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Shall we Rearm German? correspondence, 1951-1954.

A Plea for a People's Policy

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

President Truman has summoned the American people to unity and self-sacrifice because of the grave danger in which our country finds itself. "Those of us who work in the government," he stated, "will do our best, but the outcome depends, as it has always depended, on the spirit and energy of our people."

In my humble judgment there has been little wrong with the spirit and energy of the American people. They did not fail, either in unity or in the spirit of sacrifice, either in the first World War or in the second World War. Whatever was asked of them they performed, completely and patriotically. They gave their sons to the war, and their daughters—as many as the government demanded.

On the battlefields our fighting men gave an excellent account of themselves, and withdrew from no sacrifice in life or blood.

Our shops, our mines, our mills were adequately manned. Whatever taxes our government imposed upon our people they paid. Whatever restrictions and rationings were imposed upon them were complied with.

There never was and there is not now any reason to doubt the loyalty, the patriotism and the readiness to sacrifice on the part of the American people in defense of their country or their freedom. I doubt whether the proclamation of a state of national emergency was really required to make the American people aware of how serious the present situation is.

The American people is not illiterate. They read their newspapers, they listen to their radio, they know what is going on in Korea; they know what is going on in the United Nations. Their sons are even at this moment fighting and some of them dying in Korea.

Congress Not Asked

But they, the American people, do not make our foreign policy. They did not send our armies unprepared into Korea. They were not consulted as to whether we should go into Korea. According to our Constitution, Congress, and Congress alone, has the power to declare war and make peace. The Congress of the United States was not consulted about sending our troops into Korea. President Truman alone decided this grave issue by the simple device of calling this intervention not a war, but a police action. This police action has

About the Author

Abba Hillel Silver, rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, is a former president of the Zionist Organization of America and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He has been notably conservative in American political affairs, and has been closely associated with leaders of the Republican Party. This article (excerpted from a recent address to his congregation) is illustrative of the significant new trend in certain influential conservative circles toward condemnation of the Korean war and insistence upon honest negotiations to settle differences with the Soviet Union.

already cost our people 40,000 casualties.

Our allies likewise were not consulted. The President has said that we must work with a sense of real partnership and common purpose with the other free nations who need our help as we need theirs. These partners were ignored when President Truman ordered our troops into Korea. The question is, why?

The United Nations, too, were not consulted. It is the prime responsibility of the United Nations, not of the United States, to resist aggression in the world. It was only after President Truman launched our military effort in Korea that the United States asked for the approval of the United Nations. This is not the procedure outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Why did not our government wait for clear directives from the United Nations in the matter of Korea? Why did not our government ascertain before we moved in who else was going along and to what extent and with how many troops?

Why did we not learn of the widespread reluctance of the other free nations of the world to become involved in Korea, as was later evidenced by the rather slim and purely token participation on the part of only a few of these nations?

Why did we not learn about this widespread reluctance before we committed ourselves to what has proved to be one of the most costly and disastrous enterprises in all the military history of the United States? Why?

The strong suspicions enter-

tained by many Americans that the Korean move was inspired by domestic political considerations connected with an approaching fall election has not been satisfactorily resolved.

The Administration had for some time, prior to last June, been attacked and badgered, especially by the Republican opposition, with charges of Communist sympathies, with responsibility for the victory of the Communists in China and the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek, and with widespread infiltration of Communists in the State Department and other government departments.

For weeks on end, before the Tydings Committee of the Senate, wild charges were made by irresponsible political gentry and by publicity seekers of the type of Senator McCarthy. The Administration found itself on the defensive, with an important Congressional election approaching.

The invasion of South Korea by the North Koreans last June offered a tempting opportunity to demonstrate to the country that the Administration was all-out anti-Communist, and that it was ready to strike at communism wherever it raised its ugly head. It must have been assumed that the undertaking would be in the nature of a small-scale police action, that it would be brief and not too costly, and that the North Koreans would take to their heels as soon as they saw the American soldiers coming.

President Truman also dispatched the Seventh Fleet to patrol the Strait of Formosa to see to it that the Chinese Communists did not take over Formosa, thereby intervening not alone in Korea, where a clear case of aggression could be established against the North Koreans, but also in the Chinese civil war, where the victorious Chinese regime had already been recognized by Great Britain, India and other countries.

Along with the intervention in China, we also promised to send aid to the French in Indo-China where they were fighting to preserve French imperial interests in that country. The Administration reversed its former line and permitted itself to be swayed by domestic political considerations and to be intimidated by the rantings of ex-Communists, ex-isolationists, pro-Fascists, and cranks of all kinds, and maneuvered itself and the American people into the disastrous Korean adventure.



RABBI SILVER

Was it the American people that failed in Korea? Why was our military intelligence so faulty? Why did it underestimate so catastrophically the fighting numbers and the fighting quality of the North Korean armies, to the point where we were almost driven into the sea at Pusan?

And why did the same thing happen a second time, and more disastrously, as our soldiers were advancing so confidently towards the Manchurian border, having been assured of an easy victory and the prospect of returning home by Christmas?

Was our intelligence aware of the size of the Chinese armies on the Manchurian border? If unstrike at us? If aware, why were our men, who were so vastly outnumbered, ordered to move on to the Manchurian border? If unaware, why are the military commanders who are responsible for this shocking blunder continued in their posts to this day?

What Happened to the Money?

Did our State Department know that China would enter the war? If it did, what preparations did it make to meet it? Why was the American people lulled into a false sense of security by inspired spokesmen who in so many words assured them that China would not fight? If our State Department did not know whether China would enter the war, why did it take the dangerous gamble to move our forces beyond the 38th Parallel? Why did it choose to ignore the clear declaration of the Chinese Foreign Minister and of Nehru of India, who warned the American

people that if we crossed the 38th Parallel, China would come into the war? Why did we move beyond the 38th Parallel? Why are we asking for a cease fire now when the Chinese and North Korean armies are advancing across the 38th Parallel? Why did we not ask for it when we had reached the 38th Parallel? Why did we reject the proposal of a neutral zone between Korea and Manchuria, which was favored by our allies?

These mistakes, these blunders, these failures, military and political, are not to be charged to the American people, although the American people, of course, will in the final analysis, pay the entire cost. These are the responsibilities and failures of the government and of the Administration and of those outside the government and in the opposition party who provoked the government to hasty action, and of those in government who succumbed to the provocation, who fondly believed that an easy-going victory against the Communists in Korea would be a strong political weapon in their hands against the opposition in an approaching election.

The American people is now being asked to give many more billions of dollars to our military establishment, to build up the military strength of our country. I suppose that conditions being what they are, with the President of the United States warning us that our homes, our nation, all the things we believe in are in great danger, the approval of such military expenditures is a foregone conclusion, and no patriotic American would wish to stand in the way.

But the American people has a right to ask why we received so little in terms of fighting effectiveness for the many billions of dollars which they gave to the military establishment during the past few years. The American people has never been niggardly with its armed forces. What became of the 50 thousand million dollars which was given to the armed forces during the past four years? Why were we so unprepared in June, 1950?

Before the second World War, in 1939, we spent on our armed forces a billion, four hundred million dollars. In the last three years—peace years, mind you—we spent on the average of 13 billion dollars annually. Yet we were unprepared.

The President said recently that on June 25 of this year we had

(Continued on Magazine 8)

Common Sense Concerning Soviet Russia

By CORLISS LAMONT

Two recent newspaper dispatches from the Soviet Union well illustrate, it seems to me, the unrealistic attitude of American public opinion toward that country.

The first story, cabled by the Associated Press, was published in the New York Herald Tribune of last Dec. 29. It tells us:

"Russia's old dream of a waterway linking the great Volga and Don rivers is to be realized in 1951 with the completion two years ahead of schedule of a 60-mile canal, the Soviet Government announced today. The huge waterway, begun before World War II, will provide Russian ships with a lane between the Black Sea and the Caspian, Baltic and White Seas—an idea first cherished by Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century."

The second dispatch, written by Harrison E. Salisbury, the Moscow correspondent of The New York Times, appeared on page 49 of that newspaper on Jan. 3. It states in part:

"The year 1950 marked the at-



LAMONT

tainment by the Soviet Union of the highest level of industrial production in its history, substantially surpassing the goals of the fourth Five-Year Plan and laying the basis for considerably greater expansion in the fifth Five-Year Plan, which begins this year. Soviet industrial production is now running at a level more than 70 per cent above that of 1940 and goals in virtually all categories have been filled by rather wide margins. The general effect of this growing industrial might are readily visible to anyone who saw the Soviet Union during the war years and it has been translated into a comparative abundance of consumer goods."

These two calmly factual stories in the Tribune and Times show, first, that despite the terrific barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda to the effect that the Russians are cursed by a failing economic system, the planned economy of the U.S.S.R. continues to make notable advances.

If we link up the Tribune-Times reports with the generally adverse impression which American public opinion holds concerning the Soviet Union, we arrive at the following remarkable proposition: The Soviet economic system is so horribly inefficient, the Soviet worker so unproductive and the whole Soviet people so lacking in incentive that Soviet Russia, in

spite of the crippling ravages of the Second World War, has already reached a level of industrial production far higher than that of the last pre-war year, is well ahead of schedule in certain important goals of socialist construction and has become, next to the United States, the most formidable power economically in the world.

The two dispatches from which I have quoted demonstrate, second, that notwithstanding all the hue and cry over Soviet concentration on plans for war and aggression, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people are pushing steadily forward with great peaceful projects directed toward expanding their economy and raising the standard of living of the entire population.

While it is true that economic development is important for a war effort, the long-range Five-Year Plans and even a Fifteen-Year Plan which Soviet Russia has been undertaking to fulfill certainly give the impression that the nation is not contemplating the initiation of any world war in the near future.

Although the U.S.S.R. is naturally aware of international tensions, the prevailing atmosphere there seems to be not one of war fears and hysteria, but of primary attention to the continuance of peaceful socialist achievement throughout a territory larger in

size than all North and Central America.

The reports I have cited indicate, third, that despite all the talk about an Iron Curtain cutting off all reliable information from the Soviet Union, a good deal of valuable factual material does come through and is available for those who are interested. Yet I hazard the opinion that the vast majority of New York Times readers never got as far as the Salisbury summary of Jan. 3.

And how many of even our specialized news analysts, columnists, editorial writers, radio commentators and students of international affairs know that there is issued each week in New York City by a committee of experts The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, which translates and prints in full, or condenses, the more important articles and news items from over 40 of the leading Soviet newspapers and magazines?

Fourth, the Tribune-Times dispatches make clear that, contrary to the official line of the American Government and of 90 per cent of the American press, the Soviet Union is not just one bottomless pit of poverty, misery and iniquity, but from an economic standpoint, at least, has some genuine achievements to its credit.

