the Wall Street Journal pointed to the significant difference in attitude of public officials at the state level in those two states as being the key to violence in New Orleans and to a quiet integration in Houston. Events in Montgomery, Alabama, when contrasted with those in Jackson, Mississippi -- and we do not mean to condone the arrest of Freedom Riders in the latter place -- again suggest that violence rears its ugly head when public officials abdicate their responsibility to uphold law and order and, by statement or silence, condone the mobs.

WHAT IS VALOR? "The country has been properly reverential about the valor exhibited by Commander Shepard in his conquest of space. But the best in the democratic character is also exhibited by such men as James Peck [assaulted in Birmingham, Alabama to the extent of requiring 53 stitches], who are seeking to lead us beyond the boundaries of bigotry and know-nothingism, and who have stoically taken so many beatings in their quest for a new world. A bus ride across Alabama under the banner of the Congress of Racial Equality may be as daring an exploit as any ride in a space ship. We need more such starry-eyed men on earth."

-- Editorial, New York Post, May 16, 1961

FROM "MEDITATIONS ON A PICKET LINE" Creighton Lacy, Professor of Social Ethics and Missions at Duke Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina, was one of several Duke faculty members who joined faculty members and students from North Carolina State College, as well as Duke students, in protest of segregation at movies, points out that "a new day has come to America and to the South. A new generation is in control. The impatience of Africa is reflected in Durham and elsewhere.

"We liberals are welcome to put our shoulders to the wheel. But if we stand aside, the movement will roll on without us, just as it will over those who try to push it back."

-- Concern, June 1, 1961

ARMS RACE TO CONTINUE Following his conversations with the Soviet Mr. K, the American Mr. K has made it clear that we will be confronted with the necessity of spending more money on building more arms, with greater emphasis being placed upon the so-called conventional armaments so that we will have a balanced military potential more suitable than nuclear weapons for fighting possible "brush-fire" wars.

VESTED INTERESTS "One of the most frightening facts of our time is, of course, the huge expenditure in the arms race. These expenditures are estimated to include 55 per cent of the Federal Government's budget, some \$46,000,000,000 a year...

"The screams of anguish which have deafened the country since the President's announcements about forthcoming cutbacks in military installations only point up the staggering nature of the problems here in the U.S....

"How long must we wait for a forthright analysis of just what the vested interests are in the continuation of the cold war?"

-- David C. Smith, Instructor in History, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, in a letter to the New York Times, April 18, 1961

SOME of present military and alternative civilian expenditures were provided by INTERESTING E. Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation, in a paper COMPARISONS delivered at the Gould House Conference on Economics of Disarmament, January 28-30, 1961.

- A \$250,000,000 ICBM base in Omaha Nebraska: The Dalles, Ore., dam, 1½ miles long for navigation, power of 1,743,000 kw., irrigation, recreation.
- The Naval Weapons Plant, Washington, D.C., with a total value of \$104,616,800: 26 new 160 bed hospitals at \$4,000,000 each.
- The estimated value of the Plant's material inventory as of April 1960 was \$142,018,907: 35 new school buildings at \$4,000,000.
- The estimated cost of the aircraft carrier, Constellation, now under construction, of \$275,000,000, not including the fire damage of \$75,000,000 on Dec. 19, 1960: the Depressed Area Development bill vetoed by President Eisenhower on May 13, 1960-\$251,000,000.
- Four attack submarines at \$45,000,000 each: U.S. foreign donations of agricultural commodities through voluntary agencies in fiscal 1959, \$178,699,760.
- Two nuclear powered aircraft carriers at \$470 million each: The U.S. government spends on its Public Health Service, including grants to the States but excluding Indian health, \$977,962,500.
- One Polaris submarine is worth \$105,000,000, not including its 16 missiles at \$1.1 million each: Emergency Famine Relief abroad on a government-to-government basis, \$107,094,000, including ocean freight of \$25 million.
- Polaris submarine plus missiles, \$122,600,000: United States Technical Cooperation within Point Four will be \$150,000,000 in fiscal 1961.
- 14 B-52, Model G, aircraft at \$8 million each or 8 Atlas ICBM's at \$13.7 million per missile, including all groundwork, launching pad, etc : The School Lunch Program at \$110,000,000 which involves 14 million children.
- The Atomic Energy Commission appropriations (mostly military) of \$2,686,560,000 for fiscal 1961: Total government investments in TVA, over a period of 24 years, 1933-57, of \$2,041,000,000, including appropriations and bonds but excluding revenue receipts.

QUESTION: Will more and more military expenditures stop the march of Communism? Is the contest primarily military, or is it a contest which will best be won - by one side or the other, on the social and economic fronts where something is done or is promised to be done about hunger, disease, and poverty? \$300 billion in aid to Laos, primarily military aid, did not stop Communism.

PEACE Orientation: June 20-30; Utica, June 30- July 10; Schenectady, July 10-17;
CARAVAN Break, July 17-19; Watertown, July 19-30; Potsdam area, July 30- August 9;
SCHEDULE Evaluation, Aug. 10-11.

Readers near any of the above centers wishing to participate in Caravan programs or find opportunities should contact the local sponsoring group or write to James Syphers, 841 University Building, Syracuse 2, New York, for further information.

NON-VIOLENCE Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Vice-President of Howard University, teaches FOR a course there on "The Philosophy and Methods of Non-Violence." Juniata ACADEMIC CREDIT College at Huntingdon, Penna., offers a course on "The Church, the State and War." Other colleges and seminaries offer similar or related courses.

Permit No. 2380
Syracuse, N. Y.
PAID
U.S. POSTAGE
Bulk Rate

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 256a, No. 61-120
July 19, 1961

SOBERING FACTS The Rev. Dr. Leslie Cook, director of Refugee Services for the World Council of Churches, says that "The gulf between the world's 'haves' and 'have-nots' is the greatest cause of unrest and will have to be substantially narrowed in the interest of world peace...."

The world's privileged one-third -- virtually confined to Western Europe and North America -- was pictured by Dr. Cook as having 17 per cent more food than it needs; an average of almost two rooms per person; three-fourths of the world's doctors, and an average life span of 68 years.

By contrast, the other two-thirds of the world's population have 24 per cent less than their food needs; housing that averages five persons to a room; one-fourth of the world's doctors, and a life span of 32 years.

-- Interview, Philadelphia Bulletin, July 2, 1961

FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID NOW DEBATED On June 16th, President Kennedy urged on Congress and the American people an \$8,800,000,000 foreign aid program in an address to the 8th National Conference on International Economic and Social Development. The President acknowledged that money had been wasted in the past; he did not guarantee that there would be no mistakes or waste in the future. He stressed that our national security might waste from inadequate appropriations and short-term programs inasmuch as a generous aid program is the only viable means of stamping out the conditions on which Communism has thrived. The novel feature of his proposal is that a new economic aid program should no longer be on a year to year basis, but should involve long-term planning which would be made possible by loans from the public treasury over a five-year period of time.

-- New York Times, June 17, 1961

Actual bills now under consideration in Congress involve something less than the ambitious monetary amount suggested above, but do include the provision for long-range authority in planning and executing programs overseas plus specific features designed to insure that future economic aid should reach people at the village level (and not be a means of enriching corrupt and wealthy elements) and that it should be contingent upon land, tax, and fiscal reforms by the government of the recipient nation.

