# F. A. S. NEWSLETTER

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# BALANCING MOBILIZATION OBJECTIVES MILITARY POLITICAL

<u>Little Progress.</u> Events in the last month have not served to clarify the scientific manpower mobilization picture. There is as yet no national policy. Responsibility has not been assigned to any single Federal agency. We are in the period between planning and action, awaiting a top-level decision on who will act on whose plans

There is no present prospect for legislation authorizing the drafting or allocation of scientific personnel outside existing draft age limits. Certainly for the near future, the methods for staffing new and expanding defense laboratories will continue to be persuasion, appeal to patriotism, and bloated salaries. No successor to OSRD has been established. Coordinators of the emergency effort include the AEC, the Research and Development Board, the Interdepartmental Committee on Research & Development. ODM Director Charles E. Wilson, however, has announced the forthcoming appointment of a super board to coordinate the coordinators.

The immediate and more obvious problem concerns students, prospective students, and young scientists subject to the draft — the scientific potential of coming decades. The Senate committee which reported the UMST bill paid only lip-service to the need for uninterrupted technical training of students during leir most favorable years for study. The Committee's version released 75,000 draftable 18-year-olds to the colleges each year for three years. This serves the necessary function of helping to hold the colleges together, but the 3-year time limit indicates that the committee did not agree that uninterrupted schooling is an important requisite for scientific or technical training. The Senate provision, inadequate as it is, has been removed from the House

version of UMST at present writing.

The pending legislation (S.i and HR 2811) falls far short of the requirements set by the reports of scientific societies (see NL 50-10 and 51-1), and by the synthesizing report of NSRB's Thomas committee (see Members' Bulletin No. 2). However, though none of the details are spelled out, the Thomas report is not incompatible with the UMST bill as introduced. The report accepts the concept of UMST, and its elaborate interim plan for completing the training of present students is permissive under S.i. Further, the advisory board of S.1 resembles the National Scientific Personnel Board in many ways. The Thomas report has provision for handling technical reservists resulting from UMST; S.1 ignores this important subject, leaving it for administrative decision.

Scientific manpower has not been featured in the public debate on UMST. Insiders apparently realize that the larger problem is administrative rather than legislative. The concept of the Thomas report has the strong private support of influential scientists and presumably the NSRB. There is a strong drive to get some program for freshmen, sophomores and juniors, even if inadequate, moving before the end of the present semester. Such a program must await the President's designation of the top manpower agency.

Toward an FAS Mobilization Policy. At its meeting in New York February 4, the FAS Executive Committee considered the problems of manpower mobilization with particular attention to pending legislation (S.1 and HR. 1752, since replaced by HR. 2811) and the numerous recent reports on this subject. The Committee reached agreement on the essentials of a policy; a statement is in preparation.

It was agreed that the mobilization problem could not be separated from broad issues of national and international policy. It was felt that proper attention must be given to the probable long-range duration of the crisis and to the fact that its final resolution may depend as much on economic and social factors as on (Continued on Page 4, Column 1)

No News is Bad News. With official and public attention fixed on military mobilization, the needs of political mobilization have slipped steadily into the background. With each passing issue of the Newsletter there is less and less to report of thinking and action on constructive alternatives to the present arms race. On January 22, Senator McMahon repeated his dramatic appeal for disarmament and world reconstruction (see NL, Feb. 14, 1950). Significantly, however, the renewed appeal came as a relatively minor part of a long speech in the Senate defending the proposed vastly expanded arms program. Other similar proposals, like that of labor's Walter Reuther, are buried in obscurity.

The Great Foreign Policy Debate has dealt not with what it probably should have -- definitions of national aspirations and objectives in world politics -- but almost exclusively with what it probably should not have -- military strategy. As a result, sober observers are warning that "there is still no evidence to indicate that Washington planners have yet blueprinted our political aims," and some of our foreign friends, with growing consternation, wonder what specific policies will guide and control the new military machine we are planning.