The propaganda demands of

the cold war have led American opinion makers in general to paint practically everything Soviet in the blackest hue imaginable. They claim that internally the Soviet Union is a veritable hell on earth and that in the international sphere it is the source of all existing evil.

This extreme and unrealistic view is of course the direct opposite of the equally one-sided position that the Soviet Russians have already attained some sort of this-worldly paradise.

It also has a counterpart in the false and exaggerated picture which the Soviet Russians in general have of the United States. In the Soviet Union the anti-American group, which at present is almost everybody, looks upon the United States with much the same abhorrence and hostility with which the anti-Soviet Americans regard the U.S.S.R. Although the Soviet press is certainly not guilty of the war-mongering and atom-bomb threats so characteristic of American newspapers, it cannot be outdone in the hurling of invectives at those it considers the enemies of its country.

It would be well if both sides in the cold war came to the realization that the worst way to arrive at a peaceful settlement is continually to insult those with whom you must negotiate.

A Plea for a People's Policy

(Continued from Magazine 3)

less than 1½ million men and women in our army, navy and air force. Thirteen billion dollars is a powerful lot of money to spend on such a small fighting force. In 1941, when our army and navy numbered a million and three-quarter men, we spent seven billion dollars. In 1950 we were spending twice that amount on a smaller army and navy and air force.

Is the unpreparedness of our armed forces so glaringly demonstrated in the Korean affair due to the failure of the American people to provide adequately for them, or is it the failure of the men at the top to get a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar paid by the American taxpayer? Have those who work in the government really done their best, as the President promises they will do in the future?

Failures at the Top

I cannot escape the feeling that these glaring, tragic failures have been at the top—lack of consistency, courage and statesmanship on the part of our political leaders, and blunders, waste, and poor management on the part of our military commanders and administrators. There is the major responsibility for the plight in which the American people find itself today.

There is always the tendency on the part of our political and military leaders, when their policies or their actions result in failure, to shift responsibility from their own shoulders to those of the American people. Somehow it is always the American people who are responsible for all that goes wrong.

It is proper to alert the American people today to the grave dangers in which they find themselves, as the President has done, but more is needed to meet the dire emergency—much more. In the first place, there must be self-examination at the top level. A sense of omniscience is not conducive to sound government, nor is impatience and irritability with suggestions and criticism, and narrow partisanship and a desire to make political capital out of grave international situations.

Re-examination Needed

There is in my judgment need for a re-examination of our entire foreign policy which has been going from bad to worse ever since President Truman, on his own responsibility, announced the so-called Truman Doctrine and pledged our country to resist communism all over the world, a commitment on which we are simply not able to make good and one which our allies are unwilling to back up. A re-examination of our entire foreign policy is called for. It is no loss of face for a government which has pursued a policy which has been found wanting or inadequate or dangerous to reconsider and re-examine and adopt a new policy. It is far better to change to a sounder policy than to be unchanging in catastrophic wrongheadedness. Finally, there is need for a reorganization of our military establishment with an eye to greater economy and efficiency.

Without leadership a people perishes. It is to leadership that we must look for our salvation, a leadership which will match words with action and which will treat the American people as mature people who know the score.

The President has announced four things which the American people must do and will do in this crisis. I am in perfect agreement with all these four things.

First, he said, we will continue to uphold and, if necessary, to defend with arms, the principles of the United Nations, the principles of freedom and justice. Fine! But please, let the United Nations decide when the principles of freedom and justice are endangered, and what should be done about it! That is its business. Let the deliberations and decisions and ac-

tions be collective—not unilateral! Let us not act first and then get the approval of the United Nations for our actions. The United Nations has assumed the responsibility of keeping law and order in the world. Please, let us not have a private Truman Doctrine of our own. Let us not do our own private policing. Let us not jump into Formosa or Indo-China or Korea or elsewhere—and there are a hundred potential danger spots in the world—until the United Nations directs us, along with all other nations, to act. We must avoid not only aggression, which we are not likely to indulge in, but aggressiveness as well. Let us strengthen the United Nations. Let us channel whatever help we can to the world through the United

Nations. Let us strengthen this international organization, which is the sole hope of a stable world to come.

Our New Allies

Secondly, the President said he would continue to work with the other nations to strengthen our combined defenses. Excellent! But let us be practical about it! Let us make sure how far the other nations are prepared to go along, and how much they are prepared to pay out of their own resources to strengthen their own defenses. Of course, they will permit us to help finance their military establishments, but they may not be willing to use them every time we think they should.

Let us not drain our own resources too far to equip other na-

tions militarily. Let us think first and foremost and always of our own defenses. Again, in our eagerness to organize the world against the Soviet Union and line up the free nations of the world against Communist dictatorship, let us not undermine our moral position in the world by allying ourselves with Francos and Fascists and Titos and Nazis in Europe and reactionaries in Asia. It makes the Voice of America sound hollow in the ears of the world. In the long run that will undo everything that we are trying to do.

The President urged us further to build up our army, navy and air force and to make more weapons for ourselves and our allies. By all means, let us build up to full strength, but let us not bank-

rupt ourselves by trying to arm half the world against the other half. Our resources are not limitless. Our government is already 257 billion dollars in debt. It is the hope of the Soviet Union that we will destroy ourselves through bankruptcy and sink our military strength into the great Serbonian bog of Asia.

The President finally urged that we expand our economy and keep it on an even keel. Nothing is more important than that. We must guard against inflation through greater production, higher taxes and through price and wage control. In this connection, an American has the right to ask why the President of the United States did not use up till now the powers which were clearly his to control prices and wages, and why he permitted our country to move into the dangerous inflation spiral in which we already find ourselves.

I should also like to draw Mr. Truman's attention to some words which he himself uttered, and suggest that in those words, lies the right direction of statesmanship in these dire days. He said, "There is no conflict between the legitimate interests of the free world and that of the Soviet Union that cannot be settled by peaceful means, and we will continue to take every honorable step we can to avoid general war." This is quite different from the dogmatism, the rantings and the war-mongering of so many others, which are so frequently heard these days.

Stalin, too, has declared more than once that the Communist world and the capitalist world could live side by side in one world. Truman does not trust Stalin. Stalin does not trust Truman. Hence the impasse. But it is clear that only in the direction of courageous and continuous exploration of every avenue for reaching understandings, if only piece-meal, only in the direction of negotiation, earnestly sought and welcomed, lies the hope of the world. Negotiation is not appeasement.

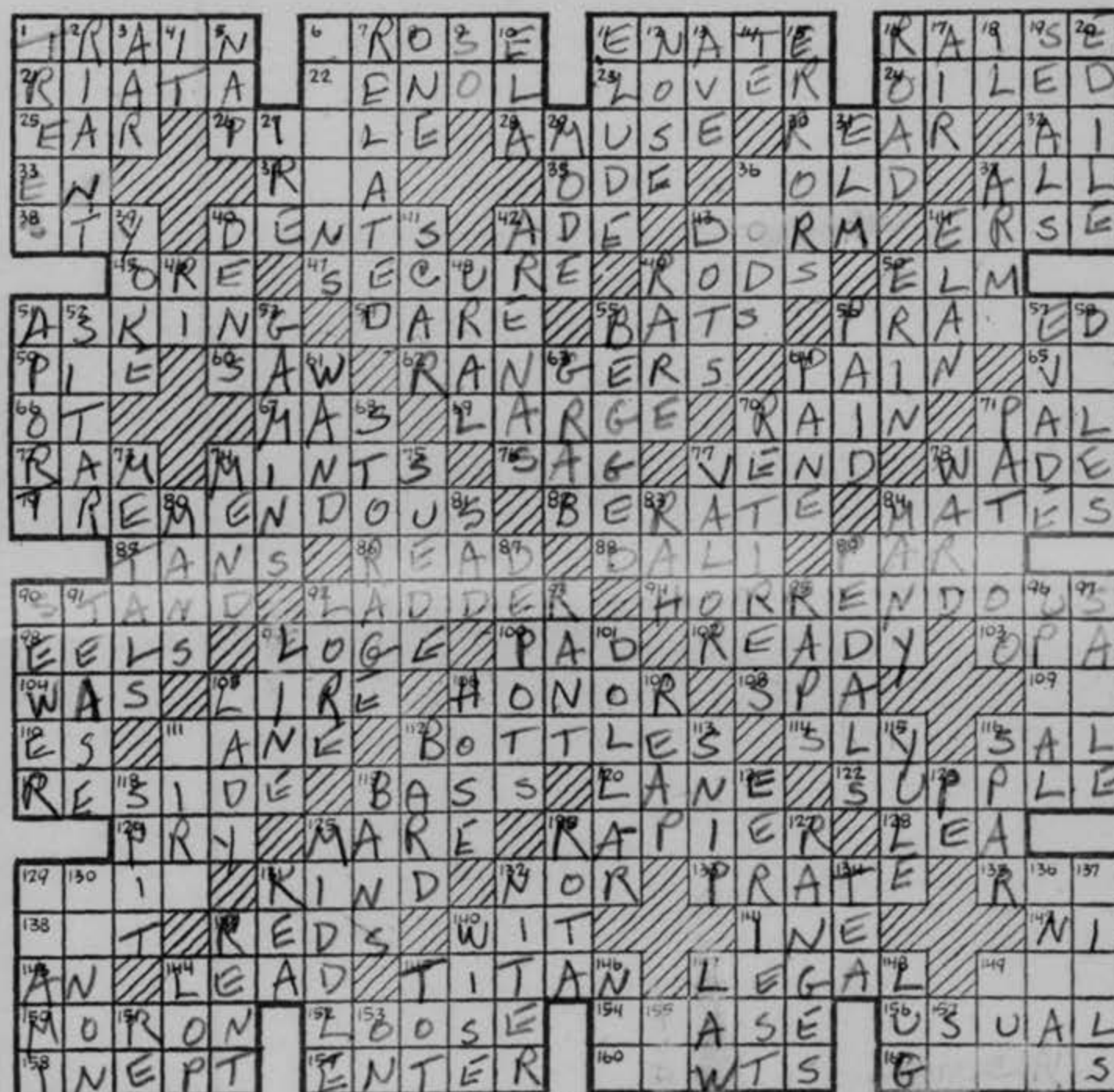
Let not the American people be persuaded into closing their minds at the sound of the word appeasement. It is today a tabu device to paralyze thought and wise diplomatic action. There should be urgent and continuous exploration of every opportunity for coming to an understanding with the Soviet, a nation which we cannot defeat in war any more than it can defeat us.

Our defeat in Korea is not a fatal defeat. Bataan and Dunkirk did not determine the outcome of the second World War. We are a strong and powerful nation. We can become stronger and even more powerful. We are faced with most grave and menacing problems, and while we should do all that is practical and necessary to build up our military strength, we should bear in mind always that the basic solution lies not on the battlefield. It will have to be found at the conference table.

