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Allied Countries May Soon Be Able to Welcome U. S. Vice Presidents With Real Bang

How They'll Greet A Richard Nixon in 1970

Ten years from now it looks as if protesting crowds will be able to greet an American vice-president with a shower of small atomic weapons, about the size of a softball or grapefruit. We, in turn, will be able to drop nuclear armed Marines on the offending spot within the hour and wipe it out in strictly limited war. This should add to the fraternal love among nations.

Small atomic weapons are expensive for small countries, but we are planning to remedy that. Of the places in which anti-American riots have occurred—France, Venezuela, Peru and Lebanon—all are allied or so-to-speak friendly countries. All will be eligible, should pending legislation be adopted, to obtain from us military reactors with which they can produce the stuff for bombs. They will also be able to get non-nuclear parts of nuclear weapons on which they can practice until they achieve that "substantial capability" which will in turn qualify them for restricted data showing them how to make atomic weapons. They will then be ready, in greeting a Richard Nixon, really to punctuate their displeasure over a rise in our tariff on Peruvian zinc or a reduction in our import quota for Venezuelan oil.

How Color Lines May Be Obliterated

Hopeful Thought-of-the-Week

The President seems to have angered Negro leaders at their meeting here with his plea for patience. Typical of the protests this aroused was Thurgood Marshall's remark, "I'm the world's original gradualist. I just think 90-odd years is gradual enough." Negro anger, though understandable, may be too hasty. Mr. Eisenhower, as the commander-in-chief, has access to much information which cannot be made public. He may have a reason for counselling patience. It may be that secret studies have shown that the next war will end discrimination based on color. There is reason to believe all survivors will be the same shade of radioactive green.

When that happy time comes, revolting French paratroopers in Algiers will also be able—with a few "softballs" well-placed on the native quarters—to wipe out that Arab majority they fear. This will further endear white supremacy to Africa and Asia. It may not be a more stable planet by 1970, but it looks as if there will be fewer dull days.

Nothing Upsets the State Department So Much As Concessions from The Kremlin

The Very Latest Treachery of Nikita Krushchev

At the risk of not being invited to Secretary Dulles' next private dinner, we're going to tell the plain truth about the State Department's reaction to Krushchev's latest. Mr. Dulles' astringent remark at National Airport to correspondents—"We don't get optimistic quickly about these matters"—is only half the story. It is not just that the Department (after insisting for 24 hours that there was "nothing new" in the Krushchev note) is more cautious than the White House. The Department regards the new Russian offer as a most unsanitary maneuver, or dirty trick. Mr. Dulles had convinced the leading writers on the easily convinced *New York Times* that he was the flexible one; he had persuaded the NATO Council in Copenhagen to put the wraps on summit talk; he had come back triumphant to resume (in speeches in New Hampshire, West Berlin and Minneapolis) his old brink-of-Armageddon script, with himself as the fifth horseman of the Apocalypse. The NATO Council had "expressed the hope" in its final communique that the Russians by agreeing "in spite of repeated Soviet refusal, to inaugurate expert technical discussions . . . on measures necessary, for example . . . to detect nuclear explosions might go far towards demon-

strating the possibility of agreement on disarmament." But no one at Copenhagen dreamt that Krushchev, as if from ambush, would leap up treacherously and agree. It just shows how dangerous it is to say *anything* to the Russians.

Technical discussions are necessary. They can also be an easy means of delay; there's never a hair so fine, it can't be split. If some people here had their way, technical talks would be dragged out until we had two atom bombs in every garage. There are also people here who believe that Mr. Dulles, bowing to possible White House readiness to negotiate a cessation of tests separately, might try to block agreement by raising the ante on inspection to the point where the Russians balk. Stassen spoke of a dozen listening posts across the U. S. S. R. There are now suggestions for as many as a hundred. If Mr. Dulles had his way he'd probably insist on a radar tower behind every hen-house in the Ukraine. Without public pressure and some time limit on technical talks, they can go on forever. We will try to show on the next page that there is little we do not already know about Russian testing, and that not much technical discussion is required if both sides want an agreement.

Detection Difficulties Highly Exaggerated; White House and AEC Secretive

Evidence Indicates We Can Monitor Most Soviet Tests From Afar

At least three different technical studies are already available to the Administration (though not yet to the American public) on detection of tests.