-- Washington Newsletter, July, 1961

Giving Editorial support to the principal of long-term aid, the New York Herald Tribune (June 12, 1961) points out that past blunders make Congress reluctant to sign "a blank check for the next five years." However, "Economic development ... is... a long-range process which requires long-range commitments. Tossing projects into an annual grab bag invites waste, inefficiency and failure."

"A five-year commitment such as Mr. Kennedy asks is more than a fiscal device; it constitutes an explicit recognition that foreign aid has become a permanent part of American policy. Those hostile to foreign aid can be expected to balk at such recognition. Nevertheless, the times require it; the world has a right to expect it. The bounds of neighborliness have expanded. The moral duty of the rich to help those struggling to help themselves is unavoidable. And the practical need to combat communism by attacking the conditions on which it flourishes is a matter of intelligent self-interest..."

FANCY FIGURES ON BOMBS Recently the Atomic Energy Commission proposed a cut back in the production of nuclear weapons. This proposed cut back originated late in the Eisenhower administration and is reflected in a revised budget for the AEC submitted on March 28th by the Kennedy administration.

"Although the reduction was small, it was significant because it upset the previous understanding that the Atomic Energy Commission would give the military all the weapons it could produce." Further, "while the Defense Department has received the weapons, it has not had to pay for them. The cost has come out of the commission's budget. As a result, the Defense Department has been under no budgetary pressures to limit its demands and requirements for weapons." The discussion over the proposal involved such questions "as whether the military needs a limited number of atomic weapons, as argued by the Army and Navy, or an ever-increasing number to offset Soviet strength, as argued by the air-force."

-- John W. Finney, New York Times, June 18, 1961

PRESSURES ARISING TO SANCTION MORE TESTS: IRONIC? It should be obvious to the discerning reader of the daily press that the prolonged Geneva discussions on ending Nuclear Tests have broken down, and that an increasing crescendo of voices and pens has arisen in our country in an effort to convince the public that it is in our interests to consider the resumption of nuclear tests.

Nuclear physicist Ralph E. Lapp acknowledges "that more tests will permit weapons experts to squeeze more bang out of each pound of warhead." However, Lapp says, the Polaris warheads now carry "destruction equivalent to that of forty Hiroshima bombs" and "the Polaris weapons system is designed to hold hostage the hundred largest cities of the Soviet Union. That is to say, it is a deterrent aimed at imposing unacceptable penalties upon the U.S.S.R. should the latter strike first."

He goes on to point out that it is assumed that the Soviet Union attaches "great significance to a first strike capability." Therefore, it has a valid reason for wishing to resume tests -- to perfect lighter-weight warheads for mobile missiles like our Minuteman. Since its first strike would have to knock out our hardened missile sites, its warheads would have to be of a multi-megaton size. "Thus the Soviet Union -- not the United States -- has a greater requirement for developing high yield, light-weight warheads."

"What a tragedy it would be if the United States shattered the test truce only to find that the Soviets reaped greater rewards from their tests than we from ours."

-- Letter to Editor, New York Times, June 21, 1961

EAST-WEST CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE An "All Christian Peace Assembly," organized by The Christian Peace Conference of the Protestant Churches of Czechoslovakia, was held in Prague June 13-17 with some 600 participants from all parts of the world. While there were no official delegates sent by any American churches, there were a few American churchmen who attended as observers. While the editor of PNL has heard comments by one American observer, this brief report is predicated upon two articles by D. S. Savage, Secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, in Peace News, June 23 and June 30.)

While the atmosphere of good will never clouded, it was evident that persons from the East and the West had dissimilar notions of the nature of public discussion. It was evident that for Eastern churchmen, "life under Communism was good; their Governments were beneficent and peace-loving; the use of atomic weapons was incompatible with Christianity, and we must urge the statesmen of the world to disarm and to prepare for peaceful, competitive co-existence" and, "it was clear, the blame for warmongering rested solely with the West..."

In spite of its limitations, D. S. Savage feels that the Assembly was a rich experience for its participants in which "a step, if only a step, was taken towards mutual tolerance and understanding." Such a step was taken in an atmosphere "where partisan political passion is transcended" by "a deeper unity in Christ." Unfortunately it was evident that "on both sides Christians are prone to identify themselves in a sub-Christian way with the powers and policies of their respective states."

TOYNBEE ON NATIONALISM Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee, in a baccalaureate address this spring at Albion College in Michigan, asserted that nationalism is the prevailing religion in our world.

"We may call ourselves Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Communists, and so on, but what we are really worshipping is the collective power of some fraction of the human race." "Nationalism is the common religion of the people of the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

Dr. Toynbee stressed that religion has authority over all of life and "if one repudiates the authority of one of the better religions over the province that we call 'public life,' then one of the worse religions will step in and will usurp the better religion's place." Fortunately the better religions "have not ceded the field of public affairs to the religion of nationalism. Some of the better religions, at any rate, have contended and are contending for their right and duty to make themselves felt in public affairs as well as in private life."

Referring to certain branches of the Christian Church which "have been readier than others to surrender public affairs to Caesar," Toynbee pointed out that "the Roman Catholic Church and the Society of Friends... have always maintained Christianity's right and duty to live up to its principles in public affairs as well as in private life. The Society of Friends, in the name of Christian principles, has refused to accept the institution of war -- an institution that is bound up with the religion of nationalism."

-- Religious News Service

Permit No. 2380
Syracuse, N. Y.
P A I D
U. S. POSTAGE
Bulk Rate

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

Critic at Large

Quakers, Too, Question Need for Breaking Seneca Treaty in Flood-Control Project

By BROOKS ATKINSON

NEVER do anything dishonorable, unless you have to.

Being scrupulous people, the Quakers would not accept that cynical attitude toward worldly principles. But it does represent a choice the United States can make in respect to the treaty made with the Seneca nation of Indians by George Washington's deputy in 1794. This week the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) is publishing a pamphlet entitled "The Kinzua Dam, a Practical Solution Without Shame," edited by Walter Taylor at 160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia.

"We are shocked," the pamphlet begins, "that the United States is now in process of abrogating unilaterally — without negotiation — a treaty as solemn and firm and permanent as any we have ever signed." Following the policy of the Seneca nation, which does not doubt that flood control is necessary in the Allegheny River, the Friends propose that an impartial board of engineers (not hired by the Army Corps of Engineers) survey, on the one hand, the Kinzua project, which will violate the treaty by taking Seneca lands, and, on the other hand, Dr. Arthur Morgan's project, called the Conewango, which would control floods without destroying the heart of the Seneca reservation.

Inasmuch as the Kinzua project has been discussed since 1938, the Executive branch of the Government, Congress, the Corps of Engineers and other official agencies would doubtless like to

get on with the job, without further discussion. Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania has never made a secret of his approval of the Kinzua dam. He stands on his statement that "in all likelihood, the Indians will be better off as the result of the building of this dam than they are at present. . . . Every member of the Seneca Indian tribe will receive adequate compensation for the land which is taken and greater opportunities for employment." We have the legal power to pay for bad faith with money.

The two Senators from New York have not replied to an invitation to state their positions here. Morally, this is a sticky issue. But Representatives T. J. Du'ski and Charles E. Goodell of New York are willing to be counted in opposition to the Kinzua dam. And a great many private citizens and several public organizations are horrified by the callous way in which the Government is tossing aside the oldest treaty that still remains in effect in the archives of the nation.