Our appeal to our national leadership in Washington, which we make in all good will, for we are all involved in one common destiny, is to be courageous and unafraid, not to be swayed by partisan political considerations and not to allow itself to be stampeded by war-mongers, fanatics and cranks, and by those who would push us into war for reasons which have nothing to do with love of country.

There are those in our country who do not want an understanding with Russia. There are those even in high government posts who are ardently advocating a preventive war with Russia. There are those who will try to sabotage any possibility of agreement. These are our real enemies. When our President will give the American people the kind of leadership they need and crave for, the American people will back him up 100 per cent. The American people have always rallied to the defense of their country whenever it found itself challenged and endangered.

Weekly Compass Crossword



Drawn by United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

ACROSS

- 1—Retinue
- 6—Lying face down
- 11—Growing out of
- 16—Lift
- 21—Lasso
- 22—Pertaining to kidneys
- 23—Paramour
- 24—Lubricated
- 25—Organ of hearing
- 26—Part
- 28—Entertain
- 30—Bellow
- 32—Three-toed sloth
- 33—Printer's measure
- 34—Portuguese coin
- 35—Poem
- 36—Urge on
- 37—Everyone
- 38—Pippen
- 40—Depressions
- 42—Fruit drink
- 43—Dismal
- 44—Gaelic
- 45—Native metal
- 47—Obtain
- 49—Land measure (pl.)
- 50—Shade tree
- 51—Inquiring
- 54—Challenge
- 55—Flying mammals
- 56—Beseached
- 59—Pastry
- 60—Observed

DOWN

- 2—Forest
- 4—Wardens
- 6—Ache
- 8—Brother of Odin
- 14—Old Testament (abbr.)
- 17—Comb. form: feast day
- 19—Huge
- 20—Precipitation
- 21—Crony
- 22—Male sheep
- 23—Coins
- 26—Sink in middle
- 27—Sell
- 28—Walk in water
- 29—Astounding
- 30—Scold
- 31—Partners
- 32—Makes into leather
- 33—Peruse
- 34—Spanish surrealist
- 39—Young salmon
- 40—Remain erect
- 42—Climbing device
- 43—Frightful
- 44—Native metal
- 47—Obtain
- 49—Land measure (pl.)
- 50—Shade tree
- 51—Inquiring
- 54—Challenge
- 55—Flying mammals
- 56—Beseached
- 59—Pastry
- 60—Observed

place (abbr.)

- 110—Plural ending
- 111—Poison
- 112—Glass
- 113—Containers
- 114—Tricky
- 115—Sodium chloride
- 116—Edible fish
- 117—Path
- 118—Flexible
- 119—Lift with lever
- 120—Female horse
- 121—Sword
- 122—Meadow
- 123—Caustic substance
- 124—Variety
- 125—Conjunction
- 126—Talk idly
- 127—Ethiopian title
- 128—Ship channel
- 129—Communists
- 130—Intellect
- 131—Suffix, like
- 132—Symbol for niton
- 133—Indefinite article
- 134—Conduct
- 135—Powerful person
- 136—Lawful
- 137—Nahoor sheep
- 138—Stupid paragon
- 139—Unrestrained
- 140—Lower
- 141—Commonplace
- 142—Clumsy
- 143—Go in
- 144—Etts

Web-footed birds

- 1—Woody plants
- 2—Laughing
- 3—Swiss river
- 4—Pronoun
- 5—Short sleep
- 6—Smooths
- 7—Narrated
- 8—Unit
- 9—Symbol for sodium
- 10—Guldo's high note
- 11—Evade
- 12—Part of face
- 13—Hall
- 14—Symbol for tellurium
- 15—Mistakes
- 16—Highway
- 17—Ventilate
- 18—Prefix: not
- 19—Closes
- 20—Roman official
- 21—Anger
- 22—Style
- 23—Shade tree
- 24—Fits about
- 25—Host
- 26—Bondage
- 27—Lairs
- 28—Mark left by wound
- 29—Places for combat
- 30—Specks
- 31—Dash
- 32—Japanese measure

Mountains in Europe

- 48—Unusual
- 49—Ireland
- 50—To the left
- 51—Hindu guitar
- 52—Street
- 53—Entreated
- 54—Remunerated
- 55—Avoid
- 56—Strikes out
- 57—Staff
- 58—Snatch
- 59—Sheet of glass
- 60—Safekeeping
- 61—Falls back
- 62—Guardian
- 63—Elements
- 64—Repair
- 65—Undressed kid
- 66—Bravery
- 67—Hospital section
- 68—Provides crew
- 69—Mournful
- 70—College cheer
- 71—Indefinite number
- 72—Warehouses
- 73—Foot levers
- 74—Drain
- 75—Plague
- 76—Knowledge
- 77—Rage
- 78—Knocks
- 79—Wild sheep
- 80—Very dark
- 81—Boundary
- 82—Currency unit
- 83—Title of respect

Stockings

- 106—Harvest
- 107—Vertebrate
- 108—Writer of verse
- 109—Cut
- 110—Christmas
- 111—Box
- 112—Part of fireplace
- 113—Prohibits
- 114—Weirdest
- 115—Hebrew letter
- 116—Center
- 117—Rooster
- 118—Roams
- 119—Trumpeter
- 120—Standard of criticism
- 121—New Zealand bird
- 122—Potassium nitrate
- 123—Afternoon party
- 124—Coins of India
- 125—Vapid
- 126—Lease
- 127—Sagacious
- 128—Cut off
- 129—Small child
- 130—Girl's nickname
- 131—Ordinance
- 132—Carry
- 133—Petition
- 134—Note of scale
- 135—Concerning
- 136—Exist
- 137—Point of compass

Solution on Mag. 9

HARRY A. BLACHMAN
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March 8, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I shall be glad to forward your talk on "Rearmament of Germany" to the Ohio members of U.S. Congress, or to all of the Congressmen.

I shall be glad to mail such article or summary, if you wish it and I am supplied with the necessary material.

I believe that no one has expressed the danger as significantly as you have.

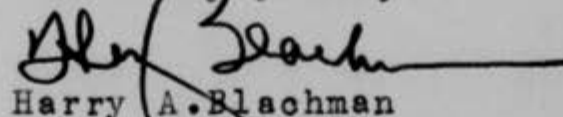
It seems patent that we are now fighting the III World War. Not only is this so, as far as those families who have sons or lost sons in Korea. But, literally, this is World War III, because the United Nations have declared such war, and the chief aggressor is standing on the side lines, waiting for World War III to take its toll of the United States and the United Nations, in men, armament and morale.

That is why you may well be a Prophet regarding the alignment in World War IV, where Russia and Germany will find it profitable to join up. With the arms we shall be supplying Germany with, and with the renewed will to fight again, Germany may once again become an even more devastating threat to world peace.

And who will have been the cause of such a future war, if not the foreign policy that initiates a move to rearm Germany.

With God on our side, we will win. With temporary expediency guiding us in the present moment, we shall pay a terrible price.

Sincerely yours,


Harry A. Blachman

HAB:H

Our foreign policy re Rearmament of Germany must be reversed at all costs.

March 13, 1951

Mr. Harry A. Blachman
1021 Schofield Building
Cleveland 15, Ohio

My dear Mr. Blachman:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing to me. My address on "Shall We Re-arm Germany?" will be published this week and will be available at The Temple this coming Sunday morning.

I appreciate your writing to me. It is very important to stir the minds of the people over this issue.

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

March 18, 1951

Mr. T. O. Thackeray
Daily Compass
P.O. Box 2
Canal Street Station
New York 13, New York

My dear Mr. Thackeray:

I am enclosing herewith my address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" which I delivered at The Temple recently. You might be interested in bringing it to the attention of your readers in the same manner as you graciously reprinted my open letter to Mr. Truman a few weeks ago. I am especially desirous of having the address reprinted inasmuch as two of the Yiddish dailies in New York, the "Freiheit" and the "Forwards", have both bowdlerized it and are fighting over it.

It is a long time since I have had the pleasure of seeing you. I trust that you are well and I do hope that I shall have the opportunity of renewing pleasant associations in the near future.

With warmest regards, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

March 18, 1951

Mr. Leon Ilutovich
Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Ilutovich:

Thank you for calling my attention to the articles which appeared in the Forwards. I am taking the liberty of sending you a few copies of the address. You will note how utterly unrelated the distortions in the "Forwards" as well as in the "Freiheit" are to what I actually said.

Please feel free to use this address in any way you wish.

With best wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Encs.

Via Air Mail

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

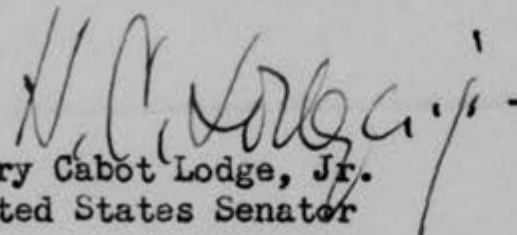
March 22, 1951

Harry A. Blachman, Esquire
1021 Schofield Building
Cleveland 15, Ohio

Dear Mr. Blachman:

Thank you for sending me the text of Rabbi Silver's address. I shall certainly read it carefully, giving particular attention to the passages you have underscored.

Very sincerely yours,


Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
United States Senator

3/22/51

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The Temple

Onzel Rd at E. 105th St
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Your recent sermon, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany" which I have just read in its printed form, is certainly a great statement of the needs & problems of Judaism & the world today. I deeply admire and agree with your courageous and outspoken stand.

Your recent sermons on our national and international situation have also shone as beacons through the mist of confusion and poor understanding of the state of the world. I am proud of the fact that Judaism and righteousness have such an eloquent and fearless spokesman. I am doubly proud that you are the leader of the religious community in which I live.

Happy Purim!

Sincerely Yours,
Arthur L. Levine

3333 Ormond Rd.
Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

March 22nd, 1951

Mr. Harry A. Blackman
Schofield Building
Cleveland, Ohio

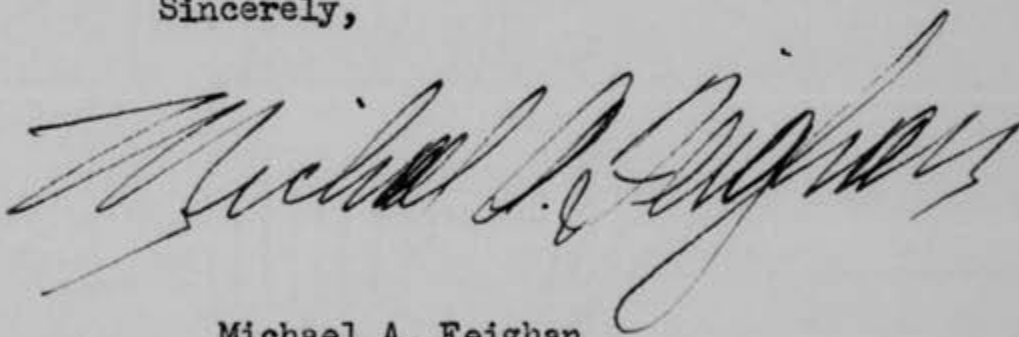
Dear Harry:

I am very pleased to receive copy of address by Rabbi Silver which you so thoughtfully sent to me. Rabbi Silver is a scholar whose judgment I greatly respect and a gentleman whose friendship I highly esteem.

