

F. A. S. NEWSLETTER

FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS
Jules Halpern, Chairman

1749 L Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
January 12, 1953 -- No. 53-1

FAS AIMS and the ISSUES of 1953

TOUGH TASK FACES COUNCIL

When the FAS Council convenes in Cambridge on January 24, the New Year will be less than four weeks and the New Administration not more than four days old. The Council faces a tough job. It must re-think and re-plan policy and tactics so as to translate fundamental FAS objectives into concrete proposals for an altered national and international scene.

The interregnum is drawing to a close -- decisions are on the horizon. Change has been promised; which way is it to go? What does FAS think needs change, what existing policies and principles will it defend at all costs? Specifically and concretely -----

WHERE DOES FAS STAND IN 1953 ON:

1. New efforts toward international control of atomic and other weapons?
2. Exchange of atomic information with friendly nations?
3. Development of atomic power?
4. Relaxation of government monopoly in domestic atomic operations?
5. Improvement of visa and passport policies and practices?
6. Uninhibited inquiry in our laboratories and universities?
7. Modification of the Federal loyalty and security program?
8. Organization and finance of US science and the role of NSF?
9. The future of UN and the principle of international organization?

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These issues, close to FAS interest, are among many now on the block for reconsideration in the shift of power which will culminate on January 20. This is the time to plot our course and establish both its destination and its limits. On what will we concentrate, what will be our tactics, what specifically will we do?

Successive membership appeals, most recently less than a month ago, have failed to do more than allow us to hold our own. Translation of our basic objectives into the terms of 1953 -- with concrete proposals and specific plans for action -- may prove more rewarding both in results and expanded membership roles.

In looking forward, in order to formulate new policy, the Council could do worse than to look back -- to the statement of fundamental objectives contained in the Preamble to the FAS Constitution (next column). This statement, and the actions taken to implement it, united over 4000 worried scientists in 1946. In the main it is as fresh and pertinent today as the day it was written. Soberly but boldly implemented, it can once again bring together the thousands who, though they may be more complacent, are no less worried.

In connection with the Council meeting, FAS members in Cambridge are arranging an open membership meeting to reminisce about the hectic days when scientists -- not only their products but they and their beliefs as well -- were big news on Capitol Hill. Against this background the meeting will seek to lay out a constructive program for 1953. This is as it should be. Tradition and the past can bind -- but they can also strengthen. Our past is short -- but there is in it already a tradition which can give both force and direction to the Council as it faces its difficult job. -- C. G.

OUR FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES

"The Federation of American Scientists is formed to meet the increasingly apparent responsibility of scientists in promoting the welfare of mankind and the achievement of a stable world peace.

The value of science to civilization has never been more clear, nor have the dangers of its misuse been greater.

The Federation is concerned with so placing science in the national life that it may make the maximum contribution to the welfare of the people.

The need for a more active political role of the scientist has been brought into sharp focus by the atomic bomb. An immediate concern of the Federation must therefore be the problem of atomic energy.

WE THEREFORE HOLD THESE AIMS:

1. In the particular field of atomic energy, to urge that the United States help initiate and perpetuate an effective and workable system of world control based on full cooperation among all nations.
2. In consideration of the broad responsibility of scientists today, to study the implications of any scientific developments which may involve hazards to enduring peace and the safety of mankind.
3. To counter misinformation with scientific fact and, especially, to disseminate those facts necessary for intelligent conclusions concerning the social implications of new knowledge in science.
4. To safeguard the spirit of free inquiry and free interchange of information without which science cannot flourish.
5. To promote those public policies which will secure the benefits of science to the general welfare.
6. To strengthen the international cooperation traditional among scientists and to extend its spirit to a wider field."

-- Preamble, FAS Constitution

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"The war of the future would...destroy the very structure of a civilization that has been slowly and painfully built up through hundreds of generations. Such a war is not a possible policy for rational men....

"I believe that man can harness the forces of the atom to work for the improvement of the lot of human beings everywhere. That is our goal."

