

... Designed to Create Pessimistic Headlines and Pressure for Testing

which wants to resume testing and is not at all anxious to prove detection feasible. The Joint Committee is supposed to be a watchdog; a vigorous committee would have explored all these possibilities and called in witnesses from the private laboratories working on these new clues to detection.

Holifield's Vague Invitation

Mr. Price and the committee's executive director, James T. Ramey, tried to explore the subject in depth but the rest of the Committee was uninterested in anything but evidence to support its pro-testing preconceptions. Dr. Latter admitted that the subject "involves a great number of conjectural matters," that he was a pessimist and that "you will find scientists who are perhaps more optimistic" but the Committee made no effort to find them. Holifield stated that "if there is any body of opinion that is founded on reputable scientists that needs to be expressed before this committee we would like to have it." This vague invitation, of which few scientists will be aware until they see the printed record months from now, serves only to give the Chairman an excuse later to say, "Well, we invited opposing points of view to express themselves. . . ."

Even among the witnesses employed by Project VELA, however, it was apparent that there were sharp differences which a vigilant committee would have developed. There was testimony which cast doubt on Dr. Latter's easy calculations about "big holes" and his facile Buck Rogers theories about putting lead shields around atomic explosions millions of miles out in space. One witness, for example, pointed out that such shielding, even if possible,

Far-Sighted Legislators

Although disarmament at the moment looks further away than ever, our far-sighted legislators are already thinking ahead to what we do when we get a disarmament agreement—and it breaks down. This prescience appeared in the debate over the proposed dual purpose Hanford, Wash., atomic reactor which could produce power as well as plutonium. Its Democratic proponents (Holifield in the House; Pastore and Jackson in the Senate; all three hostile to disarmament) argued (in the words of Jackson) "Now imagine that the Communist rule decided to break such an arms agreement? If they did a dual-purpose NPR could easily, cheaply and quickly be put back to work producing plutonium for weapons." The Republicans, fearful as ever of public power, prefer to build a plant which could make only plutonium. They lost the fight in the Senate but won it in the House and the matter is now in conference.

would shut off only x-rays but not three other methods of detecting shots in space: magnetic effects, direct radio frequency signals and direct optical signals. There were also interesting glimpses in the testimony of other methods for improving detection in outer space and underground: a radio frequency pulse signal which would only be improved by attempts at shielding; the discovery that after shocks can be used to distinguish explosions and earthquakes; the still to be fully explored possibilities of large arrays of seismic detectors and of detectors in deep wells. All these were hastily passed over by the committee, as if fearful it might accidentally stumble on grounds for hope.

On the Eve of New Holifield Hearings, The Case Against Civil Defense

Too late for coverage in this issue, the Holifield subcommittee of House Government Operations was opening hearings on civil defense as we went to press. The advance list of witnesses indicated that this was to be another stacked performance. As antidote we give here the gist of a statement made by the Eugene, Oregon, Peace Information Center before the Oregon State Legislature on the State Civil Defense Budget last Feb. 8:

"Studies carried out by Hugh Everett III and George E. Pugh for the Institute for Defense Analysis and presented as testimony [actually it appears only in the Appendix—IFS] before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy in June of 1959, show clearly how meaningless current civil defense efforts are.

"Let us first look at the limitations in their figures. They have assumed that the weapons delivery error would be 100 miles. They have only considered deaths due to fallout and occurring up to 60 days after the attack. Nevertheless, in the graph which represents an attack proportional to population density, the total casualties in the untrained population with emergency instructions to remain under shelter after attack range from 60% in an attack with 2,000 megatons to 98% in an attack with 20,000 megatons. The total casualties in a trained population with six months in which to build shelters range from 38% to 89% for the same yield of weapons.

"Hanson Baldwin, military affairs editor for the New York Times, indicates 'studies show that if about 30% of the population of any country is killed, wounded or put out of action, that country will no longer function as a rational and coherent social organization.' Let us em-

phasize that in the smallest all-out conflict of thermonuclear weapons referred to above, even with a well-trained and sheltered civilian population, 38% of our nation (68,000,000 Americans) would become casualties from fallout alone, within 60 days—enough to render our society inoperable. . . . More effective programs could be considered. A civil defense program that could possibly protect a majority of our population against present weapons would involve permanent underground bomb shelters for our population, for manufacturing facilities, for water supplies, for food . . . it would involve permanently living underground since ballistic missile systems, when in full operation, will only provide about 15 minutes warning of attack. . . .