The House is planning to take an Easter recess of about ten days and I hope that in that time I shall have an opportunity to carefully read the Rabbi's address.

With kind personal regards and all good wishes to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Michael A. Feighan", with a stylized, flowing script.

Michael A. Feighan

American Jewish Labor Council

22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y. ALgonquin 5-5858

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JOSEPH WINOGRADSKY
ABE WISE

March 23, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland
Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I would very much appreciate your sending me copies
of your last six sermons.

If there is any charge, let me know and I will be
pleased to remit same.

Respectfully yours,

William Levner
WILLIAM LEVNER
Director of Organization

*Sent 3/4 Sermon
3/26*

WL:br
dpowa/16

Opapel, 1609 Morris Ave Marshalltown, Ia.



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Congregation Tifereth Israel
Ansel Road and East 105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio.

March 25, 51.
1609 Norris Pl.
Marshalltown,
Iowa -

**SHALL WE
RE-ARM GERMANY?**

At the request of many people,
Dr. Silver's sermon on "Shall We
Re-Arm Germany?" has been
published and copies are available
at The Temple office. There is a
nominal charge to cover the cost
of printing.

Sent
4/28

Would you please send me one copy! Thanks.
Lois E. Appel, Rabbi.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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TS CLA311 PD=NEWYORK NY 27 625P=

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE EAST 105 ST VAT ANSEL RD=

PLEASE HAVE TWO MORE COPIES OF SHALL WE REARM GERMANY PUT IN
THE MAIL TONIGHT FOR ME AT T E COMPASS. WRITING=

TED THACKREY=

*Rec'd 3/28/51.
Sent airmail
3/28/51*

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 27, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

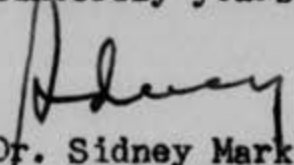
I have just completed reading your address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany" and I must remonstrate.

Anger, surprise, grim foreboding and a desire to fight through this situation were only some of the emotions that wracked me during the course of the reading.

You are absolutely right and I feel that a great service would be rendered if this address was placed into the hands of more people.

Accept my affectionate regards.

Sincerely yours,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM:dh

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THE DAILY COMPASS

164 DUANE STREET • NEW YORK 13, N. Y. • WORTH 4-5400

March 28, 1951

T.O. THACKREY
EDITOR and PUBLISHER

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 5, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you very much for your note of March 18th and the printed copy of "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?", which I am very anxious to use. Because of its length we probably will have to split it in two sections and, because of our early press time I will have to have copy in my composing room by next Monday, April 2nd, at the latest, in order to publish it the week end of April 8th and 9th. This is why I wired for extra copies.

If I may, without impertinence, I would like to suggest for our printing a slight revision in the text, beginning on page 11 of the printed copy.

The first full paragraph on page 11 in the printed copy begins "There is soon to be held in Paris the preliminary meeting of the Big Four," etc. I think this basic passage on down to the end of the address should by all means be preserved since the points made are extremely pertinent, but I think, since the text will be printed by us under date of April 8th, it would be well if we could have a revision to the effect that "There has recently been held in Paris a series of preliminary meetings of" the Big Four...

In the following paragraph in the printed text on page 11 I would suggest, for the sake of bringing the text up-to-date, a revision in the sentence "But behind the scenes I am afraid there are other forces," etc. I would suggest changing the "are" to "were."

March 28, 1951

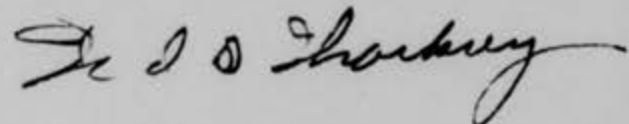
In the next sentence I also would suggest a change from "They are forces which are afraid" to "They are forces which were afraid."

I believe these two very minor changes will give us a complete text which can stand up factually no matter what the final outcome of the Paris conferences may be. In any event, no extremely forceful change in the current situation seems likely prior to April 8th.

I am moved to make a further suggestion. Would it be possible for you to ask your secretary to forward to me immediately any available extra copies of your sermons, on foreign affairs particularly, so that we may be able to consider publication a little nearer the time of delivery, when the maximum impact may be had?

I have often pondered the prospect of giving myself the pleasure of a visit to Cleveland this spring and, if I am able to make it, I shall look forward with the keenest anticipation to the possibility of seeing you for a few moments while I am there.

Sincerely,



TOT:mi

March 30, 1951

Mr. T. O. Thackrey
The Daily Compass
164 Duane Street
New York 13, New York

My dear Mr. Thackrey:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of March 28th which I received this morning upon my return after an absence of a few days. I am pleased that you will publish my address, "Shall We Re-arm Germany?" I have no objections to the slight revisions which you suggest, except that if you announce this address as having been delivered on March 4th, the revisions will sound strange. I assume, therefore, that you will announce it as a straight article.

I am not entirely sure that the second suggestion, from "there are forces" to "there were forces which are afraid, etc." quite covers the situation. I am persuaded that these forces still exist.

I shall keep in mind your request to forward to you whatever copies of my sermons are published.

With warmest regards and hoping that I may have the pleasure of seeing you before long, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

SALK, WARD & SALK, INC.

Mortgage Bankers

11 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

April 2, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Ansel Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

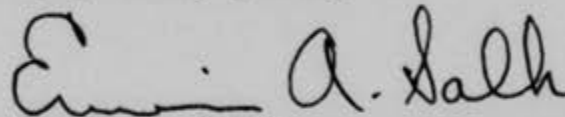
Dear Rabbi Silver:

It is with considerable interest that I read comments with respect to some of your recent sermons, and I was wondering if copies of any of these are available. If they are being reproduced, I shall be very grateful if you can send me copies of your sermons on peace and on re-Nazification in Germany—particularly the one entitled "Hitler Rides Again."

I wish to thank you in advance for any information with respect to the above that you feel you are in a position to send me.

I might just add that I am active in B'Nai B'Rith here in Chicago, and much discussion is going on with respect to such matters as peace and re-Nazification.

Very truly yours,


Erwin A. Salk

EAS:es

April 4, 1951

Mr. Erwin A. Salk
11 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Salk:

Thank you for your letter of April 2nd. I am herewith enclosing two addresses of Rabbi Silver delivered on December 17, 1950 and March 4, 1951. These are the only two that have been reprinted. The address of March 4, "Shall We Rearm Germany?", is the one reported as "Hitler Rides Again".

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

Enc. 2

There is a charge of \$.25 per pamphlet to cover the cost of printing.

April 4, 1951

Mr. T. O. Thackrey
The Daily Compass
165 Duane Street
New York 13, New York

Dear Mr. Thackrey:

Will you please send us two copies each of The Daily Compass
of March 31st and April 1st.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

*Congregation Emanu-El
of the City of New York
Fifth Avenue at Sixty-fifth Street*

Office of the Senior Rabbi
REV. DR. JULIUS MARK
1 EAST 65TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

April 10, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
E. 105th Street and Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Abba,

I noted in a recent Bulletin of yours that your lecture, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?", has been printed and is available for distribution.

Would it be possible for you to have as many as twenty mailed to me for my class in Homiletics? I shall, of course, be very happy to remit the charge, whatever it may be.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours sincerely,



JM/k

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED POWERS EUROPE

1, RUE DE PRESBOURG
PARIS (8*) - FRANCE

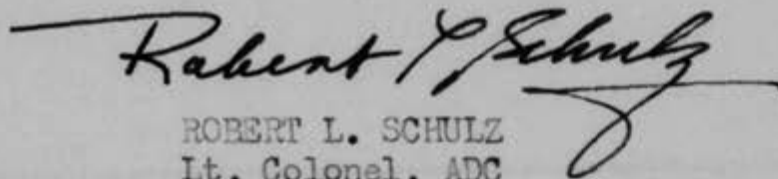
10 April 1951

Dear Mr. Blachman:

This is to acknowledge your recent letter to General Eisenhower. While he appreciates your interest in writing, he wishes me to advise you that his heavy schedule simply makes it impossible for him to comment personally to all those who write. Therefore, in fairness to all, the General has been forced to adhere to a policy of declining in each case.

It is regretted that this reply cannot be more favorable but I am confident you will understand the General's position.

Sincerely,



ROBERT L. SCHULZ
Lt. Colonel, ADC
Aide to General Eisenhower

Mr. Harry A. Blachman
1021 Schofield Building
Euclid Avenue and East 9th Street
Cleveland 15, Ohio

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS : UNATIONS NEWYORK : ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

SOA 317/062

10 April 1951

Dear Mr. Blachman,

Thank you very much for sending me the copy of the address delivered by Rabbi Silver. I read it with great interest. Undoubtedly he puts his finger on one of the really crucial issues of our time in discussing the future of Western Europe as it relates to the rearmament of Germany. One of our great delusions that we seem to have fallen into so disastrously is the delusion that the salvation of our civilization has to be worked out today by military means. Unfortunately in a world as unstable as ours, considerations of defence have to be taken into account. But the danger is that we exaggerate the defence factor to such an extent that all the efforts of conciliation, tolerance, and positive social and economic reconstruction are discounted. The big problem, after all, of our day is to build up authority for the international organisation which, as well as standing against the aggressor, takes active measures to promote cooperation among the nations and point the way towards an ordered world society.

I enjoyed very much my recent visit to you in Cleveland and am grateful for all your kindness and hospitality.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'King Gordon', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

King Gordon
Social Affairs Officer
Division of Human Rights

Mr. Harry A. Blachman
Attorney-at-law
1021 Schofield Bldg.
E. 9 and Euclid Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio

The Student Organization New York School
THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ... CINCINNATI
JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION ... NEW YORK

40 W. SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET · NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
TRAFALGAR 3-0200

HAROLD SILVER
PRESIDENT

April 10, 1951

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VICE PRESIDENT

SAUL M. LOEB
SECRETARY

LOUIS FIRESTEIN
TREASURER

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Congregation Tifereth Israel
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Our student body of the College-Institute
would appreciate it if you would send us gratis
fifty copies of your sermon entitled "Shall We
Re-arm Germany?".

May we take the opportunity of wishing you and
Mrs. Silver a very happy and pleasant Pesach.