The 1794 treaty explicitly promises that the United States will never "disturb the Seneca nation." Four years before the treaty was written, George Washington tried to be "sufficiently strong and clear" that "the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely on yourselves."

During the administration of Thomas Jefferson, a letter

issued by the War Department said: "All lands claimed and secured to said Seneca and Onondaga Nations of Indians by treaty . . . shall be and remain the property of the said Seneca and Onondaga Indians forever."

Last autumn, John F. Kennedy, then a candidate for President, said: "There shall be no change in treaty or contractual relationships without the consent of the tribes concerned."

Despite explicit commitments made by responsible people over a period of 150 years we as a nation are doing what we have repeatedly promised not to do.

Being modest people, the Seneca leaders ask only that the two projects be assessed by an impartial board of engineers.

But the Senecas would be well within their moral rights to ask the Government specifically to choose the Conewango project now. There is an honest difference of opinion about the relative costs and other factors, including displacement of people. But the pamphlet published by the Philadelphia Friends says: "About all we know for sure, without dispute, is that both plans are recognized by the Corps of Engineers as feasible, but Kinzua violates a treaty."

Although we Americans continually apply moral standards to the behavior of other nations, our moral record in respect to Indian treaties is indefensible. At the time when Tuscarora lands were taken for a power project, Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black said: "Great nations, like great men, should keep their word." Particularly, when it is not necessary to break it.

Three comments on the Kinzua Dam question: A New York Times Editorial, an article by Brooks Atkinson, and one by Eleanor Roosevelt (see back of sheet).

Justice for the Senecas

The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) has challenged the conscience of the nation—and President Kennedy's—in its report on the Kinzua Dam. That project would put under water valuable lands of the Seneca Indians despite opposition by the Seneca Nation.

Completion of the dam would be a clear, unilateral abrogation, without negotiation, of a treaty with the United States signed in 1794 which guaranteed the Seneca Nation control of its own lands. It would also violate the pledges of both the major parties, made in the last campaign, to recognize the rights of the Indians. The Democratic platform promised that "free consent of the Indian tribes concerned shall be required before the Federal Government makes any change in any Federal-Indian treaty or other contractual relationship."

The Seneca Nation fully recognizes the urgent public need to control the waters of the Allegheny River. And it has proposed an alternative—Conewango—project designed by Arthur E. Morgan, distinguished engineer and formerly head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which would allegedly furnish adequate flood control without destruction of the heart of the Seneca lands.

The Philadelphia Friends' report, with excellent documentation, urges President Kennedy to stop further preliminary work on the Kinzua Dam and to appoint an impartial expert committee to examine both plans and make a report to Congress as the basis for a sound Congressional decision. We support that request. But, whatever action is taken by the President or Congress must, in all conscience, recognize the treaty rights of the Seneca Nation.

March 28th by the Kennedy administration.

"Although the reduction was small, it was significant because it upset the previous understanding that the Atomic Energy Commission would give the military all the weapons it could produce." Further, "while the Defense Department has received the weapons, it has not had to pay for them. The cost has come out of the commission's budget. As a result, the Defense Department has been under no budgetary pressures to limit its demands and requirements for weapons." The discussion over the proposal involved such questions "as whether the military needs a limited number of atomic weapons, as argued by the Army and Navy, or an ever-increasing number to offset Soviet strength, as argued by the air-force."

— John W. Finney, New York Times, June 18, 1961

Eleanor Roosevelt

Moral Issue at Stake in Senecas' Land-for-Dam Fight

NEW YORK—In our preoccupation with world affairs, we sometimes neglect those affairs close at home that may well affect the way people around the world feel about us. For in these days it is the way the non-Communist nations meet their moral and spiritual obligations that best demonstrates the difference between their philosophy and that of the Communists.

When we fail to face up to a moral problem, we not only harm ourselves at home but place us in a bad light all over the world.

THE SITUATION I have in mind exists between the United States Government and the Seneca Indians of Western Pennsylvania and New York State.

On November 11, 1794, George Washington's deputy, Thomas Pickering, signed a treaty with the Senecas which has been honored ever since. Support of the Senecas in the War of 1812 was important to us, so President Washington's deputy put the national seal to a promise which said:

"The U.S. will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca nation."

THE "SAME" referred to lands which today the Army Corps of Engineers has decided will be used to build the Kinzua dam, and Congress has appropriated the first \$15 million for this purpose. This would put under water most of the land owned by the Senecas and would drive about 800 persons from the land their tribe has lived on for 167 years.

To an Indian, land is like a mother. Congress has a legal right to break a treaty, but only when it is necessary for the public good.

THE SENECAS have been most reasonable in this particular case. They agree that a dam must be built in the Allegheny River to prevent floods and to conserve water. So they engaged Dr. Arthur E. Morgan a civil engineer with long experience in flood control, to survey the Western New York area known as the Cattaraugus-Conewango Project.

I remember Dr. Morgan from his work with the Tennessee Valley project, and he was considered an authority in this work at that time. He believes this alternate project is far better than the

Kinzua dam plan backed by the Army Engineers. It would leave the Seneca Indians undisturbed; it would flood inferior land, and the people it would dislocate could more easily be settled elsewhere.

In addition, Dr. Morgan believes this project will save the U. S. Government \$100 million. If it is not built now, it will have to be built in the next 25 years.

THE SENECAS are appealing to President Kennedy for an opportunity to present their case, and their request seems modest.

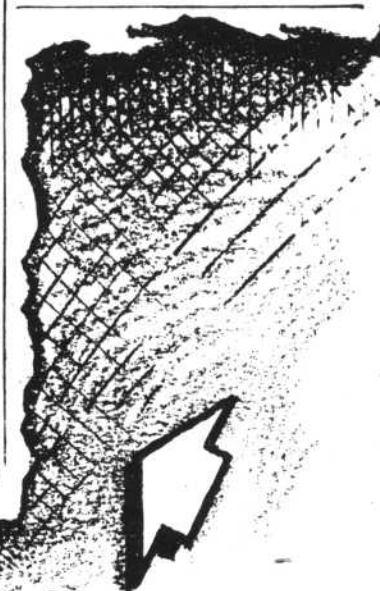
The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends is helping the Senecas. Their interest in the problem has historical background, for in 1794 the Indians trusted the Quakers by asking them to send delegates to advise them on the treaty. Four Friends made the difficult eight-day journey through wilderness to participate in the negotiations preceding the signing of the treaty.

The Philadelphia Friends voted a month ago to undertake an emergency program to "find some satisfactory solution to this unhappy situation."

The Friends are not afraid to face up to a moral question. But the rest of us, I

am afraid, have fallen into the habit of looking away from moral issues in favor of considering what we call the practical immediate situation.

AS A NATION, it would be a shameful thing for us to break this treaty if there is an alternative. All of us who feel it is important to keep faith with the first Americans, the Indians, should write our representatives in Congress and ask the President to give the Senecas' representatives a hearing. For the President is still, according to the Indians, the father of everyone in the country—the "Great White Father."



KINZUA PROJECT of the INDIAN COMMITTEE ^ PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS ^

WALTER TAYLOR, Coordinator, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

others to surrender public affairs to Caesar," Royndee pointed out that "the Roman Catholic Church and the Society of Friends... have always maintained Christianity's right and duty to live up to its principles in public affairs as well as in private life. The Society of Friends, in the name of Christian principles, has refused to accept the institution of war -- an institution that is bound up with the religion of nationalism."

