

sister republic make concessions contrary to the interests of its people for the benefit of the big monopolies.'

Dr. Arturo Frondizi, President of the National Committee of the Argentine Radical Party, during the Caracas Conference.

- The Bolivian Trade Union Centre asked that Bolivia should not take part in the Conference:

'...Free peoples such as ours, Brother President, cannot lend themselves to plots concocted by the imperialists and carried out by those who are body and soul in their employ.'

Memorandum of the Bolivian Trade Union Centre against the Tenth Inter-American Conference, sent to the President of the Republic, October 1953.

- The Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.):

'...Not only are the interests of the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the industrialists and the middle classes of Latin America in danger, but also the vital interests of our peoples and our nations which have struggled ceaselessly for a century and a half to go forward independently and to free themselves from the foreign forces which oppress them.'

Mexico, February 1954.

Other reservations were also expressed:

'The Chilean Parliament has adopted a motion calling on the government to make Chile's participation at the Tenth Conference conditional on the re-establishment of respect for individual rights in Venezuela. An identical motion has been approved by the Uruguayan Lower House, a motion presented by Mr. Dardo Regulez, the head of the Uruguayan delegation at Bogota. The Inter-American Workers' organisation, which has nearly twenty-two million members, has made representations on the same lines. Bolivia and Costa Rica have expressed reservations. Finally, Guatemala has recently threatened not to take part in the Conference.'

Le Monde, February 17, 1954.

An article by Marcel Niedergang.

The Tenth Inter-American Conference was held from March 2-30, 1954. The debates centred around the draft resolution proposed by Mr. John Foster Dulles, which was approved by the legal-political commission by 17 votes to one and two abstentions. Economic questions were referred to a conference of the American states' ministers of trade which was held in Rio de Janeiro on November 22, 1954. The anti-colonialist resolution was approved by 19 votes for to one - the U.S.A. against. Other less important resolutions were passed by the conference.

- Statement by Mr. John Foster Dulles at Caracas:

'I believe that the Americas are not immune from the menace of Soviet Communism. The moment has come to proclaim once and for all that we consider any foreign despotism as hostile to our ideals and we will deal with it as a situation which threatens peace in America. There is no place on this continent for political institutions with foreign masters.'

First statement by Mr. John Foster Dulles at the Tenth Inter-American Conference, Caracas, March 1-28, 1954.

- Statement by Mr. Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister:

'It is amazing that the United States should try to obtain the collective support of all the American nations to violate the principle of non-intervention. By analysing the American proposal, one can see how dangerous it is. The Guatemalan delegation will energetically oppose any statement or resolution which attacks the basic principles of democracy under the pretext of combatting communism. The American proposal is a manoeuvre directed against Guatemala, unjustly accused of being

communist... We are categorically opposed to the internationalisation of MacCarthyism, to witch-hunting, book-burning and attempts to impose a uniform way of thinking.'

Les Archives Internationales, Doc. 1134
Fascicule 336

- Declaration of solidarity for the preservation of the political integrity of the American States against intervention by international communism:

'...States that the domination or control of the political institutions of any one of the American States by the international communist movement, thus spending the political system of an extra-continental power to our hemisphere, would constitute a menace to the political sovereignty and independence of the American States and endanger peace in America, and would make necessary a consultative meeting to consider the adoption of appropriate measures in conformity with existing treaties.'

March 13, 1954, Extract from the first part.

- Public opinion and the Caracas Conference:

'... If one bears in mind that half of the continent had placed its hopes in the discussions at this Conference to repair the wrongs which exist in the Latin American countries, badly led and badly organised, the extent of the disappointment which exists today can be understood.'

Editorial in La Prensa, Buenos Aires, March 30, 1954.

- Leading Brazilians:

'... On behalf of our people, we affirm our rejection of the resolution adopted at Caracas and our complete solidarity with our heroic sister republic of Guatemala.'

Appeal of Brazilian Democratic Organisations and individuals against the Caracas resolution, February 1954.

- The European Press:

'Briefly, the interest of the Tenth Inter-American Conference is not in the apparently unreserved adoption of the United States' anti-communist resolution. It lies rather in the increased awareness of their common problems which the Latin American countries now have. On certain definite and essential points it is no exaggeration to talk of a common Latin American front against the United States. Henceforth, Washington will have to bear this in mind.'

Article in Le Monde, March 30, 1954.

- Extract from a speech made in the Chilean Senate by Senator Bossay, President of the Radical Party, March 31, 1954:

'I must say frankly that I consider this resolution as going against national interests, the interests of Latin America and the interests of world peace. I consider it as a potential instrument of intervention in Latin America, I consider it dangerous because it places the countries of our America in a belligerent position with regard to a very large part of the world, a situation which is not justified by the realities of the present world situation and because it is incompatible with the conception which is at the basis of those countries' membership of the United Nations.'

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AND THE STRUGGLE
TO DEFEND PEACE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY
IN LATIN AMERICA

- Resolution of the World Council of Peace on the situation created in Latin America by foreign interference in the internal affairs of nations:

'In the guise of pacts and agreements supposedly intended to guarantee the collective security of the American Continent one state alone is continuously increasing domination over the countries of Latin America and the interference of this state in their lives constitutes a factor of general insecurity.