Trusting to hear from you and thanking you for
any courtesy.

Sincerely yours,


Bernard Silverblatt

Service Chairman

THE DAILY COMPASS

164 DUANE STREET • NEW YORK 13, N. Y. • WORTH 4-5400

April 11, 1951

T.O. THACKREY
EDITOR and PUBLISHER

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 5, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

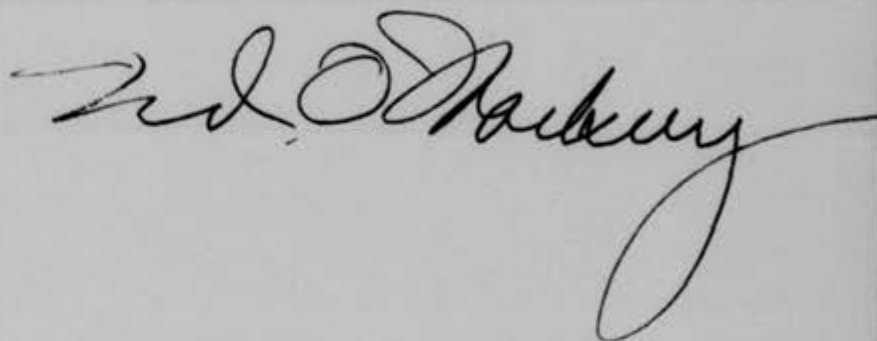
I am enclosing clippings of your article, which we ran in four installments, starting with Sunday's paper and ending today.

I thought the point made in yours of March 30th was well taken and, accordingly, we made only the one change in the text. I thought it would have more impact, nonetheless, presented straightaway as a current article.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

TOT:mi

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "T.O. Thackrey", written in dark ink.

April 12, 1951

Dr. Julius Mark
1 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Dr. Mark:

Under separate cover we are sending you 20 copies of Dr. Silver's address of March 4th, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" There is a charge of \$.25 per copy to cover the cost of printing.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Rice
Secretary to Dr. Silver

April 12, 1951

Mr. Bernard Silverblatt
Jewish Institute of Religion
40 West 68th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Silverblatt:

Under separate cover we are sending you 10 copies of Rabbi Silver's address of March 4th, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" Unfortunately, this is all that we can spare.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Rice
Secretary to Rabbi Silver

*Congregation Emanu-El
of the City of New York
Fifth Avenue at Sixty-fifth Street*

Office of the Senior Rabbi

REV. DR. JULIUS MARK

1 EAST 65TH STREET

NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

April 16, 1951

Miss Elizabeth Rice
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Miss Rice,

I am enclosing herewith a check for Five Dollars in payment for the 20 copies of Dr. Silver's address, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?", which have just arrived.

If there are other printed materials of Dr. Silver which might be available for my class in homiletics at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, please advise me and I shall be happy to order them.

Thanking you, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Julius Mark

JM/k
enclosure:



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

APR 17 1951

Dear Mr. Blachman:

This will acknowledge receipt of the
copy of Rabbi Silver's address entitled,
"Shall We Re-Arm Germany?", which you re-
cently sent to the Secretary of Defense.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "K. R. Kreps", is written above the typed name.

K. R. KREPS
Colonel, USAF, Deputy Director
Executive Office of the Secretary

Mrs. Harry A. Blachman
1021 Schofield Building
Euclid Avenue & East 9th Street
Cleveland 15, Ohio

JOHN S. BERNHEIMER

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
ROOM 820 LEWIS TOWER BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

PENNYPACKER 5-7170

April 19 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

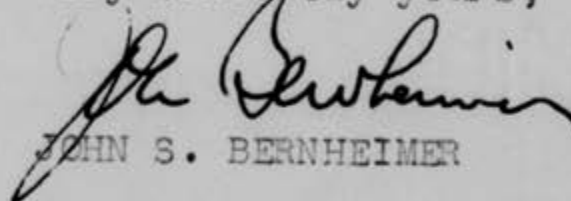
I am very much concerned with the re-armament of Germany.

I have read in the "New Palestine" that you have a booklet entitled "Shall we Rearm Germany?"

I would very much appreciate receiving at least two (2) copies of the booklet. I would be pleased to pay any charges you may require.

Thanking you, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,


JOHN S. BERNHEIMER

JSB/b

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE

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WEST HAVEN, CONN.

Telephone WEst 3-9634

April 21, 1951

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Dear Rabbi Silver,

It seems a long time since I saw you in

Cleveland. Last year I was Visiting Professor at the University

of Colorado. This organization republishes significant articles

and circulates them thru the churches and synagogues. I

should like to reprint the fourth section of your series

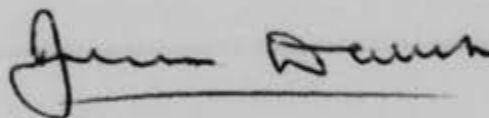
in the Compass entitled "Some Forces in the U.S. Dont Want

Peace". Is this all right with you ?

I thought it was very good.

Did you see my latest book Character Assassination. I enclose
a leaflet about it.

Cordially yours,



Jerome Davis

April 23, 1951

Mr. John S. Bernheimer
Lewis Tower Bldg.
Philadelphia 2, Penna.

Dear Mr. Bernheimer:

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing two copies of Dr. Silver's address, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" There is a charge of \$.25 per copy to cover the cost of printing.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

Enc. 2

JOHN S. BERNHEIMER

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
ROOM 820 LEWIS TOWER BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

PENNYPACKER 5-7170

April 25 1951

The Temple
Ansel Rd. and East 105th Street
Cleveland 6
Ohio

Att: Elizabeth Rice

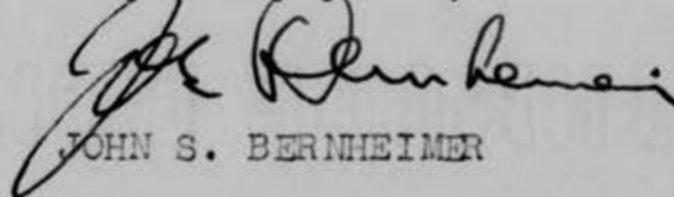
Dear Mrs. Rice:

I am enclosing my check for \$.50
in payment of the two pamphlets on "Sgall We
Re-Arm Germany", by Rabbi Silver. Thank you very
much.

Would you be good enough to let me
know how much these would costs in 100, 500, and
1000 copies at a time.

Thanking you, I remain,

Very truly yours,


JOHN S. BERNHEIMER

JSB/b

enc. ck.

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE

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Toyohiko Kagawa
Hachiro Yuasa

April 27, 1951

489 OCEAN AVENUE
WEST HAVEN, CONN.

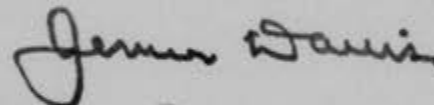
Telephone WEst 3-9634

Dear Miss Rice,

Thank you for sending me the two addresses
by Rabbi Silver. I am sorry he is out of the country but
since he republished his talks in the Compass I take it he
would not object to my reprinting part of his series on
"Shall We Rearm Germany?" This would only be reprinted
for sending out to the churches. Surely there is no difference
in doing this than in printing it in the Compass.

Please let me know that this would be all right,

Cordially,



Jerome Davis

HAYES JEWELRY

15257 HOUSTON AVENUE

Between Kelly & Hayes

DETROIT 5, MICHIGAN

Venice 9-6960

April 27, 1951

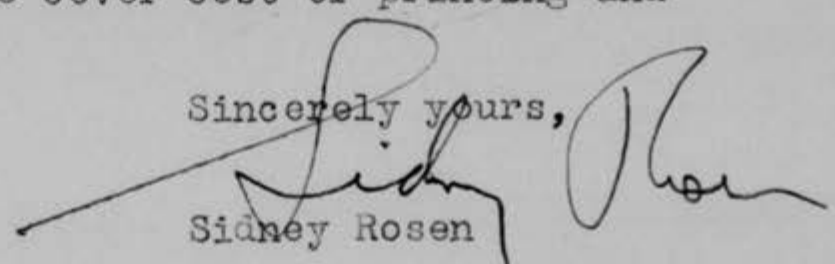
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105th St. at Ansell Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I was extremely interested in your series of articles on the Rearmament of Germany which recently appeared in the New York Daily Compass.

If printed copies of these articles are available, I would appreciate your sending me a few so that I may distribute them to interested parties. Please send them C.O.D. to cover cost of printing and mailing.

Sincerely yours,


Sidney Rosen

SR:ig

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

Cleveland 6, Ohio

TELEPHONE: SWEETBRIAR 1-7755

EARL S. STONE
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER
RABBI

LEO S. BAMBERGER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 30, 1951

Dr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.

Dear Dr. Davis:

In reply to your note of April 27th, I might state that we can supply you with additional copies of Rabbi Silver's address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" at \$.25 per copy which would eliminate the necessity of your reprinting it.

Sincerely yours,

Elizbeth Rice

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

Dear Miss Silver,

Thank you for your gracious note. But we supply these folders by the thousand free to churches. We cannot afford to pay 25 cents each for them. If you can supply them free -fine. But when we print them we get them for a fraction of a cent each. So I hope you can either supply them free or grant us the right to print.

Cordially,

Jerome Davis

Jerome Davis

April 30, 1951

Mr. John S. Bernheimer
Lewis Tower Building
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Bernheimer:

In accordance with your request, I am herewith enclosing two copies of Rabbi Silver's address, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" It would not be possible to supply you with copies in the amounts which you indicate since we do not have such a supply on hand.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

Enc. 2

April 30, 1951

Mr. Sidney Rosen
15257 Houston Avenue
Detroit 5, Michigan

Dear Mr. Rosen:

I enclose four copies of Rabbi Silver's address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" at \$.25 per copy. Your check should be made out to The Temple.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

Enc. 4

April 30, 1951

Dr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.

Dear Dr. Davis:

In reply to your note of April 27th, I might state that we can supply you with additional copies of Rabbi Silver's address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" at \$.25 per copy which would eliminate the necessity of your reprinting it.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

3240 Blaine
Detroit 6 Mich
Wednesday
May 2

Rabbi Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel + \$1.05-pts
Cleveland 14 Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Could you please
send me 200 copies of your
fine pamphlet on the
Korean situation. I feel
that there is great need
for it in our community. I
know that it is 25¢ per
copy; would the cost be
less for 200. I hope to dis-
tribute at least that many
& possibly more. Thank you
Sincerely,
Eve Weideman

SALK, WARD & SALK, INC.

Mortgage Bankers

11 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

May 2, 1951

Miss Elizabeth Rice
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Miss Rice:

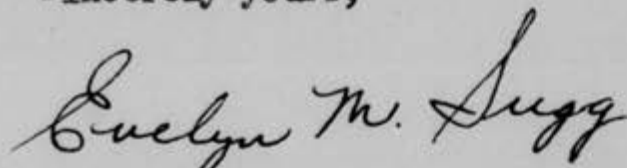
Reference is made to your letter of April 11th, quoting charges for pamphlets requested by us.