Stassen had a task force which studied the problem, but the report has been withheld on the ground that it was made for the private use of the President. A second report has been prepared by Dr. Hans Bethe, but this is also being kept under wraps. Dr. Bethe is for a separate agreement on testing, and believes it can effectively be inspected.

The fact that Dr. Bethe is chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Nuclear Test Cessation (set up by the President's Science Advisory Committee—the so-called Killian committee) was even censored out of the transcript of Dr. Bethe's appearance before the Humphrey subcommittee. But censorship was violated by the *New York Herald-Tribune* the morning after this highly censored testimony was released on May 7. The fact that the Bethe group report has been completed was disclosed by Secretary Dulles several weeks ago but this has not been acknowledged by the White House, which fears pressure for publication.

Stockpiles Monitored, Too

A third continuous highly secret study has been underway for more than a decade by an Air Force group (AFOAT-1) of which there are glimpses in the Oppenheimer hearings. Dr. Ellis Johnson, its first technical director, told a House civil defense subcommittee hearing May 5 it was established "to monitor the atomic tests and the atomic stockpile." This presumably is the source of the secret information often hinted at which gives us estimates of Soviet stockpiles.

The Bethe testimony, though highly censored, indicates that special techniques developed by our government makes it possible for us to monitor Soviet testing with assurance from outside the U. S. S. R. Doubt may arise only with unusually small tests underground (Admiral Strauss and Dr. Teller refuse to say in public session just how small these would have to be) and possibly with tests in the stratosphere. Both stratospheric and underground tests are of limited military value; both could be monitored by a chain of stations in the U. S. S. R. Underwater tests, according to Dr. Bethe, are among those most easily detected.

The whole problem of detecting underground tests has

Humphrey Statement Prodding Ike

"The United States should immediately act on the apparent willingness of the Soviet Union to set up a joint study of the inspection system necessary to suspend nuclear weapons tests. The President must also make the decision to break up our disarmament package and offer to negotiate separately on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests."

"... it is unfortunate that the first reaction to it (the new Soviet offer) does not come from the President or the Secretary of State, but from the Presidential press secretary, James Hagerty. It is also unfortunate that Mr. Hagerty's statement is so hedged. Mr. Hagerty stated: 'It is to be noted that the Soviet Union's acceptance of this position relates only to discussion of the single issue of nuclear test suspension and not to the more important elements of disarmament which the General Assembly has en-

Clean Bomb for Anti-Missiles?

The AEC has fostered the idea that the main reason for continued testing is the need to develop a clean bomb as warhead for use in an anti-missile missile, lest it spray our own territory with radioactivity. But the real facts were indicated when Congressman Porter fresh from Eniwetok told the House May 7, "An Air Force Major General told me there was no need for a clean anti-missile missile because no immediate fallout resulted from an air burst of our stockpile weapons."

This was the point of that test in Nevada last year when Air Force officers were shown standing unscathed directly beneath the point where an air to air missile had been exploded. This was an air burst shot so high up that no fallout was created under it. When an atomic weapon is detonated so high up that the fireball does not touch the earth, it does not suck up debris and coat this with radioactive particles, thus creating the "fallout."

To render an incoming ICBM harmless it would have to be hit by the anti-missile 10 miles or more up before it could reenter the earth's atmosphere above the target area. That high up there is little dust or other particles to be rendered radioactive by the explosion.

been exaggerated in the public mind by AEC secretiveness. This has yet to be fully breached. Even the little information so far extracted has dealt only with detection by standard seismographs made to detect earthquakes. Just what can be done by equipment specially designed to detect nuclear explosions has been kept classified.

Example: standard earthquake detection equipment operates on a frequency of one to ten cycles per second. Three Ann Arbor scientists disclosed at the American Geophysical Union meeting here that by using frequencies up to 100 cycles they got an unusually sharp record of the Nevada underground tests 1700 miles away last September. When this correspondent asked them whether this was reported to the AEC, they said their records were furnished the AEC last Fall. These results were also kept secret by the AEC. We also do not know whether the AEC or the Air Force have tried special equipment for underground detection.

It may be significant that neither Admiral Strauss nor Dr. Teller have ever said flatly that tests can be held in secret.

on Tests Ignored by Most Papers

dored.' Since the President had received Mr. Krushchev's letter two days before the Soviet Union made it public, I fail to understand why the U. S. reaction to it could not be forthright, positive and a clear indication that here is an occasion where the Kremlin is appearing to agree to one of our proposals. . . .