In an address given in Tucson, Arizona, on February 14th, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas spoke of a kind of mobilization quite different from that which fills the press these days. Said the Justice, "The plain fact is that the world is in a revolution which cannot be bought off with dollars. There are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. A force is gathering for a mighty effort. We think of that force as Communist. Communists exploit the situation, stirring every discontent and making the pot boil. The revolutions which are brewing are not, however, Communist in origin nor will they end even if Soviet Russia is crushed through war. The revolutionaries are hungry men who have been exploited from time out of mind. This is the century of their awakening and mobilization."

He referred specifically to the complaints of the people of Asia as he heard them in first-hand conversations — the absence of medical care, of schools, of land reform, of modern agricultural teachings, the lack of elemental democratic practices like the right to criticize and to vote, the demand for national self-determination. He charged that, "America's voice when heard in this poverty and disease-ridden belt often sounds coarse and cheap — not because we intend it but because we do not know the world in which we live." He complained that, "We talk about democracy and justice; and at the same time we support regimes whose object is to keep democracy and justice out of the reach of the peasants for all time."

Douglas attributes the shortcomings he sees to a "negative attitude, the policy of merely defending against Communism" and to our reliance "more and more on our military to do our thinking and planning for us." Said Douglas in conclusion, "We must be and remain strong as a military power in case Russia shifts from political to military action. But meanwhile our only real defense against Communism is a political offensive, a political offensive with action rather than with rhetoric. The hour is late; but so long as World War III has not struck, it is not too late."

This fundamental criticism of current foreign policy by a high U.S. official drew a quarter-column in the <u>Washington Post</u> and went unnoticed in the press at large. Apparently there is no news value in the discussion of constructive alternatives to the accelerating arms race. And that is bad news.

The FAS Newsletter is issued irregularly (about 10 times a year) by the Executive Secretariat of the FAS, a national organization of scientists concerned with the impact of science on national and world affairs. Non-member subscription is \$2.00 per year.

### SPIRITUAL CASUALTIES

WE OF NAGASAKI, by Takashi Nagai. Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

189 pp., \$2.75.

This book was assembled by a Japanese professor of radiology at the Nagasaki Medical College, and is the first account of atomic bombing which has been done by a Japanese and published in the Western world. Surprisingly, it duplicates John Hersey's "Hiroshima" very little; and many readers of both, like the undersigned, have felt that both are essential to an understanding of the events the daily news so grimly forecasts.

Dr. Nagai presents several accounts from one neighborhood. a quarter to half a mile from Ground Zero, and sure enough, as the cheerful civil defense planners tell us, many will survive even at that distance. But his book gives some dreadful interpretations to the words 'many' and 'survive.' Six years after the bomb, the people who survived the bomb, like the people who made and used it, are haunted by terrible feelings of guilt. In the Japanese cases, they cannot help wondering why they were selected, sometimes as the only member of a large family, to be alive when 95 percent of a neighborhood and all its possessions have disappeared.

It is the book's emphasis on the psychological and spiritual effects of total destruction which makes it a unique contribution. As Dr. Nagai asks and answers in the beginning, "What would the world be like in an atomic war of extended duration? ... The experts have shown cities demolished and fields laid waste; they have talked about genetic effects and about radiation sickness. But very little has been said about people in an atomic war, as people." He insists "The mentality of human beings is not going to be simply a wartime mentality -- a familiar phenomenon, somewhat intensified. They are going to flee their cities and abandon their civilizations. They are going to dig into hillsides and hole up in mountain caves like beasts. They are going to go mad of fear without surcease. And the fact that they survived when friends and loved ones died; that, when faced by the grim choice, they left these to perish that their own skins might be saved; that they loved not their neighbor-will press ever down upon their souls."

He concludes that scientists have studied the effects of the bomb and he assumes that their conclusions have been passed on to the councils of the generals and statesmen. "And by this the conferences to free the world of atomic menace succeed or fail. and I understand they have failed; by this the decision to use the bomb is made, and I hear they do not regard it as so fearful, so unusable....A city cannot be obliterated wholly...not everyone dies ...radioactivity in time is dissipated...it is just another weapon..

"....have they investigated what it does to the heart and conscience and mind of those who survive? Do they have any knowledge of our society of spiritual bankrupts, now striving lamely to function as a community?