"Even if we were willing to accept such a grotesque way of life, we would nevertheless urge the rejection of civil defense programs of any magnitude because . . .

"We believe that civil defense is in itself an aggressive act. . . . Gen. Carl Spaatz, retired Air Force Chief of Staff . . . says: 'It will be particularly important for us to know from now on whether the Soviet Union is building civilian shelters for its own people. This can be one of the most significant indicators of its intentions, if and when it gets ready to launch a surprise attack.' If we are to assume that civil defense preparations in Russia are an indication of hostile intent, how do we expect Russia to view such preparations on our part?

"Second, we believe that civil defense negotiations will make us tend to rely on war rather than negotiation. . . . The false sense of security derived from civil defense will tend to make us 'quicker on the trigger'. . . ."

The Danger Point Lies in the Awakening Colonial World

(Continued from Page One)

to the most dangerous self-delusions in the draft program, "The world capitalist system as a whole is ripe for the social revolution of the proletariat." Why, then, are the Communist parties losing ground in every Western country, even in Italy, the most backward? To say that world capitalism is ripe for revolution is to risk being doped by one's own opium. A revolutionary situation has a fairly precise meaning in the Marxist-Leninist lexicon; this is certainly not it. To say so is to create an unreal world, as unreal as our picture of the Soviet Union as a slave state.

One Lovely Sentence

But we must in all empathy give Khrushchov the same allowance we do Kennedy; political leadership must find common denominators for action, and these are necessarily low and involve the soothing repetition of the familiar. One paragraph and one sentence ring out eloquently from this morass of dull verbiage; the first, disavowing war but setting example as the road to world communism, we quote in the box on page one. The other is this, and it speaks more truly perhaps than the drafters themselves realized: "A mighty unifying thunderstorm marking the springtime of mankind is raging over the earth." This is beautiful and hopeful. The truth is that if peace can be preserved we shall move into an era when the two systems will become more unifyingly alike. This draft program promises much in the future which the welfare state has already given workers in the West. On the other hand capitalism has been much modified from what it was in 1848; Marx and Engels, in espousing the progressive income tax then, would never have dared believe that capitalist states would ever tax capitalists at the high rates to which they have grown accustomed. The past 100 years have been marked by the steady erosion of property rights everywhere, the steady increase in the power of the State over the economy, the successful insistence of the poor everywhere that the rich be taxed for their benefit. Socialization advances on seven league boots under every form of society. In this perspective the human family can grow together.

To this end, Khrushchov is making his contribution. Along with the stale shibboleths in this draft program are fresh departures: on the possibility of using democratic means

Still the Heavy Hand

In civil liberty and the arts, the new draft program offers little. It says nothing at all about greater legal guarantees of the person against the police. In discussing freedom of speech and press it departs in no way from the Stalin period insistence that black is white. The party bureaucracy dare not admit that these rights are still real in the West and exist only on paper in the East. As for the arts, the draft program clings to "socialist realism." Socialist realism is Sinclair Lewis's George F. Babbitt's idea of "wholesome," "constructive" and "real" art. The bureaucracy's ideal in this respect is the same Philistine ideal as that of the bourgeoisie. Both share the same distaste for modern art and for critical literature and are wholly unable to understand the creative agonies.

"even before capitalism is overthrown (to) compel the bourgeoisie to carry out measures that transcend ordinary reforms"; on achieving socialism peacefully by "paying off" the property owners; by appealing for the widest kind of front for peace including "that section of the bourgeoisie" which sees that thermonuclear war "would not spare the ruling classes of capitalist society either" (though still a little vague on the fact that neither would it spare communist leadership). Mr. K cannot bring himself to say openly that given peace the West will become more socialized and the Communist East more liberalized, but this is his direction and this way lies peace.

The danger lies in the colonial world. While the Soviet Union lines up in favoring "wars of liberation" by the colonial peoples, we are beginning dangerously to emphasize the supply of arms to shaky colonial regimes against "subversion." That way lies our appearance on the side of the counter-revolution. This would be fatal to us and to peace. The wise course is cooperation between East and West in colonial development on a planned basis through international organizations. Communist experts and big business men already find themselves working side by side in developing such areas as Guinea. All the new countries want aid from both sides. To regularize this, to substitute friendly cooperation for hostile competition, is a first necessity for peaceful relations and human survival.

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