



SANE COMMENT

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SANE THINKING IN FOREIGN POLICY

by Erich Fromm, Psychoanalyst, Author



A SANE foreign policy depends on the sanity of the minds who make and support it. Hence an examination of our thinking processes is as important as an examination of the technical safeguards devised for our security. *Our defense is as sound as our minds are sane.*

Most people never question the sanity of thoughts which are shared by millions. Yet it is a peculiar fact that men, who in their private affairs think sanely and act morally, in public affairs seem to be swayed by

insane modes of thought and to lose their ordinary moral scruples. Yet errors shared by millions do not become truths, any more than immoral acts approved by millions become virtues.

Possibilities vs. Probabilities

Among the many forms of insane thinking which distort our sense of realism in matters of foreign policy, the two most dangerous and frequent ones are *paranoid* and *projective* thinking. The paranoid *individual* is easily recognized. He may, for example, have the conviction that others are conspiring against him. The peculiar thing about the paranoid delusion is that one can not disprove it by saying that it is *impossible* or illogical; all one can point out is that it is *unlikely* and improbable. But this is exactly the crucial point of the paranoiac's delusion: as long as something is possible, he is satisfied that it is true, and he is not capable of entering into a careful examination of the concrete facts which, alone, can show whether something is true or even probable. Paranoid thinking is satisfied with *possibilities*; sane thinking demands *probabilities* as well as possibilities.

Applying this principle to foreign policy, it is striking how much of our thinking about communism follows the paranoid principle of what is possible, rather than what is probable. Indeed, it is possible that Khrushchev stages a conflict with the Chinese, all to lull us into sleep, and with the intention of attacking us. But is it likely? To answer this question we must analyze the conservative nature of Khrushchevism versus the revolutionary Chinese system, aspiring to be the leader of the "have-not" states.

Dangerous Projection

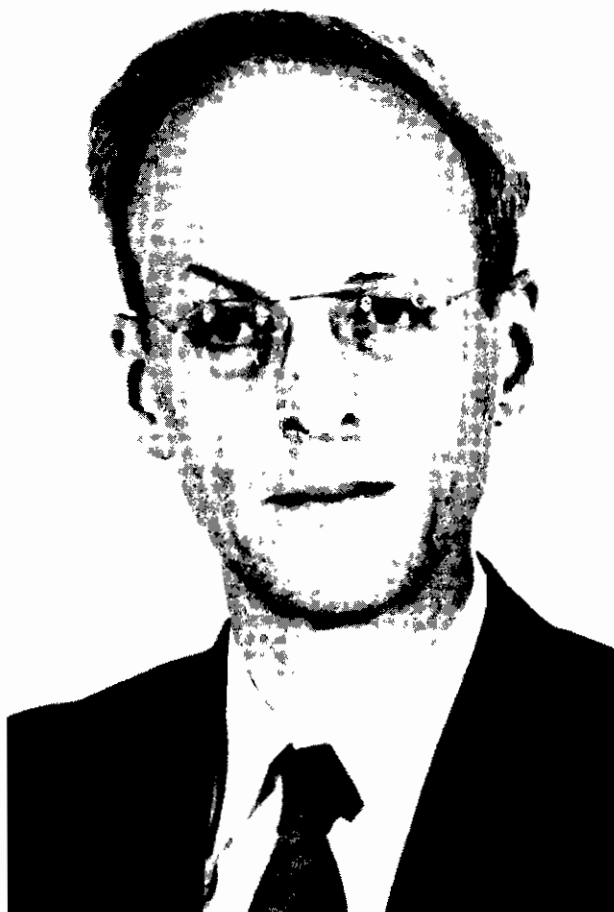
Realistic analysis requires that we give up another form of pathological thinking: *projection*. The essence of projective thinking is to project all evil within oneself on to an outside figure, thus making this figure all evil, while we are all good and pure. This projective mechanism usually occurs in war; today it prevails in regard to communism. *They* cease to be human, their intentions are satanic, while *we* are the incarnation of the good and the noble.

Clearly, projective thinking lacks in humility and charity; it is also immensely dangerous — especially when combined with paranoid thinking — to the conduct of foreign policy. Frequently paranoid-projective thinking transforms its premises into a reality, and thus creates self-fulfilling predictions.

Our security lies in sane modes of thought; that is, in rational, cool-headed realism, which knows the facts about our opponents and ourselves, judges probabilities on the basis of factual examinations rather than mere possibilities, and does not indulge in projective self-righteousness.