'The conditions which the countries of Latin America are now experiencing are an obstacle to international relaxation.

'They are:

- the insecurity resulting from the policy of preparation for war which finds its expression in certain pacts and regional agreements impairing the sovereignty and the liberties of the states of Latin America, and in foreign interventions such as that which recently brought about the fall of the legitimate Government of Guatemala;

- the signing of bilateral military pacts and regional agreements which further the political decisions of the Conference of Caracas and which integrate the countries of Latin America in aggressive blocs, obliging them to devote a large part of their natural wealth to purely warlike ends and running the risk of dragging peaceful peoples into wars contrary to all their interests and their hopes;

- the costly and unjustified intensification of the arms race in the Latin American countries, to the great detriment of their national economy and the already precarious conditions of life of their people;

- the pressure exercised on the countries of Latin America which has shown itself many times by their votes in numerous international organisations, thus opposing an obstacle to the improvement of international relations and the solution by means of negotiation of the pending conflicts and problems;

- the restriction of the freedom of trade and distribution of raw materials of Latin America with the object of creating a forced market with unilateral fixing of prices and preventing the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with other countries on a basis of reciprocal advantage;

- the limitation of cultural exchanges with all the countries of the world and the pressure which is brought to bear on national cultures in order to impose alien forms on them.

'Fighting to safeguard their sovereignty and to win real security for each and every one, the peoples of Latin America are contributing effectively to the struggle for Peace in America and the whole world.

'The World Council of Peace considers that it is only by co-operation between the peoples of the American continent on the basis of equality and mutual respect that the peoples of Latin America can gain prosperity and security.'

Stockholm, November 23, 1954.

- Since the beginning of the World Peace Movement the peoples of Latin America have joined in the common struggle for peace in conformity with the general line expressed in its resolutions:

'Those who want war impose on us crushing burdens which aggravate the situation of the mass of the people, particularly in Latin America... They corrupt the political life of nations, supporting the worst tyrannies and organising the anti-popular forces. They steal the material wealth of our peoples for the benefit of a

small group of big monopolies and strive to transform us into colonies.'

(Extract from the resolution of the American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico, September 10, 1949)

- Their peace principles have been reaffirmed a number of times:

'... We affirm that peace through understanding and the settlement of international differences, disarmament and the banning of atomic weapons, free economic co-operation, respect for national sovereignty, the full recognition of democratic rights, and the free material and cultural development of the peoples are our greatest aspirations and constitute the historical tradition of the struggles of the Latin American nations.'

(Extract from the resolution of the American Continental Congress for Peace, Montevideo, March 11-16, 1952)

- National Peace Movements, conferences and meetings, organisations, individuals and the press have demonstrated the Latin American peoples' will and their aspirations to peace and independence. Lawyers stated:

'... that America, born for peace and liberty, needs democratic legality and a constitutional regime capable of assuring, in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding, its progress, its greatness, and its bright future in a world at peace.'

(Extract from the Charter adopted by the Second Continental Conference of Lawyers, October 20, 1953)

- All Latin American National Peace Committees demonstrated their active support for Guatemala:

'The aggression in Guatemala is a clear warning to the peoples of Latin America and especially to the Mexican peoples... We defend the Guatemalan people's right to self-determination.'

Mexican Peace Council, June 22, 1954.

- Argentine and Cuban doctors went on record against weapons of mass destruction:

'We swore an oath to preserve the life of men and lighten their sufferings when we entered the medical profession. Can we therefore peacefully devote ourselves to our occupation and calmly make plans for the future when weapons which can kill millions and millions of human beings in a few hours are being piled up and tested?'

(Extract from a message sent to UNO by the doctors of Rosario.)

'The National Medical College rejects and vigorously condemns any intention to make possible what is called bacteriological war.

'The National Medical College protests against the carrying-out of tests which can endanger the health of the people in any part of the world, particularly here and in the Caribbean.'

Statement against the bacteriological tests the British Government proposed to hold off the Bahamas, made on April 25, 1954, by the National Medical College of Cuba.

- The sovereignty of the nations and free international relations:

'This Conference of Members of Parliament and Public Figures of Latin America, meeting in Chile on July 11, 1954, affirms its unshakable determination to defend the principle of national sovereignty, so that it may not be trampled on in future, and the inalienable right of every nation to create its own constitutional and legal system and to maintain international relations, both diplomatic and commercial, free from any restrictions and commitments which could harm their freedom of action. This shall be done by the joint action of members of parliament in the various parliaments of Latin America and by the mobilisation and democratic organisation of the people.'

- The peoples of Latin America opposed their countries' participation in war and war preparations. Faced with the protests of the people, the Mexican Government had to abandon the negotiations with the United States Government for the signing of a bilateral pact of military assistance:

'... The two delegations put forward their respective points of view. The Mexican delegation clearly expounded the reasons which prevented it from accepting the North American proposal. So with both parties agreeing and without signing any commitment or making any recommendation to the two governments, the talks were considered as ended and it was decided to continue them when the two governments think it necessary.'

