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The New Move to Abolish the Un-American Committee

No nation speaks more than ours about freedom and cares less. The day the President delivered his State of the Union message, Congressman James Roosevelt (*D. Cal.*) called a press conference to launch a resolution to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Mr. Eisenhower in his address included one of those standard invocations of "the concepts of freedom, justice and human dignity" we claim to defend but the real measure of our devotion was in the turnout two hours earlier at the Roosevelt press conference. Though the House Committee has for two decades used the public pillory and the blacklist to undermine "freedom, justice and human dignity", only seven reporters showed up.

Back Tracking Before He Started

The low state of freedom in America was also evident in the character of its champion. In a speech to the House last May 22, Mr. Roosevelt supported the Supreme Court's critical view of the Un-American Activities Committee. In the advance text of a new speech given out at his press conference, he had begun to back-track. He was making "no direct or implied criticism" of the Committee. He was merely saying that in view of the Watkins decision undercutting the right to harass people for something as vague as "un-American activities", he thought a new committee ought to take over. He suggested House Judiciary and that its powers be expanded by adding "seditious activity" to its authority. He topped this off by pointing out that on the Judiciary Committee "we will have the experience of two present members of the Committee on Un-American Activities to guide its work—the Chairman, Mr. Walter, and Mr. Willis of Louisiana." This is high recommendation indeed.

Merely Cleaning the Dragon's Teeth

When Mr. Roosevelt delivered the speech in the House last Monday he added two new sections which further blurred his course. One defined "seditious activity." When the vagueness of the term and the danger of a "Seditious Activities Investigating Committee" were brought up at press conference, Mr. Roosevelt said he would define the phrase as did the Supreme Court in the California Smith Act cases, i.e. as requiring some evidence of incitement to act. In the speech as delivered, he made no such reference but used as definition "attempts made by meeting or speeches or by publications to disturb the tranquillity of the state", though "wanting an overt act." This is tailor-made for a continued witch hunt. *Our St. George* is telling the dragon that he merely wants to clean and sharpen its teeth.

St. George not only truckled to the dragon but cast aspersions on the virtue of the maiden to be rescued. The day

Mr. Roosevelt held his press conference, Chairman Walter rose on the House floor to attack a group including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt which had placed an ad in the *Washington Post* calling for abolition of the Committee. Mr. Walter attacked this as Communist inspired and singled out such signers as Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, Clarence Pickett, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Justine Wise Polier for a spurious political smearing. Far from defending them, Mr. Roosevelt added a section to his speech as delivered in which he said "there is no doubt in my mind" that "a fringe" of the groups working for abolition of the House Committee "have been Communist dominated or Communist inspired." He said he wanted to make it "unequivocably clear" that his resolution "has no relevance" to this abolition campaign but was "designed simply to carve out of the recent legal decisions a constitutionally permissible area for congressional investigation of seditious activity."

Waiting for the Barenblatt Decision

Chairman Walter in an unusually mild reply to Mr. Roosevelt suggested that the House wait until the Barenblatt decision which is expected any day now from the Supreme Court. The anxious strategy of the witch hunters was indicated in the reply to Mr. Roosevelt by Gordon H. Scherer, the Ohio Republican who is probably the wildest member of the House Committee. Mr. Scherer talked hysterically about "2,000 potential saboteurs in defense plants today" and paid Congressman Celler the high compliment of saying that Mr. Roosevelt's resolution would hand the Committee's work over to a Committee (Judiciary) whose chairman (Celler) was "to say the least, totally unsympathetic" with the Un-American Activities Committee. But Mr. Scherer ended by admitting that if "the gentleman from California is correct" and the Barenblatt contempt decision proves as unfavorable as *Watkins*, the House would have to "change the language of the charter" of the Un-American Committee.

Mr. Roosevelt's resolution could then be used to extend the witch hunt it was supposed to abolish. It could go on as a "Seditious Activities Investigating Committee." (Mr. Roosevelt said he was not "wedded" to the idea of giving the new powers to House Judiciary). This would be as alien to the First Amendment but it might be years before the Supreme Court got around to saying so. The only virtue of the Roosevelt resolution is that it could be the vehicle for public hearings before the Rules committee. Now that battle has been joined, though in this slippery way, it behooves everyone to bestir themselves to arouse opinion, to demand that their congressmen press for a public hearing, and to urge plainly the abolition and end of the American Inquisition.

