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Toward a sane nuclear policy

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (U.S.)

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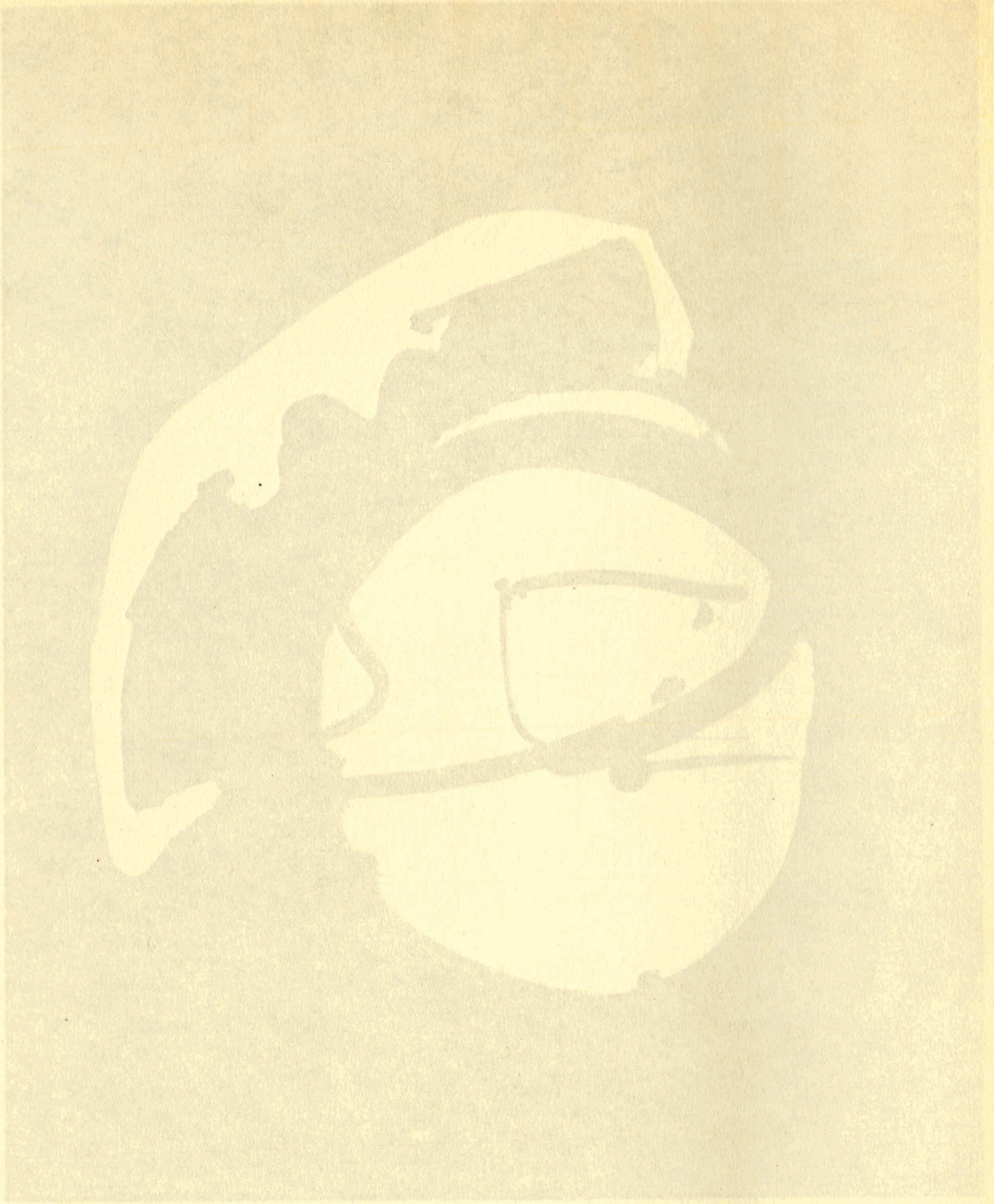
TOWARD

A

SANE

NUCLEAR

POLICY





HANS HOFMANN

**TOWARD
A
SANE
NUCLEAR
POLICY**



A SALUTE TO THE SUMMIT

The Summit Meeting now in progress in Paris can make decisions of great moment for world peace, not the least of which would be agreement to ban all future tests of nuclear weapons under international inspections and controls. The 1960 elections campaign, now in its initial stage, can result in a national leadership which will strengthen our nation's commitment to the search for disarmament and to the use of our resources for human welfare.

Public opinion has played and will continue to play a vital role in relation to both these events. This is understandable in the atomic age when the very survival of us all is involved in the outcome of such events. We have every right and indeed a duty to express our concerns as effectively as we can and to make our "public opinion" a force that will help to guide the steps of statesmen and politicians on the path of peace. This right and this duty are the reason for the existence of SANE and for this Garden meeting.

*Robert Gilmore, for the National
and Greater New York Committees for
a Sane Nuclear Policy*

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**PROGRAM FOR
A SALUTE TO
THE SUMMIT**

*Presented by the National and Greater New York
Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy
at Madison Square Garden
Thursday, May 19, 1960 at 8:00 p.m.*

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*Mike Nichols and Elaine May Stars of night
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*Walter P. Reuther Vice President, AFL-CIO
President, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO*

*Norman Thomas Chairman, Post War World
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*Myra Jehlen Chairman, College Students
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Nuclear Policy*

Lime Lighters Night club and recording artists

*Orson Bean Actor, night club entertainer, theatre
and radio personality*

*Harry Belafonte Singer, night club entertainer,
television and film actor*

Alfred M. Landon Former Governor of Kansas

G. Mennen Williams Governor of Michigan

*Dr. Walter J. Lear Executive Chairman for
the Madison Square Garden Meeting
and Journal*

*The proceedings of this meeting
are being recorded by
WBAI-FM 99.5 mg.
A listener subscription station*

A meeting in Madison Square Garden is a large undertaking for any organization. For the Sane Nuclear Policy Committees, it marks our first effort on such a scale—an effort we felt called upon to make by the scope of current events affecting the future of our nation and of mankind.

I hope that this meeting will arouse in each of us a renewed sense of the importance of the individual's decision to act for peace. One of the great obstacles to peace is an all too pervasive feeling in our country of the futility of political action—a general feeling that the private citizen can do little or nothing to affect the decisions shaping the future of himself and his loved ones. A Garden meeting (or an Aldermaston march) tells us dramatically that this is not true because we can see with our own eyes the great gathering of people resulting from thousands of individual decisions to act for peace. What we must never forget is that this “gathering of the people” need not always be so visible to be effective, so long as concerned individuals continue to act. Each letter to Washington, each conversation for sanity with a neighbor or stranger, each personal demonstration of commitment and concern contributes to the “gathering of the people” for peace. We are never alone and can never be alone in the work for peace. To the divine imperative for brotherhood on earth is now joined the atomic age command of peace or perish, and mankind everywhere is stirring to guard and enhance life.

On behalf of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, I wish to thank, in addition to the board members and the sponsors of the National and Greater New York Committees, those others listed below and many others whose special efforts have made possible this meeting and journal in Madison Square Garden. I thank too the distinguished guests who, by speech or song, have helped to make this meeting a memorable occasion in the work for peace.