-- Religious News Service

Bulk Rate
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
Permit No. 2380

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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

\$1.00 per year

SPC 256b, No. 61-121
August 14, 1961

Once more a crisis has arisen over the city of Berlin. The decisions out of which this crisis arises were made so long ago that we have scarcely remembered what they were and just who was responsible for their making. The following are excerpts from a longer paper, "Background and Analysis of the Berlin Crisis" by Dr. John M. Swomley, Jr., Associate Professor of Social Ethics at the Methodist Theological School in Kansas City, Mo. (Additional material will be printed in the September issue of PNL.)

Berlin: Longer-Term Background

At the Moscow Conference in October, 1943, Britain, Russia, and the United States agreed on joint occupation of Germany and set up a joint European Advisory Commission. This Commission agreed in November, 1944, on a system of zones proposed by the Soviets, and on a system of control machinery for Germany with each Commander in Chief in charge of his zone.

At this time the State Department position was one of wanting guaranteed access to Berlin by land. The military, however, did the actual deciding and had a veto over the State Department. The U. S. military felt its superiority over the Russians and did not believe a signed written agreement was necessary. So the military planners insisted that the problem of access be left for settlement at the military level. It was thus the American military which was responsible for the first serious problems over Berlin, resulting in no legal agreement for assured access to Berlin by land. The U. S., however, did insist on a written guarantee from the British for free access from the North German ports in the British zone to the American zone of occupation!

At this time Russia apparently had no intention to incorporate Berlin into the Soviet Union's control since it rejected a U. S. request to feed Berlin and thus put it under Russia's economic control.

The U. S. was not prepared to press for constructive agreements on social and economic matters because the War Department supported the vengeful Morgenthau plan against a more moderate line advocated by the State Department. President Roosevelt, apparently as a result of this controversy, issued a directive which forbade any policy settlements over Germany in the end of 1944. Thus when Germany surrendered in May, 1945, there was uncertainty among the great powers as to their policy.

It was at Yalta in 1944 that Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agreed at a top level on the zones of occupation of Germany with an Allied Control Commission in Berlin to govern all of Germany as an economic and political unity. Stalin later agreed to have the French become a part of this Control Commission and have a zone taken from the original American zone. Berlin was to be occupied by all four powers and divided into four sectors.

At Yalta it was agreed to let Russia have a part of eastern Poland and eastern Prussia (Germany) with Poland being compensated for its loss to Russia by getting what was left of Germany east of the Oder-Neisse rivers.

In addition to Roosevelt's yielding of German territory to Russia and Poland, American military leaders acted so as to give Russia further control. General Eisenhower, instead of pushing on to Berlin, moved south to let the Russians take Berlin, all of this against Churchill's advice, as was the decision to let the Russians liberate Prague and thus get a major foothold in Czechoslovakia.

The next series of moves that complicated the Berlin and German picture were made by the French, who wanted some of West Germany if the Russians were to get some of East Germany. Since at Potsdam it was agreed that the Allied Control Council should operate on a basis of unanimous decisions, France was able petulantly to veto the setting up of all German political parties, nation-wide labor unions, and other items which would have made it difficult if not impossible later for East and West Germany to have developed as sep-

At the Moscow Conference in October, 1943, Britain, Russia, and the United States agreed on joint occupation of Germany and set up a joint European Advisory Commission. This Commission agreed in November, 1944, on a system of zones proposed by the Soviets, and on a system of control machinery for Germany with each Commander in Chief in charge of his zone.

At this time the State Department position was one of wanting guaranteed access to Berlin by land. The military, however, did the actual deciding and had a veto over the State Department. The U. S. military felt its superiority over the Russians and did not believe a signed written agreement was necessary. So the military planners insisted that the problem of access be left for settlement at the military level. It was thus the American military which was responsible for the first serious problems over Berlin, resulting in no legal agreement for assured access to Berlin by land. The U. S., however, did insist on a written guarantee from the British for free access from the North German ports in the British zone to the American zone of occupation!

At this time Russia apparently had no intention to incorporate Berlin into the Soviet Union's control since it rejected a U. S. request to feed Berlin and thus put it under Russia's economic control.

The U. S. was not prepared to press for constructive agreements on social and economic matters because the War Department supported the vengeful Morgenthau plan against a more moderate line advocated by the State Department. President Roosevelt, apparently as a result of this controversy, issued a directive which forbade any policy settlements over Germany in the end of 1944. Thus when Germany surrendered in May, 1945, there was uncertainty among the great powers as to their policy.

It was at Yalta in 1944 that Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agreed at a top level on the zones of occupation of Germany with an Allied Control Commission in Berlin to govern all of Germany as an economic and political unity. Stalin later agreed to have the French become a part of this Control Commission and have a zone taken from the original American zone. Berlin was to be occupied by all four powers and divided into four sectors.

At Yalta it was agreed to let Russia have a part of eastern Poland and eastern Prussia (Germany) with Poland being compensated for its loss to Russia by getting what was left of Germany east of the Oder-Neisse rivers.

In addition to Roosevelt's yielding of German territory to Russia and Poland, American military leaders acted so as to give Russia further control. General Eisenhower, instead of pushing on to Berlin, moved south to let the Russians take Berlin, all of this against Churchill's advice, as was the decision to let the Russians liberate Prague and thus get a major foothold in Czechoslovakia.

The next series of moves that complicated the Berlin and German picture were made by the French, who wanted some of West Germany if the Russians were to get some of East Germany. Since at Potsdam it was agreed that the Allied Control Council should operate on a basis of unanimous decisions, France was able petulantly to veto the setting up of all German political parties, nation-wide labor unions, and other items which would have made it difficult if not impossible later for East and West Germany to have developed as separate units as they have today. Russia in 1946 and the U. S. in 1947 also violated the Potsdam agreement and it largely lost its validity.

Another major Western post-war mistake was made when the three Western nations decided to combine their zones into what became later a West German Republic. "The West," according to one authority, "had come to fear that a unified Germany would permit the Soviets to extend their control over all of Germany. The Soviets, at that time, were still genuinely interested in Germany unity..." (Carter, Ranney, Herz, Major Foreign Powers, p. 646). The West wanted to establish in Germany a western type of democracy in a decentralized loose federal system, whereas the Soviet Union wanted a centralized government with a central police force along the lines of the system later developed in East Germany.

This Western action resulted in the creation of an East German puppet regime and eventually an attempt by the Russians to put the West out of Berlin on the ground that Germany was no longer one unit and four-power government had in fact ceased to exist. The Berlin blockade and airlift in 1948-1949 followed and in 1949 was resolved by another agreement.

The decision to create West Germany was an outgrowth of Russian rejection of the Marshall Plan, forcing it to become a West European rather than an all-European recovery program. But it also needs to be said that the Marshall Plan was never wholly the idealistic measure some publicists claimed. It had some military overtones, as one columnist indicated: 'It had been feared by our foreign policy makers that the Western Europeans would seek to declare their countries neutral in event of war between the world's two giants... By helping those countries to build up their economy, health, trade, and business and improve their living conditions, our policy makers believe a fighting spirit can be regained.' (Cecil Dickson, Albany, N. Y. Knickerbocker News, May 1, 1948).

Following the formation of West and East Germany, the Russians set up some paramilitary groups in East Germany and in September, 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson demanded that West Germany be rearmed. The decision to rearm was made and later, after West Germany became an independent republic in 1955, it became a member of NATO.