Official communique of the Mexican Government,
February 22, 1952.

'The negotiations entered into in Mexico by the delegation with Major General Edward Jones at its head lasted for two weeks, ended in complete failure on February 22, and the delegation had to go back home with no more ado. There was a basic difference of views on one question, writes the New York Times. It appears that Mexico categorically refused to send its troops to fight outside its own territory.'

Article by Angel Marvaud in Le Monde of March 16-17, 1952.

- In various countries the peoples have opposed the setting up of military bases. There have been great campaigns in Brazil and Cuba to end the occupation of the bases used during the war and the bilateral pacts have aroused a public outcry and given rise to many statements of opinion in the countries of Latin America. Lawyers, for example, stated:

'Considering that the bilateral agreements on military assistance, as they are at present being drawn up, distort the universal function of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of international differences and that the treatment of the high contracting parties is unequal therein, this Conference decides to warn the peoples of America of the dangers of accepting such bilateral pacts in their present formulation.'

(Extract from the resolution of the First Continental Conference of Lawyers, Rio de Janeiro, December 1, 1952)

- In the Parliaments:

'Basically, I consider that the agreement being discussed will tighten the hold over our raw materials and strike a blow at our sovereignty. It will not strengthen our army in relation to its technical needs but in relation to actions to take place beyond our borders.'

Mr. Salvador Allende in the Chilean Senate in July, 1952.

- The campaign against the sending of troops to Korea prevented the countries of Latin America, with the exception of Colombia, from taking part in the conflict:

'To send troops would be violating the letter and spirit of the inter-American treaty of joint defence and would, to a certain extent, be a sort of tacit reproach and, indirectly, a failure in loyalty towards the other countries which signed it. No war has been declared, the United States have not been attacked.'

Dr. Guillermo Bolt, former Cuban representative in the United Nations, in Alerta of February 28, 1951.

- The defence of national culture plays a great role in the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for peace and national sovereignty:

'... It is inadmissible that, for political or ideological reasons, artificial obstacles should arise between countries, creating impassable gulfs between them through State laws or the application of regulations established for other purposes. Here we are speaking of economic controls, government pressure and the obstacles placed in the way of the free circulation of books and works of art.'

(Extract from the resolution of the Continental Cultural Congress, April 26-May 3, 1953)

'We would like to see the disappearance of all barriers to contact between the peoples and the free circulation of ideas, persons and objects from country to country. By helping to establish cultural exchanges, we will be working to promote an atmosphere of trust and friendship among all peoples.'

Resolution of the National Congress of Brazilian Intellectuals, February 14-21, 1954.

'Convinced that thorough and lasting cultural work is not possible if man's creative work cannot be carried on in a world at peace and if the free exchange of ideas and cultural works of all kinds is hindered, Argentine intellectuals desire an atmosphere of peaceful international co-existence which would eliminate the impossible gulfs and dissipate fears which are generally based on false information.'

Resolution of the Argentine Cultural Congress, May 14, 1954.

- The peoples of Latin America are struggling for their economic independence and for the development of commercial, cultural and diplomatic relations with all countries. Alongside the Peace Movement, other organisations, public figures and ordinary people of all walks of life are taking part in this struggle:

'We ask for freedom of trade with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual benefit and, in the first place for the benefit of Chile, and the annulment of the military pact with the U.S.A.'

(Extract from the National Petition signed by 300,000 people, October, 1953)

'...We demand that the government changes its present policy which helps perpetuate the atmosphere of international tension; we stand for a clear foreign policy of peace and national independence.'

Appeal of the Bolivian Peace Committee immediately prior to the Caracas Conference.

In Brazil many individuals and organisations have gone on record in favour of the resumption of relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia. Among them are: Mr. Osvaldo Aranha, former President of the United Nations Assembly and former Finance Minister; the Federation of Industries of Sao Paulo; the Federation of Rural Associations of Sao Paulo; the Fifth National Congress of Journalists, and hundreds of M.P.s including: Mr. Artur Bernardes, former President of the Republic; Senator Atilio Vivacqua, President of the Brazilian Bar Association; Senator Alencastro Guimarães, Minister of Labour; General Lima Figueiredo; Mr. Cirilo, Jr., former President of the Lower House.

- The development of economic relations with all countries is essential for the progress and well-being of the peoples of Latin America:

Some commercial treaties between Latin American countries and the countries of Socialism and People's Democracy

	Bulgaria	Rumania	Czecho-slovakia	German Dem. Rep.	Hungary	Poland	U.S.S.R.
Argentine	1949	1947	1952	1953	1948	1948	1953
Brazil			1951		1954	1952	
Chile					1953		
Mexico			1949		1953		
Uruguay			1949	1954			1953
Venezuela			1948				

- Today, as in the past, Latin America is playing an ever bigger part in the great campaigns for lessening international tension, disarmament and peace:

The Collection of Signatures

During the great world campaigns - against atomic weapons in 1950 and for a Five Power Peace Pact in 1951 - the peace movements of the Latin American countries achieved notable results in collecting signatures.

To give only one example, it will be recalled that more than twelve million signatures were collected in Latin America for a Five Power Peace Pact.