FIRST PRIORITY FOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY

by David R. Inglis, Physicist,
Argonne National Laboratory



A controlled nuclear test ban would be a great achievement primarily because it would reduce the likelihood that nuclear war will break out, not because it would make war less devastating if it should occur. A test ban other countries into the pact. would also reassure the Most nations will probably world on the question of welcome the opportunity to peace-time fallout. cooperate, but a few may-

A controlled test-ban agreement between the great nuclear nations would mark the start of efforts to bring statesmanship. This challenge must be faced, else

there will be many nuclear powers and greatly enhanced danger of nuclear war in the future. It cannot be faced unless we first reach agreement with the Soviet Union on a test ban.

Gains From Test Ban

There will be other important gains from a test ban. It will limit the development of more effective warheads to make surprise attack still more devastating. With a test ban, national leaders may begin to feel less desperate about the otherwise endless spiral of the arms race. The temptation to launch a surprise attack to forestall future developments may thus be reduced. With the experience gained in a test ban, disarmament measures requiring more detailed inspection and greater reliance on international institutions may become possible, with a consequent important reduction in the ominously increasing danger that war will occur by accident.

The Soviets probably want a test ban for the right reason—for fear of accidental war—and it is to be hoped that the Kennedy administration, by wise negotiation and unity of purpose, can induce them to display further flexibility on the number of inspection trips for test-ban control so as to make the signing of an effective agreement possible this year.

Dangers Exaggerated

The control system cannot be perfect in its ability to detect small clandestine tests. The agreement being negotiated will provide detection of underground tests down to about a tenth of a percent of the power of a big H-bomb. Technical improvement by intensive research is expected to push the limit considerably lower. The clamor which has been raised against a test ban is based on fears of the possible consequences of evasion by the Russians in this range of "small" tests. In my opinion, these fears have been dangerously and improperly exaggerated, as I have ex-

plained at length in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* for May, 1960.

First, there have been fantastic claims about the technical possibilities. The touted "neutron bomb" is really not something so revolutionary as to upset the world balance, but is based on the principles of an old A-bomb so trimmed down as to reduce the blast damage relative to the neutron output. It would be extravagant of nuclear materials and of dubious value because of the "slow kill" of many of its victims. The other proposal, the fission-free fusion bomb, is based on such a radically new principle as to be almost surely impossible. If it were possible, its main advantage would be its cheapness in small sizes.

Second, fears of evasion have been exaggerated by magnifying the importance of having an even greater variety of small "tactical" weapons than we now have. There is no "dividing line" between small and large nuclear weapons, and small ones cannot be safely substituted for conventional forces in a small military action, for fear of touching off general nuclear war.

Attempts at Evasion Unlikely

Third, it has been claimed that a small weapon like the "neutron bomb," if it could be developed by sneak tests, would be of crucial importance for the Russians. However, they do not have such a superabundance of costly nuclear materials -- so as to "waste" on inefficient small weapons. Because the consequences of cheating would be much less important than has been claimed, the incentives to cheat are small and it seems unlikely that evasion would be attempted.

Our new administration has a crucial opportunity to try to conclude a valuable test-ban agreement if remaining doubts about small-scale evasion are viewed in perspective and compared with the vital importance of starting to taper off the nuclear arms race before it is too late.

NATO AS A FOURTH NUCLEAR POWER

by James P. Warburg



Though not a member of SANE, I am glad to endorse its stand against any and all actions by the outgoing administration which tend to impair our next President's efforts to halt the arms race and eventually to achieve universal disarmament under adequately enforced world law.

The Eisenhower administration's proposal for making NATO into a "fourth nuclear power," soon to be discussed by the NATO Council at Paris, falls into the category of such action. This is no time for the outgoing administration to undertake the long-needed re-examination of our policy with respect to the deteriorating state of the NATO alliance. Nor is it appropriate for this administration during the last weeks of its incumbency to propose a radical change in our nuclear weapons policy which would require implementation, through amendment of the Atomic Energy Act, under President Kennedy's administration.

Giving NATO a pool of atomic weapons and an independent strategic nuclear striking force will not halt the proliferation of nuclear capability. On the contrary, the adoption of this proposal is likely to set off a chain reaction with the Soviet Union taking countervailing measures with regard to the Warsaw Pact nations and perhaps even changing its attitude toward the imminent acquisition of nuclear capability by Red China. At the very least, the mere discussion of this proposal at the present time will adversely affect the climate in which our next President will have to pursue his avowed aim of making a fresh and vigorous start toward halting the arms race.