"We carry deep in our hearts, every one of us, stubborn unhealing wounds. When we are alone, we brood upon them, and when we see our neighbors we are again reminded of them; theirs as well as ours. It is this spiritual wreckage, which the visitor to Nagasaki's wastes does not see, that is indeed beyond repair.

Perhaps it would be irresponsible to recommend this book to ALL civil defense workers, for the same reason that it would not be sound policy to stock troopship libraries with handbooks on plastic surgery or Special Service film libraries with movies about paraplegics.

But certainly anyone in a planning or administrative post in civil defense ought to brace himself for an ordeal, and read these accounts, some of them taken down as spoken by children. who did not know how to dissemble or put a formal face on their reaction to chaos.

Dr. Nagai has done an excellent and most convincing study and one hopes that American scientists -- social scientists and psychologists -- will find some way to answer his appeal for fur-

And perhaps physical scientists may be interested in one more rally against the cotton-batting-red-tape-and-skull-ivory curtain which Congress and the AEC have built around the subject of radiation, particularly residual or 'lingering' radiation after a bomb burst. The AEC Weapons Effects Handbook states that "at Nagasaki 0.02 percent of the fission products were left on the ground within a radius of 2,000 feet....even a few minutes after the explosion, the area did not present a radiation hazard."

Dr. Nagai states that "directly after the explosion the Urakami area was so radioactive that people who had no more han walked around in it would get acute enteritis with diarrhea."

He adds that "the symptoms of radiation sickness in these people who had not been hit by the bomb's blast but who afterward labored in the ruins, chiefly took the forms of changes in the bloodstream...a marked decrease in the number of white corpuscles... a high fever...contusions appearing under the skin...followed by agony and death."

The AEC once distributed widely a leaflet debunking the 'Mystery' of radiation effects. Perhaps we had better remove those derisive quotation marks, and admit there is a mystery here, no quotes, and no joke.

- - M. Amrine

#### AMONG BOOKS RECEIVED

THE RISE OF SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY, by Hans Reichenbach; University of California Press, \$3.75. Written in popular language to argue for a scientific philosophy that does not set itself apart from science . . . "to speak of the modern scientific outlook and its penetration into philosophy."

THE ATOM AT WORK, by Jacob Sacks, Ph.D., M.D.; The Ronald Press Company, New York. \$4.00. A readable survey (in part designed as a college survey text) of constructive uses of radiation -- with a cursory treatment of the bomb and of atomic power. Excellent unique account of use of radioisotopes in biological and medical research.

THE OAK RIDGE STORY, by G. O. Robinson, Jr.; Southern Publishers, Inc., Kingsport, Tenn. \$3.50. Former inhabitants of 'Dogpatch' will experience mixed feelings on browsing through the saga of the building of Oak Ridge. Excellent photographs by J. E. Westcott, and emphasis on human interest. Of no scientific interest, and in great part compiled from old reports and press releases of the Manhattan District, but accurate throughout, including its statement "Oak Ridge is no paradise."

HEALTH SERVICES AND SPECIAL WEAPONS DEFENSE, U.S. Govt. Printing Office; \$.60. Primarily a manual for those responsible for regional and community programs for civilian defense. this Civil Defense Administration pamphlet deals with leadership and training, hospital and ambulance services, supplies, water, sanitation, etc. The "special weapons" are those of radiological. biological, and chemical warfare. The general point of view is the expansion of normal sanitation and control practices with inclusion of special measures that might be required by the unusual exigencies of warfare or sabotage. As would be expected, the style is that of a training manual rather than of a critical review of many of the controversial aspects of the problem.

Science and the State Department. Dr. Joseph B. Koepfli has recently been appointed Science Adviser in the Department of State. It will be the responsibility of his office to promote close teamwork between American scientists and government officials, to participate in policy formation within the Department, and to serve as liaison between the Department and such agencies as the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, and other public and private science organizations. In addition, placement of top-flight American scientists in important foreign service posts will keep Dr. Koepfli abreast of developments in science abroad and will facilitate the flow of scientific information between this country and friendly nations.