It is, however, anticipated that this figure will be considerably exceeded in the new world campaign against the preparations for atomic war, a campaign in which all the Latin American Peace Movements are taking part enthusiastically.

Latin America sent 89 delegates to the First World Congress of the Peace Movement, 115 delegates to the Second World Congress and 208 delegates to the Congress of the Peoples.

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The material contained on this chapter can clearly give no more than a slight indication of the general struggle being conducted by all the peoples of Latin America for the defence of peace and for international co-operation. This struggle has its own specific features and is linked with regional and national problems. In many cases it has had very positive results. For example, in spite of the strong pressure brought to bear on all Latin American governments, popular opposition prevented troops from being sent to Korea, except in the case of Colombia. Similarly, the various military pacts have failed to get a majority to support them in the countries concerned, so much so that even in those cases where the governments have signed them, they have still not been ratified by the parliaments.

As part of the peace campaign regional cultural gatherings, such as that in Santiago-du-Chilo, have taken place for the first time in Latin America. Today, the defence of national culture and the organisation of cultural exchanges between all countries are no longer the province of intellectual circles only but have become the concern of very wide sections of the people.

The activity of the friends of peace in Latin America is linked with the struggle for free trade and for economic co-operation among all countries. This activity, which is prompted by their specific national interests, is complemented by the concrete contribution which the peace movements of Latin America are making to the campaigns launched by the World Council of Peace.

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In the recent period the Latin American friends of peace have devoted themselves to enthusiastic campaigning for the defence of national sovereignty and peace, developing new activities which show the consistent growth of the peace struggle in this part of the world.

In the struggle against war preparations and military pacts, the activities carried on in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay are noteworthy. In Cuba, a protest movement is developing against the Via Cuba canal project which threatens the country's independence.

In Colombia and in Puerto Rico, countries whose expeditionary forces to Korea suffered several hundred dead, there is a powerful movement of opinion against the war threats arising from the tension in the Formosa area.

In the struggle for the peaceful solution of differences between nations, the Costa Rican Peace Movement, which has carried on a continuous campaign for UNO and

the governments concerned to reach peaceful settlements, particularly in Central America, has a place of honour.

Wide movements of opinion are rising in countries such as Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentine and others in favour of developing trade relations among all countries. At the same time, campaigns for the defence of their national economies and especially the defence of their rich mineral resources, are being carried on by the peoples of Latin America. To mention but three, there are the Argentinian and Brazilian campaigns for the defence of their oil and the Chilean campaign for the defence of their copper.

The announcement of the possible use of the Antarctic region for experiments with new atomic and thermonuclear weapons has provoked vigorous protests from the peoples of Brazil, Argentine, Chile, Uruguay and other South American countries. In connection with the struggle against atomic weapons, we recall the action of the Rosario doctors in Argentine; it was rapidly taken up by the whole country and then by the whole continent uniting doctors in opposition to the making of such weapons of extermination.

At the present time, friends of peace in Latin America are involved in the great world campaign against the preparations for atomic war and in the preparations for the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki.

The signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal is already going ahead in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Puerto Rico and Uruguay. In Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Colombia the campaign is being conducted under the aegis of sponsoring committees including representatives of the major trends of opinion in these countries.

National Assemblies in preparation for the World Assembly for Peace have been held in Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Bolivia, Mexico and Uruguay.

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SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Documentary Material

Vienna, June 17, 1955

THE WORLD'S SCIENTISTS

AGAINST

THE ATOMIC DANGER

C o n t e n t s

1. Introduction
2. The position of the World Council of Peace
3. Throughout the world scientists oppose the atomic threat
4. The prospects offered by the peaceful use of atomic energy
5. What scientific organisations are saying
6. List of scientists and associations

(2)

INTRODUCTION

Mankind has now lived under the threat of atomic weapons for ten years. Ever since the first two A bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki this threat has become increasingly acute. Popular opposition to the preparations for atomic war and the demand for the banning and destruction of these weapons has grown very strong.

Many Scientists, more aware of the extent of the danger than anyone else, have warned the public of the grave danger arising from the production of these weapons.

This collection of statements of eminent scientists is designed to help peace movements in the campaign against the preparation of atomic war.

THE POSITION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The President of the World Council of Peace

At the enlarged meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace held in Vienna January 17-19, 1955, Professor Joliot-Curie presented the appeal for the opening of the current signature campaign.

'Governments which want to base their international policy on recourse to atomic weapons know that they must reckon with public opinion.

'That is why, in organising and preparing for atomic war they are striving to cover up their operations by skilful manoeuvring. The decisions taken by the Atlantic Council last December are one of these manoeuvres, and they constitute an act of the utmost gravity which it was our duty to denounce. These governments are trying to direct public attention to the ways of using atomic weapons and to the question of which bodies would be competent to take a decision on the unleashing of atomic war, as if the principle of the use of atomic weapons had been admitted.

'We had to bring this new factor out clearly and to make an immediate call to the peoples to oppose those who are thus preparing for atomic war. We must not wait until such a war of blind extermination has been unleashed to condemn its authors; those who are preparing for it must be opposed now. The basic desire to live and to love one's neighbours demands that we should call for the destruction of stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and for the immediate stopping of their manufacture.

