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Truman, correspondence re: A Letter to Mr. Truman, 1950-1951.

A Letter to Mr. Truman

Address delivered by

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

at The Temple

WERE I INCLINED TO WRITE A LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN at this time, when letter-writing seems to have become a rather explosive avocation, I would dwell on two matters: First, the manner in which his choleric letter-writing and emotional outbursts of recent months are affecting his own status and that of the American people in the world at a time when, to use his own words, "we are the leaders of the free world" and the eyes of the world are upon us; and secondly, about the implications of the national emergency which he has proclaimed, not so much as far as the American people are concerned, but as far as he himself and his administration are concerned. Every citizen is called upon to put aside his personal interests for the good of our country. What does this spell out for the President himself and for those in whose hands are the lives and fortunes of 150 million of American citizens?

The first matter, that of the letter-writing, is the lesser in importance by far, except as it has revealed an over-charged and uncontrolled spirit which has greatly troubled the American people. Long ago Samuel Johnson wrote: "In a man's letters his soul lies naked." The soul exposed in Mr. Truman's letters of recent date gives very little evidence of that wisdom and calmness which he solicited of the American people in his address the other evening. This has caused many Americans to wonder apprehensively whether major decisions of the Chief Executive in far more serious realms of national and international affairs are similarly determined by temper, pique and resentment, and are likewise made in a headlong and impetuous fashion.

Everyone realizes, I am sure, the terrible strains and burdens of the office of the President of the United States, especially in these dreadful times. No one envies Mr. Truman the heavy and nigh overwhelming responsibilities which are his. The American people is inclined to overlook an occasional outburst of irritability on the part of a greatly harassed public official. However, when this

irritability appears to be by way of becoming chronic and expresses itself in language which is not permissible even to a private citizen, there is proper cause for disquiet and criticism. The President of the United States, for as long as he holds that exalted office—and it is the most exalted and illustrious office in the world—is never a private citizen. He never can dissociate himself from his office. Whatever he says or writes or does, has to a greater or lesser degree public significance and repercussions. What a music critic writes about Margaret, good or bad, is of little importance, of little importance indeed, but what the President of the United States writes to a music critic or to anyone else, and the manner of his writing can bring a sense of shame and dismay to the entire nation and make the office of the President of the United States the laughing stock of the world.

There is much sound counsel to be found in our Bible to which I should like to draw the attention of the President. The Bible counsels men not to give way to gusts of anger, temper and passion. If these admonitions are applicable to ordinary citizens, how much more so are they to men who occupy high position, whose every word is freighted with consequence. Thus, we read in the Bible, "It is the discretion of a man to be slow to anger and it is his glory to pass over a grievous wrong."

One who was himself a ruler of men, Koheleth, writes in his book, "Be not hasty to get angry, for anger rests in the bosom of fools." The wise Hillel, likewise a leader of men, frequently cautioned his fellow men, "Guard your temper." And the rabbis declared, "The speech of the wise is always a clean and decent speech."

Were I inclined to write a letter to Mr. Truman, I would in all good will and earnestness bring these matters to his attention and suggest that he do not write letters when he is angry, and that all of his letters, like all of his speeches, should be checked by a second party before they are mailed, and above all, not to make public statements "off the cuff." His latest *ad lib* about the use of the atomic bomb fell upon the world almost with the destructive effect of an atomic bomb and sent Minister Schumann hurrying to London and Prime Minister Attlee flying to Washington.

Our President owes it to himself and to our country in these desperate times to avoid anything that might cause unnecessary irritation and resentment among our people, or that might lower

the dignity of the high office which he sought and to which the citizens of the United States elected him. What has happened has not been good for the morale of our people and cannot serve as an inspiring example for the emulation of our youth.

I pass on to the second and more serious matter about which I should like to write to President Truman. In his address to the country the other evening, he 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 very 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, competently 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.

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 already cost our people 40,000 casualties.

Our allies likewise were not consulted. In his speech last Friday evening, the President 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 suspicion entertained 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 Congres-

sional 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.

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 waiting to strike 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?

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. The House of Representatives has already voted an additional 17 billion, 800 million dollars emergency defense bill. This will bring our total defense budget for the year to almost 42 billion dollars. 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 the other evening that on June 25th of this year we had 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?

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. *Theirs* is the major responsibility for the plight in which the American people finds 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.

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 Commu-

nism 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 wrong-headedness. 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.

In his address the other evening the President 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 actions 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 give to the world through the United Nations. Let us strengthen this international organization, which is the sole hope of a stable world to come.

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 estab-

ishments, 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 nations 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 Communistic 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 bankrupt 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.

These are some of the things about which I should like to write to Mr. Truman. I should also like to draw his attention to some words which he himself uttered the other evening, 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 those 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.

December 17, 1950

Rabbi A. H. Silver
Ansel Road Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My Dear Rabbi Silver;

I heard with interest your address of Sunday, December 17th, entitled "A Letter To President Truman". The knowledge that the President of the United States is a man of uncontrolled emotions is disturbing and disquieting, to say the least. No one disagrees with you in this. But to go on and say that it is the leaders of the people, not the people themselves, who have failed is not exactly correct. The people of this country knew what they were voting for when they re-elected Mr. Truman. He promised them everything including a promise that "all this and heaven too" would not cost them anything in money, hardship or lives. Why try to separate the leaders of the people from the people themselves? Do you want to make the leaders of the people a scapegoat for the entire nation?

You spoke about sitting down at a conference table with Russia and talking a solution out of the conference. What is there to talk about? Spheres of influence? How to divide the world into a Communistic half and a Free Nation half? If not, what else is there to confer upon? Wouldn't it be far more courageous to tell the people, not that we can get along with Communist Russia, but that it is a question of survival, either Communist Russia, or Free America.

Chauvinism is gone, Jingoism is gone, Patriotism is gone, "My Country, right or wrong", is gone. You may say that it is good that they are gone, but has any other better emotional influence taken their place? Or, is there an empty void in the hearts of the American people?

What is there left in the spiritual life of the people of this great nation to guide them in the future, to prevent them from going the way of all other nations who worshipped Mammon?

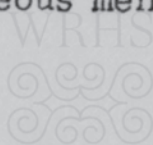
Very truly yours,

Zoltan Roseman

Zoltan Roseman
3523 East 151 St.

12-18-50

State Senator William Boyd called to congratulate you on your address of yesterday, a report of which he read in today's P.D. He said he wished there were more such courageous men in the country.



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December 18, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Rd. & E. 105th.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver,

I have just read an account of your sermon, "If I Were To Write a Letter To Mr. Truman", in today's Cleveland Press. It is gratifying to know that a leader with the respect you command has the courage to speak in public what is being thought by many, many Americans.

The government, radio, and press seem to be doing their best to ready us psychologically for another war which will be won by nobody, and it is people like you with the courage, and fore-sight to see beyond tomorrow that will save our country from our third and worst World War.

Sincerely,

Hans F. Bosch

Hans F. Bosch



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Dec 27th 1950

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio
Dear Rabbi Silver

My attention has been directed to a digest of your recent sermon about the Korean "Police action" which appeared in the local press.

I wish to congratulate you on your forthright criticism of an insane policy which has already cost us over 50000 casualties with more in the offing and no end in sight to a useless slaughter.

I am a veteran of the last war and am active in the Jewish War Veterans here locally. I should very much appreciate your sending me a copy of your sermon so I may read it at our next meeting next week. Many people who agree with you are afraid to voice their feelings because of the current hysteria and it will do much to encourage them to hear your words.

God bless you, keep up the good work.

Very truly yours
Mortimer Meyrich

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January 2, 1951

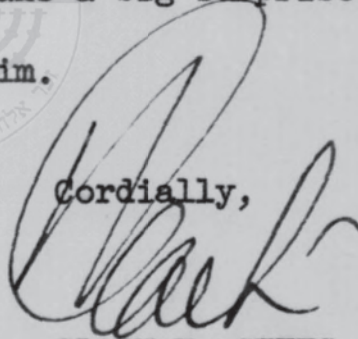
Rabbi Hillel Silver
The Temple
105th and Ansel Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

It is several years since I have seen you, but I read with great interest your statement published in the Cleveland Press when I was there on the 19th and 20th of last month. More power to you.

Lawrence Meyerson says that he would like your advice on the last meeting of the Men's Club which he wants to make a big surprise, so that I am sending a copy of my letter to him.

Cordially,


CLARK H. GETTS, INC.

CHG:fw
Encls.

January 2, 1951

Mr. Lawrence Meyerson
Temple Men's Club
Bond Printing Company
1104 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear sir:

Will you give me that exact date we discussed when I was there the other day? Was it March or May? I seem to have mislaid my notes.

We have more than 250 notables this year, so that we should easily find you one for your purposes.

While I fully understand your wishing to follow the news and spring a big surprise at that time, I think you can now estimate the direction of affairs, and we shall be glad to work out something for you now, substituting someone else from our list, should you want to change the material later.

This seems to be the perfect time to trot out distinguished military men who have information and fine opinions also on the political and diplomatic front. We have several of these, each of whom has cost the nation some one-quarter million dollars to educate and train, so that they should be in an excellent position to analyze what is going on and, in the bargain, give you the prestige and community ideals of the name, position and public interest they have acquired.

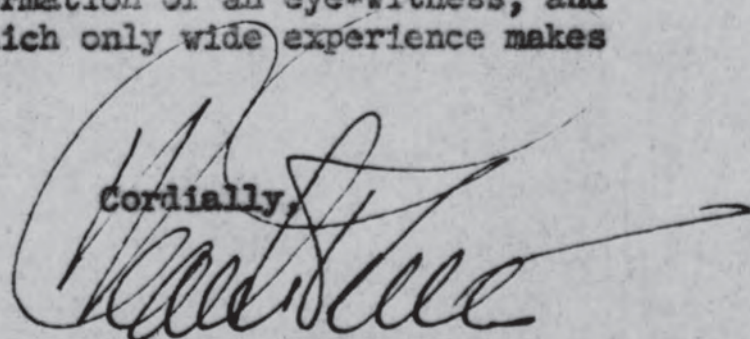
GENERAL ROBERT L. EICHELBERGER, who rates with Eichelberger, Bradley and MacArthur, came from Urbana, Ohio, and rose to be one of the most important figures of our day. He is very colorful and original and would give you a thrilling occasion.

GENERAL WILLIAM H. WILBUR is one of the most creative and provocative minds I know - as well as the best speaker who has come out of the war. He has had a number of "diplomatic" assignments all over the world, has figured prominently in fixing our occupation policies, is a great liberal and is ideally suited to your standards.

Eye-witnesses from Korea and elsewhere are always interesting, but from one of these notables you have all the information of an eye-witness, and in addition, the fine authentic opinions which only wide experience makes possible.

Do you want more?

Cordially,



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COL. SIDNEY MASHBIR

Intelligence Commander

MEET THE PRESS

Popular Radio & TV Program

RAYMOND MOLEY

Newsweek's famous Editor

COL. TIMOTHY H. MURPHY

Atom Bomb Defense Expert

NEIL MacNEIL

Editor, New York Times

WILLIAM I. NICHOLS

Editor, "This Week" Magazine

FREDERICK MARION

Famed Clairvoyant, Mentalist

ANGUS MacDONALD

Premier of Nova Scotia

MADAME RAJAN NEHRU

Notable East Indian Leader

JAN PAPANEK

Czechoslovak U. N. Official

DR. CHARLES F. POTTER

Philosopher, Author

ALEXANDRA ORME

Book of the Month Club
Author "Comes the Comrade"

LUIS QUINTANILLA

Mexican Ambassador

HOMER P. RAINEY

President, Stephens College

ADMIRAL D. C. RAMSEY

Former Head, Pacific Fleet

BEGUM AGA KHAN RAZA

Woman Leader of Pakistan

IVAN T. SANDERSON

Radio Star, Naturalist, Author

PRESTON SCHOYER

Author, Orient Authority

MARY SEILER

Harpist, Folklorist

DR. FRANK M. SETZLER

Australian Bushmen in Films

BATHIE STUART

Color Films of New Zealand

HERNANE TAVARES de SA

Diplomatist and Author

LOUIS WALDMAN

Author "Labor Lawyer"

DUDLEY CRAFTS WATSON

Travel and Art in Color Films

GENERAL WM. H. WILBUR

Authority on Foreign Affairs

MADAME LOUISE YIM

Korea's U. N. Delegate and
Cabinet Officer

The above is only a portion of our extensive Banner List.
Write us your open dates and we will gladly send specific suggestions and individual circulars.
430 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

MERLE ARMITAGE

FREDERICK MARION

BERTITA HARDING

IVAN T. SANDERSON

WALTER CRAIG

HERNANE TAVARES

HELENE GARNELL

MILBOURNE CHRISTOPHER

LOUIS WALDMAN



CHURCH OF THE COVENANT

PRESBYTERIAN

11205 EUCLID AVENUE
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

January 2, 1951

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have just read the copy of
A Letter to Mr. Truman. Please accept my
congratulations on an address splendidly
conceived and executed. I only hope it comes to
the attention of Mr. Truman, as it should, and
that he heeds the sound advice contained therein.

