

# F. A. S. NEWSLETTER

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March 31, 1958

## CESSATION OF NUCLEAR TESTS?

The USSR announced today it is halting nuclear weapons tests but said that, if the other nuclear powers continue testing, the USSR would "consider itself free to resume" tests in the interests of national security. No date was given when the unilateral cessation would take effect.

A US statement immediately responded that the Soviet action offered no assurance against cheating, and that the free world should not give up its collective capacity to defend itself merely in exchange for a Soviet promise.

Russia has just completed a nuclear test series and the US plans a series in April. President Eisenhower announced on Mar. 6 that foreign scientists and newsmen would be invited to witness a US test this summer to "demonstrate the progress our scientists are achieving" in reducing fallout. Observers would probably be invited through the 15-nation UN Scientific Comm. on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. Since the summary in our last issue, debate has continued on whether to limit tests, with many urging that an international agreement to suspend tests be worked out promptly, independent of other disarmament steps.

U.S. POSITION Discussing US disarmament policy on Mar. 6, the President had told a press conference that he believed it "unwise to take a perfectly rigid position" in regard to divorcing the test-suspension proposal from the proposal for controlling production of nuclear materials. He departed from views he had expressed earlier when he said that his discussions with his scientific advisers led him to believe that tests down to the "fractional kiloton" size ought to be detectable "with proper inspection facilities."

Portions of testimony by AE Commissioner Libby, taken in closed hearings by the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee, were released on Mar. 13. Libby said detection of hidden tests carried out in violation of a test ban would be "a pretty tough job," but that he believed a system could be developed to enforce such a ban by making the risk of detection "good enough." Although he advocated continued testing to develop "clean bombs," warheads for intercontinental missiles, and nuclear devices for peaceful uses, and also stated his belief that the US "would lose a great deal" if all tests were ended, Libby suggested an international agreement to limit the amount of radioactive fallout that nations could place in the atmosphere, and urged continuation of non-military nuclear experiments under UN supervision.

STASSEN Harold Stassen, who resigned Feb. 15 as the President's disarmament adviser, discussed the test ban question in 2 articles syndicated Feb. 26-27 by the North Amer. Newspaper Alliance, and in subsequent testimony (Feb. 28) before the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee. He proposed negotiation of a "trial agreement" in 4 parts: (1) agreement by the US and USSR to cease nuclear tests for 2 years; (2) creation of a UN unit responsible for supervising and inspecting all subsequent agreements that are reached; (3) installation of UN inspection posts inside the US and USSR, with permission for inspection teams to visit other locations when deemed necessary; (4) formation of a group to negotiate additional disarmament steps during this period.

Stassen said that 11 or 12 monitoring stations in the USSR and a similar number in the US and its Pacific testing grounds would be sufficient to detect violations. He suggested that, if

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## A.E.C. ERRS ON DETECTION DISTANCE

On Mar. 6, the AEC issued a report on a deep underground nuclear shot exploded in Nevada last Sept. 19. The release said "the off-site movement" was slight and the "maximum distance" at which the earth waves of the shock were recorded was about 250 air miles away. In contradiction to this statement, Harold Stassen had told a Disarmament Subcommittee hearing Feb. 28 that the "very small nuclear shot that was put out underground in last year's test was recorded on every seismic instrument within 1000 miles."

CORRECTION According to a later explanation by the AEC, "a news correspondent on Mar. 7 called" to check on the distance at which the shot was detected. The correspondent, I. F. Stone, describes in his Weekly (Mar. 17 and 24 issues) how he checked N. Y. Times reports last Sept. that the test was recorded in Toronto and Rome. He called the Coast and Geodetic Survey and obtained a "list of 18 seismic stations in the US and Canada ... which are definitely known to have recorded the underground test," and asked the AEC for an explanation.