One reason for Russian urgency in demanding a solution to the German problem is the rearmament of Germany by the United States. Russia fears that an armed West Germany, especially if armed with nuclear weapons as has been proposed in some quarters, might some day precipitate a war in order to regain former German territory now in the hands of Russia and Poland.

* * * * *

MORE NUCLEAR TESTS? "The world hopes that exaggerated fears of clandestine testing or other arguments of advantage and disadvantage based on wholly undependable material will not lead the American Government to resume tests. The world hopes that the moratorium will be kept up whatever be the difficulties in the way of reaching an agreed test ban...

"I write this short letter with an earnest prayer that under no circumstances should a hasty decision for resumption be made by America, by which the world, which does not entirely belong to the two belligerent nuclear powers, will surely be rendered less safe and less healthy. The millions living on it in their own right have a claim for the preservation of the status quo."

-- C. Rajagopalachari
former Governor General of India.
Letter in New York Times, Aug. 3, 1961

BIZERTA Mary Hornaday, writing in the Christian Science Monitor, July 24, 1961, says:
and "The United Nations has again shown its ability to stop a small war when East-West issues are not involved.

"Its success was evidenced in the French-Tunisian cease-fire at Bizerta following a 10-0 vote in the Security Council July 22. Hostilities were stopped through the force of world public opinion after six days of fighting had resulted in approximately 700 fatalities."

The inference which may be drawn from Miss Hornaday's first sentence is that when East-West issues are involved, that is, when Russian and American interests are at the fore, the United Nations is not only less successful, but has no real opportunity to operate. Note that the U.N. is not actively involved in attempting some solution to the difficult problems of Berlin and German unity!

STRONGER UNITED NATIONS URGED Prime Minister Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria recently addressed a sparsely attended session of the House of Representatives. In that address he called for strengthening the power of the United Nations so as "to make it impossible for any nation to ignore its authority."

He also stressed that U.N. decisions would not be fully effective until the newly independent African states were given greater voice in shaping its policy, this to be done by giving Africans more seats on the Security Council.

One reason for Russian urgency in demanding a solution to the German problem is the rearmament of Germany by the United States. Russia fears that an armed West Germany, especially if armed with nuclear weapons as has been proposed in some quarters, might some day precipitate a war in order to regain former German territory now in the hands of Russia and Poland.

* * * * *

MORE "The world hopes that exaggerated fears of clandestine testing or other arguments
NUCLEAR of advantage and disadvantage based on wholly undependable material will not lead
TESTS? the American Government to resume tests. The world hopes that the moratorium
will be kept up whatever be the difficulties in the way of reaching an agreed
test ban...

"I write this short letter with an earnest prayer that under no circumstances should a hasty decision for resumption be made by America, by which the world, which does not entirely belong to the two belligerent nuclear powers, will surely be rendered less safe and less healthy. The millions living on it in their own right have a claim for the preservation of the status quo."

-- C. Rajagopalachari
former Governor General of India.
Letter in New York Times, Aug. 3, 1961

BIZERTA Mary Hornaday, writing in the Christian Science Monitor, July 24, 1961, says:
and "The United Nations has again shown its ability to stop a small war when East-
The U.N. West issues are not involved.

"Its success was evidenced in the French-Tunisian cease-fire at Bizerta following a 10-0 vote in the Security Council July 22. Hostilities were stopped through the force of world public opinion after six days of fighting had resulted in approximately 700 fatalities."

The inference which may be drawn from Miss Hornaday's first sentence is that when East-West issues are involved, that is, when Russian and American interests are at the fore, the United Nations is not only less successful, but has no real opportunity to operate. Note that the U.N. is not actively involved in attempting some solution to the difficult problems of Berlin and German unity!

STRONGER Prime Minister Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria recently addressed a
UNITED sparsely attended session of the House of Representatives. In that address he
NATIONS called for strengthening the power of the United Nations so as "to make it
URGED impossible for any nation to ignore its authority."

He also stressed that U.N. decisions would not be fully effective until the newly independent African states were given greater voice in shaping its policy, this to be done by giving Africans more seats on the Security Council.

Happily, Sir Abubaker praised "the gallant effort" being made in the United States to end prejudice. "We congratulate your government for its courage in facing up to its responsibilities in this sphere and we can assure you that as long as your administration continues its efforts it will always have our sympathy and understanding."

-- New York Times, July 27, 1961

Permit No. 2380
Syracuse, N. Y.
P A I D
U. S. POSTAGE
Bulk Rate

Syracuse 2, N. Y.
841 University Building
Syracuse Peace Council
RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 257, No. 61-122
September 25, 1961

ARMS RACE *Headline, Dallas Morning News, Sunday, September 17, 1961.

IS ON

AGAIN: Both nations set off nuclear test explosions on Saturday, September 16th.
BOTH U.S., The first U. S. explosion since Oct. 30, 1958 came exactly 14 days after
RUSSIA the Soviet Union broke the nuclear moratorium by making the first tests.
BLAST*

President Kennedy is reported to have said that "the resumption of extensive Soviet testing has made this necessary to fulfill the responsibilities of the United States government to its own citizens and the security of other free nations."

That the test came but 14 days after the first of the new series of Soviet explosions indicates that preparations have been in process for a long time.

"It has been estimated that Russia has bombs 3 times greater than enough to destroy the world and the U. S. has 6 to 7 times enough." (Freeman, Dear Mr. President, page 67). How adding to this potential by one power or both of the world's giants can add to the security of the "free nations" or the unfree nations is a question to which the President has given no adequate answer. Apparently theories of deterrence still guide the thinking of the two Mr. K's, and of their advisors.

One small comfort is that it was the Soviet Union which broke the informal test ban agreement.

THE DRIVE Americans that it is possible to survive a nuclear war - for many people - if
IS ON TO sufficient provision is made for protection from nuclear fall-out. Have you
REA3SURE noticed the recent flood of articles in popular magazines urging this possibility and urging that YOU take precautions now?

Life suggests that 97 out of 100 may be able to survive. But the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization in an unpublicized study (Shelter OCDM-SA-61-12; Operations Research Office) studied four assumed levels of attack ranging from a small 400 megaton attack to a large 23,000 megaton. The largest attack, with no protection postulated, would kill some 148 million persons, or about 80% of the American population. The best estimate in the OCDM report is that about 35% of our people would emerge after it was over while 65% would die. Whether or not adequate shelter is possible is a matter much under debate in the higher circles of government, but the impression created for most people is that we do have a chance if we do something about it now.

Here are some lines from an advertisement in the Dallas Morning News, Sept. 17, 1961:

"If You've Been Thinking About Fall-out Protection (And Who Hasn't?)

HERE IS YOUR ANSWER!

Living FALL-OUT SHELTERS By Living Shelters of America.

Everything a Radioactive Fall-out Shelter Should Be... PLUS Many Advantages You'll Appreciate!

ALL STEEL Construction.....24" concrete slab convertible to Garage floor or Patio!

America's First fully lighted and equipped living shelter.
Every Square Foot Usable.

Living Shelter Does Double Duty As An

- Extra Room
- Store Room
- Play Room
- Den

Six person capacity.... Nine person Capacity. Fully Equipped.
Excellent For Storm and Tornado Protection.

"A Playroom Today--Survival--Rightaway!"