An organic chemist and plant physiologist, Dr. Koepfli during the last war didresearch under the Committee on Medical Research of OSRD. In 1948 he served as a science attache at the U.S. Embassy in London. He is now on leave from California Institute of Technology.

More direct representation of science in the every-day activities of the State Department was one of the recommendations of the Berkner report, "Science and Foreign Relations," (see Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Oct. 1950), made public last June. Berkner was then a special consultant to the State Dept.

IMPACT of Science on Society, the new journal published by UNESCO. in Paris, has in its second issue abstracts of papers given at last year's Fourth World Power Conference, London. Other articles reprinted are "Scientific Workers and Society" by Lord Boyd-Orr and "The Ideal of an Open World," Niels Bohr's open letter to the U.N. Subscriptions to Impact (\$1/annum) may be arranged through Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

## SENSE IN A-DEFENSE

Civil Defense or Flash-burn Jitters? An FAS committee is preparing an appraisal of current thinking and activities on civil defense against atomic attack. An early draft of the committee's report makes the following comments:

"It is first of all true that no devices, no organization, no effort, no skill can bring an American city through an atomic attack without grievous suffering, without disaster. Preparations for civil defense in a world in which a full-scale armaments race is on are perhaps prudent, but they promise at the very best far less than security. For five years the Federation has said that there is no effective defense against atomic bombardments; that remains true today. The only real defense is peace, and we must test every act in terms of an overall policy which has the end of gaining peace between the powers and eventual international control of atomic energy, with an end to weapons of mass destruction. Any other course precludes the real safety of our homes.

"But in a world divided and in conflict, it still seems proper that when our government is spending a score of billions each year in preparing the means of active war, it should devote a small fraction of that outlay to measures of civilian defense." The draft goes on to point out that eye-catching activities -- film, radio, poster, and newspaper campaigns -- are not necessarily most important. Careful, sober planning by military, fire-fighting, transport, sanitary, and medical services may be far more effective, and less costly in the emotional toll exacted by an atmosphere of fear and trepidation. Particularly is this true in dealing with children, says the draft, sounding a warning against the possible "harm done to the minds of a generation of our children by this grim effort to give marginal protection against an unlikely event.

The draft warns that: "The whole climate of public opinion, the whole atmosphere of our democracy, is affected by civil defense decisions, which reach into every home. It is nothing short of ruinous if we so act to disturb without clear necessity the calm and reasoned frame of mind upon which intelligent public opinion, and thence intelligent national policy, necessarily depend."

In conclusion, "While national security must be based on the effort to obtain a peace, the insurance of civil defense, which can alleviate but by no means turn aside the disaster which attacks cities in modern war, must be sought. It can be sought only patiently, sensibly, and rationally. Organization from the ground up, planning, full and open estimates for the public of the cost and value of every measure -- these are the methods of successful defense."

#### AEC -- TOWARDS ATOMIC POWER

"Breeding" Reactor. The feasibility of breeding nuclear fuel, i.e. of producing it in a chain-reacting pile at a rate faster than it is burned, may be put to the test within about a year, when the fastneutron reactor designed by the Argonne Laboratory should be ready. According to an announcement by Dr. G. Weil at a recent AEC press conference, the machine will be constructed by this summer, and will then be tested over a period of at least 6 months prior to operation. The possibility of breeding depends upon the emission of somewhat more than two neutrons in an average fission. One of these produces another fission, thereby propagating the chain reaction; a second neutron converts a "fertile" nucleus (U-238 or thorium-232) into a fissionable one (plutonium-239 or thorium-233) -- provided that a reactor can be built in which other neutron losses are kept sufficiently low. If even a small fraction of a neutron in excess of two can be made available for the process of conversion, a new breeding gain results, and this leads, like compound interest, to a steady growth in the capital stock (of fissile materials). The success of the experiment in Arco, Idaho, would be of great significance for the world's ultimate economy of fissionable fuels, since the latter would then be limited not by the abundance of U-235, but by the much more plentiful supply of U-238 and thorium.

