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## Time for a New Look at International Relations

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Prominent Canadian and American industrialist, and sponsor of Pugwash conferences of scientists and intellectuals, expresses grave fears for a world "hell-bent toward . . . bankruptcy and suicide." Mr. Eaton contends "we can and must reach a workable accommodation with the Russians" and condemns our statesmen for stalling. The Cleveland industrialist depicts Secretary of State Dulles as a "self-appointed Soviet-hate-monger" and calls for reversal of his policy or removal from office. Claims Russian intellectuals carry greatest weight with their government and possess the likelihood to enlighten and ameliorate the Soviet system's harshness.

With the mounting impact of world events, especially in the missiles field, I feel impelled to address myself to what I consider to be the crucial question of the hour: How, in this new era of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, can we keep mankind and all his magnificent material accomplishments from going up in smoke and flames?



Cyrus S. Eaton

Sixteen years ago Japan's smashing surprise at-

tack on Pearl Harbor roused the United States from the complacent delusion that she could remain at peace while the rest of the world's major powers were locked in warfare. The United States went to war not only on the battlefronts, but in the laboratories. The Germans were known to be working feverishly to solve the mysteries of the atom. At the University of Chicago, of which I am a trustee, we assembled the leading nuclear scientists of the world, with the collaboration of the late Albert Einstein. A plaque that we later placed at the scene of the remarkable Chicago experiments proclaims, "On December 2, 1942, man

\*An address by Mr. Eaton before the Canadian Club of Montreal, Montreal, Canada, Feb. 10, 1958.



achieved here the first self-sustaining chain reaction, and there- by initiated the controlled release of nuclear energy." This harness- ing of fission marked the begin- ning of the Atomic Age.

On August 16, 1945, the United States dropped the first A-bomb on Hiroshima. Immediate fatali- ties totalled 78,000 of the Japa- nese city's 340,000 people. Others are still dying from the after- math, and future generations will also be affected. On the day of Hiroshima's decimation, one of our top Chicago University ex- perts commented, "This is a sad day for us scientists. Let us hope we have not placed dynamite in the hands of children."

**Atomic Competition**

World War II came to a swift conclusion after the United States fired a second A-bomb on Naga- saki. Lapsing back into compla- cency, which is an unfortunate American trait, we concluded that we held a permanent monopoly on A-bomb secrets, and that none of the rest of the world would be able to solve their riddle. We reached this foolish conclusion despite the fact that the scientists who had made the greatest contri- butions in our wartime American laboratories were Italians, Danes, Germans, and Hungarians. Other nations were, of course, not long in catching up with the United States on the A-bomb.

Then came fusion, which can be superficially described as a re- versal of the process of fission, by which infinitely greater quantities of atomic energy are released. Because hydrogen nuclei are most easily employed for fusion, the weapon utilizing fusion is the hydrogen bomb. While the United States led the world in H-bomb tests in 1954, Russia countered with her first test in 1955, and Great Britain followed in 1957. As of today, it would appear that Britain has gone the furthest in advances in the field of fusion,

with Russia probably second, and the United States third.

On October 4, 1957, the world's first satellite was successfully launched by the Soviet Union. The sending of the 184-pound Sputnik by rocket into space not only signaled the beginning of the age of cosmic exploration, but also brought forcefully home to us the formidable fact that Russia is far ahead in the field of missiles. A month later, Russia reaffirmed her supremacy by catapulting a second satellite weighing almost half a ton a thousand miles into the skies. Granted that the United States has recently succeeded in sending its own little 31-pound Explorer aloft, our experts frankly concede that we are still five years behind the Soviet Union.

**World's Status Today**

What is the position of the world? The US and the USSR are engaged in a monumental armaments race. American bomb- ers are in the air around the clock with lethal loads of hydro- gen bombs, each with a power five million times as great as the mightiest bomb dropped on Ger- many in World War II. More American bombers are on their ground ready to take on their deadly cargo. Russia has similar planes. She also has hundreds of submarines, armed not only for sea combat, but also capable of launching landward-bound mis- siles with nuclear warheads. In addition, Russia apparently has intercontinental missiles which, loaded with H-bombs, could re- duce Montreal or New York to rubble and obliterate every form of life that these cities contain. All of these hideous weapons are designed for almost push button use, and authority is vested in hundreds of men in scattered parts of the globe to touch them off if World War III appears to have begun.

The \$74,000,000,000 federal bud-

get that President Eisenhower recently sent to Congress calls for expenditures of \$47,100,000,000, or 64% for "protection" against Russia. The USSR, we can be sure, is likewise devoting as large a part of her substance to "pro- tection" against us.