An unanswered question in all the talk about fall-out protection is this: to what would we come up to from our comfortably equipped gopher holes? What would be the side effects of a nuclear war? What would have happened to transport and communication? How would new supplies of food be moved into undevastated areas? What about medical services? What about contamination?

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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

\$1.00 per year

SPC 258, No. 61-123
October 16, 1961

To the Memory of One Who Gave Himself
In the Cause of Peace

Dag Hammarskjold
Secretary-General of the United Nations
1953 - 1961

"There is world-wide grief over Hammarskjold's death. And, maybe, in spite of incredible difficulties ahead, this is a very hopeful thing. For the first time in my life I have felt sad that a leader of the world community is dead and that this could affect my life. Perhaps that's a sign that the world community is at last real."

-- Rev. Clarence Fuller
Melrose, Massachusetts

NUCLEAR TESTS Howard C. Green, Canada's Minister for External Affairs, in his address to the United Nations (NY Times, Oct. 4) asked the UN to insist on an end of Nuclear testing. He pointed out that during the last two weeks of September, Radioactive fallout had increased 1,000 times in Toronto.

Said Mr. Green: "The time has come when it is not sufficient merely to express concern and to record blame: We must find a means of compelling the countries responsible to cease the testing of nuclear weapons."

On the same date, the Senior delegate of Pakistan, Muhammad Zafrulla Kahn said: "The resumption of nuclear tests constitutes a present, operative and progressive danger to human health and welfare and the very continuation of human life on earth."

NUCLEAR ARMS & BERLIN Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times reports the concern of the Air Force to the effect that it believes America has been making an over-emphasis on non-nuclear war. The Air Force believes such a war cannot be fought successfully in Europe and that it would lead ultimately to impairing the Air Force's capability of delivering Nuclear Weapons through the processes of attrition which such 'conventional' war would bring. (Oct. 2)

"Nuclear weapons, rather than conventional arms, are the key to the Berlin crisis in the opinion of many United States generals and diplomats in Europe.

"One of the principal problems as viewed by American eyes in Europe is to convince Premier Khrushchev that the United States will utilize nuclear weapons, if forced to, in defense ... of its vital interests in Berlin....

"They fear that Khrushchev believes the United States is bluffing, and some think he has shown signs of overconfidence.

"Past United States actions have given him good reason to think so, they say ..." They believe Mr. Khrushchev "is prepared to go to the brink of war -- and that the United States must be similarly prepared if it hopes to preserve peace ... They believe that the threat of nuclear devastation is the only deterrent that Mr. Khrushchev really fears. They point out that NATO and United States forces in Europe are committed to the use of the nuclear weapon" and military strategy has been built around it.

VOICES have been raised, even on the floor of the U. S. Senate (Senator Margaret Chase Smith on Sept. 21) urging that we make it clear that we are prepared to use the nuclear bomb over Berlin.

FALLOUT is not only Radioactive. In a broadcast on Sept. 20th, dealing with the Soviet Resumption of nuclear tests, Corliss Lamont, longtime friend of the Soviet Union, revealed that just 18 days prior to the first Russian explosion, Soviet and Chinese Communist delegates to the Japan Council Against A and H. Bombs, voted unanimously for a resolution which said, "The first government to resume tests should be denounced as the enemy of peace and of mankind." The tone of Lamont's broadcast indicated his disappointment in what the USSR had done.

BERLIN & POLAND Arthur J. Olson (NY Times, Sept. 17) reporting from Warsaw said: "... many Poles are worried that the rise in international tension will give greater influence to the always ready exponents of Communist orthodoxy and 'social discipline.' In the Communist world, troubled times tend to multiply the authority of the 'hard men' in domestic affairs.

Poland for five years enjoyed an "unusual margin of personal freedom" unique in the Soviet Camp, and there is apparently much concern that the latest crisis in Central Europe will bring about retrogression rather than progression in political developments, at least as understood from democratic perspectives.

HOW SAFE WILL A SHELTER BE? John W. Finny, (NY Times, Oct. 2) reports that "the 100 megaton bomb that Premier Khrushchev said is being built by the Soviet Union could be a massive incendiary weapon. It could start fires over an area larger than the state of Vermont," that is, as far as 60 miles in every direction from the center of the explosion. These effects Civilian Defense people now feel would exceed the blast effects and would mitigate the protection of fallout shelters. Indeed, such shelters might trap families far from target areas in the flaming wreckage of their homes.

SAN FRANCISCO TO MOSCOW The peace marchers who left San Francisco several months ago reached Moscow on October 3rd. Some 31 persons, including 15 Americans, marched into Red Square where they handed out pamphlets and carried posters (in Russian) advocating unilateral disarmament and the end of Nuclear Tests. Although prevented from making speeches advocating unilateral disarmament and the end of tests, the group was received with applause. (NY Times, Oct. 4)

Later in the week the marchers met with some 200 Moscow University Students and before them urged unilateral disarmament and the cessation of tests. When some of the Professors sought to close the meeting abruptly, because the marchers were treading in a politically sensitive area, the students present shouted down their Professors and demanded that the marchers be allowed to continue talking. (Dallas Morning News, Oct. 7)

TEXAS SAFER THAN NEW YORK The editor has often missed his many friends in up-State New York and elsewhere along the East Coast. He has also missed the beauty of the hills and the changing seasons since moving to the former Lone Star Republic. But there is one thing which he has not missed, and that is radio-active fallout. Oh, we get our share, but about half that of New York State according to a report on "Strontium-90 in the total diet" in Consumers Union, Oct., 1961

Further, we have been favored as some 12 eastern and northern states have not with respect to the residues from recent Soviet Testing. In mid-September Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Abraham A. Ribicoff, stated that the levels of radioactivity then reached, if maintained for a prolonged period, would constitute a health menace.

Most debris from Soviet Tests has been carried over Canada, but much was pushed down into Northeastern U.S.A. because of a polar air mass pushing down into the U.S.A. from Canada. (Waco News Tribune, Sept. 19)

FOR THE SAKE OF CONSCIENCE James Syphers and Paul Cole were guests of Onondaga County, New York, from Tuesday, October 3rd through Friday, October 6th, in the penitentiary at Jamesville. These two were among numerous persons in New York State who refused to take shelter during last April's Civilian Defense test, and among the smaller number who paid the penalty for disobeying the New York statute which makes refusal to comply punishable by fine and imprisonment.

SYRACUSE MEETING The Syracuse Peace Council sponsored Norman Thomas at a lively meeting on September 25th. About 350 persons were present, and wonder of wonders, a meeting sponsored by SPC was well publicized in the press. It was probably the speaker, and not the organization, that brought out the reporters!

ROUND-UP In Texas, we round up the cows. In Syracuse, we round up the peace workers. It's Round-up Time, and the affair will be held on Saturday, October 28th, from 9:30 to 5:00 at the Erwin Methodist Church, 920 Euclid Avenue, Syracuse. Bayard Rustin will be the featured speaker, with a new approach, workshops involving action projects by those attending. Get up a carload and attend!

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
P A I D
Syracuse, N. Y.
Permit No. 2380

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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

SPC 259, No. 61-124
\$1.00 per year
November 17, 1961

DEAR READER With this issue you are receiving two copies of PNL. Will you please send one on to a friend, inviting a new subscription? And, will you please give one new subscription to someone on your Christmas mailing list?

PNL is now in its 26th year of continuous publication. We must double our mailing and we are encouraged to ask your help by the many expressions of appreciation of PNL we have heard recently.