-- Harry S. Truman, January 7, 1953

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OPEN MEMBERSHIP MEETING

FAS — PAST as PROLOGUE

Burr Hall, Harvard University
(corner of Quincy and Broadway)

January 22, 1953
8:00 P.M.

FAS members and friends in the Cambridge area or visiting for the meetings of the American Physical Society are invited to attend.

TOWARD "A STABLE WORLD PEACE"

OBJECTIVE -- A RATIONAL ATOM

The need for ceaseless and indefatigable education on the realities of atomic energy was never more dramatically illustrated than during the first week of 1953.

In an historic final report on the State of the Union, President Truman told the American people and the world that the structure of civilization might disappear in the next war, and that he surmizes "the rulers of the Kremlin" might not be aware of the technological changes recent years have brought to war-making.

Meanwhile, the mysterious Project East River, a policy and planning agency for civil defense, emerged partially into the light of day, offering as one of its main conclusions the assertion that too many of the United States' own "responsible leaders" do not appreciate the enormous damage an atomic attack would bring to America.

MYSTERY As the magnitude of the danger has increased, formulation of means to meet it has become more bewildering. The passing years have brought new developments, such as "thermonuclear experiments" of still vague status, which raise baffling questions about feasibility of control plans. For example, it is strongly suspected but it cannot be said with certainty, that the recent series of experiments at Eniwetok, and the statement of the President that we have "entered the hydrogen era," definitely mean that hydrogen bombs can be produced. And if they can and will be, no published information makes clear whether there will be a "handle for hydrogen control" in the A-trigger, in the production of tritium, or possibly in the mode of delivery of what will apparently be a much bulkier weapon than the A-bomb.

INFORMATION The freeze on information separates not only scientist and layman within the US, but scientist and scientist across national boundaries. International exchange of information between allies has uncertain prospects in 1953. The "social visit" of Prime Minister Churchill to President-elect Eisenhower, and to President Truman, almost certainly dwelt in part upon broadening exchange of weapons information. In his only public statement of the visit, Churchill mentioned again that President Roosevelt's "promise" to him of "the fullest exchange of [atomic] information" had not been fulfilled under present US policy.

But Sen. Hickenlooper (R, Iowa), former chairman and now a candidate again for chairmanship of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, said that he saw "no reason to enlarge the field of atomic interchange" by giving more information to the British. And Rep. Cole (R, N.Y.), whom House members of the Joint Committee are said to support solidly for the chairmanship, is known to hold almost identical sentiments on exchange of information with allies.

Meanwhile, retiring Secretary of Defense Lovett made a strong recommendation that defensive measures against "spies and blabber-mouths" should be strengthened by new legislation, because present weak laws constitute one of the main hazards to national security. This found a ready response on Capitol Hill, although at another hearing Secretary Acheson said present measures are already so strict that most of the members of his Department no longer take work home at night. He said this was a definite hindrance to efficiency.

DEVELOPING Whether broadening of provisions governing **A-POWER** information is necessary to development of atomic power was discussed exhaustively in a 400-page Joint Committee Report on "Atomic Power and Private Enterprise" (\$1.00, Govt. Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.). Acting Chairman Carl Durham (D, N.C.) said hearings on the best way to develop atomic power would be held at the earliest possible moment after the opening of Congress.

It was noted that the first and most voluminous section of the Committee report raised directly questions of atomic power in relation to foreign policy. "Appendix A," prepared by George Weil, physicist and former assistant to L. Hafstad, head of the AEC Reactor Division, discussed possible merits of

MECHANISM -- UNITED NATIONS

The question of the role of FAS relative to the UN, raised forcibly by John Toll of Princeton at the Council meeting last May, has been given added point in the intervening months by mounting attacks upon the UN and visible strains within the organization and its specialized agencies. The recent meeting of the General Assembly -- hamstrung by the Korean issue and lack of decision in an American policy frozen between two administrations -- raised serious question among observers about continuance of UN at even its present restricted level of effectiveness. And recent weeks have seen serious weakening of UNESCO. Torn by discord over admission of Franco Spain and insistence on the part of the US and Britain on a curtailed budget, UNESCO lost by resignation its Director-General and two of its few remaining Soviet bloc nations -- Poland and Hungary.