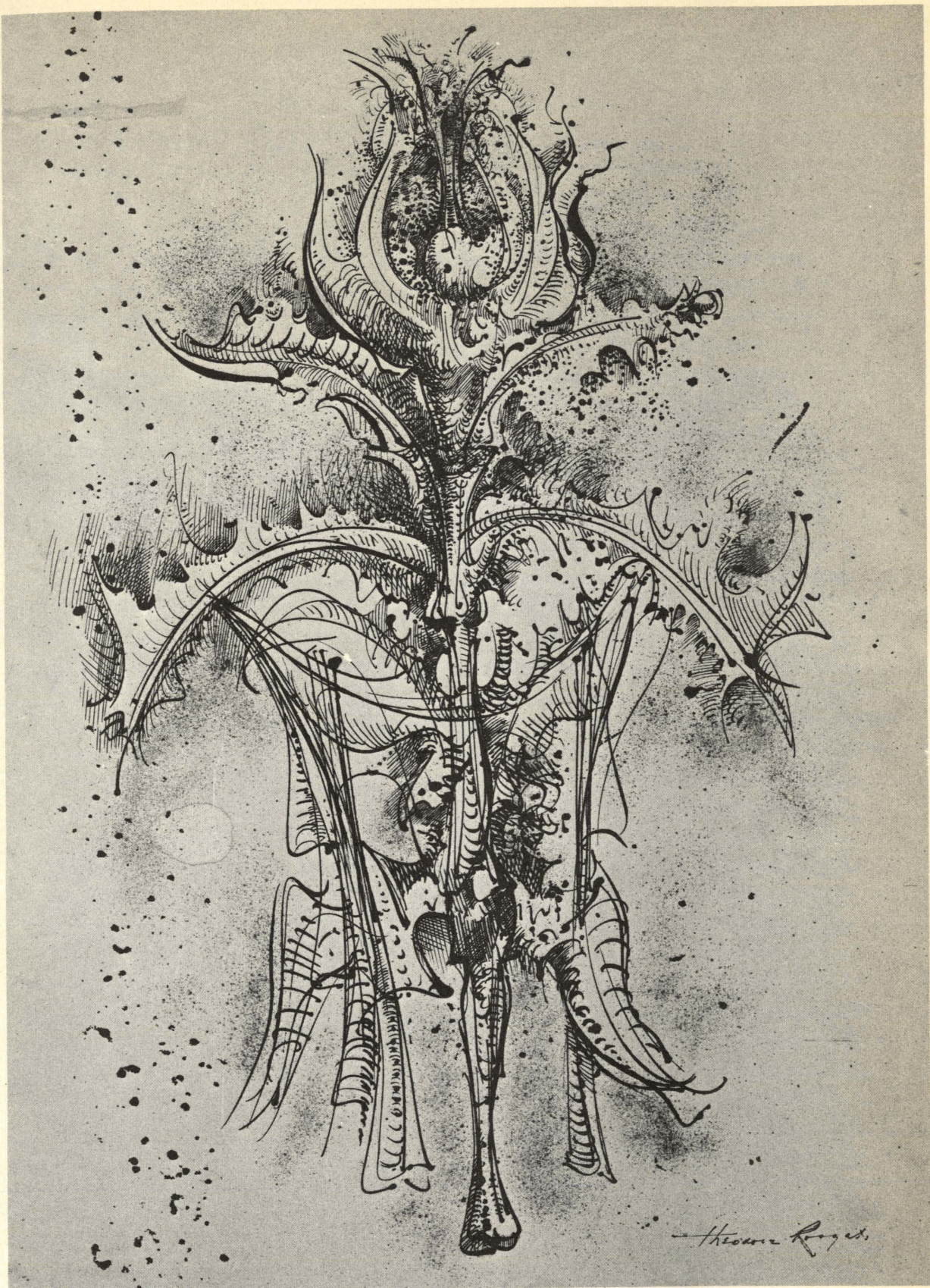
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Historically, a prime purpose of military preparedness has been to enable a nation to fight back when attacked. A nation wanted to defend itself, to battle through to victory.

In today's world, however, the only possible function of military preparedness is to *prevent* war—without losing those things for which a nation would have fought in the past. For the moment war breaks out, no matter how complete the military preparedness may have been, the military policy has failed. Its principal function will have been shattered—along with everything else.

Conventional ideas of defending the homeland and preserving its values are meaningless. Of all the implications of atomic energy, none is more basic than this. And that is why the theory of the deterrent offers no reasonable hope of protecting a nation, its people, its freedoms.

At the heart of the deterrent theory, of course, is the belief that a potential enemy will be disinclined to attack if he knows the counterattack will be immediate and devastating. Advocates of the deterrent idea today also contend that the nation's military potential must in no way be modified or hindered by agreements on arms control or disarmament. Similarly, they regard any security activities of a world organization that impinge upon a nation's freedom of action in the field of arms and power as undesirable. Thus, restrictions on nuclear testing or the development of missiles are generally considered inconsistent with the requirements of a nation's security.

The main flaw in the deterrent theory, however, is that it does not deter. The possession by the Soviet Union of advanced nuclear weapons has not served as a deterrent to the United States in matters involving our national interests. The U.S. has not allowed fear of nuclear weapons to deter us from making clear that we were prepared to fight with everything we had to keep from being pushed out of Berlin. Nor has our own nuclear stockpile prevented the Soviet Union

from pressing its demands that we pull out of Berlin. Each has attempted to convince the other that it is prepared to let fly with everything it owns rather than back down.

It is natural for a nation to display, not restraint, but a willingness to march to the brink when its national interests are threatened. Even when the threat is not a major one, there is a natural concern lest an unchallenged small threat lead to a larger one. In a world of anarchy, not deterrents but the compulsions of national sovereignty are the prime movers.

The announcement by one nation that it has achieved a military breakthrough in one field creates in the other nation not a mood of defeat but a blistering determination to match that particular weapon and surpass it. The United States possessed an atomic monopoly from 1945 to 1948. This period of monopoly coincided with the period of maximum Soviet aggressiveness and intransigence. Similarly, the advent of the Soviet sputnik, with its portents of long-range rockets carrying nuclear bombs, did not cause the United States to ask for surrender terms. What it did was to light the fires of determination in the United States to close the gap.

One nation's deterrent becomes the other nation's incentive. The fact of Soviet rocket supremacy has already led to various extreme counterproposals from the American military, by way of bolstering the deterrent against surprise attack. One such proposal has called for hundreds of American jet planes, fully loaded with nuclear explosives, to be in the air at all times and within ready striking distance of the Soviet Union. The object would be to avoid the destruction of our retaliatory capacity through a sudden attack and to insure the mobility of our striking force.

The practical effect of such a move, however, could be exactly the opposite from the one intended. First, the fact of hundreds of jet planes in the air will lead to even more

extreme counter-measures. One could be in the form of dozens of earth-circling satellites, each loaded with hydrogen bombs. Another could take the form of high-speed submarines only a few hundred miles off the East and West coasts of the United States, each of them equipped with launching platforms for missiles carrying nuclear explosives.

Each side, meanwhile, has to reckon with the risk that a pilot or submarine commander may go berserk and make the decision that would start the full chain reaction. The possibility of an accident or a miscalculation grows in direct proportion to the distribution of the power and the means of instant use.

In 1957, a French pilot took it upon himself to bomb an Algerian village. He acted out of the highest impulses of patriotism. He felt his government was vacillating and that immediate action was necessary to save France's honor. It was within his power to act—and he acted. Would his decision have been any different if the power at his disposal had been greater? If he had been carrying a nuclear explosive instead of a TNT bomb, would he have controlled his impulse? Or would he have sought out a larger target?

The spiraling competition for military advantage carries with it ascending and accelerating tensions. The fear of surprise attack is the greatest single factor in the thinking and planning of the opposing military policies. The pressure will build up in each country to hit first rather than wait to be hit. The same logic that gave birth to the around-the-clock jet bomber and the nuclear-cocked satellite will argue that there is no choice except to take the final initiative. Thus, the deterrent leads to preventive or pre-emptive war. Since both countries have to contend with the same factors involved in surprise nuclear attack, each knows the other is considering the same antidotes; the very fact that each is even considering preventive war causes the other to move in that direction itself.

The incredible paradox is that both potential foes today seek security in the same terms. Each calls upon the other to be deterred by its striking power, yet both are becoming more insecure in direct proportion to the increase in their own power.

The theory of the deterrent marks the ultimate failure of unfettered national sovereignty. It represents the fullest indictment of national determination in an internationally anarchic world. Never in history has the sovereign state been more powerful or less secure. Its capacity for waging war has never been so great, nor its ability to protect itself so puny. In turning to the theory of the deterrent for protection, it invokes irrational force as the principal means of creating rational restraint. Far from inspiring great restraints, the deterrent produces jitters and hair triggers.

There is yet another fallacy to the deterrent theory. It assumes a static world. It assumes that everything will be kept under tight control, that upheavals in the making for more than a century will somehow remain quiescent. It does not take into account that the nuclear deterrent will not prevent social and political unrest and the consequent disturbance to the peace. People who have great grievances will be in the market for revolution until the grievances are met. The quest for independence of those nations that are now without it will not be subdued. The churning and yearnings of the majority of the world's peoples will not take an indefinite holiday. Basic forces such as these will become violent if the means for effective peaceful change are lacking. We will not keep Communism or other ideologies from exploiting those forces just by calling attention to our nuclear deterrent. If we want to be effective in these situations, we shall have to come up with some relevant ideas.

The basic problem is with the term 'national security'. The term has a built-in contradiction. In the atomic age, no *national* security is possible. Either there is a workable *world*

security system or there is nothing. Indeed, the efforts of the individual nations to achieve military supremacy or even adequacy are actually competitive and provocative in their effects.

Such being the case, how does a nation protect itself against aggression? How does it safeguard its freedom and its values?

The best chance—perhaps its only chance—for meeting these needs is through the development of a common security. The people who settled the American West found that the only workable answer to lawlessness was the adequate machinery of law. A single individual, no matter how well armed, was unable to defend himself and his family adequately. Only as enough individuals, acting together to create a consensus, also created specific machinery to deal with the anarchy did the anarchy subside. It is substantially the same in the world today. Only as the world's peoples see beyond the limitations of absolute sovereignty will they be able to deal with the volatile actions of the nations in the world arena.

A common security requires machinery. It requires new rules of the game. It requires new conditionings, new habits, new outlooks, new prospects, new allegiances. The new allegiances need not eliminate the old. They need only take into account the oldest fact in the world; namely, that man has the obligation to create a sane society for himself and to safeguard the essential conditions of his well-being.

For the individual who wants to know how he can personally serve such an abstract idea, the answer need not be vague. He can give it centrality in his own life; he can invest it with his active concerns; he can use the gift of communication to put the idea before others; he can find aspects of it that can come alive in his own experience. The question for the individual or the group is not whether we can achieve such goals. The question is whether we want to achieve them. We can have what we want.

