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SCIENCE, which is now combined with THE SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY, is published each Friday by the American Association for the Advancement of Science at National Publishing Company, Washington, D.C. The joint journal is published in the SCIENCE format. SCIENCE is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*.

**Editorial and personnel-placement correspondence** should be addressed to SCIENCE, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington 5, D.C. Manuscripts should be typed with double spacing and submitted in duplicate. The AAAS assumes no responsibility for the safety of manuscripts or for the opinions expressed by contributors. For detailed suggestions on the preparation of manuscripts and illustrations, see *Science* 125, 16 (4 Jan. 1957).

**Display-advertising correspondence** should be addressed to SCIENCE, Room 740, 11 West 42 St., New York 36, N.Y.

**Change of address notification** should be sent to 1515 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington 5, D.C., 4 weeks in advance. If possible, furnish an address label from a recent issue. Give both old and new addresses, including zone numbers, if any.

**Annual subscriptions:** \$8.50; foreign postage, \$1.50; Canadian postage, 75¢. Single copies, 35¢. Cable address: Advancesci, Washington.

## One Hat That's in the Ring

Although most of the potential candidates for the 1960 Presidential nominations have not yet become actual candidates, one issue coming to the fore, as it did in the 1956 campaign, is that of a moratorium on nuclear testing. In the previous campaign, a proposal by Adlai E. Stevenson to suspend tests was dismissed by Dwight D. Eisenhower as a political gesture. Since then the administration has suspended tests and attempted to negotiate a permanent ban. A sticking point in the negotiations has been the Soviet Union's reluctance to agree to a sufficient number of on-site inspections of unidentified seismic events to make control effective. With the test suspension scheduled to end 31 December, the issue is whether wisdom lies in our continuing the suspension, and if so, for how long, or in testing weapons again.

A recent exchange of opinion in this country on test ban negotiations began 25 October, when in the course of a television question period, New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller stated that the United States should resume nuclear tests but restrict them to underground experiments in which radioactivity contamination of the atmosphere is negligible. The Republican Governor was promptly taken to task by a Democratic senator. In a speech delivered 2 November at the University of California at Los Angeles, Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts urged that the suspension of nuclear tests be continued as long as the Soviet Union does not resume them and negotiations for a permanent ban make progress. If negotiations collapse, Kennedy said, the United States should resume testing but only underground or in outer space. The views of the Senator were opposed, in turn, by another Democrat but one who, we can be sure, is not seeking the Presidential nomination. In an article published 8 November in many newspapers, Harry S. Truman found little sense in our abstaining now from underground experiments. Disagreement with the position taken by Rockefeller and Truman was then voiced at a press conference 12 November in Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., by Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

The most detailed plan for action by the United States was offered in a talk delivered 30 October in Pontiac, Mich., by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. The Democrat from Minnesota distinguished between the problems posed for mobile inspections by explosions with a yield of 5000 tons or more and the problems posed by smaller explosions. According to Humphrey's plan, the present moratorium on all testing should be extended for a period up to one year to allow further work on the problem of larger explosions. This problem is simpler than that of smaller explosions because effective control would require considerably fewer inspection trips. The number needed in the Soviet Union, the Senator said, would be between 25 and 50. If agreement on the first problem were reached, the plan continues, the moratorium on smaller explosions should be extended another two years; during this time the participating nations could study methods for improving the policing of smaller explosions without increasing unreasonably the number of mobile inspections.

This sample of opinion points up some aspects of the test ban issue. The two Republicans and three Democrats are agreed that if tests are resumed they should not take place in the atmosphere. Aside from the amount of detail that these thinkers are willing, or able, to specify, differences on how long to continue negotiations center not on scientific or technical matters but on different estimates of Soviet intentions. If a person believes that Moscow is seeking either a signed or *de facto* test ban but without controls, then he favors resuming our test program. Or, to reload the question, if a person believes that the evidence so far indicates that Moscow is negotiating in good faith, then he favors continuing the suspension.—J.T.