On April 12th, a check in the amount of \$5.00 was drawn on The First National Bank of Chicago, payable to The Temple (our Check No. 39555). It is doubtful that this check ever left our office, and has probably been misplaced. I must assume this, since we have neither heard from you, nor have we received the pamphlets from you.

Will you please advise if this check has been received by you and there has merely been a delay in sending us the pamphlets. Otherwise, we will stop payment on the lost check and issue another.

Your reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Evelyn M. Sugg
Secretary to Erwin Salk

EMS:es

May 4, 1941

Miss Evelyn M. Sugg
Secretary to Erwin Salk
11 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Miss Sugg:

I have checked with our bookkeeper concerning the \$5.00 check to which you refer in your letter of May 2nd. She suggests that you check your bank statement of May 1st to see whether the check has cleared since she would have no way of knowing whether the check has been received and deposited. It is unlikely, however, that we received it, for if we had, the pamphlets would have been forwarded to you.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

May 4, 1941

Miss Eve Neidelman
3240 Blaine
Detroit 6, Michigan

Dear Miss Neidelman:

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd. It would not be possible for us to send you more than 15 or 20 copies of Dr. Silver's sermon. There are two that have been reprinted: "A Letter to Mr. Truman" delivered December 17th, and "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" delivered on March 4th.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

May 6, 1951

Dr. Jerome Davis
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Conn.

Dear Dr. Davis:

I am sorry that we have had to have so much correspondence concerning the reprinting of Rabbi Silver's sermon. However, as you can understand, I hesitate to authorize it on my own. I do realize that you would not wait until Rabbi Silver's return the end of the month. I assume that you will make an exact reprint with no deletions and no changes. Under those circumstances, I am sure it will be satisfactory to reprint it.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

4416 Comly
Los Angeles 63, California
May 8, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
At The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have just finished reading your pamphlet "SHALL WE RE-ARM GERMANY?", and found it most interesting.

A few of my friends saw the pamphlet, and are anxious to have a copy of it. I am enclosing \$1.00 for which I would appreciate getting as many copies as the \$1.00 will cover.

I would appreciate getting the pamphlets as soon as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Henry Steinberg
Henry Steinberg

*Sent 4 copies
5/10/51*

2638 N. 31st
Phila. 32 Penna.
May 9, 1951

My Dear Sir:

I would appreciate receiving a copy of the sermon you delivered about 3 weeks ago to your congregation. The sermon made reference to our government's position in Korea. I saw reference to your remarks in a N.Y. paper and would like to read the entire statement. I believe this particular sermon recommended negotiation of the conflict in Korea.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely
(Mrs.) Sylvia E. Levy

May 9, 1951

Dear Rabbi Silver,

I am writing to ask for a few copies of the speech which you delivered in March of this year, on the question of the Renazification of Germany.

I want to also commend you on the wonderful stand you have taken for peace, at a time when there is such hysteria in the country.

Thank you for a prompt reply.

Very respectfully,

Charlotte McKessler

111 So. La Brea Ave.

Los Angeles 36, Calif.

SALK, WARD & SALK, INC.

Mortgage Bankers

11 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET

CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

May 10, 1951

Miss Elizabeth Rice
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Miss Rice:

Many thanks for your letter of May 4th.

Since we have not been able to locate our original check, we have stopped payment on same. I am enclosing another check in the amount of \$5.00 to cover twenty pamphlets--ten each of the two which have been printed.

Sincerely yours,

Evelyn M. Sugg

Evelyn M. Sugg
Secretary to E. Salk

EAS:es
Enc.

Sent 5/13

May 10, 1951

Miss Eve Neidelman
2123 Gratiot
Detroit 7, Michigan

Dear Miss Neidelman:

Since the pamphlets are mailed out, there is no way to send them C.O.D. Upon receipt of your check for \$5.00, I shall be pleased to send you 20 copies of the address, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?".

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

May 11, 1951

Miss Charlotte McKessler
111 South La Brea Avenue
Los Angeles 36, California

Dear Miss McKessler:

Thank you for your kind note of May 9th. If you will indicate the number of copies of Rabbi Silver's address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" that you wish, I shall be pleased to send them to you. There is a charge of \$.25 to cover the cost of printing.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

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DIRECTOR OF

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BERNARD W. WALL

May 13, 1951

The Temple
Ansel Road and E 105th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me a copy
of Rabbi Silver's sermon "Shall we Rearm Germany?"

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely,

Aaron M. Wise
RABBI AARON M. WISE

AMW:d

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May 15, 1951

Rabbi Aba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

We have read with great interest the series of articles which you wrote, and which appeared in the Compass under the title: "Shall We Rearm Germany." We would be most grateful if you would give us your permission to reprint these articles in the forthcoming issue of our magazine, PREVENT WORLD WAR III.

Thanking you for your kind cooperation, and hoping to hear from you soon, we are,

Very truly yours,

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, INC.

Lois Robinson

Lois Robinson
Research Department

May 18, 1951

Miss Lois Robinson
Society for the Prevention of World War III
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Miss Robinson:

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 15th in which you request the right to reprint my article on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" in the forthcoming issue of your magazine, "Prevent World War III". You have my permission to reprint it.

With kindest regards, I am

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Van Nuys, Calif.
May 19, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Ansel Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have been hearing many favorable comments on the lecture you delivered at the Ansel Temple, Sunday, March 4, 1951. These comments lead me to believe that as many Jews as possible should have the opportunity to read your lecture and study the proposals you made therein.

I am a member of the Southland Jewish Organization of Los Angeles and I believe that our organization, which is very interested in the welfare of Jews and is aware of the dangers to Jews inherent in the Re-Nazification and Re-militarization of Germany, would benefit by a study of your lecture of March 4.

If it is possible to obtain a copy of this lecture I would appreciate your sending me a copy.

Sincerely,

Noah Shulman,

6646 RANCHITO AVENUE
VAN NUYS, CALIFORNIA.

5-20-57

Rabai Hillel Silver
Rabai Silver Temple
Cleveland Ohio

Dear Rabai Silver:

We were deeply
moved by your frank
and serious statement
about the renazification
of Germany.

Your voice was raised
~~at~~ the most important
time of our day.

A group of farmers
would like to ~~distribute~~
have your statement
so that we can circulate
them among the rest of
the Jewish population

May 28, 1951

Mr. Louis Sisselman
Rt. 2, Box 203
Petaluma, California

Dear Mr. Sisselman:

Thank you for your kind note to Rabbi Silver which he deeply appreciated.

It would not be possible for us to send you as many as 200 copies of Rabbi Silver's address on "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" However, if you are interested we could send you up to 50 copies. There is a charge of \$.25 per copy to cover the cost of printing. Upon receipt of your check, we shall be happy to forward them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

[May, 1951]

2123 Gratiot
Detroit 7 Mich

Elizabeth Rice
The Temple
E 105 ft at an old
Cleveland 6 Ohio

Dear Miss Rice

As per your
letter to me of May 4 -
will you kindly mail
to me 20 copies of "Shall
Germany be Re-armed".
b. o. d.

Please mail
to above address. Thank
you.

Sincerely yours
Eve Rindelman



ONTARIO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Parliament Buildings,
Toronto, Ont.,
June 8, 1951.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

Would it be possible to receive copies of your recent addresses delivered in your Temple and dealing with the question of World Peace.

I was shown the pamphlet which contains your address of March 4 (?), which impressed me very much. I admire and fully agree with your courageous stand and would gladly pay whatever the cost may be for a copy of that as well as other related addresses published by your Temple.

Respectfully yours,

J. B. Salsberg
J. B. Salsberg, M.P.P.

HELP IS NEEDED EVERYWHERE!

UNITED JEWISH

OF LOS ANGELES JEWISH
590 NORTH VERMONT AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 4, CALIF.



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tomorrow may be too late!

WELFARE FUND

COMMUNITY COUNCIL
CALIFORNIA • TELEPHONE NORMANDY 2-8161

July 6, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I appreciate the receipt of your address "Shall We Rearm Germany?" which was sent to me and which I have read with a great deal of interest.

Since your visit to Los Angeles for the United Jewish Appeal, we have moved steadily forward and on June 30th we passed the five million dollar mark. We are hopeful that by the end of the year, notwithstanding all of the difficulties that you are acquainted with, we will end up with a good Campaign result.

With all good wishes, I am,

Yours most cordially,

Julius Bisno
Executive Director

JB:mf

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July 6, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Euclid Ave. Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

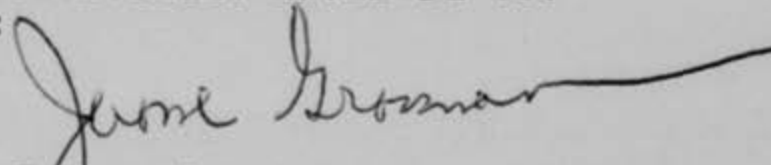
I have read your pamphlet on Germany and have been very much impressed with it. I would like to distribute a dozen of these to my friends and associates, and if you would be so kind as to let me know the charges involved I would be very happy to send my check.

Keep up the good work.

Very truly yours,

MASSACHUSETTS ENVELOPE CO.

BY:


Jerome Grossman
President

JG:nk



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July 13, 1951

Mr. Jerome Grossman, President
Massachusetts Envelope Company
641-643 Atlantic Avenue
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Dear Mr. Grossman:

I am sending you under separate cover twelve pamphlets,
SHALL WE REARM GERMANY? by Dr. Silver.

Dr. Silver is now in South Africa and is not expected
back until the early part of September; however, I am
sure that he will be very pleased when he reads your
letter and would want me to thank you for your kindness
and enthusiastic interest.

There is a charge of 25¢ for each pamphlet--your total
bill amounting to \$3.00.

Thank you again for your kind letter.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth L. Hirsch
Secretary to Rabbi Stone

December 18, 1953

Mr. Spencer Irwin
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Irwin:

I have been reading with the keenest interest your articles in the PLAIN DEALER on the situation in the near east and the Arab-Israel relationship. I find them among the best informed and the fairest discussion of the problems involved appearing anywhere at this time.

Your articles should receive the widest circulation, for they will help Americans to think clearly on the issues involved in that critical area of the world concerning which there is today much befogging and propaganda.

With warmest regards, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABRA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:rms

Shall we rearm

February 11, 1954

Mr. Spencer Irwin
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Irwin:

I am sorry that I was called away soon after your address to answer a long distance telephone call and could not express to you in person my deep appreciation for the very illuminating and informative address which you delivered this afternoon to the women of The Temple. I have heard nothing but highest praise from those who were privileged to hear you.