Statement of the Bureau of the
World Council of Peace

In every country in the world, the Appeal of the World Council of Peace in favour of the destruction of atomic weapons and the stopping of their manufacture is rousing the conscience of all who are horrified at the prospect of a war of extermination. It meets the hopes of those who confidently believe that the peoples can prevent atomic slaughter.

We greet the many organisations and well-known public figures, indeed all, who, in various ways, are protesting against the preparation of atomic war.

The danger of atomic war has become more concrete. Statesmen are freely threatening to use thermonuclear weapons. Governments which as yet do not possess them have decided to make them or are considering their manufacture. Attempts are being made to justify employment of these frightful weapons or to present their existence as a guarantee of peace, whereas in fact they increase the danger of aggression and can bring mankind only death and destruction.

The signature campaign is the means whereby the universal detestation of atomic weapons can so express itself as to induce all governments possessing them to agree to their abolition under strict control, an agreement which would constitute an important step toward general disarmament.

The peoples can make their voices heard to such effect that no government will dare to face their disapproval.

Vienna, March 13, 1955

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SCIENTISTS

OPPOSE THE ATOMIC THREAT

Scientists of many countries, American and Soviet, British and Chinese, French and Japanese, have spoken out on this question:

Albert Einstein

The great scientist Albert Einstein made energetic and emphatic statements on this question.

I. Extract from a message to Italian scientists in 1950

'We see a truly tragic fate being drawn up for the man of science: born up by his aspirations for enlightenment and for outward independence, he himself has forged by his almost superhuman strength the weapons of his outward bondage and the annihilation of his intimate personality. He has to give in to the silence which is imposed on him by the holders of political power. Just like a soldier, he is obliged to sacrifice his own life, and what is worse, to destroy the life of others even when he is convinced that such a sacrifice is madness.

'He sees only too clearly that the situation brought about by history which leaves to States alone the ability to command political and economic power and, consequently, also military power, must lead to total annihilation. He is fully aware that man can only now be saved by changing the methods of brute force from a supranational juridical organism.

'In doing so he comes to the point of accepting as unavoidable the slavery which is imposed on him by the nationalistic State. And he debases himself to the point of helping, when so ordered, to improve enormously, the means of the total destruction of man.

'Should the man of science allow himself to be swept along to such base level? Is the time past when his inward liberty, his independence of thought and of research could enlighten and embellish the life of man? Has he not forgotten his own responsibility and his dignity for intentions orientated solely towards the intellect? A man who is inwardly free and aware can be killed, but he can neither be enslaved nor transformed into a blind instrument.

'If the man of science of our time could find the time and the courage to make a serious and calm evaluation of his position and of his task, and then act correspondingly, the hope would be born of finding a reasonable and satisfactory solution to the international situation which is now a threat to all of us.

'We cannot stop warning continuously and repeatedly; we cannot relax our efforts to make the nations of the world and above all the governments aware of the unprecedented disaster which they are certain to bring about if they do not change their attitude to each other and their way of looking at the future.

'Our world is threatened by a crisis the extent of which seems to escape those who have the power to take major decisions for better or worse. The power unleashed by the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking and we are thus slipping towards an unparalleled catastrophe. A new way of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive.

'The problem of averting this danger has become the most urgent of our time.

'At the decisive instant, and I am waiting for that grave moment, I will shout with all the strength that is left to me.'

(Note: this letter was written by Einstein in Italian. Ed.)

II. Extract from a letter to Professor Charles-Noël Martin, on December 7, 1954:

'Your work on the numerical data of the atom nuclei is very meritorious and I thank you very much for having sent it to me. But even more important is your Note on the menace to life of the accumulative action of the experimental atomic explosions. If you think that I can do something abroad to support your action, I will do it very willingly... In any case I fully agree that all the statements which I have made previously should be used...

(Original written in German. Ed.)

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Dr. Philip Morrison - American Nuclear Physicist

Extract from an article reproduced in the review Horizons in March 1955

'My study windows look out on a wide view. On a clear day you can see the barns and the houses, the storage tanks and the factory windows of our little city. The lake lies far below, and the town clings close to the lakeshore in the valley. We can see field and wood, stream and road spreading out of the horizon 15 miles away on the tree-covered slopes of Van Etton hills.

'One thermonuclear bomb, exploding two or three miles high in the centre of our landscape, would turn all we see into black char in a few seconds. Literally, all we can see - field and farm, town and countryside. And what we cannot see, beneath the rooftops and in the bottoms of the valleys, cutting through the land, would feel in a minute the strong blast wave, and in the hours thereafter know the invisible scaring rays of the radioactive dust...

'It is not the cost or the risk of the error which ought to bring deepest anxiety and determined resistance. It is their political meaning. It is rather the deliberate explosion of such bombs in war, not in a U.S. test over the water-waste of the Marshall Islands, not in a Soviet test over the tundra of the sub-arctic, but above the homes and cities of men.