Please accept my very good wishes
for the New Year.



Sincerely yours,

Harry B. Taylor
Harry B. Taylor

HBT/JBH

Rabbi Abba Hiller Silver, D.D.
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

BARUCH BRAUNSTEIN, PH. D., RABBI

Reform Congregation Beth Israel

906 PACIFIC AVENUE
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

January 4, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105th Street & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor Silver:

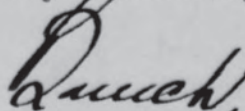
I want to take this opportunity of extending to you deep and abiding thanks for your warm telegram on the occasion of my Installation. You will receive a more formal acknowledgment, but I cannot withhold the gratitude I feel for your gracious sentiments.

While I am writing you, would it be possible for your Library to send me a copy of your sermon, "A Letter to Mr. Truman".

I have noted with a great deal of interest the growth of your Temple Museum. Where do you acquire the magnificent things that you have recently added and who picks them out for you?

Gladys joins me in warm good wishes to you and Virginia. We hope both of you and your sons are in good health and that the New Year will bring you abundant happiness.

Very sincerely yours,



Baruch Braunstein

HARRY TORCZYNER

January 10th 1950

Dear Dr Silver,

I am very grateful to you for sending me a copy of your "letter to Mr Truman". What a pleasure to see the "Silverline" applied to U. S. foreign policy. I hope that the widest possible publicity will be given to your views, because in my humble opinion there is security only where there is sanity. I am still confident that if men like you speak up, the timid souls, and the bullied citizens will rally and force the Administration to refrain from putting the lights out in order to cover and hide the blunders of the last four years.

With warmest personal regards. I am,
your devoted

Harry T.

January 11, 1951

Dr. Baruch Braunstein
Congregation Beth Israel
906 Pacific Avenue
Atlantic City, New Jersey

My dear Baruch:

Thank you for your letter of January 4th. I trust that you have had a happy installation in your new post. Under separate cover I had a copy of "A Letter to Mr. Truman" mailed to you.

As far as our Museum is concerned, we are in contact with dealers in the East. We watch for auction sales of Jewish ritual objects which are occasionally announced by studios, and we are in contact with the curators both of the Jewish Theological Seminary and of the Hebrew Union College Museums, who guide us in the acquisition of these objects. We are steadily building up an impressive and very representative, albeit modest collection of Jewish ritual objects, and Jewish recorded music here at The Temple. Our people have taken to it very enthusiastically.

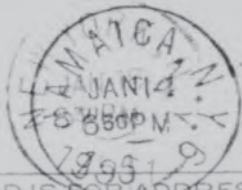
With all good wishes to you and Gladys, and in the hope of seeing you both soon, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Please Forward



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Blvd
Cleveland, Ohio
~~To the Daily Compass~~
~~164 Duane Str., N.Y.~~

Jan 13/1951

Dear Rabbi,

Your ~~plan~~ for a
People's Policy ~~no~~ is an
intelligent, clear and truthful
interpretation of world
events. Keep up the good
work.

I hope the Compos
prints more of your work.

Yours truly,
M. L. Marino

RICHARD SCHUCKMAN
5530 NETHERLAND AVENUE
RIVERDALE 63, NEW YORK

January 14, 1951

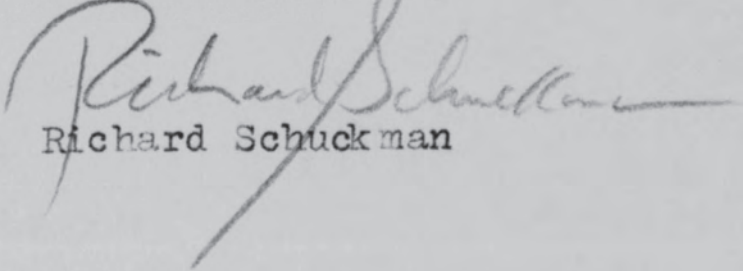
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver,

As a good American citizen and as a member of Riverdale Temple in New York, may I congratulate you on excerpts of your article which I read in the N.Y. Sunday "Compass".

I agree with you 100%. May I urge you to give widespread reading to the address and to continue doing everything in your power to stop a third and terrible world war.

Very truly yours,


Richard Schuckman

Supreme Court of the State of New York

SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT

BOROUGH HALL

MEIER STEINBRINK
OFFICIAL REFEREE

BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.

January 15,
1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Temple on the Heights
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

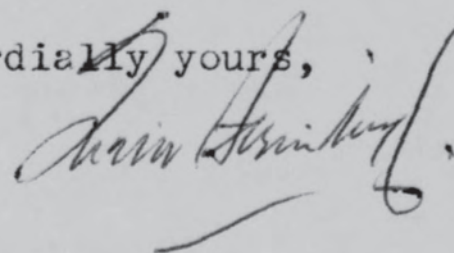
Thank you so much for the copy of "A Letter to
Mr. Truman". I read every word of it and find
myself in hearty accord with it.

It is curious that I never find myself in dis-
agreement with anything that you say and do.
That's why I respect you more highly.

Thanks ever so much for having sent this to me,
and I am taking the liberty of passing it around.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,



AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

CHRISTIANISME SOCIAL (de Paris)

DR. PIERRE VAN PAASSEN, MINISTER

19 East 75th Street

New York 21, N. Y.

January 16, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, O.

Dear Doctor Silver,

Permit me to thank you for the article --a reprint of an address you delivered before your congregation-- which appeared in The Compass here last Sunday. No other word of any other leader on the subject of our present national policy has so profoundly stirred me and, I am sure, tens of thousands of others, as has your penetrating and simple analysis. In this case simplicitas was undeniably sigillum veri. The beauty of it was that your words, obviously, welled up from a deep conviction and from a very brave heart brimming over with love for America. You have given many of us a new ray of hope, and, as the saying goes, "a shot in the arm" to intensify our efforts in the cause of peace and reason in international affairs. I am very grateful to you.

With kind wishes and my respects to
Mrs. Silver,

Yours sincerely,

Pierre van Paassen

January 17 1951

Hon. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland
Ohio

My Dear Rabbi:

It is with a great deal of gratitude that I write to say thank you for your most magnificent contribution to the cause of peace.

I refer to your recent address to your congregation, in which you ask certain specific "whys" in regard to our Foreign Policy, and offer concrete suggestions to be followed by the administration.

Today there is a great need in America and the rest of the world as well, for men of vision, and for men of courage to state the truth; of the former, there are many; of the latter, far too few. When a man speaks out for human dignity and peace as you did, in the face of an hysterical madness that seeks to make the word "peace" offensive, blasphemous and downright dangerous, then I believe that all men who desire peace are thankful.

I live in the Coney Island Brighton area where 80% of the 63,000 people are Jewish, making this one of the largest Jewish communities in the world. Today the great majority of these people are silent with regard to the plan to have their sons march along side nazi murderers in a holy crusade against communism.

I am the chairman of the American Labor Party in this area. We have dedicated ourselves toward working for peace along the lines indicated in your speech.

We feel that the people of our community would welcome the opportunity to greet and support you. Your presence at a meeting in our area will provide the leadership and inspiration essential to the success of your program. We are extremely anxious to discuss the possibility of your coming to our area in the immediate future. I sincerely hope that I may have the pleasure of greeting you.

Very truly yours

Saul Rudes
Saul Rudes



INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

CEDARS OF LEBANON HOSPITAL

4751 FOUNTAIN AVENUE

LOS ANGELES 27, CALIFORNIA

NORMANDY 2-9111

January 18, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have just read with great interest your article entitled "A Plea For A People's Policy" which was published in "The Compass", on January 14, 1951, and I am writing to congratulate you upon the writing of this timely and courageous plea. Those of us who, like yourself, have children that are now ready for cannon fodder feel the effect of recent world events and world trends more than those whose only cost for past and future ventures of our military organization will be a few paltry dollars. They who are not faced with the probability of losing a son, or of getting one back who is either paralyzed or crippled in some other fashion, cannot begin to understand the real meaning of your plea. I write to you as a friend and admirer of many years to urge you please to write many more articles of this kind and to publish them, not only in "Compass", but, if possible, in every newspaper and magazine the country over. It may seem like crying in the wilderness, it is true, because of the commitments that have already been made by us, and because of the almost uncontrolled hysterical attitude about the impossibility of settling matters in any other way than by shedding blood, but I honestly believe that a voice like yours, heard often and everywhere, must eventually prove effective. You are one of the few to whom both sides in government and society are likely to listen. You are certainly one of the few whom all the people will trust and follow. It is not yet too late, I hope, to settle our differences with those whose way of life we do not like, or desire, but who should be permitted to live in their way, provided they do not try to impose their way upon us. Please, Rabbi Silver, continue to speak out and to write on this important subject. You will - you must - be heard.

We continue to miss our dear friends in Cleveland very much. Mrs. Goldblatt has never learned to like Los Angeles and, indeed, I must say that she detests it, but she is doing



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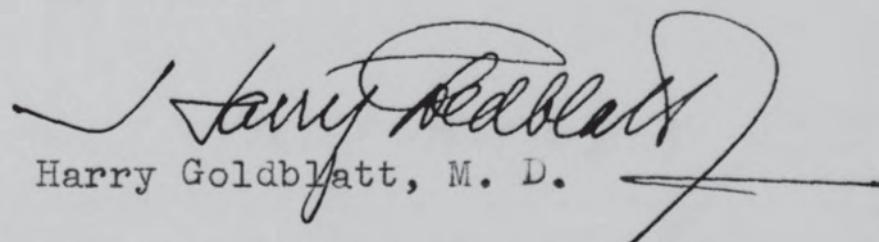
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver-2

January 18, 1951

her best to stick it out for the period of my commitment. I have an excellent Institute in which to work, and all is well on that score, but, of course, my wife's unhappiness about having to live in this city does not help to make me very happy. My older boy, David, is finishing college, this year, and my younger boy, Peter, is finishing Senior High School. He will be eighteen in June, just ready, if those who are forcing the issue will have their way, to be pushed into the Army instead of being permitted to get a college education. Your boys, as I remember them, are of about the same age as mine, so they are probably in the same relative positions with regard to their future. I hope most sincerely that it is still time to save them from destruction and to spare them for the life which they desire to live and well deserve.

If you ever come to Los Angeles, please be sure to get in touch with me. With warmest regards to Mrs. Silver and you and best wishes to you and yours for the New Year,

Cordially,


Harry Goldblatt, M. D.

HG:M

H. GOODMAN & SONS

INCORPORATED

Makers of "GOODY" Products200 VARICK STREET
NEW YORK 14, N.Y.

January 18, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have been so preoccupied lately with business affairs and business problems due to the international situation that I have had no time to acknowledge receipt of the copy of your recent address entitled "A Letter To Mr. Truman". However, I do not want to leave same permanently unacknowledged, and am therefore taking away a few moments of my time just for this purpose.

For the longest time I have been disturbed by the sickening picture of our so-called Jewish leaders crowding each other to get themselves featured in the public press in the mah yophith act of presenting to the Poritz in Washington a replica of our holy scroll or some plaque with hypocritical words of praise. Aside from the intellectual dishonesty involved in such acts, it also shows a reckless lack of foresight in putting all our eggs in one basket and in totally disregarding the large sector of the American people represented in the opposition, which opposition, according to all indications, is destined to take over in the near future.

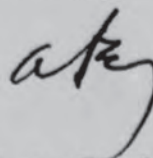
It was therefore refreshing to me to find at least one Jewish leader who has the courage of his convictions and is willing to speak out boldly in accordance with the dictates of his patriotic duty.

In saying this I do not want to imply that I am in thorough agreement with everything you said in your address. This is really of no importance. But I do hope that many persons have, like myself, written to you in this vein expressing their appreciation purely on the basis of courage and intellectual integrity.