An American expert on modern warfare has lately recommended that up to \$40,000,000,000 should be spent on shelters for use by the populace in the event of nu- clear combat. Without such shel- ters, it has been estimated that 60,000,000 American lives would be lost in an intercontinental nuclear war.

**Hell-bent Toward Bankruptcy and Suicide**

From all these signs and por- tents, one can only conclude that the human race is hell-bent toward both bankruptcy and suicide.

I say all of this is incredible folly. I feel we ought to move vigorously and immediately to avert the impending catastrophe. I believe we can and must reach a workable accommodation with the Russians. Certainly no issue now dividing the world looms so large as to warrant the destruc- tion of all that civilization has produced.

Our statesmen plainly have been stalling. They have played down the hazards to mankind of the insane armaments race. They have seized upon every occasion to foment popular hatred of Russia. Twelve years ago, in fact, the United States declared cold war on Russia, and that has been the cardinal principle of Ameri- can foreign policy ever since. Bear in mind that, up to that time, Russia had been our ally, just as Japan had been our enemy. While we made peace with Japan and restored our ancient friendship with her, we turned on Russia and challenged her to an armaments race. Because we alone knew the secrets of the A-bomb we began

the contest with contempt for our opponent and confidence in our- selves.

**Decries Dulles**

The change of Administration in the United States in 1952 brought not an alteration in our policy of baiting the Soviet bear, but an intense aggravation of it. Secretary of State Dulles became the self-appointed Soviet-hate- monger. Six years later he is still making a career of stirring up enmity and distrust between the Western and Eastern worlds. He takes regular occasion to re- declare the cold war not only on Russia, a proud and powerful na- tion of 225,000,000 people, but also on Red China, a new nation of 650,000,000 people undergoing a far-reaching industrial revolution, and destined to occupy a position of prominence among the world's major powers.

The same Mr. Dulles who labels Russia and Red China as ruthless dictatorships has despotically de- creed that no American observer or journalist shall go into China to get first-hand information for the American people on what is transpiring there. To deny us ac- cess to eye-witness reporting on the world's most populous nation constitutes as arbitrary a ukase as ever emanated from the most absolute of dictators. Let us no longer call ourselves the free world when the petty tyrant of our State Department can bring this to pass.

I submit that the statesman who hurls opprobrious epithets at Rus- sia and China is no friend of America or the world. With the crushing burden of taxation that has been saddled on the American people to sustain the armaments race, I further submit that Secre- tary Dulles has brought us not only to what he boastfully calls the brink of war, but also to the brink of depression. Finally, I submit that there can be no pros- pect for a political understanding between the US and the USSR



until Secretary Dulles reverses his whole policy or is removed from office.

If the statesmen of the world have been unable to meet face to face for frank and free discussions, at least the scientists have not been so laggard. Shortly before his death, Einstein joined with my good friend Bertrand Russell, distinguished British mathematician, philosopher, and Nobel prize winner, in an appeal to scientists of all nations to meet and warn the world of the deadly dangers of these new nuclear weapons.

#### Pugwash Conference

The first conference pursuant to the Einstein-Russell suggestion convened in my native village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, last summer. From Russia, Red China, Japan, Great Britain, France, the United States, Canada and other countries came 22 of the world's leading nuclear experts, from the disciplines of physics, chemistry, biology and medicine. Others who were unable to attend because of conflicting commitments kept in close touch with the Pugwash proceedings.

Despite barriers of race, creed and color, these eminent scientists were able to reach an agreement at Pugwash and to issue a manifesto declaring that a third world war employing nuclear weapons would constitute a disaster of appalling proportions, with aggressor and defender going down in ruin together. On their return to their native lands, they moved swiftly and diligently to place the Pugwash manifesto in the hands of their colleagues. The moral chain reaction touched off by the Pugwash manifesto hopefully may affect the future of mankind as profoundly as that famous first nuclear chain reaction of seventeen years ago in the laboratories of the University of Chicago.

The scientists of Japan understandably were eager to take for-

mal action. The Science Council of Japan devoted much of its annual meeting to the Pugwash proceedings, and adopted a resolution placing its component societies and their 25,000 members squarely on record as endorsing the Pugwash findings in their entirety.

Germany was next to act. Twenty of her leading scientists reviewed and approved the Pugwash manifesto. Their consensus was that settlement of political disputes by force was no longer possible, and would be suicidal. They saw slight prospects for survival of the human race if the armaments race were not stopped.

Most surprising and most promising of all was the report from Russia. First the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR met and officially ratified the Pugwash manifesto. Then 195 leading Soviet scientists called in writing for a further meeting of scientists of as many nations as possible at any time in any place to work for world peace.