On Mar. 10, the AEC issued a correction, that: "Seismological stations ... as far away" as Fairbanks, Alaska -- 2320 miles distant -- "recorded the earth waves." Sen. Humphrey, Disarmament Subcommittee Chairman, stressed the significance of the correction in a statement Mar. 11. He noted that his Subcommittee and "other observers" had brought the error to the AEC's attention. He referred to what Stassen had said about the distance at which the test was detected, and observed that the AEC's statements gave "the impression that scientific facts are being used by someone to prove a political point, a dangerous concept to perpetuate in our effort to work out effective arms control agreements."

"INADVERTENT ERROR"? In a special hearing Mar. 15, AEC Commissioner Libby explained to the Joint Committee on

Atomic Energy that "the error was entirely inadvertent." In a letter to Sen. Humphrey Mar. 10, Libby pointed out that it was not yet clear that "non-alerted" stations "hundreds or thousands of miles distant could detect an earth disturbance and identify it" as a nuclear detonation. When we learned on Mar. 10 that an error had been made, he wrote, "the AEC immediately issued a correction." Chairman Durham recalled in the Mar. 15 hearing, however, that AEC officials had told the Joint Committee in closed hearings in January that the shot had been recorded in Alaska. The AEC's involved explanation as to how the error occurred in the Mar. 6 release is summarized in the N. Y. Times, Mar. 16.

AEC CRITICIZED BY FAS The FAS Executive Committee, in a public statement Mar. 20, criticized the AEC for

failure to provide "complete and frank reporting of the scientific facts which must form the basis for any well informed view on disarmament policy. Decisions on matters of national policy must ultimately rest in the hands of citizens, and it is the duty of responsible officials to ensure that all the relevant facts are made available to the public."

The FAS release noted that "the recent episode does not stand alone." It said the AEC has placed an "optimistic interpretation" on fallout data and that the information it has given to

(Continued on Page 3, end of Column 2)

## SPACE CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

Following President Eisenhower's proposal for international control of outer space (NL 57-2), the USSR proposed on Mar. 15 a 4-point "peace plan" for consideration in East-West summit talks. Under UN control, the plan would ban "the use of cosmic space for military purposes" and liquidate military bases in other countries, and create a UN agency for international cooperation in space research. The Washington Post pointed out that "this is the first time in recent memory that the Russians have advocated working through the UN." Secretary Dulles subsequently rejected the plan, and the prospects for a summit meeting remain dim in the absence of agreement on suitable agenda topics.

The State Dept. announced Feb. 27 that Secretary Dulles had appointed James J. Wadsworth "to act, under the Secretary's direction, as US representative in future negotiations for an agreement on the limitation of armament." The release also announced appointment of a 4-man disarmament advisory panel, composed of former NATO commander Alfred M. Gruenther, former Under Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett, former High Commissioner of Germany John J. McCloy, and Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, former Under Secretary of State and head of Central Intelligence Agency. All appointments were made with approval of the President. Wadsworth will remain Deputy Representative to the UN under Ambassador Lodge, a position he has held since 1953.

The Wadsworth appointment "is in no sense a replacement for Stassen," Chalmers Roberts stated in the Washington Post (Feb. 28), since the latter had direct access to the President, a seat on the National Security Council, and thus was above any one department. Wadsworth has none of these posts and "is a part of the State Dept. alone," with Dulles controlling his "relationships and negotiations with other departments here as well as with other departments. . . . The effect is to downgrade the disarmament post. Most observers here tend to believe it will now be even more difficult" to create US policies to bridge the gap to the USSR. Marquis Childs made similar observations in a column Mar. 15. He expressed doubt that the 4-man panel, although they "are all able men with long experience in public affairs," would provide Dulles with new and imaginative ideas for reaching agreement. "With the best of intentions they could give only a small fraction of their time and attention" to disarmament issues.

### US SPACE EXPLORATION

President Eisenhower approved (Mar. 27) a space exploratory program, including unmanned rockets & missiles to the moon, to be carried out by the Defense Dept.'s Advance Research Projects Agency. He also indicated that, when and if a civilian space agency is created, the project will be reviewed to determine what parts would remain in the Defense Dept. and what would be placed under the new agency. According to Press Secretary Hagerty, the President will shortly ask Congress to set up a civilian space agency. ARPA was set up Feb. 7 as a clearing house for development of outer space weapons and vehicles, and U. Cal. Rad. Lab. director H. F. York was named (Mar. 18) as its chief scientist.