New Revelations on The Testing Hassle: Defense Dept. Ran the Study Panel on the New Data

One Hopeful Result of New Nuclear Blasts Given No Publicity

Our report last week on the new underground test detection developments was wrong in one respect. The timing of the releases from the White House and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy misled us as to the sequence of events. The fact is that the Joint Committee planned its new executive hearings with Dr. Teller and others in December. The Killian committee issued the White House release in fear that otherwise reports of the new observations last October would leak in a more alarmist form, and be utilized by the enemies of a test cessation agreement. Unfortunately between the Nervous Nellie attitude of the Killian Committee and the blue pencils of AEC, Defense and State, the announcement was so vague that it only added to the alarm. Though the *London Times* (Jan. 7) from Geneva disclosed that a "bulky and highly technical" document embodying the new observations had been handed over to the Russians, detailed data is still being withheld here. If the Russians can see the data, why can't American scientists and newspapermen?

The New Findings

Now as for the new findings. There were, according to reliable and informed sources within the government, three—two negative but one hopeful. The hopeful development has been given no publicity. This is what it is. Those who look at the final report of the experts who conferred last summer at Geneva will see that they believed there was a "shadow zone" in a band extending from 1,000 kilometers to 2,000 kilometers from the scene in which the underground nuclear explosions could not be detected. The new tests show this is not true. This means that within this area it will be possible to detect underground blasts. The two new unfavorable observations were these. The signals registered by the two larger lasts last October were smaller than it had been assumed they would be on the basis of the first Nevada explosion in August, 1957. The other observation is that the "direction of first motion" registered by the new underground tests were associated in some cases with compression waves but in others with rarefaction waves. It had earlier been thought that the latter were only associated with earthquakes.

There were four shots last October, two of them very small. On October 8 there was a shot called "Tamalpais" which was only eight one-hundredths of a kiloton or 80 tons, as compared with the 1.7 kilotons or 1,700 tons of the first underground test, the so-called "Rainier." This tiny shot produced a "wiggle" at San Juan, Puerto Rico, but seems to have been registered by no other seismic station. On October 15 there was a 4.5 kiloton shot, "Logan" which was detected

by 37 stations on the Coast and Geodetic Survey network and as far away as College, Alaska, but was missed by three stations within 600 miles. Four other stations within 600 miles which did get it, reported rarefaction instead of compression waves.

On October 28 there was another small shot, "Evans", which was 15 one-hundredths of a kiloton or 150 tons. This was not detected anywhere except by three stations constructed within 3,000 feet of the test site area. On October 30 there was the fourth and final underground shot "Blanca" of 23 kilotons, slightly larger than the original Hiroshima bomb. This was registered by all 37 Coast and Geodetic survey stations but again the direction of first motion was associated with rarefaction waves at some stations and compression waves at others. Nine of the ten stations in the "shadow zone" registered "Logan" and all 11 of the stations in the "shadow zone" of "Blanca" registered that explosion.

What all this adds up to is that (1) if you make nuclear shots small enough you get to a point where they may not be detectable and (2) there is much that no one knows about them since there have been so few such explosions.

The enemies of agreement—which includes many if not most members of the Joint Committee—are prepared to blow all this tentative data up into a wave of alarm with which to block an agreement. It is necessary to remember that we are dealing here only with a fringe of a fringe—all atmospheric tests can be detected from a distance. So can all the larger underground tests. But in the lower range it may be difficult without on-the-spot inspection to distinguish nuclear blasts from earthquakes and in the "popgun" range like "Tamalpais" and "Evans", there may be no recourse but to let testing continue beneath a certain level.

Panel Hardly Objective

In the meantime the Killian office declined on security grounds to make public the names of the seismologists consulted and even denied the existence of a formal panel but later added some important facts. It said the panel was "run by the Defense Department" at the request of the Killian Committee and was limited to the one question of the direction of first motion. On this one point, it said there was "no significant difference of opinion."

This disclosure means (1) that the evaluation panel was picked by a department, Defense, which is opposed to cessation of testing and (2) that it was restricted to considering data on the most unfavorable of the new observations. This was hardly a formula for obtaining objective conclusions.

Britain's Present Defense Minister Also Applauded Hitler's Rearmament

"Germany's rearmament is something more than simply the fruit of cold-blooded military calculations. The rearmament is the outward sign of a strong people's inspired political enthusiasm. . . . Isn't it just too obvious, and only human, that the hum of the new German air force [so soon to 'hum' over London—IFS] — forbidden by the Peace Treaty—makes every German heart beat faster with patriotic pride?"

—Duncan Sandys, *Europaische Revue*, October 1956.