When the Russian declarations reached the United States, I made the statement, in a New York Herald Tribune interview, that I thought the Russians meant what they said, and I proposed that we meet the Soviets half way. The statement was picked up by the world press, and it has produced an amazing response. Approving letters have been pouring in every day from people in all walks of life in every part of the globe. One day's voluminous mail, which included letters from six Nobel prize winners, contained this typical comment from Dr. Albert Schweitzer, world-famed humanitarian and Nobel peace prize winner: "I attach great importance to the fact that the proposal of the Soviet scientists goes back to your meeting of international scientists at Pugwash last year."

What gave Dr. Schweitzer the greatest encouragement was that this meeting of scientists from

both sides of the iron and bamboo curtains was held in the western world, where the war spirit has assumed mounting strength. He found it gratifying that the Russians and the Red Chinese could and would come to Pugwash, and that they agreed without reservations to the Pugwash manifesto. I need not remind you that Canada played host to this momentous meeting.

#### Permanent Pugwash Committee

As last summer's international meeting of nuclear scientists drew to a close, a Permanent Pugwash Committee was set up. The Committee met in London toward the end of December to lay plans for a second and somewhat larger conference in the near future. Where last summer's participants met to consider nuclear problems strictly from the scientific standpoint, those who are to gather soon will strive to reach agreement on practical suggestions that can be offered to the statesmen of their nations for breaking the present stalemate. This second meeting cannot be held at Pugwash because our buildings there are equipped only for summer use, and lack central heating. There is good reason to hope that the new conference will be convened in Canada, however.

Inasmuch as the statesmen have consistently lost rather than gained ground since World War II ended, I find reason for optimism that the scientists of the world are willing to apply themselves to the practical aspects of the revolutionary discoveries they have made. They understand fully the unspeakable destructiveness of the new weapons, and they are imbued with an increasing sense of social responsibility for finding the way for mankind to escape from the present grim path that points but to death.

There is special reason for optimism, I feel, in the tremendous concern of the Soviet scientists to

find the road to world peace. Of all segments of Soviet society, I firmly believe that the intellectuals, particularly the scientists, carry the greatest weight with their government. With the Russian intellectuals lies the likelihood for enlightenment and amelioration of the harshness of the Soviet system. Let us not forget that Russia—and Red China, too—embraced communism in order to obtain more of the material things of life for their vast impoverished and unlettered masses. Besides realizing fully the deadly nature of nuclear weapons, the Soviet scientists certainly know that their nation's standard of living could be markedly improved if it were not necessary to engage in the production of these instruments of destruction.

#### Extends Invitation

While the scientists of the world exert their best efforts to secure honorable peace among nations of opposing philosophies, I should like to urge my fellow businessmen and industrialists to speak up and to work for the same life-and-death goal. Everything to which we have devoted our lives is at stake. We cannot afford to stand idly by while our families, our homes, our factories, our mines, our places of business, stand in jeopardy.

#### Turns to Role in Canada

As far as Canada is concerned, I believe she can play a highly constructive role by using her considerable influence to persuade both the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. to reach some reasonable concert. The cities of Canada will be in the front lines of an intercontinental nuclear war.

While playing this conciliatory part, I hope Canada will concentrate on her own immediate and challenging task of developing the rich resources of her vast unoccupied continent. Accomplishment of difficult but rewarding indus-



trial feats has long been a Canadian tradition. The physical and financial obstacles to the construction, in the 'Eighties, of the now great Canadian Pacific Railway caused the sceptics to brand its original backers as objects of derision. When my associates and I tackled the Steep Rock Iron Mines project 15 years ago, we were the subject of scoffing that suddenly vanished after we rolled back the deep waters of the lake and started shipping millions of tons annually from our billion and a half ton reserves of high grade iron ore.

It is no news, I am sure, that we have now embarked, in partnership with five of Germany's leading steel producers, on a \$200,000,000 program to tap vast new iron ore deposits in the Ungava Bay region in the far northern part of this marvelous Province of Quebec. This entry of strong German steel interests into the mining industry here should mean much to the burgeoning Canadian economy. In Ungava, we shall also have the active participation of North America's old-

est iron ore firm, The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company. Cliffs has spent 20 years and scores of millions in laboratory and pilot plant research and in operation on the same type of ore which occurs in northern Quebec, and which has to be upgraded before shipment and use in the blast furnace. In addition, we shall have the invaluable benefit of Steep Rock's experience in the art of iron ore mining under comparable climatic conditions.

In the past decade, Canada has emerged among the nations of the world as a young and fast-growing economic giant, with many mines to open, factories to erect, oil wells to drill, roads to build, railroads to extend, airports to construct, harbors to improve, rivers to make navigable, telephone lines to string and water powers to harness. It will be a boon to Canada, along with the rest of the world, if the modern miracles of science can be diverted from plans for death and destruction to the sweet uses of peace and prosperity.