Chairman Johnson (D, Tex.) of the Senate's new Special Committee on Space and Astronautics, and Chairman McCormack (D, Mass.) of the companion House Committee, have recently announced staff appointments and are expected to begin soon on their studies of all aspects of space administration and related problems. Commenting editorially (Mar. 2) on "the urgency of a practicable plan for direction of space exploration," the Washington Post said that "the military services obviously must proceed with such efforts until there is something to take their place; but this is clearly a task for a civilian agency." The US program "ought to be controlled in a way that will facilitate" an effective international control plan.

**"RADIATION & ITS EFFECTS"** is the topic of an open meeting at 8 PM on Thursday, May 1, at the Shoreham Hotel, sponsored by the FAS Washington Chapter. Speakers will include Willard F. Libby, AEC Commissioner; Lester Machta, of the US Weather Bureau; and Russell Morgan, chief radiologist at the Johns Hopkins Hospital and US Public Health Service adviser on radiation hazards. Dr. Stanley H. Clark, medical physicist with the Glenn L. Martin Company, will chair the meeting.

## PASSPORT LEGISLATION PENDING

While the Supreme Court has before it several cases challenging the State Department's authority to deny passports, legislation is pending in Congress which would affect present passport policy and procedures. At present, the grounds on which passports may be denied or revoked are spelled out in administrative regulations drawn up by the State Dept., and (regarding "subversive" activity) in the Internal Security Act of 1950. Two of the bills [HR 9937, introduced Jan. 13 by Rep. Walter (D, Pa.), and S. 3344, introduced Feb. 24 by Sen. Hennings (D, Mo.) and 15 others], would give legal authority for State: (1) to deny passports on essentially the same grounds now set forth in its regulations, and (2) to base its action on undisclosed information and confidential informants.

S. 2770, introduced last August by Sen. Fulbright (D, Ark.), would provide for passport denials only: (1) if there is "good reason to believe that the travel abroad of the citizen or his activities abroad will violate" US laws; (2) if he "is a member of the Communist Party or . . . of an organization" found to be subversive by the Subversive Activities Control Board, or if it is shown that "he continues to act in furtherance of the interests" of such organization; (3) if he owes the Government money "for previous transportation back to the US." Fulbright's proposal would provide for "a full and fair hearing before a board of passport appeals." This wording could be interpreted to preclude reliance on undisclosed evidence and sources. These bills, in the order listed here, are before the House Un-American Activities and Senate Foreign Relations Committees.

The Supreme Court is expected to rule in April on the cases of Rockwell Kent, Walter Briehl, and physicist W. Bruce Dayton. Kent and Briehl were denied passports for failing to provide affidavits forswearing past or present membership in the Communist party. Dayton's case, in which FAS is participating through amicus curiae brief and financial support, raises the question as to whether a passport can be denied on the basis of secret information.

### ATOMIC ENERGY REVISIONS PROPOSED

Hearings were held last week before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee on Administration proposals to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to permit sharing nuclear material and information with our allies. The legislation was introduced in January in both Houses -- by Sen. Pastore (S. 3474) and Rep. Durham (HR 11426) -- and closed hearings were conducted before the current series. As explained by AEC Commissioner Vance, the amendments would permit transfer to other nations of weapon blueprints, nuclear bomb material for military purposes, and weapon delivery systems including missiles.

**CREATE 4th NUCLEAR POWER?** Rep. Holifield (D, Cal.) expressed grave concern that the revisions would "open the door to creating a fourth atomic weapon nation, a fifth, a sixth, and many more." Pointing out that "until now, we have hoped that a safe agreement to prevent a nuclear war could be arranged" between the present 3 nuclear powers, Holifield asked whether the legislation might not make it far more difficult to reach such an agreement. He also expressed concern because the bills would place responsibility for the transfer of information in the hands of the President, and would eliminate the safeguards of Congressional scrutiny.