Mollie and I have been in New York now for quite a long time, so we are quite happy to take off for Miami Friday morning this week for a stay over there of about two or three weeks. I do hope to see you upon my return to New York.

With kindest regards to you and Virginia from Mollie and myself,

Sincerely,



Abraham Goodman

AG/ebh

Abe Aaronson
January 18, 51
227 Poplar St.
Phila Pa.

Rabbi Abba Silver

Dear Rabbi

I read your masterful
speech in Sunday Compass
January 14, 51

In our present time of
stress & strain, where common man
is asking for proper information,
your speech is like a beacon of
light in a fog of ignorance.

I am an active member of
American Jewish Congress. Could
you send me 50 or 100 copies of
your brilliant speech so I can
have members read ^{the} truth. If

there is any charges please let me know.

If more of our Rabbis had the courage to speak the truth as you do, we can live in a good environment not of distrust & fear.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Abe Aaronson
227 Poplar St.
Phila. Pa.



TEMPLE BETH ISRAEL

10th AVENUE AT FLOWER
PHOENIX, ARIZONA
TELEPHONE 5-1311



A. L. KROHN, RABBI

January 19, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Rd. & E. 105th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I noticed in the recent issue of the Temple bulletin that a copy of an address by you titled "A Letter to Mr. Truman" is available. I should appreciate it very much if you would ask the office to send me a copy.

At the present time I am substituting for our colleague, Rabbi A.L. Krohn, who is ill. I look forward to issues of the Temple bulletin. It is a good feeling to read the news of my old Alma Mater.

My warmest regards and best wishes to you, Mrs. Silver, and the boys.

Fondly,

William Kramer
RABBI WM. M. KRAMER

WMK
bf

*sent
1/25/51*

January 19, 1951

Dr. Pierre Van Passen
19 East 75th Street
New York 21, New York

My dear Dr. Van Passen:

I received your gracious note of the 16th and I am very pleased at your reaction to the address which I delivered recently on the attitude of our government and our President to the present critical international situation which they have so blunderingly aggravated. I have heard from many other sources. Evidently there is a deep dissatisfaction and unhappiness among many sections of our people about what is taking place.

I trust that you are well. It is altogether too long a time since I have seen you, and I hope that that pleasure will not long be deferred.

With warmest regards, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

3425 Gates Place
Bronx, New York
January 22, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am writing to let you know
that I was moved by your expression
of opinion on our present foreign policy
which was printed in the newspaper, The
Sunday Compass.

It gives others of us who have
sincere and forthright differences of opinion
with our official government policy the
courage to express them.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs.) Edith Brestone

January 23, 1951

Mr. Abe Aaronson
227 Poplar Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Aaronson:

Rabbi Silver is at present out of the city, and I am, therefore, taking the liberty of acknowledging your kind letter of January 18th. In order to cover the cost of printing, there is a charge of \$.25 per copy for the reprint of Rabbi Silver's sermon. We shall be glad to send you as many as you wish as soon as we hear from you again.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

EMANUEL KLINE
1980 W. SPARKS STREET
PHILADELPHIA 41, PA.

January 25, 1951

Rev. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Reverend Silver:

I read the extract of your speech in the New York Daily Compass regarding the silly attitude of our federal government as regards the Chinese and Korean situation.

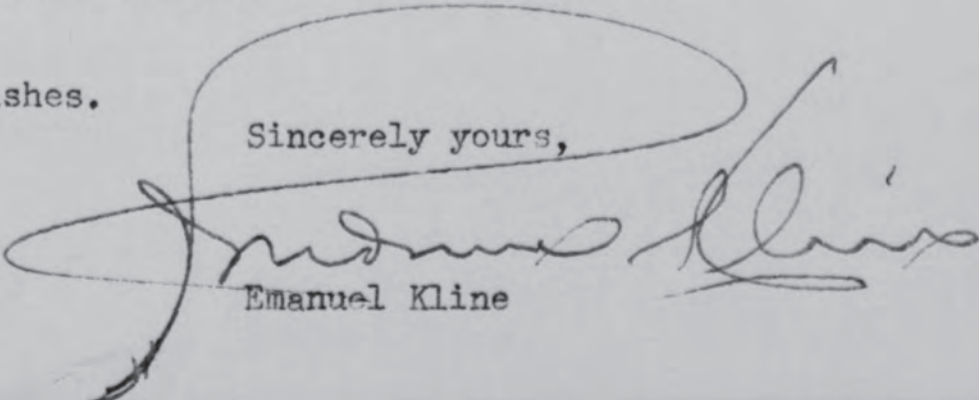
I agree heartily with your contentions and sent a copy of your speech to Reverend Maxwell M. Farber who is the chief Rabbi in our Temple, Temple Emanu-el in Philadelphia. I have been a Zionist for many years; in fact, before Hetzel died. I naturally have been following your very fine work that you have accomplished for our Zionist Organization. No wonder you have been dubbed, the silver tongue orator.

I heartily agree with your remarks, and I feel that we ought to see China, as the most populous country in the world, to a seat in the United Nations. Furthermore, we ought to get the heck out of Formosa. It does not belong to us and by what right can we, a democratic country, ^{to} seize another country's land, without rhyme or reason. No wonder the Chinese are perturbed, and perturbed is putting it mildly. What would we do if anybody tread on our corns as we are doing to China. Of course, I am not a communist, but I am a liberal citizen, and I noticed from the press that you are a Republican.

Keep up your good work, and I am glad that Prime Minister Nehru of India who is a Socialist has demanded a just consideration of China's right to be heard.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,


Emanuel Kline

January 25, 1951

Dr. Harry Goldblatt
Institute for Medical Research
4751 Fountain Avenue
Los Angeles 27, California

My dear Dr. Goldblatt:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing to me. I was very much pleased with your reaction to the address which I delivered on the foreign policy of our country and which was reprinted in The Compass. I have been hearing from many people in various parts of the country, and I am pleased to know that there is such a widespread opinion among our people against a course of action on the part of our government which is driving us dangerously to the abyss of a third world war. I plan to speak again on the subject this coming Sunday morning at the Temple.

It is a long time since you left Cleveland. I have, of course, followed your work with the keenest of interest and admiration. I hope that our paths will cross soon somewhere either in Los Angeles or here in Cleveland.

With warmest regards to you and Mrs. Goldblatt and with all good wishes to David and Peter, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

January 25, 1951

Dear Dr. Silver:

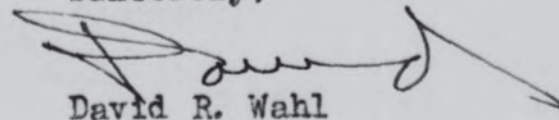
I had heard a great deal about your presentation of the Korean situation, and was most gratified to find that the article had been printed in a New York newspaper, thus affording me an opportunity to read it. I believe that your speech is one of the important contributions of our present period.

I wonder if it is available in pamphlet form. If so, I would appreciate receiving about a dozen copies so that I could send it to people I think merit having it brought to their attention. One of the people with whom I spoke recently who was deeply impressed with it is Stringfellow Barr, Director of the Foundation for World Government. He is going to visit Israel in the course of a trip he is making, and will be there for three weeks during February. He, too, is concerned with the problems you discussed, and has recently written a pamphlet which I am enclosing. I think you may find it interesting.

Mr. Barr mentioned the fact that he would be in Cleveland on or about May 10th and would like to meet you at that time.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,



David R. Wahl

Dr. A.H. Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

January 29, 1951

Mr. David R. Wahl
Israel Speaks
250 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

My dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of January 25th. I have requested the office to forward to you a dozen copies of "A Letter to Mr. Truman" which I am pleased to know has received such favorable comment in many parts of the country.

Thank you for sending me the pamphlet of Mr. Barr which I shall read with a great deal of profit, I am sure. Please ask him to come in to see me when he visits Cleveland.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

P.S. In order to defray the cost of printing, there is a charge of \$.25 per copy for the reprints.

RESIDENCE:
163 PEACH ORCHARD ROAD

STUDY:
100 WILLOW ST.

RABBI MELVIN WEINMAN

Temple Israel
Waterbury, Connecticut

January 29, 1951.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

It was a great pleasure for me to read the full text of one of your speeches in the NY Compass of January 14.

If you have copies or could have copies made of that speech, I would gladly see that each family in this congregation would receive one. This would be a service to me personally because it would give more authority to some of the views I have expressed from the pulpit.

Would you be kind enough to let me know if copies of the speech are available for distribution?

Cordially,

Rabbi Melvin Weinman

Rabbi Melvin Weinman

Byrl A. Whitney

1229 MANOR PARK AVENUE

LAKEWOOD, OHIO



January 29, 1951.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Ansel Road and E. 105th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi:

It was my great privilege to hear a portion of your inspiring sermon of yesterday, over the radio.

In the name of peace and all humanity, I would urge you to see to it that the United States Department of State is furnished with a manuscript of your sermon. If one is available, I would be delighted to have a copy also.

Last Friday night, I heard the Honorable Francis Russell, of the Department of State, speak on the subject "The People And The Government -- The Government And The People." Mr. Russell gave us to understand that his Department welcomed the views of the people. When he also made the assertion that the great and good Nehru regarded both Russian communism and American capitalism as two equal evils, I got the feeling that the State Department may need a message such as your sermon of yesterday. I cannot believe that Nehru has anything in his heart but a burning desire for peace and, to say the least, it is discouraging to find him standing in poor grace with some powerful interests in our country. We are fast approaching the stage in this country where the spirit of McCarthyism (Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin) is reigning supreme, even to the extent of destroying the meaning of the English language. For instance, the word "appeasement" no longer means what it once meant. Appeasement now seems to mean the willingness of anyone to agree to anything with which an opponent disagrees. The words "isolationist" and "Communist" have degenerated into a mere label to be pinned upon those who disagree with you.

With men, women and children dying in Korea, the Voice of America could think of no greater issue last week than the grades Stalin's son received in school several years ago. The smear technique is gradually destroying our moral standards and certainly the Voice of America is not representing the voices of America when it indulges in such smear tactics.

Recently in a private group discussion, I made the point that whether it be in labor-management relations or in foreign affairs, it is not morally right or just for one party to attempt to dictate who shall represent another party. By bringing up the question, I learned that several of those present favored the admission of Red China to the United Nations; that they

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

January 29, 1951.

felt Red China could do us far more harm outside the UN than in it. With all respects to the Union League Club, we must not attempt to make such a club out of the UN. Why do we insist on driving all of China into Russia's arms by upholding the bloody, shameful hand of Chiang Kai-shek?

After all of our rightful condemnation of Russia for using the veto and walking out of the UN, there are those who now say we should walk out of the UN if we do not get our way on Red China. Where is there the spirit of democracy in that? If, after many times walking around the United Nations, we now walk out of the United Nations, great and good America will again have to assume responsibility for destroying the only machinery there is for the peaceful settlement of world disputes. We must make these truths vocal, at least, as vocal as those who, by admitting the inevitability of war, are doing all they can to make their damnably inhuman prediction come true. That is why I am truly grateful for your sermon of yesterday.

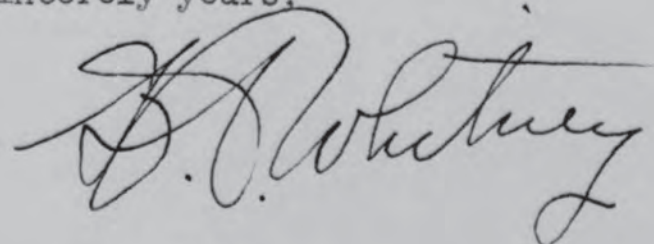
Our representatives should know that those who follow Senator McCarthy's approach to life are by far the most vocal. Though they may constitute only one percent of the people, their effect, in the high councils of government, appears to be as great as though they constituted a persuasive majority. And so it seems to me that it is our patriotic American duty to become more vocal in our opposition to the McCarthyism that manifests itself even in places where, I am confident, the spirit of McCarthyism is detested as much as you or I detest it.

Recently, I heard quite a heated private discussion on universal military training and on war. A lady in the group was very vehement in her denunciation of anyone who opposed militarism in this country or who opposed universal military service. She believed in the inevitability of war; hers was the kind of talk that would make war inevitable. When someone voiced a protest against drafting eighteen-year-olds, this lady again became vehement and declared her husband had served in World War II, he should not serve in this war and, therefore, they should take the eighteen-year-olds. This made me realize how much easier it must be to favor war when, at the same time, one has in mind that somebody else will do the fighting and dying. If I were as strong for war as this young lady was, I would get into a uniform in the quickest possible way.

