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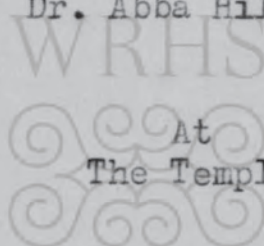
The fear of Russia, 1946.

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THE FEAR OF RUSSIA

By  
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday morning, May 5, 1946





I speak this morning of "The Fear of Russia" because though less than a year has passed since the winning of the war and the peace treaties are not yet signed, this fear of Russia is already seriously affecting international relations, roiling international conferences and endangering the United Nations Organization.... Because of this fear of Russia, the London Conference broke down, the proceedings of the council of the United Nations was thrown into confusion and bitter wrangling, and the present peace conference seems to be falling down.

You will recall that the fear of Russia dominated the entire post-war period following the last war. But it led to a series of Allied interventions against the Bolsheviks, that it <sup>fa</sup>thered numerous attempts to establish a cordonne solitaire against the Soviet Union and that it was finally used as fuel for the vast Fascist-Nazi world-wide propaganda, which finally culminated in the Second World War.

Throughout these years -- those years between the two world wars -- Russia was represented by certain interested people, groups and governments as the potential or actual enemy of Western democracy. But strangely enough, when the Second World War finally came, the Soviet Union far from being on the side of the enemies of Western democracy, was found to be actually fighting on their side. Russia helped to win the war against Nazism and Fascism, and without Russia's aid it seemed rather unlikely that the war would have been won.

Now during the war, Allied statesmen had nothing but praise for Stalin and for the gallant Russians. These Allied statesmen were able to overlook all the sharp ideological differences which existed between them and the Soviet Union. They did not reject Russian cooperation because they were opposed to the Russian economic system. They found it possible to join with Russia in ~~what~~ what was undoubtedly the greatest military effort of all times in spite of the fact that Russia did not belong to the English-speaking world, which according to Mr. Churchill, was the only world that could save democracy.

To help achieve this common victory in the last war, Russia sacrificed in human lives, ten times the number of lives sacrificed by Great Britain and the United States put together. Now that victory is won and the war is over, and the peace to be made, the



fear of Russia is again being revived, just as it was after the last war, and by the same interests. And if allowed to go unchecked -- I mean this propaganda touching the fear of Russia -- if that is allowed to go unchecked, it will again poison the peace of the world. It will destroy any success which the United States might have. It will pave the road again for another world war.

Now it was of course inevitable that friction would develop among the great allies as soon as the war was over, that sharp differences would arise concerning boundaries, touching spheres of inevitable. It was inevitable. The UNO is still in its infancy. No great power is willing to entrust its own security to what is as yet a paper organization, especially since there is staring them in the face the precedent and lamentable fact of the collapse of the first League of Nations.

Every great power is resolved to maintain<sup>a</sup>/powerful military establishment. Our own government is urging a peacetime military conscription and is calling for an all powerful army, navy and airforce. And all that on top of the fact that our country controls the atomic bomb. It is not yet prepared to share it with all its former allies. Great Britain and the Soviet Union, too, are resolved to build up maximum military strength. Not a single great power is urging at the moment even partial disarmament.

The United States which has great interests, commercial and strategic in the Pacific, is resolved to extend her sway over the Pacific by obtaining and fortifying all the bases which i deems necessary for its strong security in that part of the world.

Great Britain is resolved to main her exclusive control over the Mediterranean and Churchill when he was and the Middle East,/as/the Prime Minister declared in so many words that he was not called up to be Prime Minister of his Government to liquidate the British Empire. And the Laborites now in office are in a sense out-Torying the Tories as far as British Foreign Policy is concerned.

Russia, which absorbed considerable territory during the war, with the consent



of Churchill and Roosevelt, is resolved not alone to hold on to what she acquired during the war, but is also making ~~XXXX~~ secure her Western frontiers by seeing to it that the governments of the states adjoining it, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, are and will remain friendly governments.