Inasmuch as you advocated the neutralization of Germany, you may be interested in the enclosed address of mine, "Shall We Re-Arm Germany?" which was delivered at The Temple nearly three years ago. While ~~the~~^{some of} ~~the~~ ~~same~~ details in the picture have changed with the passing of time, the main outlines remain, and I was happy to find corroboration of my position in the things which you said.

With warmest regards, and again thanking you for coming to us and sharing with us your political insights and judgments, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILIEL SILVER

AHS:rms

[undated]

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION

By Jerome Davis

With an introduction, "What Price Freedom?"

By Robert Maynard Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

"CHARACTER ASSASSINATION" is the first comprehensive analysis that has ever been made of the familiar habit of homo-sapiens to castigate any individual or group against whom there exists a deep seated hostility.

Dr. Davis begins by stating in ringing words what the American ideal really is, what freedom and liberty mean, in unforgettable words. An entire chapter is devoted to the character assassination of the Presidents of the United States.

Then Dr. Davis analyzes a phenomenon which has received scant attention before, group character assassination. In successive chapters he takes up the following topics: "Anti-Semitism," "Ammunition Against the Negro," "A Mask in the Profit Drive Against Trade Unions," "The Struggle for the Mind of America," the corrosion of politics and education.

In a fascinating analysis, the author surveys the work of the un-American Committee, its genesis, its methods and its consequences. Thurman Arnold, former Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, contributes a humorous section on "How Not to Get Investigated," from cases which he himself handled. Finally, the book shows concretely and specifically what each and every citizen can do to combat these sinister tendencies and to recover our corroded freedoms.

The book has been acclaimed from Coast to Coast in the book reviews. It is in the December 1, 1950 Booklist of the American Library Association. The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* of August 27, 1950 had a long review stating that this was a *must* for every reader, that Dr. Davis had not "missed any" of all the kinds of Character Assassination.

A large advertisement in the book review section of the *New York Times* in September quoted the following comments:

Christian Science Monitor (May 27, 1950)

"A guide to what lies behind the headlines."

Drew Pearson

Character Assassination shows that America is in danger of becoming the land of "witch hunts" and the home of fear.

John R. Mott, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

Whoever believes in freedom should read it.

Senator Wayne Morse

I hope it has a wide reading.

Walter G. Muelder, Dean of Boston University School of Theology

A brilliant analysis of the pathology of bigotry in our time and a timely call to virile Americanism with liberty and justice to all.

Worcester Telegram, "A daring book"; Cleveland News, "Comprehensive analysis"; Fort Wayne News Sentinel, "Should be in every library"; Miami Daily News, "Thought provoking"; New Orleans Item, "A masterful job"; Denver Post, "Signpost to tolerance"; Wichita Eagle, "A valuable collection"; Springfield Republican, "Comprehensive and Illuminating".

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CHINA

by JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Professor of History at Harvard and the author of The United States and China, published by the Harvard University Press.

THERE are many interpretations of the Chinese Communist rise to power and most of them go to extremes. Some regard it as simply a Russian plot, overlooking its all-Chinese cast. Others see it as an unavoidable act of nature like an earthquake, neglecting the very human nature of history. Some say we helped Chiang Kai-shek too little, and some — rather few — protest that our error lay in helping him too much.

Amid all these confusing claims and considerations, military, economic, and political, we have neglected the realm of ethics. I believe our chief failure in dealing with the Communist revolution in China has been to underestimate the vigor of Chinese moral sentiment as the basis of patriotic effort and to pay too little attention to the morality of our own position in the eyes of the Chinese. Aware of our own revulsion against Communist methods and doctrines, we have generally assumed that other sensible people would see through them too. Aware of our own generous good will toward China, we have assumed that it would shine through our aid programs, no matter how the aid was used. Yet today we are up against the fact that a significant proportion of Chinese Christians and Western-trained Chinese professors, the natural protagonists of Western ideals in China, have been heatedly denouncing our "aggression" in Korea and Formosa. We find ourselves most violently condemned in China, not only by the Communists but also by patriotic Chinese who have been close to our way of life. This is an unhappy denouement to a century of Sino-American friendship. How shall we account for it?

The quick and easy explanation is Communist propaganda and indoctrination. Communist lies are so big that they really constitute an entire realm of thought, beginning with Lenin's great half-truth that imperialism is the final phase of capitalism. In China the Malik view of the world now holds sway. The Chinese people are at present a "captive audience." If Mao Tse-tung can feed them the "facts," he can control the judgments they reach. This still does not explain, however, how so many Chinese have come to put their trust in Mao. What is the explanation of his rise to power?

On this point our counsels are discordant; yet it is plain that if the American public cannot agree on why we failed in China, we have little prospect of constructing an effective policy either toward China or for the rest of Asia.

The popular explanation among Republican political aspirants is to blame it on the Democrats. This is reminiscent of the old Chinese ritual which made the Emperor in Peking responsible for drought, flood, famine, or other acts of nature anywhere in the empire. As used today by people who ought to know better, there is a slick element of self-flattery in blaming the revolution in China on the administration in Washington. It assumes that we Americans can really call the tune if we want to, even among 475 million people in the inaccessible rice paddies of a subcontinent ten thousand miles away.

This theory that Mao Tse-tung's rise to power in China is somehow our fault in America appeals both to the Puritan conscience and to our view of ourselves as world arbiters, but it leaves Chiang Kai-shek out of account. After all, he came to power in Nanking during the Coolidge administration. Since then the leadership of Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, and Pakistan has seen cataclysmic changes amid two decades of violence and disaster. Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman have occupied the White House. Chiang Kai-shek sat on top of the Chinese revolution as long as he could, fighting it with arms rather than reforms, but no amount of American aid could have kept him there forever, nor could even a nation of MacArthurs put him back today.

The final word on the Generalissimo as a recipient of American aid and advice has long since been written, by several score American specialists who were not political appointees and who included General George C. Marshall. Six hundred pages of their sober reports and appraisals were published as appendices to the White Paper on China in August, 1949, and may still be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents for three dollars. Among them General Wedemeyer in his famous report of September, 1947, concluded that "the only working basis on which national Chinese resistance to Soviet aims can be revitalized is through the present corrupt, reactionary, and inefficient Chinese National Government." Wedemeyer recommended military aid "under the supervision of American advisers." Secretary of State Marshall, who had sought vainly for a year to advise Chiang Kai-shek, refused to take the risk involved in trying to save him with American military power. This was fortunate, indeed, for by 1947 Chiang was beyond saving. The explanation of his collapse, like the explanation of Chinese anti-Americanism today, must be found within the Chinese scene, in the realm of Chinese public opinion and its moral and ethical sentiments.

2

AN ancient Chinese military maxim runs: "Know your own side. Know the other side. In a hundred battles you will win a hundred victories." With our European background, we know little of Asia or its ethical values. Today our greatest danger is that the Russians may capitalize on our ignorance.

The conditions of Chinese life are far outside our experience or even imagination; rice or millet without meat, shoes without leather, a board to sleep on, worms in the belly, and an age-old dislike of landlords and foreign invaders — all this has been the stuff of everyday experience among an intelligent people crowded in a hundred thousand villages across the face of the world's oldest country. In a modern world where there is hope of betterment, these conditions have been inevitably the where-withal for revolution. When our missionaries and traders first stimulated the revolutionary process in the old Chinese empire by importing subversive Western ways a century ago, they represented a

dominant Western society which had no need to understand the effete East. Today it is different. The spread of industry and nationalism, science and democracy, has turned the tables on us. Asia is changing faster than we are.

The Communist success-story in China is now well known in outline: the methods of indoctrinating students who can mobilize peasants, the techniques of rent reduction and land redistribution, of village "liberation" and class reorganization, of personal conversion and guidance by self-criticism. Not many serious observers fell for the line that the Chinese Communists were "mere agrarian reformers." They take pride in being Communists, but they use agrarian reform as a basis for power, just as they use Chinese patriotism. As yet no signs of Titoism have appeared. Nor should they be expected as long as the Stalinist dogma retains its appeal to Chinese idealism, and its moral respectability in Chinese public opinion.

This peculiar Chinese public opinion is a pervasive force which we have neglected to our own disaster. It is not expressed in editorials, in a country where the press is controlled and the people largely illiterate. But it led Chiang's armies to surrender, taking with them the American weapons that Mao's armies now can use against us. This Chinese public opinion is the force that bestows the traditional Mandate of Heaven upon the successful rebel in Chinese politics. It goes back to the beginning of Chinese history and is intimately bound up with the Chinese moral sense. It includes a healthy respect for military and police power, but not for them alone. In political life this force of opinion is seen in the acquiescence of the people in the government of the day. One might call it part of the "unwritten constitution" of the Chinese polity; and let us remember that the Chinese body politic is the oldest in the world. In short, in the crowded life of China the attitude of the populace, their coöperation or avoidance of coöperation with the regime in power, has been the index of that regime's longevity. This attitude has not been expressed through political institutions like the elections and parliaments of the West, but it has been made evident through many centuries in the daily conduct of the people. Bad government, for example, invites corruption, which produces worse government. A regime whose leaders have lost public respect is soon knifed by its own bureaucracy, in which bad men drive out good. Community non-coöperation, well known to us in Chinese shopkeepers' boycotts, can spread to the whole nation.

The Russians or the Nazis may have been able to get results from a slave-and-police state, but the Chinese Communists are taking no chances. They rose to power by establishing within China greater moral prestige than the Kuomintang, and thus far they have worked hard to keep it—long hours, ascetic living, incorruptibility, and devotion to their cause. Their Communism, though genuine Marxism-Leninism of the Moscow orthodoxy, is operating in the shadow of twenty centuries of Confucianism. While no one expects China's dead past to reassert itself, one must still acknowledge that the Chinese way of life is distinctive and persistent. In dealing with the Chinese people neither we nor the Communists can disregard it.

3

IT MAY seem paradoxical that a Communist system which uses slave labor and terror in East Europe

and Russia can maintain a genuine moral prestige in China. Of course many millions in China oppose the new order. Newly "liberated" peasants find themselves taxed as never before. But let us remember that our own revolution of 1776 was carried through by the active one third among us. The inner core of the Chinese Communist Party, which now claims five million members, has been knit together and battle-tested over a generation. It is operating a coalition in which non-Communists actively participate. The broad extent of this active non-Communist collaboration among China's small literate elite is the index of Communism's ideological success and of our failure. These non-Communist intellectuals include scholars and administrators of international repute, men of integrity who defied Japan, spent the war years in the shanty towns of Free China's universities, and refused to be intimidated by Kuomintang police. They are not men easily bought or coerced. Their active collaboration seems due to several factors.