TACIT FAS FAS and the UN have had a concurrent life span. **SUPPORT** In its early days FAS formulated its objectives on the tacit assumption of a strong international organization, but gave the agency itself little direct support. In part, this was because what seemed sheer necessity was relied on to guarantee UN survival; in part it was to avoid embroilment in essentially political controversies far afield from primary objectives.

Times have changed. The principle of international organization is no longer endorsed as enthusiastically and widely as it once was in the US. It is, in fact, under heavy attack -- both directly by those who regard our adherence to the UN as a kind of collective national disloyalty, and indirectly via harassing criticism and reduction of appropriations in support of UN activities. In 1953, continuance of the UN cannot be taken for granted.

COUNCIL The Council last May deferred action on specific **ACTION** support of UN pending membership discussion. It asked David Hill of Vanderbilt Univ. to draft an amendment to implement his suggested method of supporting UN by including mention of it in the Preamble to the FAS Constitution. Hill responded with an amended Preamble which has been summarized in the Newsletter (see NL 52-7 and 52-9) and circulated to Council delegates. Revised following criticism, the Hill amendment will be before the Council for action at Cambridge on January 24.

Correspondence received in the Washington Office, from chapters and members-at-large, commenting on NL discussions, indicates a consensus that support for UN, and particularly its specialized agencies closely related to science (UNESCO, FAO, WHO), should be an important FAS objective. Amendment to our Constitution, however, is not generally felt to be desirable, both because it is unnecessary in view of the clear implication of UN importance in the present Preamble, and because alteration of the Preamble is a time-consuming process likely to detract from other activities. Correspondents have urged rather that (1) fuller coverage to UN activities as they relate to science be given in the NL; (2) FAS representation be sought on such bodies as the US National Commission for UNESCO; (3) FAS submit specific proposals for action to US delegations to the UN, and find ways and means to assist the UN specialized agencies themselves.

atomic power in a program like Point IV -- or perhaps in overseas operations privately financed by US companies. He urged that "this development would enable this country to provide the underdeveloped and high-cost power regions of the world with an established technology upon which they could rapidly develop their own industrial economies, with concomitant gains in living standards throughout the world."

Those who know most about reactor technology are in bitter disagreement as to power practicality in the near future. Atomic power has seemed to the public to be slow in arriving. President Truman said that emphasis upon military development had held up peaceful applications; others feel that the US, having at present ample power resources, has lacked incentive

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" TO SAFEGUARD THE SPIRIT OF FREE INQUIRY "

INVESTIGATIONS AND LOYALTY

One of the most pressing problems facing the Administration, the nation, and the FAS as the Republicans assume power is the conduct and scope of future loyalty and security investigations and programs.

INVESTIGATORS TOE MARK

A victorious political party has a natural tendency to start its regime with investigations of its predecessors' activities. In the new Congress, this will be amplified by the presence of a large number of influential and senior Congressmen whose major claim to fame rests on the conduct of such investigations. Committees chaired by McCarthy and Velde have already announced expansion of investigative activities in several directions, the chief problem being to avoid stepping on each other's toes in the rush to determine who will investigate what.

Unknown is the position of President-elect Eisenhower, whose authority to transmit or withhold information from the Executive files can be used either to feed or quell investigative zeal. There is ample evidence that Eisenhower has extreme distaste for several of the more rabid Congressional investigators, and there can be little doubt that he recognizes the vital importance of preserving the morale of federal employees. However, the pressures which will be exerted on him to open the dikes will certainly be heavy.

EDUCATION HEADS LIST

Sweeping activity is anticipated on government employees, unions, and educational institutions. Sen. McCarthy has stated that one of the first things he will do in the new Congress will be to conduct a search for "Communist thinkers" in the nation's colleges, although he promises not to encroach on the territory of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee already active in this field in the New York area. He observed that it will be "an awfully unpleasant task," that he expects "all hell" to break loose, and that there will be "screaming of interference with academic freedom." Rep. Velde, who will be the new head of the House Un-American Activities Committee, also intends to comb the field of education for communists and subversives.