I might state that I am not one to make criticism of persons without giving them, at least, the benefit of their knowing it. I am, therefore, sending a copy of this letter to the Honorable Francis Russell, whom it was my good pleasure to meet on the occasion of his visit to Cleveland last week.

With my very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



CC. to:
Honorable Francis Russell.

January 29, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver:

As I listened to your great sermon of Sunday, the thought occurred to me that it would have been so highly appropriate for you to have urged world government and law to fill the present great void in statesmanship. I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a copy of my testimony before the Sub-Committee of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on February 17, 1950, which might be of some possible interest to you, if in your very busy life you could find time to glance at it.

Byrl A. Whitney

SOULS, Not Sovereignities

Testimony of

BYRL A. WHITNEY

of the

**BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD
TRAINMEN**

Before

**SUB-COMMITTEE OF SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,**

In Favor of a

World Federal Government

February 17, 1950

"If America is to be crippled every generation by a murderous war then those who strive within the limits of reason and political philosophy, to offset such a scourge by the advocacy of a sound moral and geo-politic cure are but manifesting the noblest aspirations of a patriot."

From the impressive sermon favoring World Federation by the late Most Reverend James A. Griffin D.D., Catholic Bishop of Springfield in Illinois.

TESTIMONY OF
BYRL A. WHITNEY
BEFORE
SUB-COMMITTEE OF SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
IN FAVOR OF A
WORLD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,

February 17, 1950.

My name is Byrl A. Whitney. I am the director of the Educational and Research Bureau of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, with offices at 1528 Standard Building, Cleveland 13, Ohio. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has members in the United States and Canada, and represents conductors, brakemen, baggagemen, flagmen, yard conductors, yard brakemen, switchtenders, car retarder operators, yardmasters, dining car stewards and inter-city bus operators. I have been asked by Mr. W. P. Kennedy, President of the Brotherhood, to appear before you and present this testimony in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 56.

At the outset, let me state that the subject we are dealing with today is not a passing fancy or fad, nor is it a new proposition. Four hundred years before Christ, Socrates was thinking in terms of world government when he said: "When you are asked your country, never reply, 'I am an Athenian,' or 'I am a Corinthian'—but 'I am a citizen of the world.' " I should also point out that a system of government and law in the relationships between men is the earliest form of stable, social organization. The civilized world has existed to this day without government at the international level, but, on the testimony of the world's most eminent scientists, mankind is now confronted with a serious threat to continued existence on

this planet. For almost thirty years, I have firmly believed that world federal government is the only feasible and realistic solution to the problem of maintaining world peace and stability.

I want to emphasize that when I speak of world government, I mean a government of laws which reach down to the individual and commands him to obey what the collective wisdom of organized society, expressed through its tribunals of legislative, executive and judicial departments, have found to be necessary to the common good. In fact, these are the basic essentials of government. Let me also emphasize that we are not talking about a government that would regulate the price of eggs on Main Street, America, but rather a world federal government with limited powers, but with power adequate to maintain peace.

In considering any proposition, it is always wise to consider the alternatives, those which have been tried and succeeded or failed, and those which have never been tried. Frankly, I know of no practical alternatives to world government which have not been tried, but I know of many which have been tried and failed. I wish to address you on the latter. In general there are three types, (1) efforts to maintain peace by alliances, treaties or covenants between the high contracting parties, (2) leagues of sovereign states and (3) force. The civilized history of mankind gives us many examples of the failure of all three of these methods. In fact these methods have been so notorious in their failure that war rather than peace has been the normal order of human existence. In 4,000 years of recorded history there have been only 268 years of total peace.

Treaties and Covenants Have Failed.

In a UNITED PRESS dispatch dated at Tokyo, January 25, 1950, General Douglas MacArthur is represented as being of the firm belief that war must be outlawed, so great is the threat

to mankind of a third world war. One wonders where the General was in 1928, when war was outlawed by treaty, the Kellogg-Briand Pact. That Pact, signed by the major powers of the world, solemnly declared that war as an instrument of national policy should be forever outlawed. Not being supported by anything more than the agreement of the contracting parties, it failed, as have all such treaties. Even those treaties which are calculated to "humanize" war, and I suggest that such a project is self-contradictory, have been successful only because of the fear that if the prohibited practices of war were indulged in by one side the other side might do likewise. I should loath to live in a community where the only protection to my person and property was the feeling, in myself and among my neighbors, that the only restraint to assault upon me or my property is the fear that I might make an equal or worse assault on someone else or his property.

Alliances Have Failed.

Unequivocal as the text of a pact or an alliance between nations may be, the fact remains that each signatory retains its sovereign power to interpret the terms of the pact in accordance with its own interests. This is inherent in the nature of such pacts. Let me point out with emphasis that it evidences the great distinction between such methods of keeping the peace and a federated union under a written constitution.

Your colleague, the Honorable Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, well stated the basic shortcomings of alliances when he said:

"It encourages the adversary to hope that he can contrive to split the allies apart, and it makes each ally continually fear that he will be left in the lurch by the others just when he is most in need of aid."

In 1789, Alexander Hamilton, in No. 15 of the Federalist, pointed out the basic weakness

and futility of alliances as a means of keeping the peace. He stated:

" . . . triple and quadruple alliances were formed; but they were scarcely formed before they were broken, giving an instructive but afflicting lesson to mankind how little dependence is to be placed on treaties which have no other sanction than the obligations of good faith."

I need not further elaborate the point that peace and world stability by treaty covenant or alliance have failed during the thousands of years of recorded history.

Leagues of Sovereign States Have Failed.

We come now to the concept of leagues of sovereign states. The most recent example is the United Nations and preceding it was the League of Nations. Certainly, in view of World War II, no one will claim that the League of Nations prevented war. As to the United Nations, it has accomplished as much good as any league of sovereign states can accomplish. Let me say here and now that, in my support of world government, I do not conceive that I am in any respect opposing the United Nations. On the contrary, I strongly support it, to the extent that I hope it may be strengthened and given the powers of government and law which will enable it more effectively to achieve its high purposes.

Force Has Failed.

The third general device that has been used in the past is force, supported by gigantic military expenditures. Force seeks to utilize the dynamics of fear to keep the peace. One need not be a psychologist to know that a man living in fear does not have peace in his heart. Rather he has a feeling of desperation and never will he achieve peaceful existence until he eliminates that which he fears, to which elimination he dedicates his life and his energies. The force concept of maintaining peace has as one

of its most ugly phases what is now called the "cold war." Cold wars can never be a long-run successful device for obtaining or maintaining stable, peaceful and constructive human relationships. Cold wars produce cold sweats and hot tempers that are generated when large groups of human beings are motivated by fear and feel insecure. These uncontrollable passions sooner or later consume those who have them. Need I give a more impressive example than Adolph Hitler, who created the most fearsome and the most gigantic military machine that, up to his time, was ever known? But it brought him neither peace nor stability.

Napoleon has persuasively testified to the failure of force as a means of keeping the peace and providing a stable and constructive order of human relationships. After drenching with blood the soil on which the Almighty intended that men should live in peace, Napoleon sorrowfully lamented:

"Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne and myself, founded empires. But on what did we rest our creations of our genius? . . . Upon force! Christ alone founded His empire upon love; and, at this hour, millions of men would die for Him."

If history has proven anything, it has proven that treaties, covenants, military alliances, leagues of nation states and force have continually failed to keep the peace. In view of the lessons of history one wonders if we shall continue in the spirit of the truth expressed by Disraeli, when he said:

"A practical man is a man who practices the errors of his forefathers."

Government and Law Have Proved Successful.

We do have examples, on a smaller scale, in history to support the general proposition of world government. It really should not be necessary to argue with civilized people that

government under law that reaches down to the individual and commands him to obey is necessary and desirable. The entire history of organized society testifies to the success of government and law that reach down to the individual. It seems strange that that which has succeeded on the national level has not been earlier tried on the world level.

Blackstone taught us that the end of all laws is to make it easier for people to be good and more difficult for them to be evil. But in order for laws to accomplish such purposes, they must be made effective against individuals and not against nation-states. A law which is enforceable only against a nation-state can be enforced only by war. This fact encourages international gangsters, such as Hitler and Mussolini, to carry on their depredations by force of the state which they head, with a feeling of complete irresponsibility because there is no law to which they, as chiefs of state, are answerable. It is true that the Nuremberg Trials represented an effort to establish an ex post facto judicial procedure by which the accountability of individuals was sought and, in a measure, was achieved. It is difficult for me to understand how anyone could support the principle of the Nuremberg Trials and not accept and support the principle of world government. Certainly there is justification for criticism of ex post facto procedure, and we who believe in world government would establish the legislative, executive and judicial tribunals now, and not wait until international gangsters again break loose and then resort to ex post factor procedure to obtain belated and inadequate justice after the carnage of war.

Our Federal Union An Example.

A study of the history of our own great Federal Union is an inspiration to anyone seeking a peaceful, stable, progressive way of life. We should never forget that the basic principles by which we were made a strong federal union,

were many times in great peril in our Constitutional Convention because of the fears of the colonists which are quite like the fears of those today who criticize world federal government. The principle of keeping the federated government weak and ineffective by giving it no power to enforce its own laws, by requiring every federal enforcement to be accomplished only by state action against the citizens of the respective individual states, almost became a part of our federal Constitution. I need not argue the proposition that had our federal government been left to the mercy of the several states for the enforcement of its laws and decrees, we would not be the great and powerful nation we are today with close to two centuries of existence with but one civil war in the entire history of our Union.

If one makes a study of the conditions prevailing at the time our Constitution was formed, the impression is obtained that antagonisms, animosities and suspicions were at least as prevalent among the several colonies as they are today on the world level. Some states were free and others permitted slavery, a diversion of views that probably stirred deeper emotions than the prevailing controversy between free enterprise and socialist economies. Each of the thirteen states had its own currency, its own treasury and most of the states then were bankrupt, their currencies worthless and their trade reduced to barter. Depression was rife.

The Dean of Gloucester, Josiah Tucker, reflected gloomily on the outlook of 1786 when he wrote in England that it was "one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance," to assume that America could rise "under one head, whether republican or monarchical." He declared that "The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of government" proved that they had "no common interest." He concluded that America was doomed to be "a disunited people, till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful

of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains."

The Dean of Gloucester clearly described what America would have been had it not been for the courage of our forefathers in establishing a positive federated union with delegated powers to the federal government and reserved powers to the people, implemented in a written constitution to which almost two centuries of peaceful existence attest to its excellence as a means of governing the interrelationships of man. Had the Articles of Confederation, a mere alliance, continued, no doubt today each state would continue to have its own army, currency and tariff barriers and citizens of one state might have open season turned upon them if they entered into another state as was the case in the pre-federal days of the separate nation-states of our Union.

I recall reading only a year or so ago where, I believe it was the Governor of Connecticut, wired the Governor of Rhode Island, and told him that Connecticut had just repealed a law of colonial times, which provided that any resident of Rhode Island found in Connecticut would be shot on sight. The Governor of Connecticut told the Governor of Rhode Island, now that this colonial law had been repealed, it would be safe for him and the citizens of his State to come into Connecticut. We can laugh at these things now, but if our forefathers had not had the courage to give us a federal form of government we would not be the laughing, light-hearted and free people we are today.

With Carl Van Doren, we might well realize that:

"History is now choosing the Founding Fathers of the world federation. The man who could be one of that group, and does not seek to be, has lost the noblest opportunity of his lifetime."

Without Government, Atomic Energy Threatens Disaster.

The atomic bomb is a most fearsome weapon, but it appears now that it may be succeeded by the hydrogen bomb. The testimony of all the eminent scientists of the world have solemnly warned us that science has now developed the means to destroy all animal and vegetable life on this planet. With such fearsome testimony before us, we must not, as Disraeli said, continue to "practice the errors" of the past.