Prime Minister's House

New Delhi

February 9, 1960

Dear Mr. Thomas,

Thank you for your letter of February 5. I am strongly in favor of universal and controlled disarmament and, in particular, stoppage of nuclear tests. This question has become an urgent one for all of us and I am glad, therefore, that special attention is being drawn to it. I send you my good wishes for your meeting.

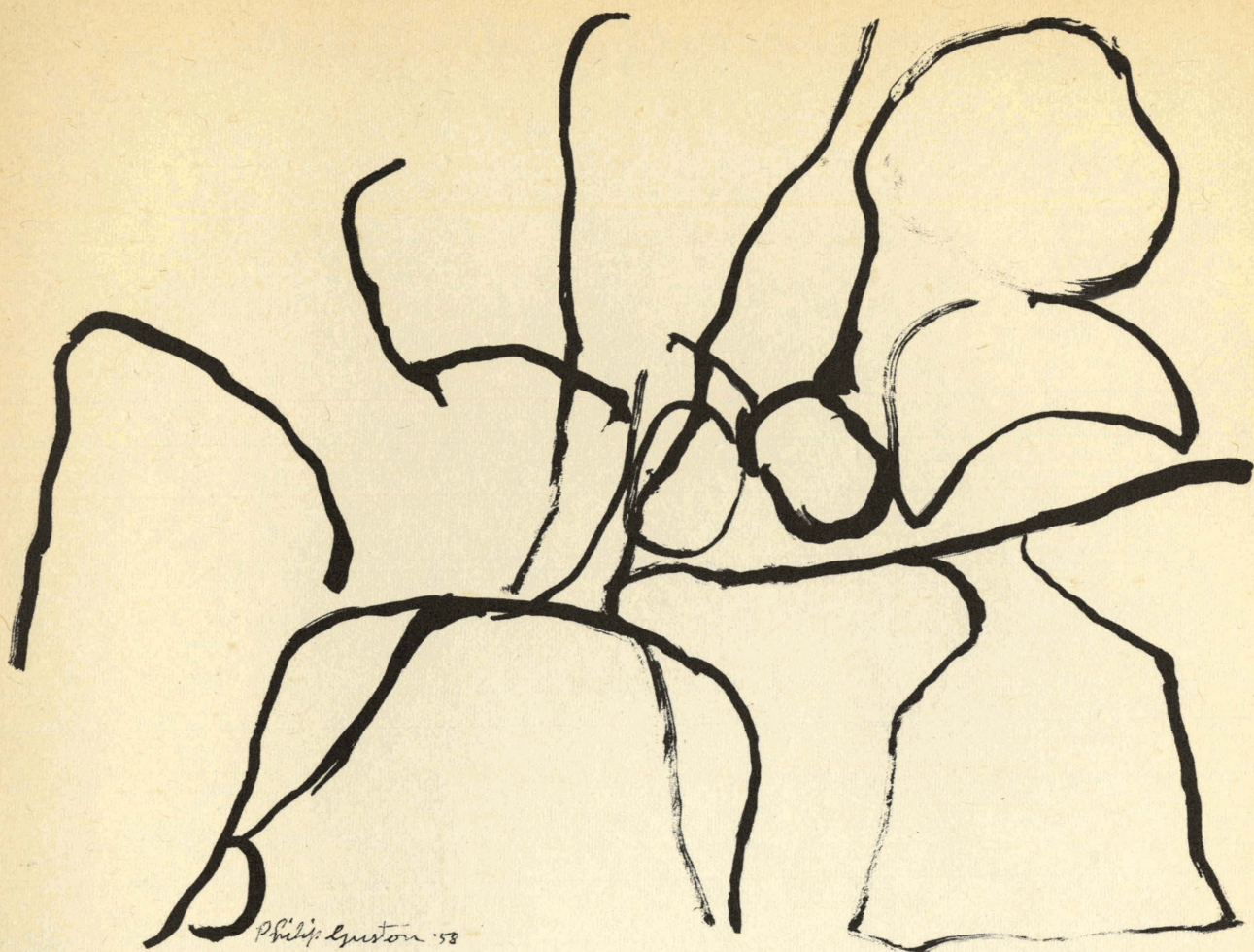
Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

*Mr. Norman Thomas,
112 East 19th Street,
New York 3, N. Y.*



FRANZ KLINE



Philip Guston '53

NORMAN THOMAS

Editorial Advisor for the Journal

In my more optimistic moments I hope that the great rally for which this program is being prepared can celebrate a definite agreement of the three nuclear powers on ending nuclear tests and definite progress of the ten-nation conference toward universal disarmament down to a police level under an international authority. (You who read will know what I cannot as I write.) If words mean anything, Eisenhower, Macmillan and Khrushchev are so nearly in agreement on the end of all tests above ground under a system of reasonable inspection, a moratorium on underground tests, and a concentrated effort for more efficient facilities of detection during the period of the moratorium, that failure to consummate it will be an inexcusable crime against humanity. The government or governments responsible should be pilloried by the conscience of the nations. The risks are as nothing compared to the certainty that if the tests are not stopped, nation after nation, following France's example, will join the nuclear suicide club thereby adding to the danger of radioactive fallout and multiplying many times over the likelihood of catastrophic war by accident or design.

For the first time both West and East are also, as I write, discussing concrete stages in disarmament according to plan at the ten-nation committee conference at Geneva. It is the business of meetings like this rally in the Garden to let the rulers of the world know that they will not allow the world's one best hope to die.

That universal disarmament is the world's one great hope is pretty well admitted even in the highest quarters. The deliberate effort here in the United States to persuade us that nations mad enough to go to 'limited war' will be sane enough never to use any of the most deadly weapons, nuclear, chemical, or bacteriological, or that we can stand nuclear war because there will be some survivors and 'the human fertility rate is high' has not been very successful. The experts tell us that more than six million would perish in the

Why Disarm?

New York area in *one* relatively moderate attack. Most of us know that those on the outer edges who might emerge from Gov. Rockefeller's beloved blockhouses would come into so horrible, so contaminated, so anarchic a world that they would envy the dead.

Why then, the extraordinary need of an aroused and informed popular pressure for effective disarmament? Usually the answer is a simple 'we can't trust Russia.' The history of Soviet-Communist doctrine and practice in pursuit of a Communist goal that sanctifies every seemingly useful immorality justifies suspicion. But Stalin is dead; the Russian people earnestly want peace; they and their dictatorial government know that there will be no victor in new world war; they hope to win by other means than wholesale violence. What advocates of universal, controlled disarmament are asking is simply action based on the conviction that we all want to go on living and will accept the necessary arrangements to that end. We have come already to a point when it is less Communism *per se* that is to be feared as a cause of world war than the religions of different and competing sovereign national states, each of them saying to its people, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me; thou shalt not take my name in vain; thou shalt not kill except at my command and then wholesale and indiscriminately.'

We recognize with our minds how utterly war has been changed and how impossible its use if our race or its civilization is to survive. But so much is war part of our tradition and culture, so essential has it been as the only arbiter of disputes in a world without law, that we would find it hard to renounce even if Stalin's ambitions and suspicions had not precipitated, in the hour of Allied victory, a new conflict, the cold war, and the arms race. Some such conflict would have emerged anyhow in a world in which the struggle for profit and power is keen and the gap between rich nation and poor so enormous.

Once the arms race, now costing the nations, rich and poor, approximately \$100 billion annually, was started, it created and maintained in the United States tremendous vested interests in its continuance. The officers of the military establishment, directors of great corporations, workers, yes, and scientists, find in it power, profit, prestige, jobs, opportunities for research. Instinctively, if not consciously, most of them must rationalize self-interest, and at best render a lip service to disarmament, demanding impossible and unnecessary conditions for accepting it. Of this we must be forewarned.

In my own advocacy of universal disarmament down to a police level for maintaining order in nations and between nations, I have always insisted that it must be accompanied by a strengthening of the United Nations so that it can provide alternatives to war. The UN must be inclusive; Red China cannot indefinitely be kept out. Peace never came to the wild West by a mass-throwing down of private arms. The life line to peace must then be braided of four strands: disarmament, strengthening of the UN, disengagement from perilous commitments to war, and a holy and cooperative use of our scientific and technological power for the destruction, not of life, but of the bitter poverty in which two-thirds of our fellow human beings exist. But now it is our immediate and especial duty and opportunity to press forward for the end of nuclear tests and a beginning of disarmament. Balance of terror will not long be a shield of deterrence.

It is a very pleasant duty to send an address of welcome to the meeting in Madison Square Garden in support of progress towards universal controlled disarmament. I hope the meeting will be as great a success as the importance of the cause deserves. The cause is one which concerns, not only this or that nation or group of nations, but all mankind, for all alike are threatened by the disastrous ingenuity generated by the ancient passions of hate and fear rendered more terrible than of old by scientific discoveries of our time. War is an ancient institution which has existed for at least 6000 years. It was always wicked and usually foolish, but in the past the human race managed to live with it. Modern ingenuity has changed this. Either Man will abolish war, or war will abolish Man. For the present, it is nuclear weapons that cause the gravest danger, but bacteriological or chemical weapons may, before long, offer an even greater threat.