Now clearly there are numerous points where these three spheres of influence of the three powers over-lap and clash, especially the spheres of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union wishes a warm seaport on the Mediterranean and in the Persian gulf. That has been her historic aspiration. The British Empire has always thwarted her in this need. She is reaching out for a foothold at this moment on the Mediterranean. She is reaching out for some of the former Italian territories in North Africa, in Tripolitania. She is pressing in the Middle East, not only for a share of its oil, of which Great Britain now has the lion's share, and of which our own country has a substantial share. She is pressing in the Middle East in order to obtain concessions in other directions.

Now Russia is very powerful today. She has a powerful army. She holds the key ~~to~~ military positions in most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and her army, her people, is flushed with victory, a victory literally snatched from the jaws of death and defeat.

Great Britain is the weakest of the three great powers who emerged from the war. Alone Great Britain can not today underwrite her Empire. Alone she cannot control them by sea or by air. Financially she is in bad shape. The peoples of the countries whom Great Britain controlled for generations are restive. Some of them are actually in revolt. Her Colonial Empire is creaking, if not cracking.

To maintain her imperial sway and spheres of influence undiminished, Great Britain needs America's financial and military backing, and to obtain it, Great Britain must persuade the United States that it is essential to the ~~the~~ vital interests of the United States to align itself with Great Britain militarily against the one great power of the world which is threatening both of them, according to this line of reasoning, namely the Soviet Union.



But just how is Russia threatening the United States? Certainly there are not any territorial and economic issues which have arisen between the two countries so acute or irreconcilable as to foster such fear. Russia and the United States have gotten along quite well for more than a hundred years. They are not rivals either in world markets or in empires.

Now in the absence of such rivalries which can be used as an excuse for ~~this~~ this kind of military alliance of the Soviet Union, Russian communism is trotted out as a menace to the United States. Because the Russian way of life is not our way of life, because it believes and practices Socialism and a one-party system of government which differs sharply from our own economic and political system, therefore Russia -- so runs the argument is an ever-present danger to us, and we must forthwith align ourselves with the other freedom-loving country in the world Great Britain/against it to defend the common tradition and our common way of life.

<sup>is</sup> This/the reasoning. This is the trap. This is how Mussolini and Hitler were built up in Europe after the last war as a bulwark against Communism. This is how Franco was permitted by the English-speaking countries of the world, including our own country, to destroy the Spanish Republic. This is how Munich was brought about in the Second World War. This is how the third world war is being prepared.

Mr. Winston Churchill made all this very clear in his now famous speech delivered in Missouri in the presence of the President of the United States on March 5. And Mr. Churchill is to be commended on his frankness and forthrightness in speaking as he did as a Britisher, as one who is interested in defending the British Empire. After discussing the threat of the Atomic Bom, Mr. Churchill turned in his speech to the second great threat to mankind. He said:

"A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, ~~to their~~ to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies...



"It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American, and French observation..

"The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these eastern states of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.

"Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi Communist party in their zone of occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westward, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles on a front of nearly 400 miles, to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the western democracies had conquered.

If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the western democracies. Whatever



conclusions may be drawn from these facts — and facts they are — this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

"In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless, the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again, one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now.

"However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth, and in the United States, where communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are somber facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy, and we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains...

"I have felt bound to portray the shadow, which alike in the West and in the East, falls upon the world...

"Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46,000,000 in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one-half, even in wartime, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after 6 years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privations as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see seventy or eighty millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defense of our



traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes we and you espouse. If the population of the English-speaking commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea, and in science and industry, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, or seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time but for a century to come."

And having called up this fear of communism which is threatening to destroy Christian civilization, Churchill points to the only way of meeting this threatening menace. What must be done about it? "Why the United States and Great Britain must get together ~~now~~ now -- there is no time to lose. "The dark ages may return. Beware, I say, time is short." "Do not let us take the course of letting events drift along till it is too late."

And his solution is: "Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization, will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States. This is no time for generalities. I will venture to be precise.

"Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society but the continuance of the intimate relationships between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, similarity of weapons and manuals of instruction and interchange of officers and cadets at colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all naval and Air Force bases in the possession of either country all over the world. Already we use together a large number



number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future.

"Thus, whatever happens, and thus only, we shall be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any. Eventually there may come the principle of common citizenship but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose outstretched arm so many of us can clearly see."