Fearsome as atomic bombs are, they are manufactured in but a few of the 48 states of this Union. Those states in which the atomic bomb is not manufactured, are not concerned because atomic bomb plants are located in their sister states in our federal union. Why? Certainly the answer is obvious. We are protected by a federated system of government, with laws that reach down to the individual. We are safe although we live in states where there is no atomic bomb manufacturing. However, when it was learned that these bombs were being manufactured in a state not a part of our federated Union, we then became justifiably gravely concerned. I submit that were it not for our federated Union, the people of my State of Ohio would probably be as fearful of the State of Tennessee, location of an atomic bomb plant, as it is of Russia with its atomic bomb plant. That is in the nature of things. When social groups of equal sovereignty come into contact, in the absence of law and government that reaches over those groups and down among the people in the groups, conflict is always potential and periodically inevitable. These basic truths, gentlemen of this Committee, are the things that are involved in the subject we are here considering.

Hatred and Suspicion of Foreigners Condemned.

Someone has said that the only trouble with the world today is that it has too many foreigners in it. If for no other reason than selfishness, I have never liked to encourage the concept of suspicion and hatred of foreigners, for I know that with respect to all the world, except as one of a mere 150 million out of over 2 billion people in the world, I, as an American, am a foreigner and I do not like to encourage hatred toward myself. I believe that Socrates, in urging people to think of themselves as citizens of the world, may have had this thought in mind.

All People Hate War, Love Freedom.

It is easy for us to feel, particularly we Americans who have so long enjoyed a heritage of freedom, that we, more than any other people, want peace and freedom. I believe that the masses of the people the world over love peace and yearn for freedom. You may ask why I, as a representative of labor, appear before you. Let me emphasize that it has been well said that revolution has never been caused by men in overalls. Working people of all nations take pride in the products of their toil. They loathe war which destroys not only human lives but also those things which the workers produce and which make for more comfortable human existence.

If it were left to the workers of the various nations of the world to decide the issues of peace and war there would be no war. It has always been discouraging to me that good people on the community level can become deeply concerned with a slum clearance project or the building of a public library or school, or hospital, but they are too often inclined to feel that it is not of their concern to take an interest in deciding the principles and policies that might determine whether the works of their hands and brains be wiped out in one fleeting moment.

Democracy Needed In Foreign Affairs.

One of the finest things that could come from a world federal government would be the taking of the destiny of mankind from the hands and control of the diplomats, admirals and generals, and placing it in the hands and control of the people. We have had many wars in history because the people have never had an effective voice in the foreign relation policies that determine the issues of war and peace. Democratic as our great country is, there is too little democracy in the formulation of our foreign policies. There are those who even question why labor should be interested in foreign policies. Diplomats, admirals and generals who have so much influence in the formulation of foreign policies are not elected by the people. They work largely in an atmosphere of secrecy, and so costly have been the living standards of diplomats that only very wealthy men have been able to accept such appointments. Too often, even the hearings on foreign policy in our country are secret, and when the truth does come out, if at all, it is only after a devastating war has been fought. Because of the explosive character of international relationships, the totalitarian concept of no criticism is encouraged in the field of foreign policy.

These undemocratic conditions prevail, not because the people will it, but because of the inherent psychology of fear that prevails where no law and no government controls the inter-relationships of men at the international level. To me, the very essence of democracy is majority rule, with the right of the minority ever to be free by persuasion to become the majority. A federated world government will promote that ideal and it will make the business of peace and war the business of the people, something that has never existed and can never exist in the absence of government and law at the international level in the affairs of mankind.

SOULS, NOT SOVEREIGNTIES, HAVE PRESERVED DEATHLESS PRINCIPLES.

Franklin D. Roosevelt once said:

"Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, The Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress—all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment—yet they were attained."

Yes, they were attained. But down through history the principles of these great documents of human freedom have lived in the souls of men, not in the sovereignty of nations which have frequently threatened to destroy them by wars. We can no more attain these ideals on a permanent world basis by gentlemen's agreements between sovereignties or by leagues of sovereignties which never reach down to individual persons, than we could hope to regulate interstate commerce in the United States by state enactments or by treaties or gentlemen's agreements between the states of our Federal Union. We must cease confusing the equality of states with the equality of men. We must understand the simple truth that laws can be enforced only upon individual persons; when they are enforced upon governments, as Alexander Hamilton said, it is an act of war.

You will recall that World War I so weakened France that she never recovered until she was engulfed in World War II, and was conquered by the enemy although she had the world's largest standing army and the Maginot Line. Great Britain has suffered mortal wounds from World War II. No right-thinking man can believe that our great country, however victorious it might be in a World War III, will escape the final destruction of our free economy if not the final destruction of mankind itself, a threat that has been expressed by every important atomic scientist in the world.

The issues involved are too grave for right-thinking men to be persuaded by those who

will always contend that something that has never been tried can never work, and who will always point out to you every conceivable weakness of such a proposition as world government while remaining blind to the awful alternatives that await the failure to establish government and law on the world level.

We must cease refusing to look at the new moon out of respect for the old one. We must cease drinking poison to quench our thirst. As we listen to the counsels of doubt and fear, the assurances that world government cannot succeed because it has never been tried or that it will take a thousand years to bring it about, let us realize that beaten paths are for beaten men and that mankind cannot advance without entering upon new paths.

WRHS



"Modern imperialism — is essentially
MEGALOMANIAC NATIONALISM — It
will only come to an end when the inter-
course of nations and peoples through
embassies and foreign offices is re-
placed by an assembly of Elected Repre-
sentatives in direct touch with their Peo-
ples."

H. G. WELLS.

—The Outline of History

*If this pamphlet has interested you,
won't you please pass it on to a friend?*

—

INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED

FROM

**United World Federalists
of Missouri**

1037 BIG BEND BOULEVARD

ST. LOUIS 17, MO.

F. R. VON WINDEGGER,

CHAIRMAN ADVISORY COUNCIL



71

*There can be no Peace without Justice
No Justice without Law,
No Law without Government to Make
Interpret, and Enforce that Law.*

LAW OFFICES
GUSTAVE L. GOLDSTEIN
CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
453 SOUTH SPRING STREET
LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA
MADISON 9-2649

January 29, 1951

Air Mail

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland
Ohio

Dear Rabbi:

First, my heartiest greetings to you. I hope this letter finds you enjoying good health.

The other day someone handed me a copy of the January 14, 1951 issue of "The Compass" which carried an article over your "by line" entitled: "A Plea for a People's Policy."

Frankly, I was very much surprised at the contents thereof and somewhat disappointed in the fact that you chose to express the views therein set forth.

I am not one of those who take the position that a Rabbi has no right to express himself on matters of public concern or that a Rabbi has to be a "second class" citizen and refrain from doing so.

However, judging from the contents of your article, you assume the position of a military expert, a political expert, etc.

The article, locally, has caused much unfavorable comment.

Maybe I am unduly concerned about your views and I hope you will pardon me for differing with you.

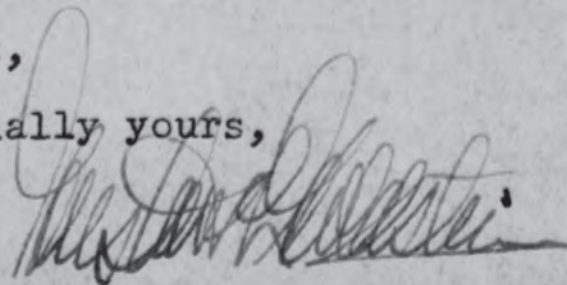
As you know, I have been a loyal "Silver" man in all controversies involving your viewpoints and I hope you will therefore understand why this matter has been brought to my attention by a number of persons.

I am sure you will gather from the foregoing that I do not agree with your views, either in whole or in part.

With kindest personal regards,

Cordially yours,

GLG:f



January 31, 1951

Mr. Gustave L. Goldstein
453 South Spring Street
Los Angeles 13, California

My dear Mr. Goldstein:

Permit me to acknowledge your letter of January 29th and to thank you for your good wishes. I read what you have to say with great interest. I do not agree with you.

Judging from the letters which I have received from Los Angeles, my article seemed to have caused much favorable comment.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

January 31, 1951

Mr. Byrl A. Whitney
1229 Manor Park Avenue
Lakewood, Ohio

My dear Mr. Whitney:

Thank you for your letter of January 29th which I read with much interest. I was very much impressed with your views, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing to me.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

January 31, 1951

Rabbi Melvin Weirman
100 Willow Street
Waterbury, Connecticut

Dear Rabbi Weirman:

Thank you for your letter of January 29th. We do have copies of Rabbi Silver's address, "A Letter to Mr. Truman", which was reported in The Compass of January 14th. In order to defray the cost of printing, there is a charge of \$.25 per copy. If you will advise me, we shall be glad to send you some.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

January 31, 1951

Mr. Jacques Torczyner
2 West 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Torczyner:

Rabbi Silver has requested me to send you ten copies of his address, which you will receive under separate cover.

In order to cover the cost of printing, there is a charge of twenty-five cents per copy. Please make out your check payable to The Temple.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Rice
Secretary to Rabbi Silver

Joseph J. Klein
Ellis R. Diehm
Lester J. Farber

Klein, Diehm and Farber
Attorneys and Counsellors at Law
1156 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

January 31, 1951

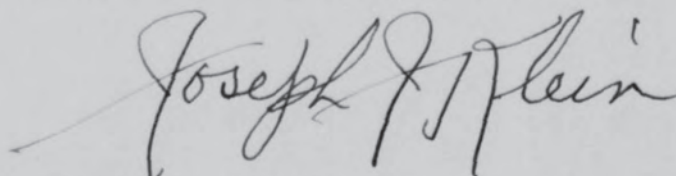
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights, Ohio

My dear Rabbi:

I listened with great interest to your sermon of last Sunday and it was, as always, excellent. Last Monday's Plain Dealer carried a column by Raymond Moley in which he said substantially what you did from the pulpit on Sunday. However, he added something to the effect that it has now been determined that General MacArthur was in no way at fault; that MacArthur had advised against going into Korea but that he was ordered to do so. Of course as a good General he had no alternative but to obey orders. I intended to cut the article out and send it to you but it was mislaid. If you haven't read it I will be glad to pick it up for you. I know that you keep abreast of the times and will be interested.

Hoping this finds you and your family well, I am,
with very best wishes,

Yours cordially and sincerely,



Joseph J. Klein

JJK:DH

February 5, 1951

Mr. Joseph J. Klein
1156 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

My dear Friend:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in writing to me. There have been various versions about the role which General MacArthur has played in the Korean affair and opinions are sharply divided. I suppose only the future will tell the whole story and even then, as in the case of Pearl Harbor, the whole story may never be told.

With all good wishes and thanking you for writing to me,
I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

ROBERT A. TAFT
OHIO

COMMITTEES:
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
FINANCE

I. JACK MARTIN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 10, 1951

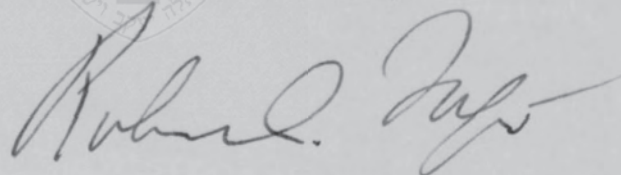
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
THE TEMPLE
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing herewith the pages of
the Congressional Record which contain your
speech. I thought you might want it for your
files.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,



Robert A. Taft

mobiles are swapped for coffee and bananas. Society is the organization of people who do business with one another.

The law of association—the supreme law of society—is self-operating; it needs no enforcement agency. Its motor force is in the nature of man. His insatiable appetite for material, cultural, and spiritual desires drives him to join up. The compulsion is so strong that he makes an automobile out of an oxcart, a telephone system out of a drum, so as to overcome the handicaps of time and space; contact is of the essence in the market place technique. Society grows because the seed of it is in the human being; it is made of man, but not by men.

The only condition necessary for the growth of society into one worldism is the absence of force in the market place; which is another way of saying that politics is a hindrance to, and not an aid of, peace. Any intervention is the sphere of voluntary exchanges stunts the growth of society and tends to its disorganization. It is significant that in war, which is the ultimate of politics, every strategic move is aimed at the disorganization of the enemy's means of production and exchange—the disruption of his market place. Likewise, when the State intervenes in the business of society, which is production and exchange, a condition of war exists, even though open conflict is prevented by the superior physical force the State is able to employ. Politics in the market place is like a bull in the China shop.

POLITICS IS FRICTION

The essential characteristic of the State is force; it originates in force and exists by it. The rationale of the State is that conflict is inherent in the nature of man and he must be coerced into behaving for his own good. That is a debatable doctrine, but even if we accept it the fact remains that the coercion must be exercised by men who are, by definition, as bad as those upon whom the coercion is exercised. The State is men. To cover up that disturbing fact, the doctrine of the superpersonal State is invented; it is more than human, it exists distinct from the people who staff it. That fiction is given plausibility by clothing it with constitutions, laws and litany, like "my country right or wrong." A religion of authoritarianism is built up around an idol.