If we had secured the abolition of nuclear weapons, our work would not be done. It will never be done until we have secured the abolition of war. To secure this, we need to persuade mankind to look upon international questions in a new way, not as contests of force, in which the victory goes to the side which is most skilful in massacre, but by arbitration in accordance with agreed principles of law. It is not easy to change age-long habits, but this is what must be attempted.

The movement of world opinion during the past few years has been very largely such as we can welcome. It has become a commonplace that nuclear war is to be avoided. Even the most bellicose now repudiate emphatically the policy of 'brinkmanship' which, a little while ago, was widely regarded as the acme of statesmanship. There have been marked and very welcome changes in the policies among the Great Powers. Very intractable problems remain in the international sphere, but the spirit in which they are being approached is a better one than it

was some years ago. It has begun to be thought, even by the powerful men who decide whether we shall live or die, that negotiations ought to reach agreements even if the agreements that can be reached are not wholly satisfactory to either side. It has begun to be understood that the important conflict now-a-days is not between East and West, but between Man and the H-bomb. The human race is faced with a peril of its own creating, a peril which is getting out of hand and is in danger of growing in a quasi independent manner which no one had intended, but which, as yet, no Government has had the wisdom to prevent. A lamentable example of this tendency is the French test explosion in the Sahara which, it is to be feared, will soon be followed by German nuclear weapons and, at no distant date, by an even more formidable armament in China. All such steps increase the peril of utter disaster. Unless some drastic change in policy takes place fairly soon, the march towards race suicide will continue with a blind momentum. If this prospect stood alone, the outlook would be dark indeed. Only a world-wide movement of public opinion can reverse the trend. With every day the danger grows more obvious, but as it grows more obvious, those who favour disarmament find a continually diminishing hostility on the part of several important Governments. There are notable peace movements in almost all civilised countries. Their power, if they can co-operate, may before long become irresistible.

I think that the advocates of peace should emphasize, not only the unspeakable disasters to which existing policies must lead, but also, and just as much, the new world of unexampled happiness which is opened to us if we can forget our quarrels. Man has risen slowly from a rare and hunted species, constantly threatened by wild beasts who were his superiors in strength, periodically decimated by disastrous famines, haunted by terrors growing out of the spectacle of the

apparently hostile world of nature. Man has risen gradually to a mastery over external dangers, but he has not risen to mastery over the internal dangers caused by his own passions of hate and envy and pride. The time has come when he must master these internal perils or recognize that he is himself a more dangerous wild beast than the lion or the tiger. It is unbearable to think that all the immense progress since the days of primitive man may be thrown away because we cannot acquire that last step in mastery which is the mastery over our own atavistic passions. We have the power, if we choose, to create a world quite immeasurably superior to anything that our planet has hitherto known. We have, also, the capacity, if we choose, to put an end to human and animal life. If we are to choose the better alternative, it will be necessary to discard old habits of thought and feeling, and to realize that, in our closely integrated world, our prosperity is bound up with that of others and cannot be promoted by disaster to others. To bring about such a change of mental habits is not easy and cannot be achieved in a day or a year. But it is this change, difficult as it may be to bring about, which is the aim of those who wish Man to survive. It is a great and beneficent undertaking, and one which well deserves all the patience that it needs. It would be irrational, in such an undertaking, to expect immediate or rapid success. But, for my part, I think what has been achieved in the way of change of outlook is much more than I should have expected. The task is one to which we can, and must, all contribute. Only by generating an overwhelming public opinion can we secure victory. But in moments of discouragement, we are apt to forget that public opinion is not a vague, amorphous, external Something, but is the opinion of people like you and me. Each one of us is a unit in the making of public opinion, and each one of us can hope to win other units to our side. Human volitions have caused our troubles,

and human volitions can cure them. The hope, if we succeed, is glorious. And if we can make this felt, we shall succeed.



Paolozzi
Eduardo 1958

Eduardo Paolozzi 1954 (collage)



These words come from Australia; to your parents and mine a country far away from New York in terms of miles, but now a distance measured in only minutes of ballistic missile flight. In an immediate sense, all men have become next-door neighbors in time as well as space. With one hop of a kangaroo, mankind has leaped from the Wells Fargo coach and the Colt revolver to rocket propulsion and nuclear warhead. We have 'arrived' in a technical future for which, socially, we are almost totally unprepared. In other words, men are in a scientific tomorrow, whilst national groups carry around lethal stone-age clubs and some of the emotional responses which made mere survival in the jungle possible.

Around the globe we hear a babel of different tongues and find bitter clashes of ideology, racial and religious conflicts, self-interest, poverty, over-population, others' propaganda and the feedback of our own. . . . The irony is that though we now have the know-how to tackle and to solve these problems and challenges, will we give ourselves the time? Or will some accident, some miscalculation, some minor act of aggression on the periphery bring the cobalt bombs and the final fall-out blanket down upon our heads?

There have been endless 'chicken and egg' debates as to whether disarmament should precede political settlement, or political settlement disarmament. There has been talk of whether disarmament should be approached partially and in steps, or on a total and simultaneous basis. So far, plan has followed plan into the wastepaper basket with the monotonous regularity of cards dealt from a pack. In the meantime, the images of further nations joining the nuclear club emerge more clearly through the mist of tomorrow. To date, the emphasis has been on tackling the problems associated with eliminating or controlling atomic and conventional weapons. Bacteriological and chemical weapons may present even greater

complexities in regard to detection, inspection and control in the near future.

In every sense, time is the essence of survival for mankind: time to educate; to underline our common destiny or our common fate; and time for second thoughts. How long these days for second thoughts—enough to mobilize our armies? Days? Weeks? Now, second thoughts must be sandwiched between an interpretation of images on a radar screen and the countdown on a launching pad or the arrival of a strategic airforce beyond the point of no return. In Australia, in the older sense we are remote, but we are keenly conscious of the trip-wire tension which exists in military terms between yourselves and the Russians. And we are not unaware that although we might be overlooked in an initial full-scale nuclear exchange, the later consequences we could not escape.

Yet, there is some light . . . and this comes from the temporary cessation of nuclear tests (the recent French one apart). Let us pursue this avenue for all our worth, not only because there has already been restraint and a measure of success in this field—and success can lead to success—but because bomb tests lend themselves to detection: detection with the least possible infringement of national sovereignty. The cessation of these tests seems to be the point of entry to controlled disarmament, if it is to be achieved in our time. If it is not to be achieved in our time, it seems less likely to be achieved at all.

We suffer from a crisis of want of confidence, of faith in each other. Only the mention of a few recent events such as Pearl Harbor, Korea, Hungary and Suez is needed to make the reason plain. Yet, trust has to be put on trial somewhere. For although some types of weapons could be banned or put in mothballs temporarily, and this would be the vital start, trust and common sense must grow with the restraint if really meaningful relationships between peoples are to

be realized. Let the trial of trust be:

—on the part of the nuclear powers, the indefinite termination of bomb tests, save with UN sanction and for peaceful purposes—and without waiting for the seal of final agreement on check arrangements for underground or high-level tests;

—on the part of non-nuclear powers, the taking of a pledge to refrain from the manufacture or explosion of bombs, again for an indefinite period. Once a start has been made, of course, we cannot let the matter rest. Efforts to extend the areas of agreement must be redoubled and all channels of communication and contact between peoples extended and opened in degrees and manners not now seriously contemplated. In this context I would in particular mean the extension of channels of communication and contacts with the Chinese people. It is in this field that both the American and Australian policies are backward. We can afford to lose no opportunities of emphasizing the over-all identity of human interests. No people should be treated as untouchables in whatever light one may regard their leaders' intentions or behaviour.

But I would not wish to overemphasize the long term. Frankly, the immediate issue lies between yourselves and the Russians; it does not take two to make an accident. There are times, I'm sure, when many prayers are offered for calm nerves at Strategic Air Command Headquarters and at Russian Cosmodromes. To minimise the possibility of accidents or fatal misunderstandings, why not establish a Combined Russian/American Communications Centre, linked with the two High Commands, through which queries or doubts in the other's mind, arising from images on radar screens or the like, could be immediately checked? It is accidents and misunderstandings we're most frightened of: it would be unbelievably heartening to find the Big Two combining for peace.

If the price of liberty is eternal vigilance,

the price of peace is unceasing effort. Like liberty, peace is a positive state to be eternally discovered and attained.

15th March, 1960

JULIUS K. NYERERE

*President, Tanganyika African National Union
(TANU)*

*President, Tanganyika Elected Members'
Organization*

Disarmament Conferences are headlined almost daily in the World Press. And daily, also, we read of the 'experimental' explosion of hydrogen bombs by this or that Power in the mad race to claim the ultimate and unanswerable means of annihilating Humanity.

We in Africa can do little to stop this lunatic competition. One may protest, but a madman does not listen to protests—nor to reason.