In other words speech advocates a military alliance between the United States and England against Russia...Now history has demonstrated time and again that these military alliances and these so-called balances of power inevitably lead to war. They never make people secure in the world. They create suspicion and competitive armament to a point where war becomes a certainty.

Under this scheme the United States will be called to underwrite the entire British rickety Empire and all of its commitments and all of its ambitions. It would give Great Britain a free hand to hold on and to hang on to its entire restless Colonial Empire of seven hundred million colored peoples ~~in~~ as well as its sphere of interests in the Middle East and in Europe and will be backed by American arms, American wealth and American authority. Thus, having no empire of our own, we would entangle ourselves in an old world declining empire and assume terrible burdens all in the name of saving the world from the menace of communism.

Such an arrangement would make a hollow mockery of the UNO before it even had a chance to get going, because the whole idea of the UNO is to make such dangerous balances of power unnecessary...

What is the answer then if there is any danger threatening any civilization from any part of the world? The answer is to build up the power, the prestige and authority of the United Nations so that no country however strong would be inclined to take measures of aggression against any other. Let no country feel that it can automatically count on the United States whenever it goes to war.

Are there great differences between the United States and the Soviet Union? Certainly there are. There is a vast ideological difference between the systems



of life between these two people. These real differences need not be barriers. There will be misunderstandings and irritations and incidents arising in the future between the Soviet Union and the United States. Certainly. But they need not lead to war. That is what you have the UNO for and the World Court.

Is the Soviet Union always right? Certainly not. It has frequently been stupid and unjust and blundering in its relationships with the rest of the world.

Is the Soviet Union's foreign policy always idealistic and altruistic? Certainly not just as the foreign policies of the rest of the countries are not always idealistic and altruistic.

Do we have to yield all the time to the Soviet Union for the sake of what people call peace? Not at all. We must oppose the Soviet when it is wrong. We must side with the Soviet Union when it is right. But not when Great Britain says it is right and wrong, but when we are convinced, and really convinced that on a certain issue the Soviet is wrong — we oppose it.

Russia is not so powerful or its diplomacy so blind as to wish to challenge the whole world on an issue which it suspects is not wrong. Should we "get tough" with the Soviet Union? What does that mean — "get tough" with the Soviet Union? How would we like any other country to "get tough" with us? Those are not terms to use between two peoples — for that matter — between two individuals. The important thing is not to get tough with anyone, but to get right with ourselves in our best thinking, in international relations.

Do we have to accept or approve of communism to be on friendly terms with Russia? Certainly not. They have their ideas. We have ours. They have one way of doing things. We have another. We believe ours is better. Their ideas are changing. And so are ours. Even Tory England has gone socialistic in an age of new experimentation. The whole world is moving at the moment leftward. Capitalism which we knew a generation ago doesn't exist in a single country in Europe today. The capitalism which we knew in this country a generation ago is not likely to



continue a generation hence. Changes are coming to America. We have changed in the past. I recall, you will recall many economic measures which were first denounced as un-American which have since been accepted as the pattern of American life. We hope to bring those changes about in our own way with our own democratic processes and techniques, not in the way of bloody revolution. Changes come. They must come. But we haven't solved our problem of unemployment. We haven't solved our problem of economic cycles of boom and depression, of poverty and want. We haven't solved the problem of industrial strife and strikes. We haven't solved the problems of slums of anti-Semitism. We are not problem perfect. But the genius of the American people is that it faces problems sooner or later realistically and sets about solving them. And history will determine -- only history will determine which system is right and it will determine it not on the basis of ideologies, but on the basis of which system contributed most to human welfare and human happiness.

We believe that ours will be the best. We must do our utmost to make it do. But let us not threaten or repress international cooperation to another people which thinks otherwise.

Will Russia encourage communistic propaganda in the United States and elsewhere? Possibly. Certainly if Russia comes to regard our government as definitely allied with Great Britain against her. If our relations will be friendly there is likely to be much less of it, this Moscow inspired propaganda in our own country. But in any event, the way to fight communism in the United States is not to organize a military or quasi-military alliance against Russia. The way to fight communism in the United States is to make our own system function smoothly, to keep our people employed, to help them maintain a satisfactory standard of living and enjoy economic security and then communism will then be a very small threat indeed to the American way of life.