Design of Two Submarine Power Reactors is underway, the AEC announced in its Ninth Semiannual Report. One will be a slowneutron machine; the other will use neutrons of intermediate velocities to keep the chain reaction going. Facilities to house a stationary prototype of the first of these machines are now under construction at Arco, Idaho. The pile itself should be finished well ahead of General Electric's intermediate reactor, which was started later. So far as is known, the naval reactor at Arco, should it work according to plan, will be the world's first real power pile,

i.e. the first nuclear machine to deliver useful power at a significant rate in a controlled fashion. This is in contrast to the reactors built thus far, whose prime functions have been production of plutonium and other radioisotopes, and research (mainly with neutron beams).

Propulsion of Aircraft by nuclear fuels appears to be further in the future than that of naval vessels, although considerable preliminary work on this problem has been done, principally by the NEPA Division of the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Co., under contract with the Air Force. The AEC recently acquired a larger share of the responsibility for this project when it took over from the Air Force some of the NEPA contract arrangements. The technical obstacles to be overcome in this enterprise (e.g. the weight of shielding required) are even more formidable than those encountered in ship propulsion. Moreover, the project has suffered from a shortage of scientists and engineers adequately trained in pile physics and technology, mainly because there are not enough skilled people in the country -- especially at the more advanced levels -- to staff all of the existing projects. This deficiency springs in part from the rapid growth of the atomic energy enterprise, and from the obvious difficulty of training scientists in a hurry. A more far-sighted policy on the deferment of science students in World War II might have prevented, or at least ameliorated, this shortage. Also, a vigorous and sustained program of training in reactor technology over the past few years would have supplied more of the required scientific and engineering manpower. Some steps in this direction were taken, such as the organization of the Nucleonics Training School in Oak Ridge in 1946-47. The intensive training program of that year was not continued, however. Recently, a School of Reactor Technology has been established in Oak Ridge to meet the AEC's needs. Also, a few universities have organized -- or announced their intention of setting up -- curricula in nuclear engineering. By and large, however, the nation's engineering schools have been slow in recognizing their educational opportunities and responsibilities in this field.

Scientists' Organizations. The January Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists carried articles on the 1950 activities of the FAS, the British Atomic Scientists Assoc. and two local educational groups. Recent correspondence or releases indicate that three others should be added to the list of active scientists' organizations. The Society for Social Responsibility in Science (Edward G. Ramberg, Secretary, Box 210, R.D.1, Huntingdon Valley, Pa.) emphasizes the scientists' personal moral responsibility for the consequences of professional activity, and the constructive alternatives to militarism. The Rocky Mountain Committee on Nuclear Energy (W. O. Roberts, President, Boulder, Colorado) has been active on a technical level in local civil defense work. The current "Newsletter" of the Boston-Cambridge Branch of the AAScW tells of local meetings and action on academic freedom and other issues.

Membership in the FAS is open to scientists and engineers in all parts of the country and in all fields. Non-scientists are also eligible for membership in limited numbers. Membership dues support the modest Washington "look-out" office and the basic necessities for carrying out the public and private action decided upon by the elected Council and its Executive Committee. The issues acted upon are confined to those on which scientists have some special competence. Application (or separate subscription to the Newsletter) may be sent on the coupon to the Washington office.

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Mobilization (Continued from Page 1). military ones. With these considerations in mind, the Executive

Committee tentatively agreed on the following principles:

(1) Universal military training as now proposed in Congress is neither desirable nor wise at the present time. To place such paramount priority on strictly military needs may sacrifice the requirements of other important elements of national strength.

(2) At the present stage, military needs should continue to be served under the principle of selective service as the most flex-

ible and democratic policy.

(3) In order to safeguard the obvious national requirements for scientific and technical personnel it would be wise to establish a National Scientific Personnel Board similar to that recommended in the Thomas report (see Members' Bulletin No. 2). The Board should concern itself with draft-age personnel only. It should have authority to withhold from military service both individuals already trained for scientific and technical functions and individuals fitted for training for such functions, but should not at this time undertake to allocate scientific and technical personnel in non-military areas. It should, however, be responsible for filling specific military requisitions for scientific personnel.