-- The N. Y. State Peace Council

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP Recently Congressman W. R. Poage of Waco, Texas, surprised many to whom he was speaking by asserting "that an atomic war would probably result in the establishment of a military dictatorship in this country."

Mr. Poage feels that in event of a nuclear war "we will [not] have any constitutional officials to take control of any of the three branches of government" following an attack. However, dispersal of officers of the Armed Forces across the country will mean that some of them will survive to meet the "need for prompt and absolute control. It is not a matter of usurpation of power. The military authorities will be forced to act. All our liberties will be lost overnight..."

Congressman Poage concluded: "If we are among those who survive, we should recognize that we will never again enjoy the kind of world we have known. We may well find ourselves devoting all our efforts just to getting enough food and shelter to live..."

This very honest and forthright statement should be pondered by all persons who have assumed that we were preparing for war in order to defend our way of life. First, with the weapons now available or under development, there is a question as to how much life would survive. Second, for those who might survive, there is no doubt but what our way of life would have been destroyed.

A few years ago, when the editor was in college, philosophers, moralists, and students were much concerned about the relationship of means to ends. It was widely thought then that the means used would in large measure determine the character of the ends attained. Therefore if an individual, or a nation, desired to attain certain ends, it was once thought that the means used must be appropriate to the end desired. Why is it that we now give so little attention to the relationship of ends and means when it becomes increasingly apparent that means currently being pursued are not leading us in the direction of the ends or goals which we espouse?

TO WHOM SHOULD WE LISTEN? As previously pointed out in PNL, the American people are being subjected to a barrage of newspaper and magazine articles, speeches, pamphlets and so on, to convince them that the dangers of a nuclear attack have been vastly over-rated and that things will not be too bad provided most of us take some steps to protect ourselves from the minor nuisance of radioactive debris. Apparently not all governmental officials take such a cheerful posture.

Dr. John M. Wolfe, chief of the environmental sciences branch and director of biology and medicine for the Atomic Energy Commission, in a symposium at Colorado State University on the theme of the way living creatures get along in the environment, had this to say:

"The effects of nuclear war on man and his environment are awesome to contemplate. Thermal and blast effects, and concomitant radiation, would create vast areas that would be useless to the survival of man..."

"Fallout shelters in many areas seem only a means of delaying death and represent only a part of a survival plan. With an environment so completely modified, the question is, where does man go after his sojourn in shelters? What does he do upon emergence?"

FAMOUS LAST WORDS "The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union have decided not to resume nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union if the Western powers do not resume the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Only in the event of the resumption by them of the testing of nuclear weapons will the Soviet Union be freed from this self-imposed undertaking."

-- Announced in Moscow, August 28, 1959

"It is not difficult to imagine what would be the consequences if any State were to resume nuclear tests in the existing situation. The other nuclear Powers would be compelled to follow suit.

"This would trigger off again an unlimited race in the testing of nuclear weapons by any Power and in any conditions.

"The decision by any of the three Powers to resume nuclear weapon tests would be difficult to reconcile with the commitments they have assumed before all the members of the United Nations..."

"If one of the parties violates the commitments assumed, the initiators of this violation will cover themselves with shame, they will be branded by all the peoples of the world."

-- Khrushchev to the Supreme Soviet, Jan. 14, 1960

U.S.S.R. Reports from all parts of the globe have indicated a general dissatisfaction
BRANDED with the activities of the Soviet Union with regard to Nuclear Testing. In
Iceland, the Parliament voted a resolution of protest, with three of the Com-
munist deputies voting for it, and the remaining seven Communist members abstaining.
Protest demonstrations before Soviet embassies were frequent throughout Europe. Many
governments filed official protests. And the UN has taken several actions with regard
to such tests.

UNITED On November the 6th, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the
NATIONS immediate renewal of an uninspected moratorium on nuclear tests by a vote of 71
ACTION in favor to 20 against, with 8 abstentions. The 20 negative votes were equally
divided between the Soviet bloc and the big Western Powers. Here is one thing
upon which both the Soviet Union and the United States agree: They want no moratorium on
nuclear tests under present circumstances.

I. F. Stone pointed out (his Weekly of Oct. 30) that recent UN debate between the two
great powers is interesting. "The Western powers four years ago would not hear of a
nuclear test ban apart from general disarmament while the Soviets were for separating the
two. Now they have changed sides." Thus in the debates of the last few weeks, each side
has used arguments strikingly similar to what the other side used in the debates of 1957.
One of the editor's colleagues stresses that this is an amazing world, that people are
people wherever they are!

William Frye (Christian Science Monitor, November 3, 1961) writes of the recent UN action
on nuclear tests: "Never before has the United States been beaten so decisively in the
UN or indeed has it been beaten at all on an issue of this magnitude...."

"The United States never has openly violated a United Nations resolution, but now appar-
ently will do so."

PRESSURE "Pressure on the administration to resume atmospheric nuclear testing is
FOR TESTS steadily mounting. "Two kinds of nuclear weapons, it is now argued... should
be tested in the atmosphere before they can be perfected or it be proved posi-
tively they can accomplish their missions. One is an anti-missile missile," the Nike-
Zeus which, it is argued, requires a nuclear warhead to knock down ICBM's.

"Then there is the neutron bomb" conceived as a weapon "that will destroy people but not
things." It is not known if such a bomb can be developed, but it is felt that such a
weapon, which would destroy life by radiation through material objects, cannot be devel-
oped without atmospheric testing.

-- Neal Stanford, Christian Science Monitor, November 4, 1961

REMINDER? If Jesus were alive today, when the sword has been replaced by more ingenious
weapons, would he be warning: "Those who live by nuclear bombs will perish
by nuclear bombs"?

NEW UN The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have not only agreed that they wish to be free of
EXECUTIVE an international demand to stop nuclear testing (see above), but they have
agreed to a more constructive and hopeful matter almost at the same time.

They have agreed to the election of Burma's U Thant as Secretary-General, a nomination -
which received the universal support of the 103 member General Assembly. PNL hails his
election and covets for him the support of all member nations in the difficult days which
lie ahead.

NONVIOLENCE The Nobel Peace Prize for 1960 was awarded to Chief Albert Luthuli of South
RECOGNIZED Africa, who, as President-General of the African National Congress, and as
elected chief of the Zulus, sought "to work for the progress and welfare of
my people, and for their harmonious relations with other sections of our multi-racial
society in the Union of South Africa." When he was elected to office in the Congress,
the South African government dismissed him as chief of his people. (His people refused
to elect a replacement.) "Viewing nonviolent passive resistance as a nonrevolutionary
and therefore a most legitimate and human political pressure technique for a people denied
all effective forms of constitutional striving, I saw no real conflict in this dual leader-
ship of my people." Subsequently Luthuli has been exiled to a village on the Natal Coast.

Luthuli has been granted a ten-day passport to journey to Oslo to receive the prize. On
return he will be forbidden to make public speeches or to leave his native village. In-
terior Minister Jan H. de Klerk said "the government fully realizes the award was not made
on merit and must necessarily rob the Nobel Peace Prize of all its high esteem in the
judgment of objectively minded people." Few objective people will concur in this biased
judgment.