'Atomic war, in the time of the hydrogen bomb, is wholly evil. With that conclusion fear will disappear. The only answer will be elimination of the use of nuclear weapons. Those who speak for peace today have behind their arguments the urgent sound of far Bikini.'

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Dr. Szilard - American Nuclear Physicist

Extract from a letter to The New York Times of February 6, 1955

'At the time of this writing it appears quite possible that we may have a reprieve. But such a reprieve can only be a short one. For we have now advanced close to the point of no return, and one of our next groping steps - unguided by a clear concept of the road to peace - could very well carry us beyond that point. This result to me seems indeed unavoidable unless the men within our Government who are shaping our policies will soon begin to see clearly some course of action that may lead us out of the present impasse.'

Professor Nobuo Kusano - Japanese scientist; director of the Institute for Theoretical Research on Atomic Diseases

Extract from a press interview reproduced in Franco-Soir January 1955

'One cannot say that there is a theoretical relation between atomic injuries and abnormalities in children. For the present there are only a small number of certain cases and Japanese doctors are unable to reach a conclusion. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki the Atomic Bomb Casualties Commission organised an enquiry and established statistics but the Japanese doctors did not have the right to study the problems. The Commission announced recently that it is not possible to affirm that the number of deformed children had increased since the explosion of the A bomb. That is its conclusion but personally I believe that the number of abnormalities is bound to increase. I believe this in the light of experiments which we have carried out with animals and plants.'

'In the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there were certainly many deformed babies born to women who were pregnant at the time, particularly babies with small heads; for radioactivity has its most marked effect on the fragile organs such as the brain, the bone marrow, etc.'

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Professor Miyoshi Kasuo - head of the Atomic Diseases Department, Tokyo University

Extract from an article in Franco-Soir January 2, 1955

'In the case of the fishermen of the Fukuryu Maru, the ash penetrated the body through the nose and the lungs, through the mouth and the digestive system, through the skin and the dermic system. Because the victims remained in contact with radioactive substances for a long time, penetration was extensive, reaching almost all their organs. It should be noted that the ash was made up of different materials all of which variously affected one organ or another: for example some substances will go to the liver especially, others to the kidneys, others to the bones and so on, making organs radioactive indefinitely.'

'At present the members of the Fukuryu Maru seem to have regained their vitality (only one, Kuboyama, has succumbed) but we are nonetheless very uneasy about their future.'

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Professor Shunzō Kontō - Tokyo surgeon who treated the H bomb victims

Extract from a statement reproduced in Franco-Soir January 2, 1955

'The Hiroshima and Nagasaki A bombs had a triple destructive power:

- a) an enormous explosive power.
- b) a very high burning power which made the skin blister.
- c) the spread of radioactivity.

'But in addition to these three powers, on an immensely greater scale, the H bomb produces highly radioactive ash. This is dispersed by the force of the explosion over a very great area and can affect the human body in three ways:

- a) by falling on the exterior of the human body: this causes loss of hair and skin burns.
- b) by entering the body with the breath or by taking in food, water or fish which is highly radioactive.
- c) by contact. For example the fishermen of the Fukuryu Maru who stayed on their radioactive boat for two weeks before arriving at the port of Yese, were injured by contact with ash which entered directly or indirectly into the body.

'One can imagine the danger which would arise from the pollution of springs of vegetable foodstuffs by radioactive ash. The H bomb has all these perils along those of the A bomb.'

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Bertrand Russell O.B.E.

Extract from a talk broadcast by the B.B.C. on December 24, 1954

'If I were in control of a neutral Government I should certainly consider it my paramount duty to see to it that my country would continue to have inhabitants, the only way by which I could make this probable would be to promote some kind of accommodation between the Powers on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain...

'As a human being, I have to remember that, if the issues between east and west are to be decided in any manner that can give any possible satisfaction to anybody, whether Communist or anti-Communist, whether Asian or European or American, whether white or black, then these issues must not be decided by war.'

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Professor P.M.S. Blackett F.R.S., British scientist and Nobel Prize winner.

Extract from an article in The New Statesman of August 21, 1954

'There seems little doubt of the main fact with the discovery of the lithium 6 deuteride process, H-bombs have become relatively cheap and easily available to any nation able to make plutonium or uranium 235. As to the explosive power we may assume a thousand times that of the 1945 atomic bomb - though bigger bombs could no doubt be built. Such a bomb would lead to complete destruction up to a radius of some ten miles or so, i.e., an area of some 300 square miles. This is almost the area of Greater London.'

*

Professor J.D. Bernal F.R.S., the British physicist

Extract from a speech at a conference held in London on January 30, 1955

'The hydrogen bomb is something new, not only to humanity, but to war itself. Bad as previous weapons have been, they were at least sane weapons, in the sense that - given the will to destroy - you used the weapons to destroy your enemies.

'The hydrogen bomb not only destroys your enemies, but destroys in all directions indiscriminately.

'...This thing is the end of war as they have known it.

'...This radioactivity is not just spread locally. It is spread out in the stratosphere and travels, but in the present state of scientific knowledge we don't know how it travels. We only know that it can stay up there for years on end, coming down steadily all the time.

'That kind of destruction can be let loose by a sequence of steps, of which the first has already been taken.