BROADEN THE TARGET

To these programs Sen. McCarran will give full backing, while Rep. Dies, a pioneer investigator now back in Congress, has claimed to possess a list of 100,000 subversives, and has suggested that he would introduce legislation "enlarging the scope of the [Un-American Activities] Committee so as to include Socialists and all those who don't believe in our form of government."

This tendency to broaden the target is indicated in the wording of the indictment by a Federal Grand Jury of Owen Lattimore for perjury on seven counts. Six concern specific events occurring over 10 years ago and appear to depend for their significance upon the first -- that he had been "a sympathizer and promoter of communism and communist interests."

LOOSENING CRITERIA

The Lattimore indictment, and the Davies, Vincent, and Esther Brunauer cases in the State Department, as well as scattered incidents across the country, show a dangerously deepening trend towards

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VISA ISSUE FOR CONGRESS

Copies of the recent special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists on visa problems are being made available by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago for free distribution to Congress. These will be most effective if forwarded directly with a personal covering letter by local constituents. Use this coupon:

I will send a Bulletin copy and personal covering letter to my Congressman, who is
give name, district, state) _____

My name _____

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SEND TO: ASC, 956 E. 58th St., Chicago 37, Illinois.

FOREIGN SCIENTISTS WELCOME ?

The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization issued its report on the controversial McCarran Immigration Act on January 1. The 316-page report, entitled "Whom We Shall Welcome" (a quotation from George Washington), recommended that the Act be "reconsidered and revised from end to end." (Copies @ \$.75 from Govt. Printing Office, Wash., D.C.)

VISA RECOMMENDATIONS

With respect to the difficulties and delays encountered by many in getting visas, the report recommends that "arrangements be made to expedite the granting of visas to distinguished scientists, scholars, and other leaders in the arts, professions, and business, invited to the US for temporary visits by responsible institutions and that consideration be given to inauguration of a preclearance system... Aliens should be permitted to enter the US for temporary visits, regardless of former membership or affiliation with subversive organizations, if the purpose of their visit is legitimate and if there is no reason to believe that they will engage in activities inimical to the US."

Complimentary statements on the report by FAS Chairman J. Halpern, Vice-chairman V. F. Weisskopf, and Secretary C. D. Coryell were widely noted by press and radio.

VISA PROTESTS CONTINUE

In November, the Council of the American Physical Society, meeting in St. Louis, charged that "In the past few years, the progress of American physics has been impeded by US visa and passport restrictions." In December, the Council of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences called for "drastic modification" of the McCarran-Walter Act on the grounds that it handicaps scientific work. The Academy recommended, among other things, that temporary visas be granted to natural scientists "regardless of their political beliefs -- unless they are specifically barred by the Attorney General on the ground that their admission will be a danger to the national security."

PROSPECTS

According to the Christian Science Monitor, the McCarran Act will not be able to survive the tidal wave of criticism now directed against it. President-elect Eisenhower has taken a strong stand for revision of the Act. Nonetheless, there is little assurance that the Act will be favorably revised, particularly with regard to the visa situation, unless intensive effort on the part of scientists continues.

The FAS is a national organization of scientists concerned with the impact of science on national and world affairs. This Newsletter is designed primarily to inform the membership and stimulate discussion of relevant issues. The facts and opinions contained do not reflect official FAS policies unless specifically so indicated. The Newsletter is edited by member-volunteers in the Washington area. Comments and contributions are invited.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH

is essential to continued FAS effectiveness. All scientists, graduate students in science, and a limited number of non-scientists are eligible. Use the coupon.

- MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION -- Dues: Regular - \$5 (with income below \$2500 - \$3); Supporting - \$10; Patron - \$25. New membership and an introductory subscription to Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists - \$7.50 (with income below \$2500 - \$5.50).
- NEWSLETTER SUBSCRIPTION -- \$2 to non-members (all members receive the Newsletter)

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"to SECURE the BENEFITS of SCIENCE to the GENERAL WELFARE"

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

NSF's annual report to Congress -- its first on a full year of actual operation -- is to be filed by January 15 but is not available at this writing. In his budget message, made public January 9, President Truman again requested \$15,000,000 for the Foundation -- the full amount permitted by the statute. A similar request last year was cut to \$4.75 million by Congressional trimmers. There is no hint as yet on attitudes of the Eisenhower administration toward NSF, nor on the effectiveness with which the agency now will argue its case before the appropriations committees. With anticipated cuts in military spending -- at present the major source of research support -- the NSF appropriation assumes special importance. Particularly is this true in view of figures (see NL 52-9) indicating that despite over-all increase in scientific support in 1952, the trend for basic research is downward. Not only is the full \$15 million needed in 1953 but, as the budget message urges, consideration must be given to lifting the statutory limitation to allow shift to NSF of research funds from other sources now threatened by general reduction of military spending.

DEFENSE THROUGH DAMNATION

Defending private foundations before the Cox committee (see NL 52-9) against suspicion of supporting subversion, Henry Allen Moe, secretary of the Guggenheim Foundation, claimed a positive "correlation between academic eminence and political naiveté," asserting that "these people [scientists, writers, etc.] live in a world that isn't the world of reality to you and me..." He reminded the committee that "it's a free country and...every man has a right to make a damn fool of himself."

The Committee report to Congress gave the foundations a clean bill of health and urged even greater public support.

Objective -- A Rational Atom (Cont. from Page 2).
to develop this new resource.

PRIVATE POWER? Pointing toward off-forecast changes in the Atomic Energy Act, the Joint Committee's report said "there were no suggestions that the public interest could be protected only by continued complete government monopoly." Labor officials and others may be expected to question the propriety of eventual private profit from an industry so far developed completely by public money. Thus a many-sided controversy appears to loom on the best way to develop power from the nucleus, if, as, and when it proves economically desirable. Opportunity is in the offing for scientists again to provide some measure of disinterested testimony on the technical facts of an atomic situation.

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Investigations and Loyalty (Cont. from Page 3).

disregarding traditional rules of evidence and jurisprudence. The presumption that an individual is innocent until proved guilty, that he may not be placed in jeopardy twice for the same accusation, and other basic concepts of Anglo-Saxon law are menaced as never before.

Censorship extending even beyond present secrecy restrictions is also in the air. Long since, the Soviet government was forbidden to mail its English-language information bulletin to subscribers in the US. Now the N. Y. Times of Nov. 28 reports that postal authorities have failed to deliver, or have delivered only after long delays, other magazines and publications originating in Soviet-bloc nations. They take upon themselves the authority to decide which scholars and institutions in this country should be permitted to receive such materials. With its usual reserve, the Times suggests that these actions "must give Americans a sense of unease."

That scientists can sometimes be influential in such matters was shown last year when the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists protested a Department of Commerce ruling that it could not be mailed to "Iron Curtain countries." The Bulletin fight received support from other publications, and eventually the ban was lifted, not only for itself but for all other publications affected.

A BRIGHTER SIDE

There are, however, items on the brighter side. A Supreme Court decision on December 15 unannouncedly placed a limitation on the lengths to which a loyalty oath may go, when it struck down an Oklahoma oath required of all state officers and employees. The high court held that membership alone in an organization listed as subversive could not be used to bar a person from public employment, since this "membership may be innocent."

Scientists meanwhile affirmed, by acclamation, their confidence in E. U. Condon despite the latest blast levelled at him by the Un-American Activities Committee in its annual report. Condon was given a rousing ovation as he was handed the president's gavel at the recent St. Louis meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The new AAAS president has continued angrily to deny the charges which have been made against him:

"The House Committee's lying dishonesty in its attitude toward me is a shocking thing to all decent Americans, especially to those who know my record...coupled with the complete absence of any evidence of failure on my part to safeguard security."

Possible beginnings of a scientists' fight against politically inspired attacks is indicated by a proposal of Maurice Visscher to the AAAS that it assess its members to build up a defense fund.

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