But, ritual does not give divinity to a golden calf. The hard fact remains that the priesthood of the State are just men, and the coercion they employ reflects their human capacities and frailties. They cannot get away from those limitations. Whatever badness is in them will show up in their use of force. They are not made good by the power to impose their will on other men.

Getting down to the facts of experience, political power has never been used for the general good, as advertised, but has always been used to further the interests of those in power or those who can support them in this purpose. To do so it must intervene in the market place. The advantages that political power confers upon its priesthood and their cohorts consists of what it skims from the abundance created by society. Since it cannot make a single good, it lives and thrives by what it takes. What it takes deprives producers of the fruits of their labors, impoverishes them, and this causes a feeling of hurt. Intervention in the market place can do nothing else, then, than to create friction. Friction is incipient war.

Now, if the business of the state is to cause friction within any given segment of society, any one country, by what logic can it be shown that a world-state will prevent friction? If a small state is an evil, as the one-worlders insist, why should a big state be a good? Can an institution that is essentially antisocial be made prosocial, by enlargement? No matter how high the totem pole it is not God.

Reason and fact are at great disadvantage in confronting blind faith, and those who worship at the shrine of authoritarianism will not be shaken by argument. Yet, one cannot help asking how the superstate will employ its army; the worshipers admit that an army is necessary to its proper functioning. The army will certainly be used to suppress something, to stop some people from doing something that to them seems good. For instance, there are many people in the world who practice polygamy, some who practice polyandry and a few who go in for monogamy. Will the omniscient priesthood of the superstate use its army to enforce a uniform conjugal practice? In that case, of course, friction will result.

Or, if it is decided that the world has too much oil—the over-production theory—will the army be sent to Texas or to Iran to shut down the excess wells? When such frictional situations are brought up, the devotees of authoritarianism answer that everything will be resolved by the democratic process—a process that has never stopped war.

ONE WORLD—ONE MARKET PLACE

One worldism is not an impossible ideal; but, it is not attainable through the medium of political power. On the contrary, the organization of the world into a single society—which is what the one-worlders really want—can be accomplished only if people can rid themselves of the fetish of authoritarianism. If men could come to a belief in themselves, if they could lose faith in the golden calf of politics, if they could once reach the maturity of manhood, the law of association would do the rest. It is not necessary to plan or build a world society; it is only necessary to remove the obstructions to its growth, all of which are political and all of which stem from faith in authoritarianism.

Our own country furnishes an illustration. In the beginning, before Americans had been completely converted to this political paganism, it was stipulated that their market place shall be as large as the country; the erection of trade barriers between the component commonwealths was prohibited. As the frontiers of the country were extended the market place grew apace, and, in time, goods, men, and ideas moved without hindrance from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Mexico to Canada. Therefore, an American society grew up. It was not planned; it grew. Several times the little separate political establishments set up blocks to trade at their respective borders, causing friction, but on the whole their efforts have been frustrated by the spirit of free trade. (It might be well to mention, in passing, that the prime cause of the Civil War was protectionism, which is a dogma of authoritarianism.)

Let us look at a contrary example. Europe, which, outside of Russia, compares in size with the United States, is cross-checked with tariff barriers, and Europe has been a battlefield for centuries. Political particularism has prevented the flowering of an European society. It is impossible for such a thing to get going in an area darkened by passports and customs regulations. Time and again the doctors of political science have prescribed some sort of political union for the ills of Europe, on the assumption that such a union will be followed by a customs union. Quite the contrary; the borders between countries lose all meaning if the peoples can do business with one another; which is another way of saying, if the states get out of the way of society. No political union can set up a society in Europe; that can only come from uninhibited higgling and haggling in a common market place.

If their sense were not dulled by their idolatry, the One Worlders could draw a sound conclusion from these two examples; namely, that the only way to a world society

is through free trade. This does not mean that free-trade alone would guarantee world peace, for there are other political institutions that make for friction, but, it would go a long way. After all, if the customer is always right, how could he be an enemy?

A Letter to Mr. Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 5 (legislative day of Monday, January 29), 1951

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an address entitled "A Letter to Mr. Truman," delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, at the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, on December 17, 1950.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A LETTER TO MR. TRUMAN

(By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver)

Were I inclined to write a letter to President Truman at this time, when letter writing seems to have become a rather explosive avocation, I would dwell on two matters: First, the manner in which his choleric letter writing and emotional outbursts of recent months are affecting his own status and that of the American people in the world at a time when, to use his own words, we are the leaders of the free world, and the eyes of the world are upon us; and secondly, about the implications of the national emergency which he has proclaimed, not so much as far as the American people are concerned, but as far as he himself and his administration are concerned. Every citizen is called upon to put aside his personal interests for the good of our country. What does this spell out for the President himself and for those in whose hands are the lives and fortunes of 150,000,000 of American citizens?

The first matter, that of the letter writing, is the lesser in importance by far, except as it has revealed an overcharged and uncontrolled spirit which has greatly troubled the American people. Long ago Samuel Johnson wrote: "In a man's letters his soul lies naked." The soul exposed in Mr. Truman's letters of recent date gives very little evidence of that wisdom and calmness which he solicited of the American people in his address the other evening. This has caused many Americans to wonder apprehensively whether major decisions of the Chief Executive in far more serious realms of national and international affairs are similarly determined by temper, pique, and resentment, and are likewise made in a headlong and impetuous fashion.

Everyone realizes, I am sure, the terrible strains and burdens of the office of the President of the United States, especially in these dreadful times. No one envies Mr. Truman the heavy and high overwhelming responsibilities which are his. The American people is inclined to overlook an occasional outburst of irritability on the part of a greatly harassed public official. However, when this irritability appears to be by way of becoming chronic and expresses itself in language which is not permissible even to a private citizen, there is proper cause for disquiet and criticism. The President of the United States, for as long as he holds that exalted office—and it is the most exalted and

illustrious office in the world—is never a private citizen. He never can dissociate himself from his office. Whatever he says or writes or does has to a greater or lesser degree public significance and repercussions. What a music critic writes about Margaret, good or bad, is of little importance, of little importance, indeed, but what the President of the United States writes to a music critic, or to anyone else, and the manner of his writing, can bring a sense of shame and dismay to the entire Nation and make the office of the President of the United States the laughing stock of the world.

There is much sound counsel to be found in our Bible to which I should like to draw the attention of the President. The Bible counsels men not to give way to gusts of anger, temper, and passion. If these admonitions are applicable to ordinary citizens, how much more so are they to men who occupy high position, whose every word is freighted with consequence. Thus, we read in the Bible: "It is the discretion of a man to be slow to anger and it is his glory to pass over a grievous wrong."

One who was himself a ruler of men, Koheleth, writes in his book: "Be not hasty to get angry, for anger rests in the bosom of fools." The wise Hillel, likewise a leader of men, frequently cautioned his fellow men: "Guard your temper." And the rabbis declared: "The speech of the wise is always a clean and decent speech."

Were I inclined to write a letter to Mr. Truman, I would in all good will and earnestness bring these matters to his attention and suggest that he do not write letters when he is angry, and that all of his letters, like all of his speeches, should be checked by a second party before they are mailed, and, above all, not to make public statements "off the cuff." His latest ad lib about the use of the atomic bomb fell upon the world almost with the destructive effect of an atomic bomb and sent Minister Schumann hurrying to London and Prime Minister Attlee flying to Washington.

Our President owes it to himself and to our country in these desperate times to avoid anything that might cause unnecessary irritation and resentment among our people, or that might lower the dignity of the high office which he sought and to which the citizens of the United States elected him. What has happened has not been good for the morale of our people and cannot serve as an inspiring example for the emulation of our youth.

I pass on to the second and more serious matter about which I should like to write to President Truman. In his address to the country the other evening, he 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 very 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, competently 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 de-

fense 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.

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 already cost our people 40,000 casualties.

Our allies likewise were not consulted. In his speech last Friday evening the President 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 suspicion entertained 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 Indochina 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.

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 toward 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 waiting to strike 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?

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 thirty-eighth 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 thirty-eighth parallel, China would come into the war? Why did we move beyond the thirty-eighth parallel? Why are we asking for a cease fire now when the Chinese and North Korean armies are advancing across the thirty-eighth parallel? Why did we not ask for it when we had reached the thirty-eighth 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 failure 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. The House of Representatives has already voted an additional \$17,800,000,000 emergency defense bill. This will bring our total defense budget for the year to almost \$42,000,000,000. 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 \$50,000,000,000 which was given to the Armed Forces during the past 4 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 3 years—peace years, mind you—we spent on the average of \$13,000,000,000 annually. Yet we were unprepared.

The President said the other evening that on June 25 of this year we had less than 1,500,000 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 \$7,000,000,000. 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?

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 finds 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.

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 reexamination 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 reexamine and adopt a new policy. It is far better to change to a sounder policy than to be unchanging in catastrophic wrong-headedness. 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.

In his address the other evening the President 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 actions 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 Indochina 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 give to the world through the United Nations. Let us strengthen this international organization, which is the sole hope of a stable world to come.

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 nations 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 bankrupt ourselves by trying to arm half the world against the other half. Our resources are not limitless. Our Government is already \$257,000,000,000 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.

These are some of the things about which I should like to write to Mr. Truman. I should also like to draw his attention to some words which he himself uttered the other evening 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 those 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 piecemeal, 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 Dunkerque 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 consideration and not to allow itself to be stampeded by warmongers, 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 percent. The American people have always rallied to the defense of their country whenever it found itself challenged and endangered.

Senate Bill 349

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. HOMER D. ANGELL OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 5, 1951

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am just in receipt of a letter under date of January 29, 1951, from the Honorable Douglas McKay, Governor of Oregon, advis-

ing me that at a meeting of the Natural Resources Advisory Committee of the State held on January 24, 1951, the provisions of this bill were discussed. This committee is deeply concerned over the provisions of title 2, section 215, paragraph C of the bill which would seem to authorize the bypassing of State, municipal, and other local laws and believes that for that reason the bill should be modified to obviate this undesirable feature. The following is a copy of the letter:

STATE OF OREGON,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Salem, January 29, 1951.
Congressman HOMER D. ANGELL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HOMER: At the meeting of my natural resources advisory committee on January 24, 1951, certain sections of Senate bill 349, which related to the construction and operation of community facilities and community services for defense housing projects, were discussed. The committee, which consists of the executive heads of State departments concerned with the development and conservation of natural resources, was particularly concerned with the provisions of title 2, section 205, in which the Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized, without regard to any Federal, State, or municipal laws, ordinances, rules, or regulations, to do all things which he determines necessary or desirable in the public interests for and in the planning, acquisition, construction, and maintenance of housing or community facilities.

"Community facilities," as defined in title 2, section 215, paragraph C, include waterworks, sewers, sewage, garbage and refuse disposal facilities, police and fire protection facilities, public sanitary facilities works for treatment and purification of water, schools, hospitals and other places for the care of the sick, recreational facilities, streets and roads, and day-care centers.

The committee, by unanimous vote, objected to the provisions granted to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator in regard to public water supplies, public water supply systems, sewers, sewage treatment works, public sanitary facilities, and water treatment or purification. The State of Oregon has been endeavoring for a number of years to remedy sanitary conditions in our streams and for public places. It has been conscious of the necessity for the conservation of its natural resources and for the protection of public health and, as stated above, planned programs for the improvement of water supplies and abatement of stream pollution are now under way, and for the Government to step in and ignore these things will not only disrupt the State's program but we will lose much valuable education on that subject that we now have.

The committee feels that it is very much against the public policy for the Federal Government to disregard State or municipal laws. Also, the committee feels that if public housing is constructed along this line it might be some time before we will be able to make a clearance and thus we will continue to have a disregard of sanitary authorities.

It is the belief of the committee that public policy, as expressed by paragraph 8 of section 2, is sound. It reads as follows:

"Any department or agency performing functions hereunder shall, in carrying out such functions, consult with the appropriate State and local agencies having responsibilities in connection with the planning, provision, construction, or operation of community facilities or services, so that, insofar as practicable, community facilities assisted or provided pursuant to this act may be integrated with State and local programs for such facilities and services."