But we can make a contribution to World Peace—and a major contribution. We ourselves can refuse to arm. At present Africa is virtually unarmed. Are we to join the 'civilised' Powers in their crazy stampede towards destruction? And then call a Disarmament Conference when our people begin to question the direction in which we are leading them? No country on the African Continent today could defend itself against attack from any of those major Powers. Even if we were to ignore the needs of our people—their need for bread, for education, for medicine—and to spend every penny we could squeeze from them on arms, what could we do? The richest of our countries perhaps could build a small army and equip it with the outdated surplus weapons of the West or of the East; or could boast a 'fleet' of three or four dilapidated destroyers.

Obviously our tiny armies could not be justified as 'protection' against possible aggression by a foreign Power. There could be no other answer than ridiculous pride—or that we were arming ourselves against our fellow African states.

All over the African Continent there is a strong sentiment of Unity. It is a sentiment bred in us by the centuries of suffering we have shared, and by the pride we share today in our common struggle against injustice. That sentiment would be endangered if our countries began to arm themselves. Neighbouring states would begin to look at each

other with alarm, and to spend more on 'defensive' measures. The present fragmentation of the Continent would become a permanent feature and we could just as well stop talking about the possibility of a future United States of Africa. Above all our precious sense of Oneness would disappear in the fog of suspicion which has destroyed so many civilizations of the past.

Africa's greatest contribution to the progress of the Human Race is likely to be a moral one. Tomorrow Africa can wield a maximum influence in the councils of the World; but only an *unarmed* Africa can retain the moral strength and unity which will secure and justify that influence.

H. L. KEENLEYSIDE

Chairman, British Columbia Power Commission
Chairman, National Committee for the Control
of Radiation Hazards

Now that military weapons have become so destructive that no sane person can contemplate their use it would seem to be only elementary common sense to get rid of them as soon as possible. Otherwise, sooner or later, some new Hitler will rise and carry us all to the annihilation that our malevolent stupidity has so long invited.

May our meeting be influential in making it apparent to those negotiating in Geneva that we insist on an end to quibbling and progress towards effective action this year, not a generation hence.

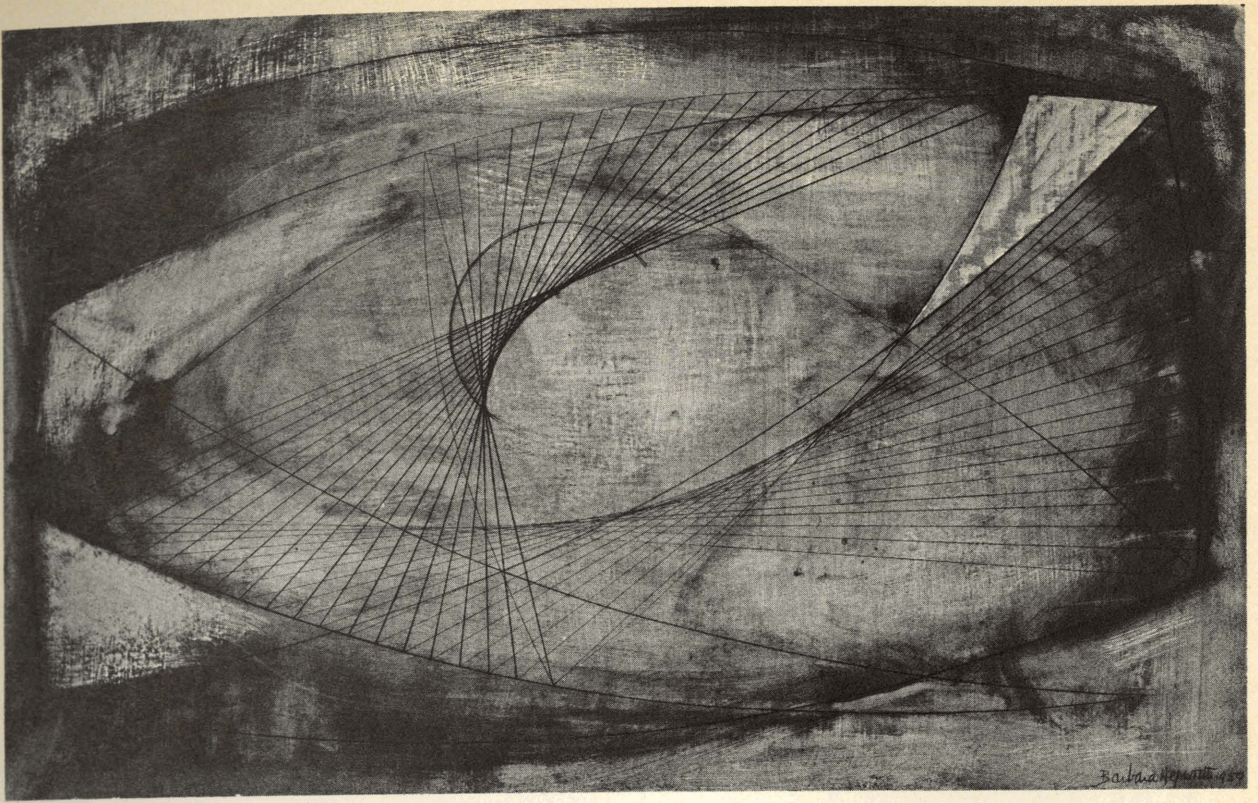
Victoria, B.C., 22 March, 1960

K. A. GBEDEMAH

President,
World Association of World Federalists

I extend warm personal greetings to the members of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, U.S.A., and to all their supporters, on the occasion of this mass demonstration against nuclear warfare. I strongly endorse any sincere effort by people in any part of the world to halt the production, storing, and testing of nuclear weapons by all nuclear powers.

We in Africa are busily engaged in our struggle for freedom and in developing our newly independent states, but we are keenly aware that our future as well as the future of all the peoples of the world will depend to a terrifying extent upon determined efforts now to achieve the total abolition of all means for carrying on nuclear warfare. This is one of the principal reasons why Ghana has maintained and will continue to maintain a strong opposition to the testing of atomic bombs by the French Government in the Sahara. We do not want in Africa an extension of the insane race for supremacy in nuclear might. After hundreds of years of exploitation, we demand the opportunity, not for revenge, but to develop our countries in a peaceful world. Nuclear warfare is one of the so-called blessings of civilization that we can do without, and we hope, for the sake of humanity, that the nuclear club will abandon its apparent role of a blind and fearful Sampson bent upon destroying the world.



BARBARA HEPWORTH



Adja Yunkers
1959

Dear Mr. Norman Thomas,

Your letter of February 5th reached me during a time when great fatigue and much work made it impossible for me to answer. My life is unfortunately not an easy one; it sometimes exceeds my strength. I therefore have to ask those who have dealings with me to be lenient.

Much as I would wish to, I shall unfortunately not be able to attend your great meeting on May 19th. I would have been glad to send you a statement for the pamphlet but I was unable to prepare one by April 1st, which I regret. How glad I would have been to send you a text appropriate to the times! If you wish to use a paragraph from my publications, please do so. You need not ask anybody's permission; I always retain all rights to anything I write. I believe that everything must be done to arouse a public opinion which will demand the abolition of nuclear tests and nuclear weapons. The politicians have lost a great deal of time by not deciding to act. Things which are difficult today because so much has happened were still relatively simple in 1957. . . . But we must not be discouraged. You are right to call people again to thought and action through your meeting. In England, as in Germany, much is also being done in that direction.

Cordially yours,

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

If there were to be a great nuclear war in the world, hundreds of millions of people would be killed—possibly everybody in the United States and everybody in the U.S.S.R. and other parts of Europe, and a large fraction of the people elsewhere in the world. In addition, the pool of human germ plasm of the survivors would be damaged in such a way that the human race itself would be endangered.

Most of the people who would be killed in a great nuclear war would die as the result of damage from radioactive fallout, rather than from blast or fire or immediate radiation effects. All of the damage done to the pool of human germ plasm would be caused by high-energy radiation.

In analyses that have been made of hypothetical nuclear wars by the scientists of the Rand Corporation and other investigators it has always been assumed that a nuclear attack on the United States would involve hundreds or thousands of five-megaton, ten-megaton, and twenty-megaton bombs. I have estimated that the United States has a stockpile of 100,000 nuclear weapons at the present time, and that the U.S.S.R. has perhaps 50,000. No authority in the Department of Defense or the A.E.C. who has been questioned by representatives of the press about my estimate has denied its accuracy. It is certain that many thousands of these bombs are small ones, capable of destroying a small city only, such as Hiroshima or Nagasaki, but we have no reason to doubt that many thousands of them, in both the U.S. stockpile and the U.S.S.R. stockpile, are the tremendous superbombs, in the megaton range.

If there were to be a nuclear war, hundreds or thousands of these great bombs would be exploded over cities and military installations in the United States and the U.S.S.R., and also in the British Isles and other countries in which there are H-bomb bases. When a 20-megaton bomb explodes over a city, the city is smashed flat over an area of about 400 square miles. Nearly everyone in this area

would be killed at once by the blast, fire, and immediate radiation effects. Even the people in deep shelters would be smothered as the oxygen would be consumed by the great fire storms that would rage for hours or days. It is likely that most of the people in the fifty largest cities would be killed at once in such an attack.