"We are glad to see the progress of the new German Army, and we welcome the accession of strength which it brings to NATO. I am glad to say that in the present dangerous situation we have Germany as our ally . . . the more efficient her army can be made the better it will be for the peace and safety of Europe."

—Duncan Sandys, now Britain's Minister of Defense in the Commons debate on foreign affairs, Dec. 1958 (quotes taken from the London Tribune, Dec. 12).

Behind That Liberal Betrayal in the Senate Was Northern White Men's Indifference

The Negro Was Sold Out for Dams, Airports and Committee Posts

The basic reason for the defeat of the anti-filibuster forces in the Senate does not lie in Lyndon Johnson's agility. It lies in the indifference of Northern and Western white men to the Negro's struggle for equality. If white men cared, Senators from the West and the new liberals from Alaska could not and would not have sold out so easily for the committee assignments and special favors Lyndon Johnson had to offer. "Every possible dam and airport appropriation for a generation," said one disgusted Senate observer, "has been mortgaged to buy votes in this fight." But just as the Southern poor white holds himself down in squalor for the pleasure of retarding the Negro, so the moral indifference of white men in North and West carries a similar retribution. For Johnson's victory marked the reconstitution of that alliance by which a minority of wealthy Southerners allied with a minority of wealthy Northerners is able to block social legislation in Congress against majority wishes. What is lost in terms of Negro rights will also be lost in terms of housing, public education, and other social welfare measures. This beginning is the end of our "liberal" Congress. Its liberalism will be largely evident only in more liberal armament expenditure.

Racism Cloaked as Constitutionalism

As the short, doomed battle unfolded, it was difficult to decide which was the more nauseating: the betrayal of liberals like Gruening and Bartlett, (Ala.), Murray and Mansfield (Mont.) McGee and O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Chavez (N.M.), Church (Idaho), Hartke (Ind.) and Cannon (Nev.) or the impassioned constitutionalism of the Southerners. No section of our country shows less respect for basic constitutional rights than the South. The only "right" about which its Russells and Thurmonds are concerned is the right to oppress Negroes. Its Eastland succeeded McCarthy as the No. 1 menace to civil liberties. Yet Northern liberals like Walter Lippman and Northern liberal papers like the *Washington Post* were able without regurgitation to join hands with them on those same lofty grounds; once they invoked the Constitution in defense of slavery, now they invoke it in defense of racism.

The change brought about by the Lyndon Johnson compromise is an optical illusion. Only two-thirds of those present will now be necessary to impose cloture. But by the same token, only one-third of those present is required to block it. Under the old rule, the South had to muster one-third the total membership, or 33 votes, to block cloture. Now it need only muster one-third of those present. If only half the Senate is present, it will only take 17 votes to block cloture and

No Settlement With Moscow in Sight

The public relations success registered by the Mikoyan visit should deceive no one as to the realities of Soviet-American relations. The new Soviet draft for a German peace treaty would forbid the Reich "any nuclear weapons or other means of mass destruction. . . ." The new West Germany, which more and more resembles the old one (Krupp is again a power, the banks are again centralized, anti-Semitism is again developing, the military caste is no longer unemployed), is determined to avoid meaningful negotiations until it has atomic arms. U. S. policy stays rigid in response to our junior partners in Bonn. Fritz Erler, defense expert of the German Social Democrats, held a press conference here in Washington last week which no U. S. paper seems to have reported (though American correspondents were there). Erler pleaded for disengagement, said that without it the West must abandon hope of reuniting Germany and liberating East Europe. But the masters of the Reich still hope some day to "liberate" East Europe into German domination by threat and force, as under the Kaiser and Hitler. This German pipe-dream is the major obstacle to peace.

continue a filibuster. No matter which way you look at it, this is a minority veto in the Senate in an area in which the Constitution provided for majority decision. True, the Lyndon Johnson formula also allows this kind of cloture on a change of the rules. But that was a small price to pay for avoiding a future Senate majority vote on a ruling like Nixon's which would allow a majority at the beginning of a session to change the rules. For allowing two-thirds cloture on rules changes, the South was appeased by a Senate vote declaring that it was a continuous body, which means that the rules cannot be changed by majority vote. No circus performer ever got together a cuter bag of tricks.

Lyndon Johnson is too clever and too ambitious to top off this victory by shutting off all civil rights legislation at this session. Working with the White House to flim-flam the Negro, the coalition will pass some minor measures such as an extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission and some legislation to deal with interstate shipment of explosions for "hate" bombings. His only hope for the Presidency is to demonstrate that some progress can be made under moderate Southern leadership. The Negro will be allowed some progress forward, but only inch by inch and slowly.

