

## Another Air Force "Gap" This Time on Shelters?—Time to Slap Down Nkrumah

### Gen. Walker: Thinks Dixiecrat Calvary Can Make Him A Man on Horseback

The Walker resignation will prove a minor league re-play of the Truman-McArthur controversy, and end the same way—in another defeat for a conceited military man. Walker has McArthur's arrogance without his ability; his prose is as purple but makes less sense; the release of his resignation through South Carolina Strom Thurmond's office showed a lack of any feel for political realities. It's hard enough to sell this country a man on horseback; it's impossible if he is to be a Dixiecrat cavalryman. We predict that Gen. Walker's crusade will be rich in the same kind of silly pratfalls as have marked the public appearance of that other doddering Patrick Henry, Robert Welch of the Birch Society ("just a Ku Klux outfit without the nightshirts" Harry Truman called it on a visit here last week). . . .

Isn't it time for friends of the new Africa, white and black, to form an organization free from any taint of colonialism to keep an eye on and protest such gross infringements of civil liberties as are occurring in Ghana? Nkrumah first picked up the worst habits of British colonialism with a preventive detention act under which he can jail opponents for five years without trial. He has now established a special court which can hand down death sentences for political offenses without jury trial or right of appeal. This measure was enacted in the wake of a strike by railway workers against a wage cut. One can imagine the outcry if such laws were imposed by an imperialistic power. Like Nkrumah's sickening personality cult, they disgrace the cause of African freedom. . . .

One of those Air Force financed researchers at Rand Corporation, Dr. Leon Goure, is about to bring out a book (already hailed by *Life* Nov. 27) in which he claims that Russia has bomb shelters for at least half its people. But Preston

#### Bowles Replies to Birchwaterism

"Some frustrated citizens seem to be saying that communism arises from socialism, which in turn stems from liberalism, which in turn emerges from the democratic ideas written into our Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson. This notion will not hold water.

"Can they name a single nation which had achieved a reasonable measure of economic well-being and social justice that has been overturned by the Communists?

"With the exception of those nations where the Soviet Army has imposed Soviet regimes, communism has moved toward power only in societies which were reactionary and oppressive . . . where people were illiterate and hungry, and where they had abandoned all hope that their problems could be solved by any other alternative.

"The only realistic answer to the Communist challenge is more democracy and progressivism, not less, not only here in America but elsewhere in the world."

—Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles to the 10th anniversary, Adult Education Conferences of the U.S., Washington, D.C., Nov. 5.

Grover, chief of the AP's Moscow bureau reported (*Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 2), "This correspondent has made a sustained but unsuccessful hunt to find either a bomb shelter or anybody who has seen one in the Soviet Union." When the Air Force wanted more money for bombers, it leaked stories about a "bomber gap". When it wanted more money for missiles, it leaked stories about a "missile gap" which seem to have been equally exaggerated. Now the Air Force wants to sell the idea that there is a "shelter gap". . . .

### A Sample of the Rightist War Hysteria Cropping Up With Civil Defense

"The current world situation compels a frank appraisal of Civilian Defense as an instrument for saving lives and as a means of maintaining strong civilian morale upon which to build positive national action. Both objectives are imperative to survival of our way of life in the face of the demonstrated and continuing Communist aggression which today continues to advance through both military and subversive channels.

"There no longer can be doubt in anyone's mind that Russian and Chinese Communist aggression is both virulent and brutally planned. This disease must be wiped from the face of the earth. The psychopathic, forced withdrawal of a great people behind an iron curtain at the will and compulsion of a relatively small group of organized, insane, power-hungry bandits cannot be allowed to continue. A showdown must eventually come, or freedom shall be no man's privilege.

"Whether or not the iron curtain can be breached without the brute force of arms, the world cannot longer continue with any degree of sanity or security while faced with the continued pressure and threat of Communist enslavement. Where does the United States of America stand in this situation? It stands where you, the individual citizen, stands—and "stand" each citizen MUST. Now is the time for commitment. There can be no further delay.

"At present, the Civilian Defense Organization is the most obvious and most opportune instrument for recording each individual's committed stand on the question of ap-

peasement or resistance to active, Party-Line Communism. It is highly important that each citizen participate actively in the Civilian Defense Organization, now. Every loyal, true American should stand at the side of his neighbor wearing an army band of the Civilian Defense Corps, pledged to support and to uphold the Constitution and the principles upon which our defense rests. There can be no equivocation. Either you belong now—committed to your nation's defense—or you do not belong, and so stand 'uncommitted.' Today, no commitment in this matter is an open invitation to party-line Communist penetration.

"Civilian Defense is an adjunct to Military Defense in any military action, but it is more than that before the world today. It is the strongest evidence of a defensive attitude—not an aggressive one; but one which also demonstrates a solidarity and preparedness for action, should action be necessary. This is a highly important position in the world today and forces the Communist into the open for all to see—an exposure which can destroy his life.

"In Nutley, during Civilian Defense Week, opportunity will be given to each person as a citizen to join the Nutley Civilian Defense Organization and thereby to commit himself or herself to defense of the American Way of Life—the way of freedom and liberty."

—From 4-page pamphlet issued by Nutley, N.J., Civil Defense Organization, complete with registration form and loyalty oath swearing non-membership in any organization advocating overthrow of the government.