Major damage to human beings would also be done over areas of about 10,000 square miles surrounding the site of the explosion of each great bomb. The local fallout would subject the people in these areas to heavy radiation exposure; for unprotected people the exposure during the first day would be on the average twenty times that necessary to cause death in a few days by acute radiation sickness. The area of the United States is three million square miles. Accordingly, the local fallout from 300 20-megaton bombs might well be expected to cause most Americans to die within a few days. We can understand why the estimates of casualties from a large nuclear war are of the order of 95 percent of the American population.

Governor Rockefeller has urged that there be constructed in Albany, N.Y., a system of shelters to be occupied by 640 key employees of the State of New York, including himself, at a cost of over four million dollars, about \$6,000 per person. Shelters of this sort might permit a fraction of the population to survive. Such a system of shelters for the whole country would cost altogether over one hundred billion dollars.

In my opinion the policy of preparing by great expenditures to achieve the survival of ten or twenty percent of the American people, and, if possible, to achieve the complete destruction of the Russian people, is not only immoral but also irrational. The rational procedure to follow is that of achieving the survival of all of the American people and all of the people of Russia, Great Britain, France, and other countries in the world. It can be achieved by making international agreements to eliminate war from

the world. The first of these agreements, to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons, must be followed by other agreements leading to general disarmament—all with satisfactory international control and inspection. At the same time, the system of international law must be developed in such a way that disputes between nations can be solved with justice to all the nations and all the people of the world.

The significance of radioactive fallout was first called to our attention by its production in the testing of nuclear weapons. The nuclear bombs that have been exploded so far in the course of bomb tests have amounted to 180 megatons. A large part of the radioactive fission products produced in these tests has fallen into the Pacific Ocean and has been dispersed in the ocean waters. About 25 percent has been released into the atmosphere, from which it continues slowly to fall to earth. The part that enters the lower part of the atmosphere (the troposphere) is brought to earth within a few weeks by falling rain; it is called the tropospheric fallout. Some of the radioactive fission products, with short lives, have already in large part decomposed before reaching the surface of the earth. Radioactive iodine-131, which causes cancer of the thyroid, is still in large part active, however. It has been estimated by Dr. E. B. Lewis, Professor of Biology at the California Institute of Technology, that several thousand children may have been caused to die or may be caused to die of cancer of the thyroid by the iodine-131 from the bomb tests that have been carried out.

The principal radioactive fission products in the worldwide fallout, both tropospheric and stratospheric, are cesium-137 and strontium-90. There is general agreement among geneticists that the irradiation of the reproductive organs of human beings by these radioactive fission products, especially the gamma rays of cesium-137, is causing an increase in the number of gene mutations and a consequent

increase in the number of defective children born in the world. The estimates made by different geneticists vary somewhat. I have made a study of these estimates and have concluded that it is likely that 140,000 children have been or will be caused to be born with gross physical or mental defects as a result of gene mutations caused by the radioactive fission products from the bomb tests carried out so far. In addition, many hundreds of thousands or millions of children will be born with minor genetic defects caused by these fission products. Professor James F. Crow, a leading American geneticist, has stated that the minor defects may well cause more suffering to human beings than the major ones, because the minor defective genes may be passed on from parents to children for many generations, causing some degree of suffering to many people.

A striking substantiation of the genetic effects of even small amounts of radioactive materials has been obtained by Dr. John T. Gentry, of the New York State Department of Public Health, and his collaborators, Miss Parkhurst and Mr. Bulin. They have found that the incidence of congenital malformations in infants is about 20 percent greater in those parts of New York State with larger amounts of natural radioactivity than in those regions with a smaller amount of radioactivity. Their results suggest that the genetic effects of fallout radioactivity as quoted above are underestimated rather than overestimated.

Moreover, there is another sort of radioactive substance produced by the explosion of nuclear weapons. This is carbon-14, which is not a fission product but is a radioactive form of carbon made from nitrogen of the air by reaction with the neutrons produced in the atomic bomb explosion. The amount of carbon-14 in the atmosphere has increased by 15 percent in the last seven years as the result of the bomb tests. The genetic damage done by the carbon-14 produced by the bomb tests is estimated to be about ten times

greater than that caused by the fission products, but it is spread over a much longer period of time—scores of generations, rather than a few generations.

The radioactive fission products and carbon-14 are believed also to be causing people to die of leukemia and bone cancer and other kinds of cancer. It is likely that as a result of the bomb tests about as many people are being caused to die of cancer as the number of defective children that are caused to be born.

There has been much talk about 'clean' bombs. A 'clean' bomb is one that involves only a small amount of nuclear fission, with the major part of the explosive energy coming from nuclear fusion. It is interesting that a fusion causes the production of far greater numbers of neutrons than fission, and that the 'clean' bombs produce in their explosion much more carbon-14 than the 'dirty' bombs. So far as genetic and somatic damage from bomb tests go, the 'clean' bombs, producing more carbon-14, are more damaging to the human race than the 'dirty' bombs, in the long run. However, the 'clean' bombs do not produce much local radioactive fallout. They accordingly have a great disadvantage from the military point of view—the damage done by a 20-megaton 'clean' bomb is restricted to the area of the blast and fire, about 400 square miles, instead of extending over 10,000 square miles. It is no doubt for this reason that the United States and the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain do not manufacture 'clean' bombs, but only 'dirty' bombs, although they know how to make the 'clean' bombs.

In the past, wars have been fought that have led to the deaths of millions of human beings and have caused a great amount of human suffering. The human race itself, however, has not been threatened with extinction. Now, because of radioactive fallout and carbon-14, a great war fought with nuclear weapons might well lead to the extinction of the human race. A great war might mean the end of civilization.

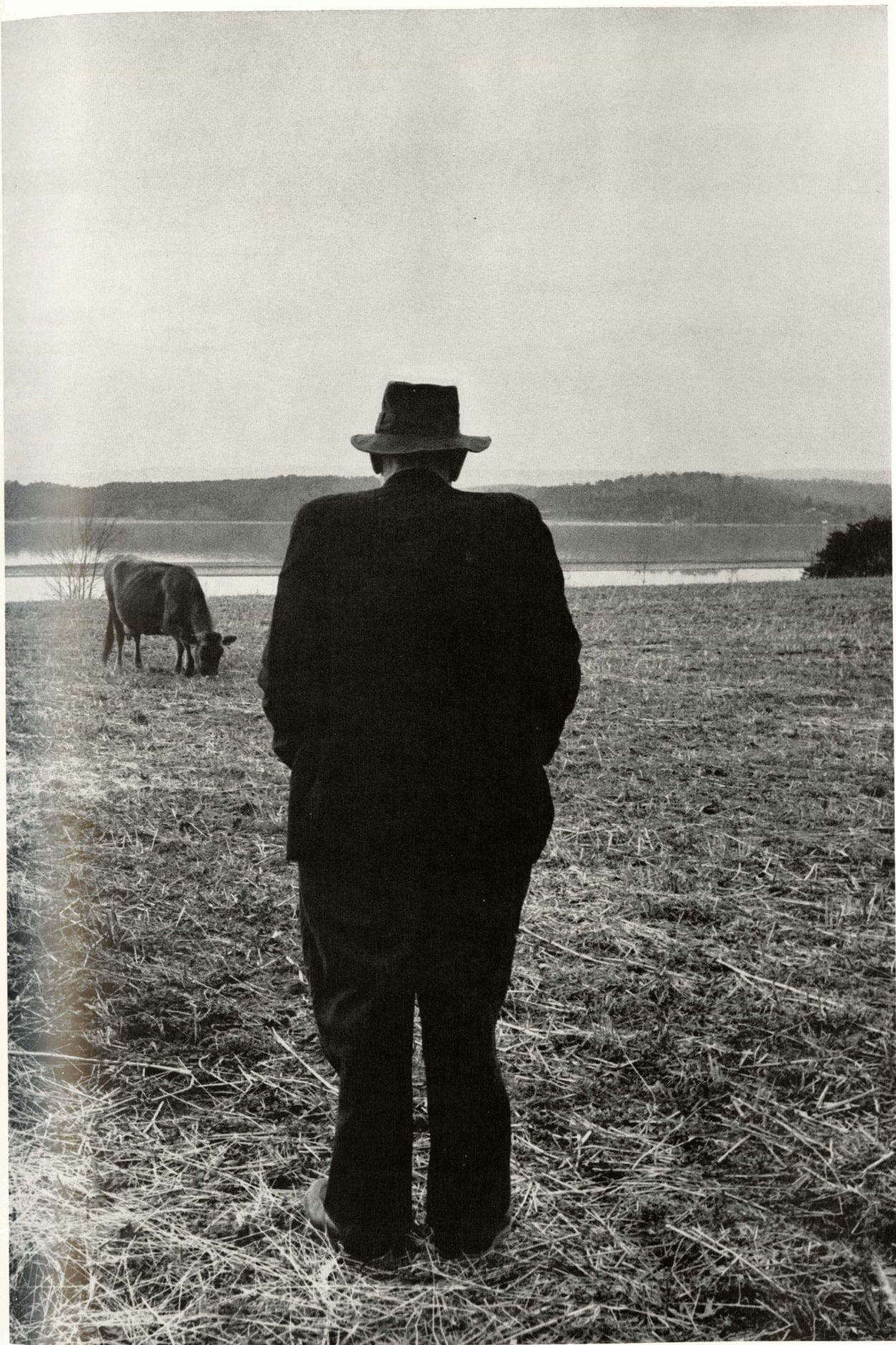
The time has now come for war itself to be