Permit No. 2380
Syracuse, N. Y.
P A I D
U. S. POSTAGE
Bulk Rate

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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

SPC 260, No. 61-125
\$1.00 per year December 15, 1961

1961 ROUND-UP 60-odd (but not queer) people, representing schools, colleges and communities across New York State from Alfred to Albany attended the Annual Peace Workers Round-up in Syracuse in October. The day began with a showing of the new (and moving) 25 minute film, "Language of Faces." Following that Bayard Rustin gave an address that challenged our political thinking and penetrated our spiritual depths.

There were morning sessions for high school students with Raj Nanavati; college, with Charles Walker, and adult with Ray Hartsough.

During a lively mutual exchange session there were stimulating reports of activity from Ithaca, Utica, Hudson, Syracuse, Schenectady, Rochester and other parts. A high light of these reports was that given from Ithaca High School. The Whitneys gave a brief report of their visits to forty cities and villages in up-state New York and of the seventy volunteers enrolled. They told of a young high school teacher who has given up his professional plans to devote full time to peace work on a volunteer basis, and of an elderly woman who sold a treasured painting in order to make a cash contribution. The Syracuse Peace Council served coffee and doughnuts during this period.

After lunch at Drumlins, the afternoon was spent in a series of work shops engaged in interviewing, literature distribution, film analysis, and public witness planning.

At dinner time, preliminary plans were made for the Spring Institute to be held in Syracuse March 16-18. It will feature Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling. Save the date and begin recruiting now.

A more detailed report of community activities, now in progress, and a list of materials on Shelters will be available later this month. Write for either or both.

A NORWEGIAN VIEW A personal letter to Norman Whitney indicates rapidly growing opposition to the arms race and nuclear testing. A protest was signed by nearly 250,000 people, "and it was obvious that this number did not nearly cover the total agreeing with the protest." Numerous demonstrations and marches have been arranged and more and more people are finding it intolerable "that we shall belong to one of the big military blocs." A newly organized political party, Sosialistisk Folkeparti, standing for total disarmament, gained two seats in the National Parliament in the autumn elections only a few months after it was founded.

WHAT DOTH HINDER THEE? During six weeks this autumn, Mildred and Norman Whitney travelled nearly 6,000 miles in New York State holding "Community Clinics" on peace education materials and methods and in recruiting volunteers for a dozen specific projects. They visited 40 of the major cities and villages in the state outside the Metropolitan Area and enrolled about 70 volunteers. They report:

"Attitudes varied. The Berlin crisis has made thoughtful people more acutely aware, but often the most concerned are too busy to take on one more responsibility, or lack confidence in the value of the small effort of the individual. The stepped-up shelter program has created resentment among the few and a greatly increased acceptance of the 'thinkability' or even inevitability of nuclear war among the many. At the same time there is a striking increase in the number of younger people, particularly, who want to 'do something about it.' Hope lies in those bright souls who with shining courage know that even though they may not complete the task, they dare not lay it down."

A leading clergyman in one city resigned an important civic post to free time for peace work.

THE ISSUE OF CIVIL DEFENSE was the theme of a public discussion presented by the Syracuse Peace Council and the Adult Education Division of Syracuse University with the cooperation of local Civil Defense officials. The meeting on November 13th was attended by 300 or more persons. Dr. Herbert Shapiro of the History Department, Long Island University, and Dr. Jay Orear of the Physics Department, Cornell University, spoke against the shelter program, while Dr. J. Edward Hamilton, Pastor of the Elmwood Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, and Dr. Benjamin A. Wesil, College of Engineering, Syracuse University, defended the shelter building program.

A CHILD'S VIEW Mrs. Ethel M. Jensen of Dayton, Ohio, recently wrote Newsweek (12/4/61), sharing an incident involving her ten-year-old football-minded son. "He said recently he didn't think he'd get married because he probably wouldn't live to be 16. When I asked him why he was so sure there'd be a nuclear war, he said it was just like his football team: 'You don't think we would practice and practice for a football game and then not play it, do you?'"

HUNGARY Newsweek (12/14/61) also reports that Yugoslavia, Albania, and Communist
COMMUNISTS China have all made overtures to buy U. S. surplus wheat. Communist China
 faces famine, and has made "discreet inquiries" to which she has received
"a cautious reply that the U. S. might agree (for humanitarian and propaganda reasons).
One requirement: Peking must tell its people the aid is from the U. S."

REFLECTIONS "The dispute which menaces the world today is like a thousand others
ON THE STATE which have plagued mankind in the past. If there is no war in a genera-
OF MAN tion or so, this one will probably have been forgotten and another will
 have taken its place and after that another one still. For us to think
that our present dispute justifies the extermination of life itself is the most supremely
arrogant act in the history of man."

-- Allan Forbes, Jr.

"Contemporary intelligence seems to measure the truth of doctrines and causes solely
by the number of armored divisions that each can put into the field."

-- Albert Camus

THE MYTH OF is the title of a perceptive article by John Nuveen, Progressive (12/61).
NON-INTERFERENCE The author, an investment banker with experience in the administration
 of American economic aid in Greece, Belgium, and Luxemburg, points out
that our policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries is, in
fact, a myth.

Citing his own experience in Greece following the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine,
when some 25,000 Greek rebels seemed to have a 250,000 man army and gendarmerie in retreat,
Nuveen writes, "No lesson could be more obvious. In adhering in Greece to a doctrine of
non-interference, we had actually been interfering to keep a bad government in power. It
became clear that once we decided to help a nation, whether by economic aid, a favorable
trade treaty, or even through private investment, we were unavoidably interfering to sup-
port the government in power, which always interpreted any outside assistance as an en-
dorsement of its regime. In other words, so long as we failed to interfere positively to
support necessary political and social reforms, we would be interfering negatively to
support the often intolerable status quo."

Nuveen suggests that in China we failed "to use the leverage of our aid to force or
assist Chiang Kai-shek to adopt land and other reforms that would benefit the people
instead of the corrupt political generals in his cabinet" and consequently the possibility
of defeating the Communists was destroyed. "In the Philippines, however, we intervened
to the extent of requiring fiscal reforms and bringing about a coalition of the two polit-
ical parties that opposed Elpidio Quirino's corrupt regime. Given a clear choice, the
people of the Philippines chose wisely, and under Magsaysay honest government was restored.
Within weeks the Huk rebellion against Quirino's misrule, a movement the Communists were
using to ride into power, subsided, and another defeat in Asia was averted."

In Cuba, non-intervention in reality masked support of the infamous Batista regime
and paved the way for a more extreme solution of the problems of that land. Nuveen be-
lieves that the Kennedy administration is wise in insisting that Latin American neighbors,
receiving aid under the Alliance for Progress, "must match our material aid with land and
other necessary reforms." He is not optimistic that the State Department personnel will
carry out this wise policy.

However, there is evidence that in South Viet Nam, the United States Government is
insisting that the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem undertake a number of reforms in
order to gain support of the people in the villages. Several dispatches from Saigon by
Takashi Oka (Christian Science Monitor, 12/61) indicate clearly that the legal government
of this land has lagging popular support. The regime has imposed "innumerable restric-
tions," the police engage in "petty tyranny," and political opponents have been arbitrarily
arrested, while the people in the villages have seen little evidence of real concern for
their welfare. Our government, through General Taylor's mission, has become very aware of
the inadequacies of the South Viet Nam regime, and seems to realize that to bolster its
strength without insisting on reforms might well lead to a repetition of what is to us the
tragedy of China or Cuba.

Permit No. 2380
Syracuse, N.Y.
PAID
U. S. POSTAGE
Bulk Rate

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED
Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse 2, N. Y.