It is my earnest request that everything possible be done to change this act before it becomes a law.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MCKAY,
Governor.

FEPC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. LARCADE, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 8, 1951

Mr. LARCADE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the January 31, 1951, issue of the Southwest Citizen published at Lake Charles, La.:

WHY ROCK THE SHIP OF STATE?

For a number of years now, the New Deal's Fair Employment Practices Commission has been a hot political potato. The greatest opposition to it has come from the South and passage of the bill has been effectively prevented in Congress.

The ostensible purpose of the FEPC is to protect minorities in competition for jobs and to assure them a square deal. What the bill actually does, however, is to give bureaucrats virtual control of the hiring and firing in private industry.

For instance, if the member of a minority group—and there are hundreds of these groups for they consist not only of persons of certain races but also those of various political and religious complexions—applies for a job as a bookkeeper and is not hired, he may, if he thinks he did not get the job because of his minority status, take his case to the bureaucrats who could force the employer to give specific reasons why the complainant didn't get the job. And if these reasons are not satisfactory, the employer can be forced to hire the man he rejected if, in the opinion of the Government, he is qualified to hold the job.

Our own feeling is that the proprietor of a business is entitled to hire or fire his workers as he sees fit and that it is not the Government's business what his reason is. If a businessman doesn't want to employ a Negro, an Indian, a Republican, or a member of any other minority group, he should not be forced to do it or even to be required to give his reasons therefor.

The South has borne the brunt of the fight against the FEPC and has thus been saddled with the public opprobrium generated by the professional tub-thumpers who get paid in money or in votes for their noise. Yet there is no real southerner who bears any ill will toward the Negro or who will not do more than his share to educate him, to give him work for which he is qualified, to help him get started in his own business. And we note on every side that the Negroes who are making the greatest progress economically are those who are getting the help of the southern white. Precious few of them are helped by the righteous orators who would exploit their minority status for political profit.

We believe it can be said truthfully that, on the whole, the white and colored elements of our southern population get along together very well. Our Negroes have always participated enthusiastically in every local civic drive and program to improve our community. The white population has voluntarily instituted, and is largely paying for, a program for better educational and sanitation facilities for our Negro friends. The

end effect will be that colored men and women will continually improve their qualifications for better jobs. The white people know this and encourage it. And this effort will be continued.

The passage of an FEPC bill thus is an extremely controversial matter and tempers will boil if such an attempt would be made now. It would seem unwise to push such proposed legislation through Congress when our entire energies should be voted to the far more serious problems of organizing our national defenses and guiding the ship of state through the shoals of foreign threats. It would seem prudent to avoid intense wrangling over what are essentially peacetime side issues. It should be the logical purpose of everyone from President Truman down, to do all possible to promote a national unity of purpose.

Yet it is now reported that the President, who has failed to get an FEPC through Congress, will create it by executive fiat. Under the cloak of the war emergency, he is preparing to order FEPC into effect as a wartime necessity solely by means of a White House order. This may or may not be politically astute but the effect will be damaging to the Nation's effort for it would breed grave sentiments of distrust in his leadership.

We hope that the President will reconsider the matter or that those advisers around him will succeed in persuading him that now is no time to rock the ship of state.

An Irresponsible Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ZALES N. ECTON

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 5 (legislative day of Monday, January 29), 1951

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "An Irresponsible Budget," written by Henry Hazlitt, and published in Newsweek for January 29, 1951.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN IRRESPONSIBLE BUDGET

(By Henry Hazlitt)

Senator BYRD was using the language of restraint when he declared that President Truman's budget of \$71,000,000,000 for the next fiscal year was "the very height of fiscal irresponsibility." Mr. Truman no longer seems to attach any meaning to figures, or even to pledges. He has repeatedly promised "rigid economy in nondefense activities." And he solemnly continues his lip-service to "strict economy" in the very budget in which, as Senator Byrd points out, proposed nondefense spending is increased "to the highest level in the history of the Nation."

Mr. Truman threw in practically the whole Fair Deal spending program—compulsory health insurance, bigger unemployment benefits, Federal subsidies to education, including nursery schools, more public power projects, including the St. Lawrence seaway, more Government housing, more handouts to foreign countries for "economic recovery," and on top of all this, the Brannan farm plan, the year-to-year cost of which is indeterminable.

It may be doubted whether Mr. Truman seriously intended this as a budget or meant it only as a campaign document—so that, in 1952, he can tell the pressure groups that

1840 Marlow Ave.
East Cleveland 12. Ohio
February 13, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple
Amzel Rd. and E. 105th St.

Dear Rabbi Silver,

From a friend, it was
learned that you made a
very good address over the radio.
If you have copies of it, is it
possible to get a copy?

Enclosed is the copy of a
letter sent to the President. The
friend who heard you thinks
we expressed similar views.

Could we meet at some time
in the near future to talk together
about ways to unite all who are
seeking better ways for our country
and for the World.

Yours very truly,
Raymond Beards.

1840 Marloes Avenue,
East Cleveland 12, Ohio
December 30, 1950

President Harry S. Truman,
Office of The Whitehouse,
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Truman:

Today a very small fraction of our people have the opportunity to speak so their voices may be heard by any large number of our American people and by other peoples of the world. Those who have the power to get their views expressed through commentators and the like by way of radio, television, newspapers, magazines and moving pictures have an opportunity to influence millions of minds. Those who do not have this power do not have this opportunity. Through this inequality in our democratic land, perhaps the finest ideas by some of our best, most fully informed, most able and intelligent people are heard only by a very few or not at all. Some of these may try to do their democratic duty by writing to the people who represent them in government.

Many people are very much concerned over the way we are being led or taken by those whose voices are heard and by many of our political leaders who, by the position the people have entrusted to them, also have a voice that is heard. We are concerned that we are being told that we are in great danger; that we may be attacked and that we must spend billions of the wealth of our land for preparations for another war now.

Since it is the people who pay for war with their life and substance, we have the right to have our questions answered fully and convincingly as to why these things should be and the people themselves should make final decisions.

Is it Russia and China or who that we think of fighting? I think it is known far and wide that those who have a large voice on radio, pictures and in the press would answer this question, yes, Russia and now, perhaps, they would include China. But why is this statement made? It is time we examine such statements with greatest care. Put away false fears and blind prejudices and look honestly with clear vision at what is before us.

There is very convincing evidence for anyone who wishes to consider with open mind that neither Russia nor China want war at all either now or in the future. Two basic reasons can be stated. First, their systems do not require war to keep them running prosperously and progressively toward better conditions. In fact, war impoverishes and affects their systems adversely and is therefore not wanted and is looked upon as an evil. The German invasion retarded their progress and threats against them now are causing them to put much into arms that could go toward improvement of their living conditions of their people.

Second, the development of vast projects in their homelands designed to lift the standards of living higher and higher for all the people, such as redirecting the course of a river so as to create great new fertile areas that may produce food and other materials for better living for tens of millions of people. War would retard and may even stop such projects and would make it difficult to carry out their planned program.

From listening to your speeches and reading your statements, it seems you think some of our freedoms are about to be lost or to be taken from us. If so, who is going to take them from us? Who is endangering us? And how so?

Are the new laws making new freedoms in China endangering us? Such laws as Pearl Buck recently reports, namely the freedom of men and women to choose their own marriage mates, doing away with parent-made matches, the ending of child marriages, the abolition of concubinage and the establishment of equality of the sexes?

Or the report of the New York Times correspondent in Moscow, Mr. Harrison E. Salisbury, writing in New York Times, October 10th through October 14th, 1950, wherein he stated that Moscow is in full swing of intensified construction work, building new apartment houses, new highways and hospitals and that similar reports come from other cities in the land of Russia. He says there are no queues in front of food stores and speaks of lower prices of commodities and improved quality. He says further that there is no panic buying of foods or consumer goods, as might be expected if the general public felt that war was near or likely....He goes on to say that, "there has been a steady increase in the quality of pots and pans, copper and brass Samovars, lighting fixtures, etc....If the Soviet Government is making available to ordinary citizens increasing quantities of items made from cotton, wool, leather, brass, aluminum and steel, it would appear that the Kremlin does not anticipate requiring these basic materials for war production at an early date."

Or the building of a hundred new cities in Russia as related some time ago in the United Nations World.

We ask again - Are such developments as these threatening to take away any freedoms cherished by the great American people?

The methods they are reported to have used to obtain their ends may not be acceptable to us at all, but do these methods need to be used by us? Are any good things in our way threatened by the methods they use among themselves?

In the Non-Denominational, Non-Partisan Newsletter, "Between the Lines", of December 4th, 1950, is the following statement: "There have been no factual or concrete evidences produced by anyone any place that the Russians are preparing to strike against the Democratic West now, soon or in the foreseeable future. The substantial documentary evidence points far more certainly toward the Russian intention to avoid war with the U.S. while they continue the traditional Communist revolutionary tactic of conquering by internal subversive methods...But such methods make no inroads in countries with a fair and just democratic society. Even Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway, all close to Russia, are free and prosperous - with Communism no serious threat. Only under decadent social and economic conditions does Communism make substantial gains."

A war with either Russia, China or both could easily prepare the soil and atmosphere in which not only Communism would flourish but other "isms" even less desirable.

We learn through church representatives who have recently returned from the near East and Africa that because of Communism some industrialists in these areas have felt they must improve the conditions of their employees and give them better pay. This appears to be curtailing the freedom to exploit others. Is this a freedom that you fear may be taken from us?

Just by whom and how and where are our freedoms being threatened? and what certain freedoms are being endangered?

For years, we have been concerned about your attitude and your policy. Our State

Department and Executive Offices have been sending out so many statements of fear and hate and threatenings toward others that it gives us grave concern. There is a great law that what one sends out that is what he receives in return. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

There is a growing and deepening conviction that we are being led down a negative road toward absolutely unnecessary loss and destruction.

What do we want the Russians to do? Why are our present leaders of the Nation and interests who have a voice that is heard, so bitterly opposed to Russia?

One answer to the first question that I have heard given is that "We want Russia to let us alone." This brings the question - Are they not letting us alone? If not, how are they interfering with us? And where are they bothering or interfering with us? Some answers may be in Korea, in Greece, in Tibet, in Indo China, etc...Just where is Korea? Where are Greece and Tibet and where is Indo China? And what are the historical facts leading up to the present conditions and action that is now taking place in these countries?

Let's be reasonably fair and ask ourselves some honest questions. If Russia or any other European or Asiatic nation was acting on the American continent in nations bordering on our country like we are acting in Asia and Europe, who would we be sure was bothering and interfering with whom? Would we be as patient as they? What about our worldwide bases and our large Navy? Have they the same?

When did we become the whole world? Once the Monroe Doctrine was stated regarding the Americas in the Western Hemisphere. Now it appears some Americans want to take in the whole earth. If any other wishes to proclaim and use the same kind of a doctrine in their sphere or area these seem to think it our duty to deny them the right - the same right as we proclaim as our right in our area.

Just who is threatening and bothering whom? If some person would stretch himself out on your doorstep and say, "Don't step on me or I'll hurt you", what would you think? It is possible for us to extend ourselves around and about another to such an extent that the other can hardly move without touching us and appear to bother or interfere with us. Nations may do likewise. It seems that those who are directing the policy of our people are now doing just such a thing. It will be wise for us to come to a realization of this truth and change our course. The patience of others may not last long enough.

Just what do the people mean who make such statements as, "We want Russia or China to let us alone." Do they mean that those countries should change their social and economic systems so that their further success may not disturb those in our land who wish to keep the "Status Quo" whether good or evil?

The point is - is there any real and justifiable cause for a quarrel at all? Can each way not be given full freedom to develop and operate, freed of war and armament burdens, and then give due recognition to the way that succeeds in giving the greatest number of people the best and most abundant way of life? This is the way of competition. Do we believe in it?

It has been said that we as a country have a conscience and when we see a people oppressed or attacked we go to aid or liberate them. Why then are we found sometimes on the side of the oppressor as well as of the liberator? Examples - Dutch East Indies, French Indo China and African areas. And just when did we have this awakening of conscience? Consider the past history of Great Britain and India and our past dealings with China and the like, as well as our attack on Russia after World War I.

If there is any inclination toward war against us in China and Russia, your attitude, your spirit and action toward them could surely be a chief cause for such an inclination. As a Veteran and Father of three Veterans the writer has a deep love and a great faith in democracy. He believes it should be great, good, friendly and co-operative, always sponsoring and leading in a great positive program for our Nation and for all peoples. He further believes in democracy among nations - that is, that they may have the right to choose their own way without interference and that they have the right equally with all others to express their convictions and tell of their way the same as we like to do and have done for many years.