'The time has come for all cultured people who think it is worth while to preserve civilisation and life to come together and resist the final destruction of human culture, condemn it and turn culture in the direction of peace.'

*

Professor C.F. Powell F.R.S., British physicist and Nobel Prize winner, Vice-President of the International Federation of Scientific Workers

Extracts from his pamphlet 'The Hydrogen Bomb and the Future of Mankind'

'The essential point for us here is that we have entered an entirely new epoch of human history which is characterised by ceaseless technical innovation, with all the perplexities and opportunities which are thus created. We have to see to it that the development of the hydrogen bomb does not mark the end of an epoch but a beginning. And any attempt to anticipate, in very general terms, the future course of events must allow for the possibility of new discoveries and innovations. Only about six years elapsed between the discovery of nuclear fission in 1939 and the explosion of the first atomic bomb in 1945, and this was followed, less than ten years later by the hydrogen bomb, which is about a thousand times more powerful ...

'... Whereas the atomic bombs dropped on Japan were equivalent to about twenty thousand tons of T.N.T., a hydrogen bomb has already been exploded which was equivalent to 20 million tons. Whereas an ordinary atomic bomb was equivalent to a heavy raid by about 2,000 aircraft, each carrying ten tons of bombs, a hydrogen bomb has already been exploded which was equivalent to 1,000 such raids. The figure for the destructive power of this bomb - 20 million tons - is 15 times greater than the total weight of bombs dropped on Germany during the last war by all Allied aircraft put together, namely 1,300,000 tons; it is about 100 times the total weight of bombs dropped by Germany aircraft on British cities during the same period, which I put at not more than about 200,000 tons.

'... It is, of course, very difficult to assess the full consequences of a situation which is widely different from anything the world has ever known, but I think it must be assumed that a relative few well directed hydrogen bombs on this country, say 10 or 20, would make organised social life impossible.

'It is not only the immediately destructive effects of the bombs, and the complete dislocation of our ports and transport system, which have to be considered. Many secondary effects must follow from the mounting level of radioactivity, the debilitation of the population from radiation, lack of food and shelter, the multiplication of diseases and many other consequences which we cannot at present foresee ...'

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Dr. E.H.S. Burhup - Australian scientist

Extract from his pamphlet 'Mankind Must Choose', published in March 1955

'The H-bomb works on an entirely different principle from the older type of atomic or fission bomb. The "thermonuclear" processes that occur in the "H"-bomb are very like those that go on inside the sun and the stars and give rise to their heat. Weight for weight, the H bomb produces ten times as much energy as the fission bomb.

'Unlike the fission bomb, there is no upper limit to the size of an "H" bomb. The Bikini bomb tested on March 1st, 1954, was equivalent to 15 million tons of T.N.T. But bombs with destructive power equivalent to 50 million tons of TNT have now been reported. The blast from such a bomb would be expected to flatten any city with a radius of complete destruction of 10 miles, while the radius of very severe damage due to blast would extend out to about 25 miles. The intense heat from the bomb could, on a clear day, produce fatal burns and start large fires out to a radius of 35 miles.

'Even more terrifying and widespread effects would be produced. A large part of the city would be vaporised and sucked up in the form of a highly radioactive

dust which would fall out on the countryside over a circle with a radius of several hundred miles, producing effects similar to those experienced by the Japanese fishermen but on an incomparably greater scale.

'While these radioactive effects would be very grave and produce a large number of deaths after a horrible lingering illness, the contamination itself would not last very long and soon the stricken area would be safe for human habitation again. However, the radioactive effects could be deliberately enhanced and made to persist for a long time by surrounding the "H" bomb by a large shell of the metal cobalt.

'In this case, instead of dying away after a few days, the radioactivity would last for several years. Wherever the radioactive cobalt dust was deposited, life of all forms would become completely insupportable. Every living thing that would not or could not leave the area - man or beast, bird or insect, grass or tree, would be destroyed.

'A bomb of this size and type, surrounded with cobalt, would produce conditions of complete devastation within a radius of approximately 200 miles from the centre of explosion.

*

Dr. Alexander Haddow - British scientist, Director of the Chester Beatty Research Institute (Royal Cancer Hospital)

Extracts from a letter to *The Times* of March 30, 1955

'It has long been the anticipation of many scientists, increasingly perturbed by the biological implications of the development of atomic weapons, that sooner or later the world would be confronted by the need for a radical decision, involving nothing short of the international prohibition of nuclear explosions, if the gravest results were to be prevented...

'Public imagination is perhaps most affected by the primary effect of physical destruction. Yet this, although vast, is so far limited, and the subtler menace - potentially limitless and cumulative - arises from the liberation of radioactive products, and from their immediate, delayed and remote effects. Of the first we have had an account from the skipper of the *Fukuryu Maru* - surely one of the most vivid in the history of clinical description. The second also are now well recognised from the work of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, in an increased incidence of leukaemia in a proportion of the survivors of the Hiroshima explosion. The third are genetical and racial...

'If all solution is beyond the present means the question must be raised whether the representatives of world science itself, imbued by some sense of humane responsibility, can assist in the judgment...'