## Twin Parleys on Germany Proposed—One Of Its Smaller East West Neighbors

## Mansfield: "Stand Firm", Repeated Like A Litany, Won't Solve Berlin Problem

*We'd like to launch an experiment with our readers. One thing they can do for peace is to let their representatives know someone is listening. On this page we present excerpts from a speech made in Richmond, Va., Nov. 3 by Democratic leader Mansfield of Montana, another in the series with which he has been trying to thaw out dangerously frozen American positions on Berlin and Germany. These have made him unpopular in Bonn and brought him criticism at home from rightists and the simple-minded. If you like what he had to say, will you write and tell him so? Even Senators need encouragement. And send us a postcard to say you've written so we can judge the response.—IFS*

"Berlin is more than a question of an East-West clash over a city, a wall, an escape, a place to test wills. In a far more significant sense it is a symbol of the failure of total victory in World War II to produce the conditions of total peace in Europe. It is also a symbol of a Germany divided against itself. The larger division of Germany is, in itself, a symbol of a divided Europe. All of these divisions, from that of a city to that of a continent intermesh one with another on gears of fear. There are German fears of the East. There are Polish, Czech and other fears of Germany. There are NATO fears of the Warsaw Pact forces and similar fears in reverse. There are capitalist fears of communism and communist fears of capitalism and socialist fears of both. There is freedom's antipathy to totalitarianism and the totalitarian hatred of freedom.

"All these and other difficulties converge at Berlin in a direct and hostile confrontation of military forces. It is no answer to these deeper difficulties to repeat the phrase 'standing firm' as though it were some litany which would exorcise them. Nor is it an answer to them to build a wall as the Communists have done. . . .

## Events Erode The Ground Beneath Us

"It seems to me that there is a responsibility on the part of rational men and women to think beyond 'standing firm' and dividing walls, visible or invisible. Of course, we must stand firm when we are challenged but we must not stand, struck dumb, as events erode the very ground on which we are standing. There is a responsibility to do more than to stand firm. . . .

"The responsibility is not ours alone. It is a shared responsibility but it is a vital responsibility for us no less than others. As it is discharged and only as it is discharged in all earnestness in contact and in negotiation, by all the parties concerned can we hope for a lifting of the cloud of incipient destruction which hovers over Europe and spreads throughout the world.

"In this connection, may I say that there is just as much danger of error in the assumption of too great a responsibility

## The Seal and the Salmon But Not Man

"So far only four nations have tested in the atmosphere. But there are at least a dozen other nations and eventually there will be more, each of which might follow the same course if they are so inclined. Whether they do so now or next year or years hence, it must be clear where the course of an indiscriminate national testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere on the basis of the claim of self-defense must eventually lead. At the very least, it must lead, as it is already leading, to a world which is increasingly inhospitable to human life and this, without war in any formal sense. It must lead to a world in which acts of serious scientific aggression are indulged in the name of self-defense. By treaty, nations have protected the whale from indiscriminate destruction, the seal, the salmon and other animals and fish. Yet, in this instance, nations have not been able to protect men, women and children from the wanton depredation of nuclear testing in the atmosphere."

—Sen. Mansfield (D. Mont) at Richmond, Va., Nov. 3

by either the U.S. or the Soviet Union as there is in the assumption of too little. . . . The fate of a divided Germany is not ours alone to decide. It rests in heavy measure, a decade and a half after the war, with the German people in both spheres and on the two governments which represent or purport to represent them. Nor is the fate of all Europe the primary responsibility of this country and the Soviet Union which are, in reality, nations on its fringes.

"I would suggest, therefore, that there may be room here for two simultaneous conferences of exploration, separate but interrelated, in some such city as Vienna or Geneva. There is room for a conference of the foreign ministers of the U.S., France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union on the Berlin situation and other vestigial problems of World War II and the occupation. And there is room for a conference of the nations of Europe on both sides of the divided continent, of the nations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in which they might make their sentiments known on the security and other problems of a divided continent—problems in which their stake is at least as great as is ours or Russia's.

"And I may add that I cannot see that it matters very much who takes the first step toward such conferences. What is far more important is the courage, wisdom, restraint and patience with which they are approached. . . . At the very least we shall be able to bring into the consideration of the critical problems of peace in Europe the thoughts and ideas of those important nations of Europe which have been shunted aside in the present concern of the larger powers with firm stands and excluding walls."

## Let's Leave "A Richer Heritage Than A Landscape of Fallout Shelters"

"A nuclear conflict may be unthinkable but it is becoming more and more apparent that it is not impossible. Since that is the case, the people of the nation are wise to consider its implications. . . . I would certainly not wish to discourage sober efforts in the field of civil defense by communities of individuals. Nevertheless, it seems to be essential that we guard against stimulating a national hysteria by commercial exploitation of this legitimate na-

tional concern. . . . We must avoid developing a national obsession with burrowing in the ground, and, in the process, exclude what may be more fruitful ways of dealing with international difficulties. . . . A cover of earth overhead may preserve the strain of human life but it will scarcely preserve a way of life. . . . We owe coming generations a richer heritage than a landscape of fallout shelters."

—Sen. Mansfield (D. Mont) in Richmond, Va., Nov. 3