We can see no good future for a negative program of attempts at restriction, fear and hate. Therefore, the writer cannot support your program of fear, hate and war for it leads to the blind alleys of poverty and destruction.

Just what is your ultimate goal? Let's take a long honest look in proper perspective. Where will the present policy eventually take us? What's at the end of the road of fear, hate, distrust, destruction and war? Is it anything the great American people want? Let us consider our course. If we have taken the wrong road, is it logical or sane that we continue just because we have started on that way? This attitude is perhaps one of the greatest mistakes made over and over again as history's record of past wars does show. The prestige and honor of our Nation would be greatly enhanced should we have the courage to admit a wrong course and change that course. It may be unusual and establish a precedent. Today we need to establish just such a precedent.

Is it your objective to make all nations like our nation and controlled by our leaders? There is a way to this objective but it is not by guns and bombs nor by fear and hate, but by superior unselfish service to all humanity.

An economy dependent upon war, while filling the pockets of a few with the golden tinsel of purchasing power, creates a false sense of prosperity and impoverishes the whole land. It is sheer economic waste of the great wealth it has taken Nature eons of time to prepare.

The Historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, says in his preface to "War and Civilization" - "War has proved to have been the proximate cause of the breakdown of every civilization which is known for certain to have broken down, insofar as it has been possible to analyze the nature of these breakdowns and to account for their occurrence"....."War proves himself a Moloch by devouring an ever larger share of the increasing fruits of Man's industry and intelligence in the process of taking an ever larger toll of life and happiness;....War reveals itself as being a cancer which is bound to prove fatal to its victim unless he can cut it out and cast it from him, since its malignant tissues have now learnt to grow faster than the healthy tissues on which they feed."

Today all we need do to realize that this is actually coming true in our America is to look at present and future military plans for expenditure as compared to plans for consumer living expenditure and constructive development.

Again Toynbee says: "There is nothing to prevent our Western Civilization from following historical precedent if it chooses, by committing suicide." But he adds, "It is open to us through our own efforts to give history, in our case, some new and unprecedented turn....It is up to us." Paramhansa Yogananda writes: "This new Atomic Age will see men's minds sobered and broadened by the now scientifically indisputable truth that matter is in reality a concentrate of energy. Finer forces of the human mind can and must liberate energies greater than those within stones and metals, lest the material atomic giant newly unleashed turn on the world in mindless destruction."

We Americans have everything to make a great and glorious civilization: intelligence, skill, wonderful machines, marvelous ways of communication. All we need is the Good Will to put it all together and make a wonderful life here and now for us all. We need nothing else. No other country is to blame if we fail. We ourselves have the power and the responsibility. Other ways need not be a hindrance but they may be a stimulant to a positive program. Yes, these ways may be made a real blessing, causing our economy to leave its old ruts and to provide better things for our people than they have ever known. Is it our way to want to destroy our competitor or to plan to win in a constructive way?

Let us face this squarely! Just why are you afraid? What is it that you fear? Could it be that you fear the idea they are promoting may become attractive to too many people? If so, why? Is this something to quarrel about even to murdering each other?

If this be true, about the only really good thing we can do about it which will be effective is to honestly and completely examine our way and correct and overcome its faults and fallacies and improve it so as to make it so good and to work so well for all our people that we become a glorious example to all peoples of the earth. Those who would draw our attention away from such an examination and real improvement of our way, even to the extent of taking us into another war, are possibly the best allies to any real enemies we may have. Not only allies to our enemies but they may be allies to the enemies of all humanity.

Charles A. Lindberg wisely said: "The improvement of our way of life is more important than the spreading of it. If we make it satisfactory enough, it will spread automatically. If we do not, no strength of arms can permanently impose it."

Vera Dean has written: "If our ideas cannot stand up against Russian ideas, we had better revamp our ideas."

If our way is to be worthy of being called "The way of the liberator" or the "Way of a Savior", some basic things in it must be changed. The control of finance and credit must be taken from the few and given to all the people to whom it rightfully belongs. The unsound and unfair division of income must be corrected and the people must have their real voice in all the affairs of their country, especially on the question of war and peace.

The following are some suggestions concerning our foreign and domestic policies that a number of intelligent American people think good:

1. The United States should exert every effort to make the United Nations universal. The prevailing new government of China should be recognized. This action is late now. This would remove a barrier that now divides the United Nations and that has caused trouble.
2. We, the United States, should transfer our self assumed illegal policing of the world to the legally established United Nations in reality and not only in form.
3. In Korea, the United Nations should stop military action and initiate negotiations for the mediation of differences.
4. The three great nations, China, United States and Russia should find ways to work and trade together for their mutual benefit. Great power for good is being wasted and lost through the present attitude and action. Regardless of anything, we should if necessary be the first to go all out to cause this to become a fact. We should take every action and make every move to establish confidence in our sincerity so to do. Especially since we profess to be the enlightened Christian Nation.

5. The McMahon and Tydings proposals should be made a part of our program NOW.

Part four is especially important for the establishment of sound conditions for real Peace. The three great nations, China, Russia and the United States, should find a way to work and trade together for their mutual benefit and for the great benefit of the living standards of their peoples as well as the other peoples of the earth.

Our way suffers most because of the present attitude and policy, for our way demands expanding markets and increasing trade for its well being and progress. We at present are shutting ourselves from tremendous opportunities for constructive expansion and development of our trade and influence. Today hundreds of millions of awakening people stand ready to become our prospective customers for the things that will make their lives and our lives better.

We are now attempting to stimulate our trade by use of fear, hate and the trade in the instruments of death and destruction, and by war itself; and also by subsidies, hoarding and the destruction of surpluses. These we are trying to substitute for the constructive trade opportunities that are being wasted and lost.

It has been held and advocated that the way of these other nations is faulty and can not possibly succeed. If this be true, we need not fear results if we trade freely with them in a friendly manner since this trade will strengthen and develop our way greatly and will also hasten the development of their program toward its consummation, its inevitable collapse. If it can exist and spread only in the soil and atmosphere of misery and want, better conditions will cause it to pass away.

If these assumptions should prove not to be true, and should the other nations prosper and succeed in giving their people a life as abundant and free or even more abundant and free than our way, should not all of us be happier and be willing to give them honor and credit?

Such a course freely and whole heartedly followed can be and is a solution to the present problem. One part of our world should and can complement the other part for the greater good and glory of both.

As the writer understands it, the task of the United Nations is not to overpower and punish nations or peoples, but to cause or assist in causing the creation of the conditions that bring real lasting peace.

You have had and now have great power. It is not selfish power but the right use of power that brings the real glory to you and to our land. Charles A. Beard observed that one of the lessons he learned from history was, "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad with power." You have power but it need not make you "mad". You can use this power to bestow the most marvelous blessings on this nation and the world's people.

On the first Christmas, the angels said to the shepherds, "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord....And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

When this Savior grew to manhood, he showed clearly the way of life including treatment of our enemies. He said, "Ye have heard it said that it hath been said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy' But I say unto you, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven'."

He also said, "With what measure you mete, it shall be measures to you again."

There is a story of one who sought peace and happiness and life's highest satisfactions. He sought in wealth, in worldly pleasure, in lust, in politics and in power. In all of these he found nothing but emptiness. Then he found unselfish love. This is the one thing that never faileth.

We can make enemies or friends by what we say and do. Strange it is that it now appears to be more patriotic to make enemies than to make friends. If a normal friendly attitude is shown, the handy little word appeasement is apt to be heard. It is one of those measley little expressions used as 'scarecrows' now placed at the gateways to the paths to peace. It seems that such expressions are made to frighten us from the fruits of real and lasting peace.

The way to peace and understanding among nations is just the same as the way to peace and understanding among neighbors. Love God and love your neighbor as yourself, and use the Golden Rule in your dealings with all others.

Paul Brunton once said, "The pith of the world problem is too plain for this complex age to comprehend."

Ruth Cranston closes her fine Book, "World Faith", with these words: "Peace and good life will come when our life as a world, as nations, as individuals is built upon the unity and interdependence of men, and the worth of individual man that all our great Prophets taught: that is the Law and the Truth for us."....All the intelligence is there at our hand - the technical skills, the marvelous machinery, the streamlined modern communications: everything to build a superb and satisfying civilization. The way is just the same as it always has been. The question is are we, even at this eleventh and three-quarters hour, going to take it? There they stand, those eternal Figures with their clear seeing eyes, telling it to us across the ages."

"The unity of all life - the interdependence of all men. Love God. Serve your neighbor. Cease fighting and exploiting and destroying. Give up the life of the old savage man of the jungle. Join hands together as one family. Become the gods, the free souls, you were meant to be. Build the kingdom of heaven here on earth."

"This is the way. Walk ye in it."

It is time all Americans unite in a positive constructive program. A program made in accord with the highest ideas, moral, spiritual and ethical, of the founders of the religion we profess to have and follow. It is time we make a complete examination of our ways, correct the faults and make real democracy work in our whole life, political, economic and social. Our democratic, spiritual and ethical standards must not only be the dominant, controlling power in our individual lives but they must also be the dominant controlling power in the social, economic and political life of which each individual is a part.

Respectfully yours,

Raymond Beards

February 15, 1951

Mr. Raymond S. Beard
1840 Marloes Avenue
Cleveland 12, Ohio

My dear Mr. Beard:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 13th. I regret that there are no reprints of my radio address.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

SALK, WARD & SALK, INC.

Mortgage Bankers

11 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

April 9, 1951

Ansel Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Attention: Secretary to Rabbi Silver

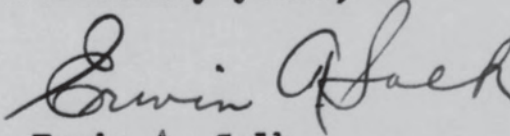
Gentlemen:

I have misplaced your letter replying to mine of April 2nd, making it necessary to address this letter as I did.

I am enclosing 25¢ in stamps to cover costs of mailing two pamphlets - "Letter to Truman" and "Rearming of Germany".

At the same time, I should like to order 10 each of the above two pamphlets. Will you please advise me as to charges for same.

Sincerely yours,


Erwin A. Salk

EAS:es
Enc.

April 11, 1951

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

Dear Mr. Salk:

In reply to your letter of April 9th, the \$.25 charge was not for mailing but for printing costs for each pamphlet. Accordingly, there will be a charge of \$5.00 for the 20 pamphlets which you request. As soon as I hear from you, I shall immediately forward them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

MEMORANDUM FROM

[1951]

LOUIS BROMFIELD

My Dear Rabbi Silver:

I appreciate more than I can say you sending me your "letter to Mr. Truman". It is decidedly one of the soundest and most brilliant summations of the situation that I have come across. You are to be complimented for conceiving, telling and distributing it.

With the best of wishes,

I am,

Yours faithfully,



Louis Bromfield *LB*

Louis Bromfield.



LUCAS, OHIO



PENN., MANSFIELD, OHIO
N. Y. CENTRAL, GALION, O.

MALABAR FARM
LUCAS, OHIO

Lv. Cleve. 12:45 a.m. 3/27 - New York Central
Arr. Chicago 6:55 a.m.

Lv. Chicago 8:35 a.m., TWA #9; Arr. Kansas City 10:40 a.m.

Reservation at Hotel Meuhelbach

Lv. Kansas City 11:00 p.m., 3/27
Arr. Chicago 8:30 a.m., 3/28

Lv. Chicago 9:50 a.m., United Air Lines #132.
Arr. Cleveland 1:30 p.m.

Pres. - Hyman Brand
Asst. Dir. - Abe Suedman

Capitol

12.45 - 3.54

~~4.10.58~~
11.10.5

[1951]

MEMORANDUM FROM

LOUIS BROMFIELD

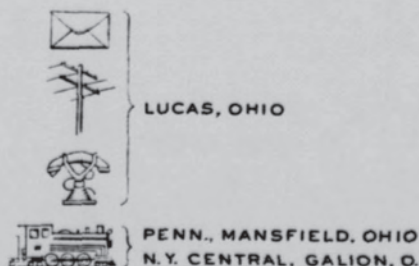
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With the best of wishes,

I am,
Yours faithfully,

Louis Bromfield
Louis Bromfield.



MALABAR FARM
LUCAS, OHIO