The Committee presented AEC Chairman Strauss, apparently to his surprise, with an internal communication he had sent the Defense Dept. in December, which warned that non-nuclear powers which received material under the proposed Act might be able to fabricate their own nuclear bombs.

The **FAS GROUP at COLUMBIA U.**, which has recently been formed, announces 2 Monday meetings (Apr. 7 and 21) at 12:15 PM in the private dining room of the Teachers College Cafeteria, Teachers College, 120 St. between Broadway and Amsterdam Ave. Members interested in receiving further notices from this group (which averaged 45 people at each of their first two luncheon meetings) should send their name and address to Columbia Section FAS, c/o Jay Orear, Box 83, Pupin, Columbia Univ., New York 27, N.Y. The main purpose of these meetings is to provide an informal get-together of scientists from all fields.

## LOYALTY - SECURITY LEGISLATION

Congressional activity related to civil liberties is at a high pitch -- much of it being aimed at undoing recent Supreme Court decisions. The sweeping bill (S. 2646), introduced by Sen. Jenner (R, Ind.), is intended to remove some civil liberties questions from the jurisdiction of the Court. It would forbid Supreme Court review of cases involving: (1) the investigative powers of Congress (Watkins and Sweezy cases); (2) the Federal security clearance program (Cole, see below; and Service); (3) State laws against subversive activities (Nelson); (4) anti-subversives procedure of school boards (Slochower); and (5) State admission of lawyers to the bar (Schware and Koenigsberg). As a result, the decision of the 58 different judiciaries comprising the state Supreme Courts and the Federal Circuit Courts would be final in such cases. Three weeks of hearings have been held by Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee, during which most of the witnesses heard, and mail received, were in favor of the bill. However, Atty. Gen. Roberts, the Amer. Bar Assn., and many law school deans and liberal organizations have opposed the bill.

After the hearings, Sen. J. M. Butler (R, Md.) introduced a substitute bill which won Jenner's support. It is aimed at the same cases, but would specifically limit the Supreme Court's jurisdiction only on (5) above. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over the other matters would be upset by changes in the Federal laws.

**UPSET COLE DECISION?** In the House, a maneuver is in process to make ineffective the Supreme Court ruling in the Cole case (NL 56-7) that dismissals and suspensions under the Federal Security Program must be limited to those in sensitive jobs. The text of the Senate-passed bill [S. 1411, introduced by Sen Johnston (D, S.C.)], which simply made clear that suspension of accused employees during clearance proceedings is optional, not mandatory, has been deleted, and a new text by Rep. Walter (D, Pa.) has been substituted by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Application of new security clearance procedures described in the Walter version of the bill are intended to apply to all federal employees, on the grounds that federal employees "are deemed to be employed in an activity of the government involving National security."

The Walter text sets up new security clearance procedures under which an accused employee may be suspended (although suspension is not mandatory); will receive charges detailed "to the extent that [the] agency head determines that the interests of the national safety, security, and welfare permit;" can submit an answer; and can appeal to the Civil Service Commission. In addition, a permanent Federal employee who is a US citizen can request a hearing and must receive a review by his agency and a written statement of the decision.

### UN POLICE FORCE PROPOSAL BEFORE CONGRESS

Since the establishment of the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East, efforts to establish a permanent UN police (or emergency) force have gained momentum. The United World Federalists have especially pressed for action, and last Aug. 8 the Senate unanimously passed S. Res. 15 (by Sparkman and 10 others) urging that a force similar to the UN Emergency Force be made "a permanent arm of the UN." In its policy statement released Feb. 8, the FAS Council strongly endorsed "the establishment of a permanent UN Police Force ... as an increasingly important, safe and effective deterrent to aggression and a basis for limiting the present precarious arms race." FAS recently joined with the UWF and 15 other civic organizations in urging House hearings on H. Res. 367 by Rep. A. S. J. Carnahan (D, Mo.). This resolution, and similar resolutions introduced by Reps. Hale (Me.), Mellow (N.H.), Kelly (N.Y.), Reuss (Wisc.), and Wainwright (N.Y.), are practically identical to the measure already approved by the Senate. These are now before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, but no hearings are scheduled as yet.