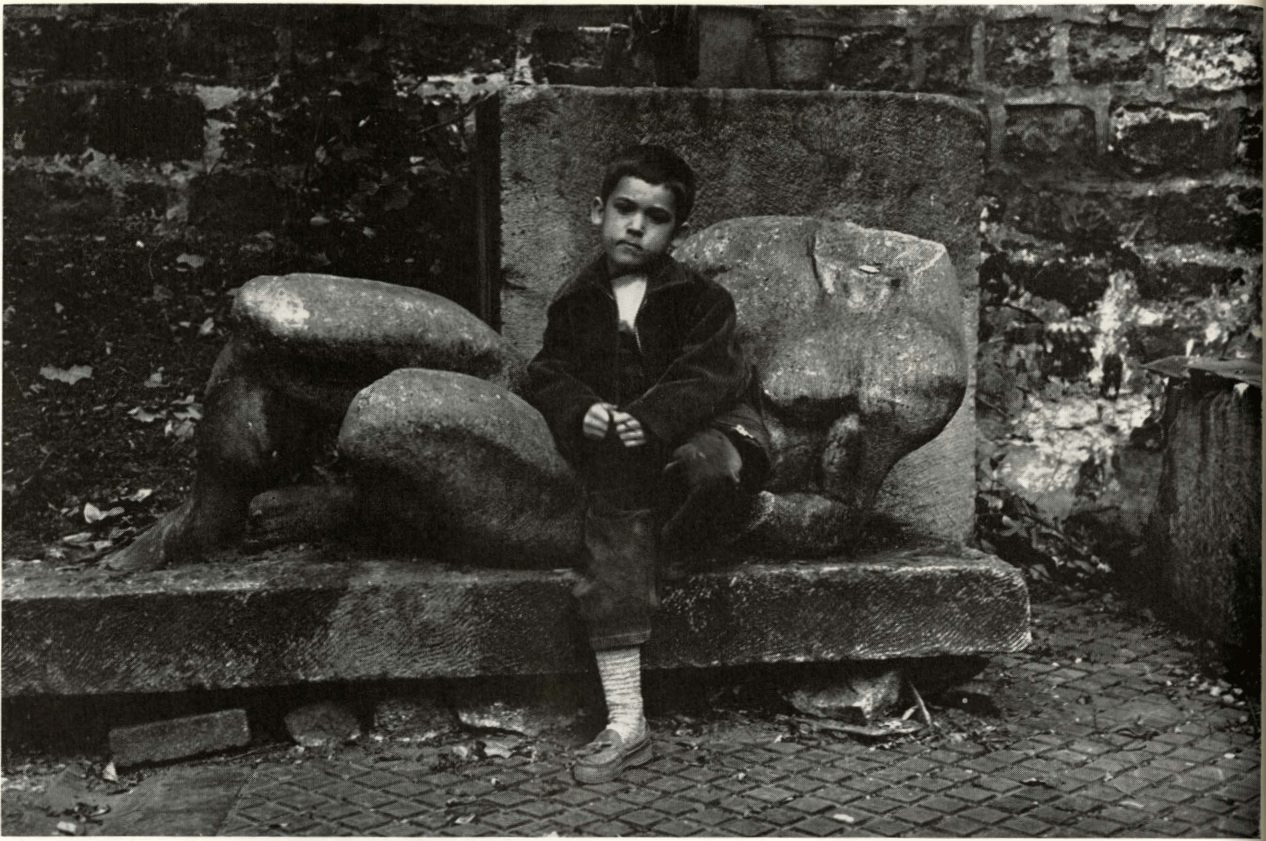
eliminated from the world. The existence of the great superbombs, which cause not only blast and fire but also high-energy radiation, necessitates that the people and nations of the whole world now unite in the peaceful solution of world problems.

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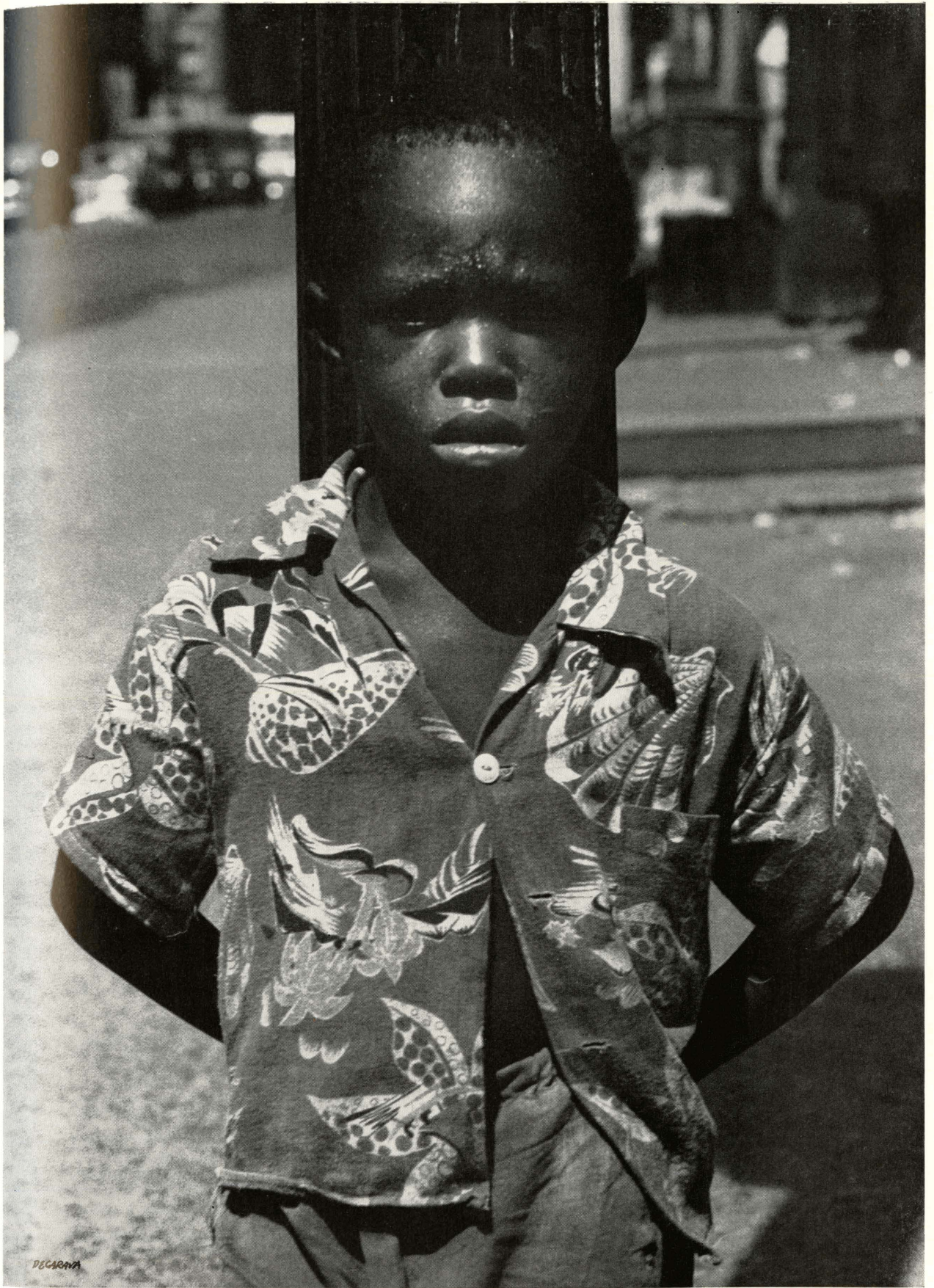