(4) The principle of the Trytten report calling for deferment of students "across the board" on the basis of capacities.

rather than subject fields, was endorsed.

(5) The proposed deferment of 75,000 students per year for three years, as provided in S.1 in accordance with National Defense Establishment recommendations, was regarded as insufficient. The annual figure ought to be raised and applied for the full life of the legislation if national needs for all types of highly trained and skilled personnel were to be met.

The absence of a termination date for the proposed legislation was not discussed at the meeting. The Mobilization Committee of the FAS Washington chapter has urged the importance of such a termination date to prevent this departure from historic American policy from becoming permanent. The tenor of the discussion at the Executive Committee meeting would suggest that this recommendation will receive sympathetic consideration when the final FAS policy is drafted.

New Policy on Occupational Deferments. Too little attention has been given a policy announced by Gen. Hershey on January 26, under which drafting of 1-A graduating students is postponed for 30 days "to enable (them) to obtain employment in essential industry." The instructions to State Selective Service Directors continues, "Upon showing of such employment, local boards should be requested to re-open the cases of such registrants and consider classifications anew." In explaining this policy in Operations Bulletin No. 23 (Feb. 9, 1951). Hershey refers specifically to scientific skills, stating they are "vitally needed in our national defense production program." Previously student deferments ended with the academic year and local boards had no authority to reopen cases and reconsider 1-A classifications. The new policy changes this with respect to graduating students. If evidence of useful employment is presented, the local board is to act just as in dealing with an original classification. The criteria for occupational deferment remain the same, namely that (1) the registrant is engaged in essential activity, (2) he cannot be replaced because of a shortage of persons with his qualifications or skill, and (3) removal of registrant would cause a material loss of effectiveness in such activity.

This procedure, if followed by the graduate, his employer, and the local board, could help ensure efficient use of technical training of one segment of the present college student body. The instructions were issued with reference to the February graduating class, but apply -- and probably will be specifically re-stated, -- for the June class. This 30-day postponement policy is distinct from another 30-day policy (also released January 26) which postpones induction of all classes of deferred students to give opportunity to enlist in the service of their choice.

Reasonable Doubt. Loyalty criteria, tightened up to World War II standards, have been recommended to President Truman by the Federal Loyalty Review Board. Hiram Bingham, chairman, reported a Board proposal that Government employees be dismissed if there is "reasonable doubt" as to their loyalty. Such a standard was set forth by President Roosevelt in 1942, but was revised by President Truman in 1947 so that an employee could be dismissed only where "reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal." The proposal will also be presented to the newly appointed Nimitz commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. Mr. Bingham's explanation: "We were at peace in 1947. Now the situation is entirely different. With the Communist party now going underground it is difficult to find that a person 'now' is disloyal." From March, 1947, to last December, more than two million persons were checked for loyalty and 295 ordered dismissed by the Civil Service Commission. About 3000 resigned while their cases were being investigated.

The Washington Post editorialized: "The Loyalty Board has operated since its inception on what to all intents and purposes is the legal 'reasonable doubt' doctrine. The only inference that can be drawn from Mr. Bingham's desire for a change is that he wishes to bring about the discharge or rejection of employees on mere suspicion. We can think of no swifter or surer way to wreck the civil service. ... The Government will be able to recruit and retain employees who are able and intelligent as well as loyal ... only if it affords them reasonable protection against malicious, bigoted,

and politically inspired attacks."

FAS Chapter Activity. Officers for 1951 of the Atomic Scientists of Chicago are Richard L. Meier, Chairman and David I. Inglis, vice-chairman. Meier was Executive Secretary of the FAS in 1947-48 and also served with Inglis for a time on the Executive Secretariat in Washington. . . . The new president of the Brookhaven chapter is Montrose J. Moses. Alan M. Thorndike is secretary and Clarke Williams the Treasurer. . . . Professor Alexander Leighton, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, was recently elected chairman of the Cornell chapter. Mr. R. Gustayson is acting secretary. Leighton is the author of "Human Relations in a Changing World," published in 1949.

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