FAS members who favor this position are urged to write their local congressmen and the Hon. Thomas S. Gordon, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee (House Office Bldg., Washington 25, D.C.), urging that hearings be scheduled soon and that interested individuals and groups be given an adequate opportunity to testify.

### AEC ERRS (Cont. from page 1).

the public in this area has been "incomplete and, by emphasis or omission, misleading." In the case of fallout, as in "the tardy disclosure about the distance of the detection of last Sept.'s test explosion, the AEC has been willing to make complete data available only under the pressure of outside scrutiny by non-governmental experts." The Committee pointed out that US agreement to a nuclear test suspension "has undoubtedly been delayed by apprehension in many quarters, growing out of uncertainty regarding the detectability of nuclear weapons tests -- even though non-governmental experts have repeatedly stated that a test ban could be adequately inspected with existing techniques.

"The Administration has in the past relied heavily for its advice upon a limited group of scientists in its own employ ... It is imperative that in the future the Administration draw upon a more broadly representative group of scientists for its advice, and that scientists not intimately associated with large-scale government programs be included."

### AEC LACK OF "CANDOR"

A 13-page report, charging that "the AEC's evaluation of the fallout hazard has not been based on the standards of objectivity and candor that are customary in scientific matters," was released Mar. 19 by the Nat. Comm. for a Sane Nuclear Policy (NCSNP). The report quotes extensively from AEC documents to support its contention, analyzing in each case the interpretation placed by the AEC on the scientific data known at the time. The analysis is compiled to demonstrate "that the AEC has ... tended to foster the most optimistic interpretation (i.e., which most minimizes the expected hazard from fallout radiation) and that the AEC has altered this position only under the pressure of outside scrutiny and attack."

The NCSNP is co-chaired by Saturday Review editor Norman Cousins and Clarence Pickett, long active with the Amer. Friends Service Committee. Present FAS Vice-Chairman Wolfe and former Chairman Charles Price serve with Norman Thomas, Clark Eichelberger, and others on the 16-man Executive Committee. Copies of the above report are available from Trevor Thomas, Executive Secretary, NCSNP, 202 E. 44th St., N.Y. 17.

**FAS MEMBER'S WIFE to CONGRESS?** Rudd Brown, wife of Cal. Tech. professor Harrison Brown, is seeking the Congressional seat of Republican incumbent Edgar W. Hiestand. Mrs. Brown, 37-year-old granddaughter of William Jennings Bryan, has been endorsed by the Democratic organization of California's 21st District. She plans to wage her campaign primarily on issues of nuclear disarmament and foreign policy, and hopes to raise part of the \$50,000 needed for campaign expenses with the help of scientists concerned with the serious questions of nuclear policy.

The FAS is a national organization of scientists and engineers concerned with the impact of science on national and world affairs. This issue of the Newsletter was prepared by D. A. Osgood and I. Shapiro of the Washington Office Staff, together with Mrs. L. Herzenberg and M. M. Elkind, volunteers from the Washington area.

- MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION** -- Dues: Regular - \$5 (with income below \$3000 - \$3); Supporting - \$10; Patron - \$25. New membership and an introductory subscription to Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists - \$8.50 (with income below \$3000 - \$6.50).
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## SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE

After 3 months of negotiation, the US and USSR announced (Jan. 27) that they had reached an agreement providing for exchange programs in several areas. A provision for exchange of scientists to lecture and carry out research is to be worked out by the respective Academies of Science. In medicine and agriculture, there are to be multiple exchange visits covering a 2-year period. In addition the agreement provides for further exchanges in radio and TV broadcasts and showing of films, athletic teams, entertainment groups and artists. While many of the exchanges are covered in detail in the agreement, others, including establishment of air flights, remain to be worked out. According to the Amer. Council on Education, which published the text of the agreement in their Mar. 12 bulletin, "exchanges of graduate students, instructors and professors of the universities of both countries will take place for the first time." The State Dept. saw the agreement as "a significant first step" to improve mutual understanding and to lessen international tensions.