Apart from these considerations, the proposal seems singularly ill-advised and unlikely to achieve any of its avowed purposes.

There is no evidence whatever that making NATO an independent nuclear power will divert President de Gaulle from his determination to make France a nuclear power. If this determination is pursued and if French resistance to the thorough integration of NATO forces continues, it is inevitable that Germany will sooner or later demand independent nuclear capability.

There is no evidence whatever to indicate that giving NATO nuclear independence will cause its members to meet the real need of increasing their conventionally armed contingents, so that the alliance would be capable of resisting a local aggression without employing so-called tactical nuclear weapons.

There is no reason to believe that West European security would be increased by having 15 nations, each with a veto, decide if and when nuclear weapons should be employed. If ever the need should arise, the decision would either be taken too late or else recklessly taken too soon by some lower-echelon commander.

The greatest threat to our security and to the security of all nations is not that of a Soviet attack. The greatest danger is nuclear war by accident. I fail to see how the Eisenhower administration's last-minute proposal reduces that danger. It is, in my judgment, more likely to increase it.

MEMO FOR DISARMAMENT COORDINATOR JOHN J. McCLOY

by Clarence E. Pickett



President-Elect Kennedy is to be commended for the primacy he is giving to disarmament, both in the number of top echelon leaders he is appointing to deal with disarmament and in the support he will give to the new Disarmament Administration. However, despite this increased personnel and machinery, the U. S. is in danger of retreating from its commitment to the goal of comprehensive disarmament with inspection.

If some strategy planners have their way, the U. S. will abandon its effort to end the arms race, and back track to a position which seeks only some form of arms limitation.

Disarmament or "Arms Control"

Should these advisors succeed, the U. S. will give up disarmament for "arms control," and the balance of terror will continue under the title, "stabilized deterrence."

The proposal is that we negotiate a military posture with the Russians in which each side would place its reliance for security on an agreed number of relatively invulnerable missiles, say 200-500 on each side, and other equable weaponry.

While such an agreement might formalize the missile race, it can hardly be construed as an adequate or imaginative response to the world's peril.

Stabilized Deterrence

A "stable deterrent" would continue all the major hazards of the arms race: those of accidental nuclear war, escalated limited war, spread of nuclear weapons to other countries (diluting the deterrent), continuation of massive research on even more destructive weapons technology, with all the psychological tensions and pressures which now prevail.

The proponents of "stabilized deterrence" abandon hope of ending the arms race. Yet the laws of probability will allow the arms race to continue for only a finite period without a major war by accident or incident. They are suggesting in effect that the world lie down and await the inevitable collision, perhaps postponed by their formula for structuring and continuing the balance of terror by agreement. They apparently prefer this total risk to the limited and theoretical risk of a controlled disarmament agreement.

Is Agreement Possible?

Some "arms controllers" are not psychologically prepared to accept agreements with the Russians, no mat-

ter how sound. Some honestly feel that a "stabilized deterrent" is a step on the road to disarmament and are naive enough to believe it is negotiable.

Some proponents of this position are complete pessimists about the chances of getting controlled agreements with the Russians, and want to give up in advance. This pessimism is not justified: The Eastern and Western concepts of a disarmament treaty are now close in all their major provisions; the test ban negotiations have shown Russian commitment, if reluctant, to inspection systems; the Russian negotiators are reported to be under pressure to achieve disarmament agreements before the Chinese and West Germans secure nuclear weapons.

Limitless Peril

Other supporters of "arms control" are unprepared to face a world in which resort to military conflict is no longer possible, even if safeguarded by an effective United Nations peace force. They are unwilling to prosecute the ideological battle in political and economic terms. They do not have faith in the democratic process and are afraid the U. S. might not win. They sell their nation short and thus commit it to limitless peril, forgetting that resort to war is not feasible even now, and that blind reliance on military might has allowed the Communists to "end run" the free world in the economic and political arena over and over again.

It is to be hoped that the new Disarmament Administrator will evaluate the doctrine of "arms control" for the defeatism which it represents, and proceed under forced draft to produce workable proposals for controlled disarmament. He should set task forces to work to detail the techniques of control for each stage of disarmament. These should form the basis for a draft disarmament treaty to be presented by the U. S. to the U. N. General Assembly.

GOD AND THE H-BOMB

by Steve Allen



A FRIEND recently said to me, "I'm disappointed in the response of the churches to the problem of nuclear weapons. Here we have bombs that if used will burn millions of innocent people alive and yet our religious leaders are ignoring the problem."

My friend was being somewhat unjust. Religious leaders *have* spoken out about the moral questions posed by nuclear weapons; the problem is that so few people are listening to them.