First, China is in a period of hope; the promises of the new order are still untarnished, as in the first years of Soviet Russia. Second, the period of Nationalist collapse is still fresh in memory—the inexorable inflation, the Kuomintang terror against intellectuals, the insecurity. Today the inflation has been suppressed, albeit by Draconian methods, and civil war is over. Third, what one expects of any government in China is not what we would expect in America. Incorrupt officials are a blessing even if public services are few. Young Communist administrators can shine against a background of warlordism. Fourth, while the Peking regime is far from thoroughly established over large areas of the South, where disaffection and unrest are reported on a large scale, the fact remains that for the patriot who wants to save his country there is no rival channel for his effort, no competitor to Mao as a leader, no one else with his prestige.

What is this moral prestige? Mao has it not merely because he fought for thirty years and won. It springs rather from his apparent "sincerity" (in the sense in which Chinese and Japanese diplomats used to accuse each other of lacking it), his purity of intention. By his pronouncements and conduct, Mao and his party have established the general belief that they mean well toward the Chinese masses, that they know China's basic problems and have the means and determination to solve them. If he and his party lead China only to disaster in the end, it will not be the first time that self-appointed saviors have believed themselves utterly sincere.

This sincerity can be understood only in the old Chinese context, where the ideal government is not "the rule of law," but "the rule of men and virtue"—that is, government by superior men whose decisions are guided by their enlightened moral sense. This was the essence of the Confucian tradition. The rigorous training in the classics, the ancient examination system, the inculcation of orthodox Confucian morality, all aimed at administration by superior men who could rule benevolently and justly by applying the moral precepts of the sages, not by following the letter of the law. The opportunity for Marxism-Leninism to exploit this Chinese tradition is obvious.

The inveterate evil in the grand moral concept of sage-government has been that Chinese officials often mouthed virtue but grew corrupt. Personal despotism has been the twin brother of Confucian

morality. The pluralism of our society, which requires no One Man at the top and which gives us variety and strength, stems from the rule of law as opposed to the rule of men. It is on this ground that we line up against Marxism-Leninism and also against the Confucian tradition. But in the Chinese context, a Marxist-Leninist regime which is distinctly below the level of political life which we would tolerate in our own country seems to hold the promise of being an improvement over the old order. It is judged by the professed intentions and the conduct of its leaders. Can their promise be realized?

If we also judge by the aims set forth by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, it seems possible; judged by the Russian record, it seems entirely improbable. Russian manipulation of the Chinese revolution, so badly bungled in the 1920s, has achieved a new high point. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Chinese revolution, which commends itself by promising increased production and welfare at home, is the same ideology that proclaims the Kremlin's international crusade against "capitalist-imperialist aggression" in foreign relations. The Communist thought-control system which mobilizes great production drives and efforts at national reconstruction within China is the same system that feeds the Chinese people Moscow's lies about American "aggression" in Korea or Formosa. Russia contrives to get the Chinese people to do her dirty work. Militarism is likely to eat up China's small productive surplus and impoverish her people; Mao is likely to lose his moral prestige and find himself head of another Communist police-state. But this is still for the future.

4

OUR first step in the necessary long-term job of appealing to Chinese moral sentiment and enlisting it against the Russian system is to recognize our own past errors. When we supported Chiang Kai-shek, both he and we fell into a trap. Relying on our support, his shaky Nationalist regime was under less pressure to carry through reforms which would compete with Communist reforms; with our arms, it was the more inclined to use force against the Communists, which quickly proved disastrous. On our part, having committed ourselves to approach China only through Chiang as the legitimate channel during our war against Japan, we were less able to bargain with him for post-war land reform and other reconstruction programs which might have headed off collapse. The White Paper documents our long frustration in this quagmire, unable either to influence the Nationalist regime effectively or to dissociate ourselves from it, impotent either to reform Chiang Kai-shek or to disillusion his political backers in America.

First, we must recall that Chiang, like other Asian leaders in contact with the West, had to have two faces: toward us abroad he was a true patriot and a Christian, incorrupt and unflinching; toward the world of Chinese politics, he functioned as a power-holder and political manipulator, head of the government, party, and army, but not a reformer. While chief of state, he had to be his own Boss Hague, enmeshed in political deals with the conservative landlord-warlord forces of the countryside. This made him the natural target of

complaint and moral indignation.

Second, the Chinese Communists used against us the well-tryed tactic of polarization, which operates in two phases. In phase one they espoused all things good and desirable, all the reforms and freedoms dear to the liberal heart, and denounced all Nationalist evils. This made the liberals regard the Communists as almost liberal, and made the Nationalist right wing regard the liberals as almost Communist. Phase two followed when the Communists proclaimed, "There is no middle road; who is not for us is against us," while the Nationalist right wing, being themselves totalitarian-minded, attacked the liberals who tried to stay on a middle ground. Examples abound of this pulverizing of the center by both extremes. Thus in June, 1946, a non-Communist liberal peace delegation from Shanghai came to Nanking to protest against civil war. Nationalist thugs surrounded them at the station for several hours and finally gave them a professional beating up — no one was killed but all were hospitalized. Several of these genuine would-be liberals are now collaborating at Peking. In incident after incident the Communists, with an assist from Nationalist goon squads, won over the liberals of China.

Third, it has not been difficult for the Communists by ceaseless repetition and illustration to identify the United States with the hated Nationalist regime, especially when the Nationalists themselves and their ardent American backers have constantly asserted this identification. Our asserted identity with Chiang has been the Communists' trump card, the big gun used against us. Thus the good name earned by three generations of our missionaries and educators has been all but smothered, and China is being steadily mobilized against American influence.

5

WHAT is the remedy for our disaster? In general I think we must bring the moral factor more fully into our political-economic-military thinking. We must distinguish in our own minds between the Communist reform program within China, which has both good and bad points, and the Chinese Communist integration in the Russian system of imperialism, which menaces both world peace and the welfare of the Chinese people. We must abandon any hope of engineering a Chinese Titoism by some tactic of wooing or bargaining; yet we must never forget that China and Russia are two different countries with different ways of life and different group interests, which may not be forever controllable by Stalinist dogma. It seems apparent to us that the best interest of the Chinese people conflicts with the ulterior interest of the Kremlin; within the wall of Moscow propaganda, however, the Chinese people may have great difficulty in seeing this. We should make it possible for them to do so. This calls for a more vigorous American information program, but primarily it calls for an American determination to avoid the Russian trap of polarization.

This tactic has given the Russian and Chinese Communists their greatest success. When Mao says, "We lean to one side," we play his game by saying, "China is in the Russian camp." Actually, Mao is engaged in trying to drag the Chinese people

into the Russian camp, but we give a push, too, by refusing recognition. It now seems plain that the Stalin-Mao axis never wanted us to recognize Communist China; the British recognition has not been accepted in practical terms, nor would ours have been. But to the Chinese people we, not the Communists, now bear the onus of preventing friendly relations between the United States and the new China. By neglecting the struggle for moral prestige within China, we have let the Communists consolidate their position as defenders of China's welfare and national interest. In actual fact, we are convinced that Chinese Communism is selling out China's true interest to that of Moscow. But we cannot demonstrate this so long as we are successfully pictured by Moscow as acting out the role of "imperialist aggressor" which Moscow ascribes to us, and which keeps us in an immoral and suspect position in Chinese eyes.

This Russian success has two bases, one domestic and one foreign. In domestic affairs the Chiang Kai-shek regime, as the record is compiled and reiterated against it, has no way to regain its shattered moral prestige: the Communist tactic is therefore to keep us identified with it. This is done much more effectively than the American people realize. As long as the Chinese Communist effort to solve China's domestic problems keeps its momentum, as long as the Chinese people are brought by persuasion and coercion to acquiesce in Communist leadership, and as long as we seem to threaten the Communist-led effort at China's national upbuilding by our apparent support of Chiang, this tactic will work. Our big news and picture magazines help it week by week.

In foreign affairs, the Russian effort in China is like the Russian effort elsewhere, to pin the evils of aggression upon us. Since this concerns events outside the direct experience of the Chinese people it can be accomplished by the Moscow lie-machinery, and we can combat it only by getting our own information into China, as into other parts of the Soviet orbit.

This suggests two essential lines of approach to China. First, it is absolutely essential that our information program become effective. The Voice of America is hardly a whisper in China, and must be greatly enlarged, but it may prove to be less important than other channels of information that we might develop. The overseas Chinese communities of Southeast Asia are closely connected with South China. The traditional grapevine, by word of mouth, still operates in every village if we can only reach it with the facts.

Second, we must make every effort to avoid taking *unnecessary* positions where the Chinese Communists can force us into conflict with the Chinese nation. Either diplomatic or military conflict with us helps them to consolidate their control in China and to wipe out our moral and practical influence among the Chinese people. In such conflicts, Chinese Communism stands to build up further support for its polarized anti-American

position in China, while Russia stands to involve us in an enormous side show which cannot be decisive but can weaken us. Our strategic problem is therefore to decide what positions we must hold at all cost, even at the cost of fighting Chinese, and what positions are not necessary to us.

Our effort to support the UN in Korea is essential and must continue even if China is maneuvered into fighting us there. A majority decision to seat China in the UN, by which we have promised to abide, might help the Chinese people view the world more independently. Meanwhile Formosa is of marginal military value to us and less distinct than Korea as an issue of principle. As General MacArthur's famous letter made clear, it could be neutralized by whichever side had air superiority in a war. Thus with superior air power on Formosa we could dominate the air over the coast; but with superior air power on the continent, an enemy could dominate the air over Formosa. Meanwhile Sino-American hostilities over Formosa can waste the military strength of both parties and make Stalin that much stronger. In the long term Formosa is less valuable to us than peace with China. We must try to settle its disposition through the United Nations.

In summary, we will get nowhere in China either by further support of Chiang or by appeasement of Mao. We can, if we try hard on all levels, build up our prestige by helping other, accessible parts of Asia solve their problems. We can try to get this story into China; we must get the facts before the Chinese people. Although under Communist control, it will be many years before they can be thoroughly "communized." In the meantime we have a bare chance to rebuild our moral position in their eyes and to combat the prostitution of China for purposes of Russian imperialism. But this requires a recognition among patriotic anti-Communist Americans that our failure in China has only partly been due to the knavish tricks of Communism and was partly our own grievous fault, for giving our aid too carelessly to a regime which had grown incapable of representing its own best aspirations or our moral position. It is on the score of domestic reform in China that we parted company with Chinese public opinion, for we (thinking of ourselves first?) considered that the evil of Russian imperialism would outweigh the benefit of the reforms promised by Chinese Communism; and too many of the Chinese people did not agree with us. It is never too late in history for great peoples to change their minds. But there is no hope of friendly relations with the Chinese people until we take ourselves out of their purely domestic politics, take China out of American party politics, and concentrate upon the paramount menace of the Russian totalitarian imperialism which we both face.

Add

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