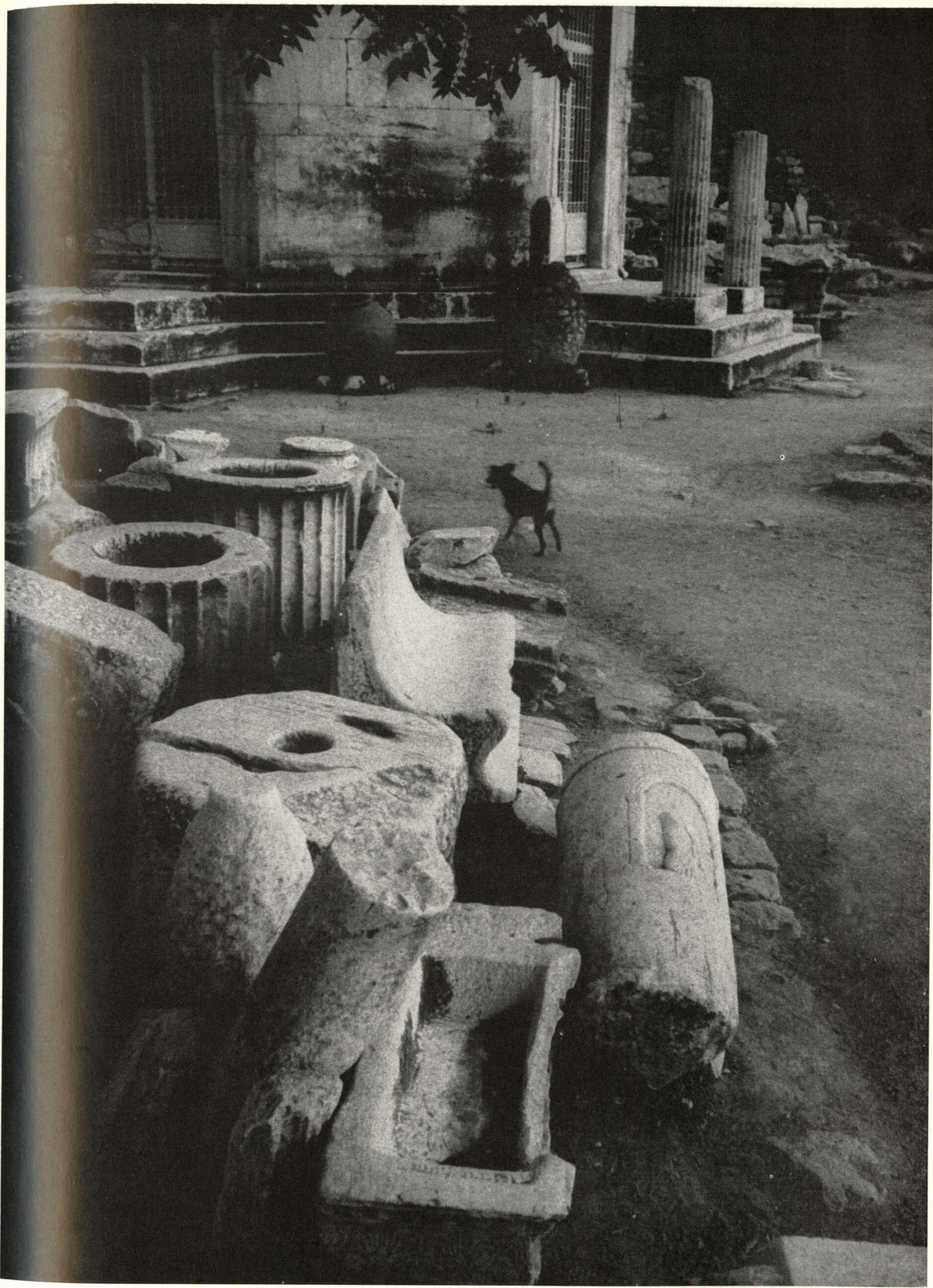








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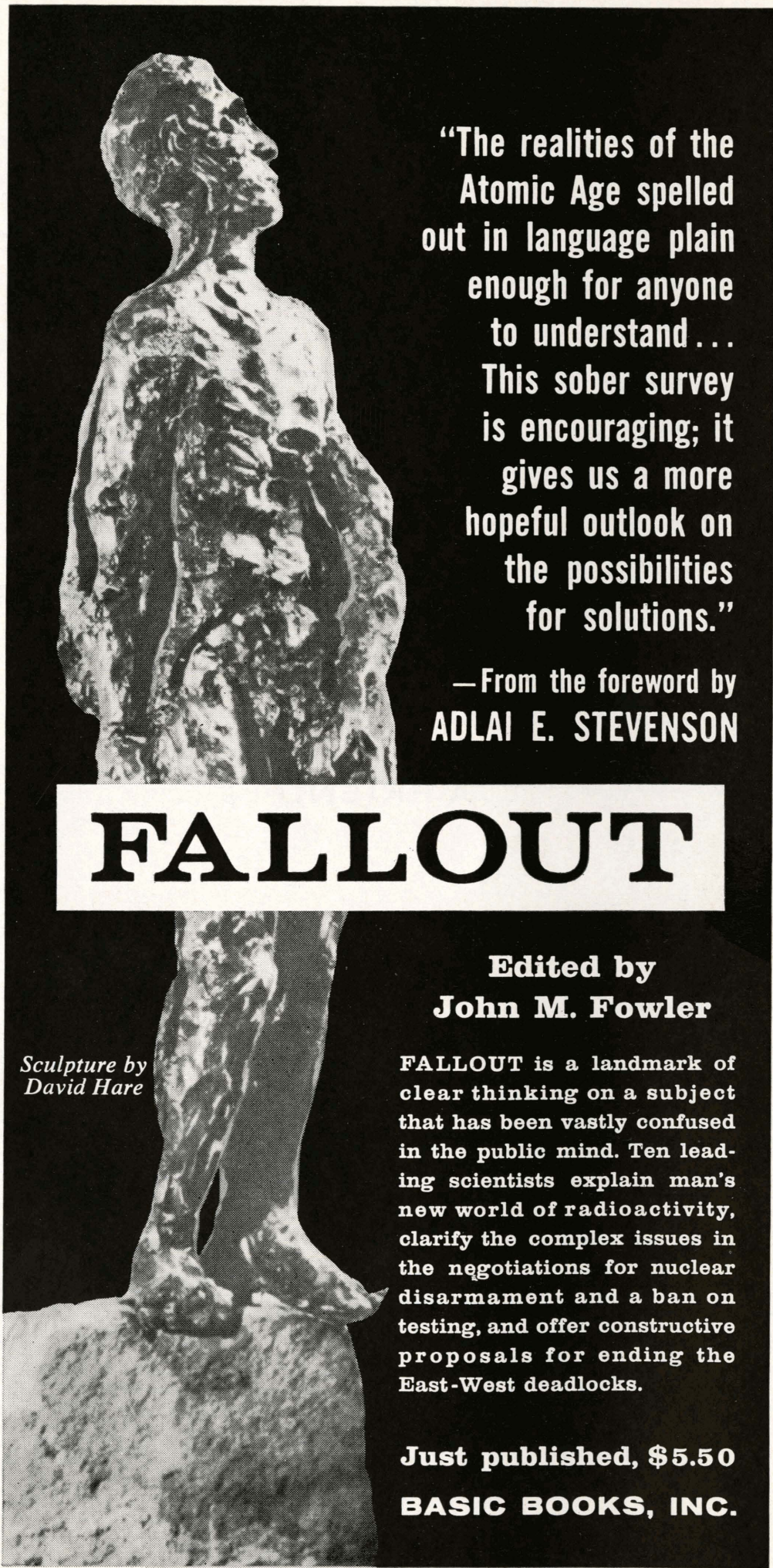
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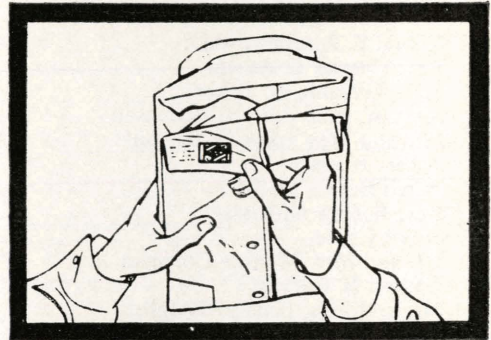
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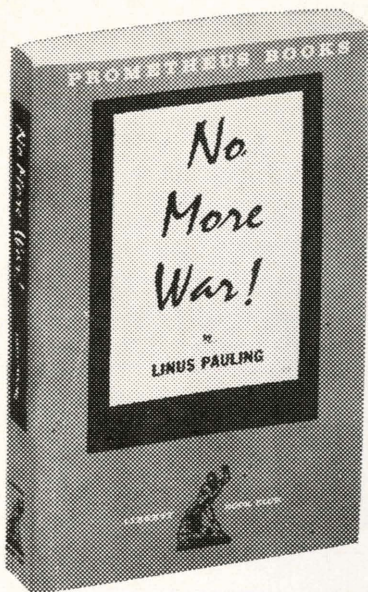
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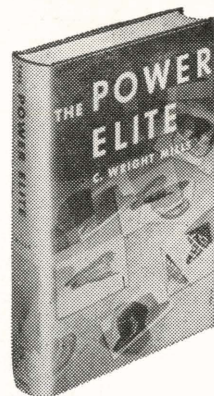
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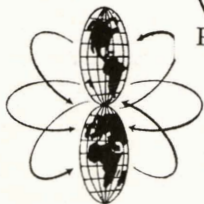
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100 Tablets (33-day supply) for \$2

300 Tablets for \$5

Name

Address

City Zone State

I enclose cash, check, money order.
Send postpaid.

Send C.O.D. I will pay postman plus postal charges.

TOWARD

A

SANE

NUCLEAR

POLICY

van Chermayeff