The Catholic View

Pope Pius XII referred to the nuclear arms race as "homicidal, suicidal madness." Furthermore he pointed to the specific steps to be taken if the arms race was to be stopped: "Renunciation of experimentation with atomic weapons, renunciation of the use of such, and general control of armaments."

The Boston Pilot, oldest Catholic newspaper in the U. S. A., has editorialized, "We must find some effective and immediate measures which will make the H-Bomb morally obsolete before it ever becomes an actual instrument of war . . . This is the great human decision of our generation . . . America, the first and only nation to use the bomb, must now lead the way to its banning."

The Protestant View

A recent policy statement of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States states in part: "The United States must persevere in the quest for enforceable agreements to eliminate weapons of death and to reduce the burden of armaments . . . War has never been a morally acceptable instrument for the pursuit of national policy . . ."

The essential immorality of nuclear weapons stems from the fact that, unless used on specifically military targets, they would cause the slaughter of millions of children, women, old men, and the already lame, halt, and blind. Augustine, Aquinas, Bellarmine and other moral philosophers have stated what is obvious: that warfare that does not regard the distinction between the guilty and the innocent is immoral.

Today, there is general agreement on this point among Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and humanist moralists. The trouble starts when we recall the threat of Communist aggression. "What are we supposed to do?" some people ask. "Lie down and let the Communists walk all over us?"

"Homicidal, Suicidal Madness"

I wish to put these good people immediately "at ease." If the Russians attack us tomorrow we will simply respond in kind, automatically and with a vengeance. There will be no pauses for telephone calls to the nearest theological school for instructions as to what moral restrictions ought to be placed upon our military responses. We will simply slaughter millions of innocent non-Communist, Christian Russians to get at the few Communist leaders who have attacked us. And while we are doing so millions of innocent Americans will be incinerated. Perhaps you can more clearly see what Pius XII meant when he called the present arms race "homicidal, suicidal madness."

The way out, obviously, is to attempt to work out some sort of disarmament agreement with our Communist antagonists, an agreement guaranteed by mutual inspection. Remember this: experts agree that failure to alter the present set of circumstances makes nuclear war practically *certain*. The question is not *will* it occur, but *when* will it occur? Clearly one thing needed is an awareness of moral tradition. I wonder how many people who believe in Hell have ever asked themselves how many souls would be plunged into Hell by a nuclear war resulting in, say, two hundred million sudden deaths.

PEACE AND THE PRESIDENT

by Norman Thomas



PEOPLE have asked me: "What would you do if you were President of the United States?" My answer expresses my hope for some of the steps our new President may take.

For many months I have told audiences that our lifeline to peace must be braided of four strands: universal disarmament down to a police level, a strengthening of the UN to provide alternatives to war, progressive disengagement from perilous commitments, and an intensified cooperative economic effort to conquer the bitter poverty in which two-thirds of mankind live.

UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT

I should make it absolutely clear that our goal is universal disarmament. "Arms control" is useful as a means to that end, but never as a substitute for it. There can be no lasting "stable deterrent" in a world which plays with weapons of annihilation. Universal disarmament is the essential basis for life and liberty.

I should prove to the world our sincerity — and to our people the economic practicability — of disarmament, by establishing an agency to plan for the economics of transition to an economy of peace.

ENDING NUCLEAR TESTS

I should hopefully seek to close the narrow gap on the number of inspections which holds up agreement to end nuclear tests. This is essential to prevent enlargement of the world's nuclear suicide club. I would also press for immediate agreements to keep outer space free from men's strife.

I should seek regional disarmament agreements (such as those already signed to neutralize Austria and Antarctica) and revive the de Gaulle proposals for abolition of facilities for nuclear bombing. I should insist on exploring every other practical step toward our goal, whether presented by other governments or responsible civic groups. To get and keep disarmament will require a strengthening of the UN and this will demand more of the West than resistance to Khrushchev's plan to weaken it. I should urge study and action to this end along lines proposed by Messrs. Clark and Sohn in "World Peace Through World Law."

PROGRESSIVE DISENGAGEMENT

I should seek the end or alleviation of the many international tensions which threaten peace. Progressive disengagement and progressive disarmament must go hand in hand. For example, the inescapable condition of peace is the inclusion of the effective government of China in the UN, leaving the fate of Taiwan to be decided by plebiscite under conditions of peace. I should start negotiations to that end.