**RESTRICTIONS ON SCIENTISTS** In testimony Jan. 22 before the House Government Information Subcommittee, which is studying steps to increase the flow of information among scientists, Rockefeller Foundation vice-president Warren Weaver said "it is absolutely essential to a general scientific development that scientists communicate with each other." Government assistance in translating and cataloging the world's scientific literature must be expanded and personal contact among scientists increased, said Weaver, a former AAAS president and board member of the Nat. Science Foundation. He pointed out that, while restrictions limiting contacts between US and foreign scientists have recently been lifted, there are still a "few points which demand reform."

As an example, Weaver discussed an invitation that had been issued in 1955, "with the approval of our Government," for the International Astronomical Union to hold its 1961 General Assembly in the US. Government officials are now debating whether to admit astronomers from Communist China to that meeting. It is doubtful if the conference will be held in the US if the Chinese are barred. However, Weaver observed, the State Dept. apparently was making exceptions to permit Red Chinese athletes to attend the 1960 Winter Olympics in California, and to admit Communist cartoonists as well. "But what sort of a sense of value do we have if we make exceptions for cartoonists and athletes," Weaver asked, "and continue to be sticky about scientists?"

**NUCLEAR TESTS CESSATION?** (Cont. from page 1). necessary in order to reach agreement, England might be allowed to conduct a few more tests, and France might be permitted her first. He believed his proposal would be acceptable to the NATO countries. Speaking before the Amer. Assoc. for the UN on Mar. 9, Stassen urged that -- during the 2-year test

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suspension period -- the US should push for creation of a "permanent UN police force having available to it atomic weapons of limited number and size," and formation of a UN space development agency. (Copies of this hearing are now available from the Subcommittee, Capitol Bldg., Washington 25, D. C.)

**F A S VIEWS** Acting FAS Chairman Hugh C. Wolfe reiterated (N.Y. Times, Mar. 4) FAS arguments that an "agreed cessation of nuclear testing, with adequate monitoring by a UN agency, is both technically feasible and urgently necessary as a significant step" toward further disarmament agreements. Wolfe wrote that "a limited number of monitoring stations, including some within the territories of the great powers," would permit detection of tests above and underground. While the radiation hazard may be "small compared to other common hazards," the world should not be exposed "to such an added hazard if it can reasonably be avoided." A test cessation would provide "much needed information on the whole problem of inspected disarmament," Wolfe emphasized. In addition, advances in weapons technology by both sides would be inhibited, Wolfe said.

**OTHER VIEWS** In the March Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Jay Orear reports as a participant in a private, unclassified study (sponsored by the Columbia U. Institute of War and Peace Studies) on the technical problems in detecting possible violations of a disarmament agreement. Orear, physics professor at Columbia U., analyzes seismic-, acoustic-, radio-active-, and light-detection methods and concludes that a network of monitoring stations within 300 miles of each other could detect nuclear explosions down to one kiloton. Provided UN observers are invited to all large chemical explosions, Orear estimates that some 25 UN monitoring stations in the USSR would permit detection of all Russian nuclear tests unless they are of ultra low yield.

Harrison Brown, geochemistry professor at Cal. Tech., favored a suspension of nuclear tests for an agreed-upon period in a lecture at the U. of Minnesota (Mar. 9) and in testimony before the Disarmament Subcommittee (Mar. 25). To keep "this first step toward arms control as simple ... as possible," he stressed it was only important to ban those tests which could be detected by a worldwide network of monitoring stations. He told the Senate that those who advocate keeping ahead in development of offensive and defensive weapons systems "underestimate the long-range dangers" of such a policy, and that "the risks inherent in a policy which would hinder nuclear-military developments on a worldwide basis would be negligible when compared with the risks inherent in a situation in which controls are non-existent." As a second step, Brown urged the monitoring of missile tests -- a problem which is "perhaps even more urgent" but considerably more difficult technologically.

Edward Teller and Albert Latter, whose views in favor of continued testing were presented in Life (Feb. 10) and summarized in our last issue, have now put their thesis into a book, "Our Nuclear Future" (Criterion Books, 184 pp., \$3.50).

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