"I suggest that the President appoint a group of prominent authorities on the question, scientists such as Dr. Hans Bethe. . . . In addition to U. S. and Soviet technicians, it might be desirable to include technicians from other countries. . . . This group should meet under the auspices of the United Nations with a member of the Secretary General's staff acting as chairman or rapporteur . . . to pave the way for a multilateral agreement on the suspension of tests. . . ."

—Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, May 13.

Can Peaceful Co-Existence in the H-Bomb Age Be Combined with Class War Tactics?

Why the Renewed Moscow-Tito Battle Is Crucial for World Peace

Questions of fundamental importance to the struggle for world peace are involved in the new attack by Moscow on Tito.

1. Can the Communist movement pursue its traditional revolutionary policy in the H-bomb era when war may bring the end of the human race?

2. Doesn't the policy of peaceful co-existence entail a search for peaceful roads to socialism, lest an upsurge of violence within a key country endanger good relations between the Communist and non-Communist worlds?

"Capitalists" Are Human Too

3. From this point of view the policy of "different roads to socialism" espoused by the Yugoslav Communists is a policy of peace whereas the contrasting policy expressed by Peking—"without proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship there can be no socialism"—is a policy of class war which must lead to increased world tension. Capitalists are not going to co-exist peacefully with people preparing to cut their throats.

4. *Pravda's* milder attack on Tito seems to be making a distinction between political and economic co-existence. It said "Two economic systems exist and will continue to exist for a long time to come. The goal now is to establish peaceful economic co-existence between them, to normalize the economic relations between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism." But the economic relations are abnormal because the political relations are bad. Peaceful economic co-existence is impossible without peaceful political co-existence. The restrictions on Soviet trade are political restrictions and their dissolution can come only by lessening political tension. Trade is a political weapon, as may be seen in Soviet-Yugoslav relations; every time they worsen, the U. S. S. R. threatens economic reprisals.

The Yugoslav Emphasis Is The More Hopeful

5. A special target of attack is the Yugoslav view that the world today displays not "two radically different world politico-economic systems" (as Peking phrases it) but a movement everywhere toward the welfare state and state control of the economy. Tito sees this as "the most tangible proof that mankind is irrepressibly and by the most diverse roads deeply entering into the epoch of socialism."

6. Granted that there are some elements of truth in both

views, the former emphasizes rigid differences and assumes inevitable hostilities while the latter focusses attention on those developments which encourage peaceful change and peaceful co-existence.

7. Peaceful co-existence must have a crucial influence within the communist countries as well as within the non-Communist. The spy-haunted Russia of Stalin's time reflected a society which felt itself besieged. The evils of that period can only be prevented from recurring in full force in a world atmosphere which would make the Communist regimes less fearful of inner debate and free discussion.

8. This brings a cry of alarm from the Chinese. Only a year or so ago they were talking of the value of letting different flowers contend. Now only one variety is to be allowed to bloom. They accuse the Yugoslavs of proposing to turn the Communist party "from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of a debating society."

Why Djilas Is In Jail

10. How can "cult of personality," bureaucratic rigidity, domination of the party by its secretariat be avoided if there is no right of debate within the party? If there are "different roads to socialism" in the sense that different countries may proceed differently, then may there not be "different roads to socialism" within countries? This is the next step which Peking fears and Tito himself will not face. This is why Djilas is in jail. Tito is prepared to champion freedom to the extent that it gives him freedom from Moscow but not to the extent of ending the "cult of personality" in Yugoslavia itself.

11. This capacity of rulers to keep their doctrines and their practice in separate compartments is almost whimsically illustrated in *Pravda's* rebuke to Tito. The very editorial which insists on Yugoslavia toeing the exact line of "Marxism-Leninism" as laid down by Moscow also says, "The Socialist countries built their mutual relations on principles of full equality . . . and non-interference in one another's internal affairs." Apparently every Communist country is free, i.e. free to follow Moscow's line. Does this return to humorless rigidity help the cause of world peace? How does *Pravda* think this will read when translated into Polish and Hungarian? The mentality disclosed in this dispute does not make negotiation easier.

The Comrades Were "Basically Correct"

"We consider as basically correct the criticism made in June, 1948, by the Information Bureau of Communist parties in its resolution 'Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia' in regard to the mistake of the Yugoslav Communist party in departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

—*Peking People's Daily* (New York Times, May 11).

"What happened to most of those who signed the first Cominform resolution, which the Chinese comrades are now rehabilitating so lightly?