Dulcet Aftermath of That Fierce Revolt by the GOP Liberals in the Senate

KEATING: This is Senator Ken Keating. I am delighted to welcome you once again to my new 'Let's Look at Congress' series. I am particularly pleased to present as my first guest of 1959 the Minority Leader of the U. S. Senate. . . . It is indicative of the fine spirit which has followed the vote on the post of Senate Minority Leader that, although I supported another candidate, the winner has so graciously consented to be on this program. . . . Everett, do you think this recent scrap over the post of Minority Leader is going to leave any scars?

DIRKSEN: Kenneth, I do not believe so. I have never been in a contest where there were such good tempers, so much grace and spirit, and where there was a felicity that was somehow registered on the faces of everybody. . . .

KEATING: Do you plan any reprisals on your part?

DIRKSEN: Oh, Kenneth, you know that politics is a cruel business and sometimes vindictive, but there isn't any place for reprisals . . . within our party.

—Hon. Everett M. Dirksen, GOP Senator from Illinois, interviewed on TV Jan. 11 by Keating of New York.

Two Thoughtful Passages in the Mish-Mash of the State of the Union Message

If Ike Were A Democrat, He'd Be Accused of Launching A Five Year Plan

Two passages in the uninspired mish-mash of the Eisenhower State of the Union message deserve more attention. One is a first, faint step toward the idea of national economic planning. The President did not use the word "planning"—a dirty word in American political debate—but that is what he indicated by his proposal to establish "long term guides extending far ahead, certainly five, possibly even ten years." If Eisenhower were a Democrat, he would have been accused of suggesting an American Five Year Plan.

Sooner or later some system of meshing private, corporate and public enterprise into a national plan will become necessary if the U. S. rate of growth is to match that of the Soviet bloc. Mr. Eisenhower spoke of our living "in an era of remarkable productivity and growth." But a new set of economic indices initiated by the December issue of the Department of Commerce *Survey of Current Business* reveals that most of our sensational supposed growth in the past decade has been price inflation. The new series shows the Gross National Product in terms of constant 1950 dollars. It appears from the new series that while the GNP rose 54 percent in terms of current dollars between 1950 and the third quarter of 1958, the rise in terms of the 1950 dollar was only 25 percent and the per capita rise in terms of constant dollars was only 8.3 percent or less than one percent a year. This may be worrying the White House. It should.

"If It Works, It's Obsolete"

The other passage which deserves amplification was the President's warning "against feverish building of vast armaments to meet glibly predicted moments of so-called 'maximum peril.' . . . In these days of unceasing technological advance, we must plan our defense expenditures systematically and with care, fully recognizing that obsolescence compels the never-ending replacement of older weapons with new ones." The rate of obsolescence in the arms race has become fantastically swift. As an unnamed General at the Pentagon told the *Washington Post* last summer, "If it works, it's obsolete."

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A Madison Avenue "Snow Job"

Setting the Record Straight on Atlas

"In every respect, in weight and size, but especially in its instrumentation, the Atlas demonstrates that, after an initial lag due to Pentagon economics, the U. S. has not only caught up with the Soviets but has gone beyond them."

—*New York Times* editorial, Dec. 20, 1958 (in its special post-strike issue, Dec. 31).

"Possibly the most blatant management of the news about satellite activities occurred when the Pentagon announced the launching of the 4½ ton talking satellite last month. The satellite, sent into orbit with a highly-developed guidance system, was a great technical achievement, but the Pentagon's promotion of the achievement put it in the light of a publicity stunt."

—Cong. John E. Moss, chairman House Government Information Committee, accepting a Peter Zenger award, Tucson, Arizona, Jan. 10.

"The launching of the Atlas into orbit represents an important American accomplishment, with its 4.3 tons of weight and 150 pounds of instruments. The best available estimates of weight suggest that possibly Sputnik I (4½ months earlier) and almost certainly Sputniks II (13½ months earlier) and III (7 months earlier) put greater weights into orbit. But more important, the useful payload of Sputnik III reportedly is more than tenfold that of the Atlas."

—*House Space Committee Report, Jan. 11.*

The hysterical cry rising from the Democrats and the liberals, "We can't afford a second best defense" (as if, in an arms race, one could buy a "first class" defense and then relax!), adds up to no more than an echo of the aviation-missiles lobby. There is little sign of thought here on the related problems of economic expansion, price control and negotiations for arms control to make possible diversion of human effort to the creation of wealth, not obsolete weapons. In this respect Ike, feeble as he is, makes more sense than most of his Democratic critics.

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