#

Professor Joseph Rotblat - British nuclear physicist

Extract from a statement in the *Atomic Scientists' Journal* of March 1955

'Rough as this estimate may be, it certainly shows that we are sailing much closer to the wind than many of us thought.

'It seems more than likely that should there be a full-scale atomic war - in which the large stocks of the bigger and better hydrogen bombs now manufactured were used - it would have disastrous results for the whole world, partisans and neutrals alike, from the genetic point of view, quite apart from the immediate effects.

'But even without a war there is a probable risk of running into genetic trouble

so tests of these weapons continue at the present rate.

'This puts an additional evil aspect on warfare with hydrogen bombs.

'It is no longer a question of two nations or groups of nations devastating each other, but of all the future generations of all nations who will for ever suffer through disease, malformation and mental disability, for our folly.

'The Atomic Energy Commission's report recommends various means of protection but hardly deals with the genetic effect, from which one cannot escape.

'This is made even more horrible by the fact that it is not observed immediately, although it may spell a disastrous result for the entire human species some hundreds of years hence.'

*

Professor Frederic Joliot-Curie - French atomic scientist and Nobel Prize winner

Extract from a speech at Drancy, France on April 3, 1955

'In 1950 Einstein said that the poisoning of the atmosphere by radioactivity and hence the destruction of all life on earth had come within the sphere of technical possibilities.

'While it is exact to say that such a cataclysm has come within the sphere of technical possibilities, it must be added that a very great number of these bombs would have to be made. The price would therefore have to be paid and it is doubtless only by a large-scale mobilisation of the efforts of all mankind that total destruction could be made certain. We can say that an effort on this scale aimed at annihilating the human race is impossible, if only because of the instinct of self-preservation which is so strong in every man.

'It might, of course, be said that, should an atomic conflict break out, the cumulative effect of a series of nuclear explosions, even if they were spread out over a long period of time, would in the end lead to the same result. To this we may object that the destruction of human lives and of material would rapidly mount up and that the production of atomic weapons would become well-nigh impossible. At this stage the amount of radioactivity emitted would doubtless not be sufficient to destroy all life on the planet, though we can imagine the state of the survivors and the difficulties they would have to overcome.

'I wanted to make this brief reply to those who distort the statements of Einstein and other scientists and consciously or unconsciously create a dangerous wave of panic by looking on these statements as prophesies of the near and certain end of the world.

'It is nonetheless true that the use of these weapons in a conflict can bring about immense destruction of human, animal and vegetable life and of material.'

*

Professor Charles-Noel Martin - French physicist

Extract from his book Has H Hour Sounded for the World? recently published by Grasset

'An enemy striking with 15 or 20 H bombs in one night can flatten a country, but this strategic balance-sheet means the death of 15 to 20 million human beings plus the total annihilation of the country by radioactivity which will make all life impossible for years in those regions, even distant ones, affected by the

fall-out of radioactive dust, unless capricious winds bring the deadly mushrooms ... down on the heads of the aggressors themselves. No part of the world is any longer safe from what happens on the other side of the planet...

'Subterranean cities would have to be built, but at what depth? Exploding at ground level, a bomb of ten megatons makes a crater 66 yards deep at the centre, that is the height of three six-storey buildings one on top of the other. The energy communicated to the earth would be a tremendous blow something like an average earthquake, enough to destroy the delicate network which would be the veins and arteries of such a modern city, even if constructed at great depth...

To have succeeded in just a few years in recreating the fire of the stars is an incomparable achievement which makes it possible to entertain the highest hopes of man. If only one tenth of the genius, the craft, the ingenuity and the subtlety expended by a handful of superior minds in the last ten years is turned to solving the much more simple problems of human welfare, we shall have the earthly paradise in a very short time.

*

Professor Christian Champy - member of the French Academies of Science and Medicine

Extract from an interview given to France-Soir on February 26, 1955

'Atomic explosions not only bring about an immediate and intensive liberation of rays which result in burns and profound changes in the organs of the body round the point of the explosion. They also produce large quantities of radioactive isotopes which are identical in their general chemical properties with the component parts of the human body.

'Assimilated by living creatures, these radiant substances continue to give off rays for a certain period proper to each of them and which can be either long or short. The result is an intensive radiation which acts on the substance of our body cells. Illness can happen after a very long interval...

'The present stage of the experiments on these mutations shows that they are much more often disastrous than good: monsters which can more or less manage to exist, with limbs missing, various developmental disturbances, etc.

Formerly, the severity of natural selection speedily rid the species of 'troublesome mutations' and, in any case, in a heavily populated area even viable mutations tend to disappear in the mass through crossing. But - and it is to this that I would draw your attention - the situation would be quite different if these mutations were to become frequent as a result of some factor at large in the area, for example, permanent radioactivity...

'These mutations would not tend to disappear, for spreading over the earth the radioactive isotopes which are hurled into the stratosphere by A and H bomb explosions and can be carried round the globe can logically result in 'chain mutations' in both man and animals.

'The result would perhaps be, in the long run, a new variety of viable humanity, but also at the same time all sorts of more or less ill adapted monsters, which is hardly a cheering prospect.'

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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