"Out of 17 signatories of the resolution from Socialist countries, 12 of them have finished ingloriously or tragically. Trajko Kostov was sentenced to death. Vulko Chervenkov was removed from the post of Prime Minister and

But Are Nevertheless Basically Dead

sharply criticized. Ana Pauker was expelled from the party. Vasili Kuka was sentenced to life imprisonment. Matyas Rakosi led Hungary to the brink of ruin and now lives as an emigre away from his country. Mihaly Farkas is in prison for crimes against his fellow Communists. Erno Gero is also living as an emigre. Jakub Berman has been stigmatized in Poland for a breach of the law, for arresting and persecuting honest Communists. Georgi Maksimilianovich Malenkov has been condemned by the party for belonging to the well-known anti-party group. Gustav Bares has been removed from party functions. Rudolf Slansky was hanged. Bedzih Geminder was also hanged."

—*Kommunist (Yugoslavia)*, New York Times same date.

Now Military Science and Divine Providence Work Hand in Hand Against Atheism

Massive Retaliation May Soon Be Made Post Mortem

Mr. Dulles, fresh from his NATO Council triumph, ended his speech in Berlin May 8 on a high, if slightly suicidal, note. He said "men of faith are not prepared to succumb to a rule that is atheistic and militaristic merely in the hope of thus insuring continued existence." He will be happy to know that military science is coming to the aid of faith. Men prepared to die rather than give in to atheism may be comforted by the news that they can now practice massive retaliation while dying, and soon indeed posthumously.

The day after Mr. Dulles spoke, the House Appropriations Committee released its hearings on the 1959 Army budget. In them Major General R. J. Wood, the Army's Chief of Research and Development, disclosed the results of an Army medical research project last summer in Nevada on the medical effect of nuclear weapons. "Obviously," he explained, "we couldn't use humans for this test, so we used pigs, which the doctors say so far as their physical reactions are concerned are closest to those of human bodies." The pigs were protected from fire and blast so the Army could study the effect of fallout upon them. "Afterwards," the General related, "we treated them just like humans. . . . We gave them surgery. We took blood counts. We took specimens."

With Their Last Breath

The pigs repaid this consideration in unexpected fashion. Not only the medical observers but the combat officers learned something from the experiment. What the latter learned, according to General Wood, is that "if the enemy has some protection such as those pigs had, the radiological effects while ultimately lethal or fatal, do not take place until from two days to two weeks after the exposure. The point is," the General emphasized, "that the enemy with some protection would still man his weapons against you if you made an immediate attack even though he might be dead a few days later." Thus, though dying, the pigs, or rather the humans, may pass away euphorically, knowing that they can pull the triggers to devastate the other side before the end comes. This shows the progress continued testing makes possible.

Military science is already looking ahead to the next step,

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Who Said Mr. Dulles Was Mellowing?

"The essential is that, for this long run, the free world should stay strong and united. It must be willing to make the sacrifices needed to prevent the Soviet rulers from gaining external victories. . . . We shall need a sustained, sacrificial effort. We may have to do some of the things that we do in war—but without the killing and being killed."

—Dulles, Univ. of New Hampshire, May 2.

"... The political, economic and psychological struggle known as the 'cold war' is almost certain to continue until there is a fundamental change in long-range Soviet purposes. It seems highly unlikely that any foreseeable efforts at negotiation can eliminate this struggle. Once we fully comprehend the necessity of being prepared to live calmly in a state of tension and danger for many years to come, we will be in a much better position to do the things that are needed to carry forward our search for lasting peace and security—including the conduct of meaningful negotiations with the Soviet Union."

—Foy D. Kohler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, at the National Academy of Economics and Political Science, May 6.

which may be found discussed in the National Planning Association's new report on what will happen if we reach 1970 without arms control. "If peace is pursued through mutual deterrents," it forecasts, "it follows that the major weapons of nuclear response should be made strong enough and sure enough to operate dependably after a surprise attack. Since a surprise attack in the nuclear age may well wipe out a major part of the personnel of any defending force in a matter of minutes, the 'pushbutton for the dead man's hand' sort of device is likely to receive careful attention. Such a device could be set off by blast, heat, explosion or radiation levels." This indicates that massive retaliation may soon be put on a post mortem basis by the continued progress of military science. Even if atheistic communists wipe us all out at one fell swoop we can do the same to them though we will be already dead. The thought reinforces our faith in Providence which had been slipping lately.

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