I should not only work for a complete end of colonialism, but also toward ending the use by any power of the territory of other nations for military bases. Already many of our own overseas bases, by provoking fear and hate among the people, do more to menace peace than preserve it.

WAR ON POVERTY

I should press our holy and cooperative war on the bitter and unnecessary poverty of two-thirds of our fellow human beings. I should be especially concerned with the right sort of aid to Africa and with true hemispheric cooperation with Latin America.

I should seek in every way to advance liberty (but not by the suicidal means of war), beginning with justice at home and the end of our shameful racial discrimination.

You, who read, and I, who write, have not the power or awful responsibility of the President. But remember that he can successfully press no constructive program without our understanding support and action.

THE ECONOMICS OF PEACE

by Walter P. Reuther,

President, International Union, U.A.W.



PEACE is not just the absence of war. It is an assertion of values and a commitment to life-giving actions.

Fifty years ago an American philosopher understood this when he told us we must find a moral equivalent of war. We don't have another fifty years to look. We must release the forces of peace soon, before the forces of war overwhelm us. We must prove—to ourselves and the rest of the world—that man's energies can be used for something better than war or the preparation for war.

The communists have the same human reasons for wanting to avoid a nuclear holocaust as we do. But the communists have another reason to urge disarmament. Their dogma tells them that our way of life cannot cope with the challenges of peace, *cannot manage the economics of peace.*

We will know they are wrong when we prove it to ourselves. There are over five million jobless men and women in this country today. Their idleness is our common loss. It is a loss that goes beyond any economic calculation. It is a moral defeat, a denial of dignity to free men.

We must face the fact that peace will bring additional problems. Whole industries will have to be reconverted or replaced. Hundreds of commu-

nities and millions of individual workers will need help to readjust, to establish new industries, to learn new skills, perhaps to move to new homes.

We are now devoting to major defense programs over \$45 billion per year of our national resources. If controlled disarmament becomes a fact, we should have programs ready to utilize these resources for the meeting of our individual and social needs. If we fail to do so they may simply be left unused, adding to the burden of unemployment and the idle capacity of our plants.

What are the needs we have to meet? They are apparent on every hand. The unfinished business of America leaps to the eye and the heart. Our industrial centers are deteriorating, our slums are still spreading, our schools and our hospitals are over-crowded, our rivers are polluted, our soil is eroding, our highways and airports are inadequate. Wherever we turn, our human and natural resources need the investment of human work and care.

The economics of peace demand even wider action. Hunger, illiteracy, and disease on other continents claim our attention. Peace cannot live on an empty stomach. Peace needs jobs and hope. We have it within our power—and we owe it to our democratic faith—to lead, not merely follow, the revolution of rising expectations.

We cannot meet these challenges by refusing to face them. We need to draw up an inventory of our public needs in such vital areas as education, health, housing and welfare, with programs for meeting them.

We need programs to teach displaced workers new skills. We need special grants to enable some workers to move to areas of new employment. We need a better system of unemployment compensation and a strengthened public employment service.

We must have programs to help areas and industries convert from defense to peace employment. We need joint planning with underdeveloped nations to help provide development funds. And to achieve these programs we need full consultation, planning and participation by all the major groups in our own country, including management, trade unions, agriculture and government at all levels.

Nobody claims this mobilization for peace will be easy. Is our present condition easy? Ask any one of the 5,500,000 men and women without work today. Would nuclear war be easy? Would a perpetual balance of terror be easy—or possible?

The question is not what is easy but what is best, what is true to our deepest commitments, what is necessary and urgent for the preservation and enhancement of life.

The economics of peace is the economics of survival.

SANE stands for

Permanent cessation of nuclear weapons tests:

MORATORIUM on tests until a treaty is signed.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT to end all forms of nuclear weapons tests.

AOEQUATE INSPECTION to prevent treaty violations.

RATIFICATION of treaty by U.S. Senate.

INCLUSION of all nations.

Comprehensive and controlled disarmament:

PHASED in stages of arms control which are fair to each nation.

INSPECTED to deter violations.

COMPLETE to include all types of weapons down to small arms.

UNIVERSAL to include all nations.

DISENGAGEMENT of armed forces in tension areas through inspected and phased withdrawals.

PREVENTION OF THE SHARING of nuclear weapons with additional nations pending disarmament agreements.

PLANNING for orderly transition to a peace-time economy.

Strengthened United Nations:

PERMANENT PEACE FORCE to discourage aggression.

STRONGER WORLD COURT to arbitrate conflicts and encourage justice.

USE of substantial savings from disarmament in massive U.N. economic development programs.

There is no alternative to peace.

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