My good friends, in the 16th century, the peoples of Europe believed that the Protestants and Catholics represented two basically irreconcilable ideologies. They could not live side by side as a result of which Europe was drenched in blood for



almost a hundred years until Europe discovered that two religious ideologies could live side by side and that they had to live side by side, that a basis of cooperation had to be discovered in spite of the fact that Protestants would not become Catholics and that Catholics would not become Protestants.

No one wants war — so we all say. Stalin says Russia wants peace but he fears reaction — therefore Russia must become impregnable against all possible enemies. Bevin says "I can't conceive of any circumstances in which Britain and Russia should go to war and I can't see what we have to fight about. Yet there is this clamor to organize the English-speaking world against the potential menace of Communist Russia.

America, my dear friends, is in the key position, in the most strategic position in all of its history at this time to put an end to this sort of power politics and political maneuvering which have brought ~~the~~ war time and again. We hold the key position because in a military sense we hold the key position, financially. Great Britain comes to America for Loans. France comes to the United States for a Loan. He who holds the purse strings can command the tune of political action. If we have the political sagacity and courage to use this power not ~~the~~ for American salvation, but for the salvation of world peace our slogan must be no alliance with any one power. Any disputes between nations which threaten the peace of the world should be settled at the peace table of the United Nations Organization. There must be no entanglements with any single power on the face of the earth. All the power and prestige and authority must be with this organization. If once the foreign policy of America becomes clearly defined, I am confident that a new era of reconciliation will take place in the world.....



1) I speak - less > a year <sup>seriously affecting -</sup> ~~prolonging & raddling~~ - endangering  
The London Conference - Proceeding of U.N. through - confusion  
and bitter wrangling - Paris Conference

2) You will recall that the fear of R. dominated  
post-war period - led to Allied intervention -  
fathered attempts "cordon sanitaire" - finally.

used as fuel

"Enemy of Western World"

But - in 2nd World War - Soviet, far from being  
on side of Enemies of Democ - helped win -

Allied Statesmen had no theory but praise for Stalins

They were able to overlook ideolog. diff.

They did not reject R. ~~and cooperation~~

They could join with them - even "Eng. Spent. War"

- according to Churchill -

To help achieve common victory - R. 10 times

Now - that Victory is won - war over - peace to be made  
fear of R. is being revived - just as after last war  
- by same interests.

If allowed to go unchecked - poison - destroy -  
Road to war.



3/. It was inevitable that friction - boundaries - spheres<sup>12</sup>  
UNO still in its infancy - no one is willing -  
paper organ - precedent

(1) Every great power resolved to maintain powerful  
military establishment

Our own country - pers. funds milit. corruption  
and for all powerful army etc.

We can't with Atomic Bomb - not prepared to share

(2) G. B. + Soviet, too, resolved





(3)

military strength. As a single great power is partly  
even partial disarmament

(2) The U.S. which has great interests, commercial & strategic in the Pacific is involved to extend her  
way over the Pacific by ~~settling~~ <sup>obscuring</sup> & fortifying all the  
bases which it deems necessary for its security.

(3) J.B. is involved to maintain her exclusive  
control over the Med. & the Middle East. Churchill,  
when he was Prime Minister, declared (Jude). The  
Salute who succeeded him in this, ~~has~~ are  
anti-Turkey, the Tares, as far as foreign policy is  
concerned.

(3) Russia, which absorbed condemns her during the  
war, with the consent of Churchill & Roosevelt, is involved  
not alone to hold on to what she requires, but also  
to make secure her West. ~~border~~ <sup>frontier</sup> by seeing to it that  
the ports, the states adjoining it - from the Baltic to the  
Adriatic - are still remain friendly ports.

4). Clearly there are numerous pits where these 3 spheres  
overlap & clash - Exp the sphere, J.B. & Soviet.  
Soviet wishes a warm sea port on the Med. & in  
the Persian Gulf. That has been her historic aspiration.  
Mr. Empire has always thwarted her in this  
need. She is reaching out for a port-hold ~~in~~ on the Med.  
Coast - in former Ital. Territory - trying for Tripoli.  
She is pressing on the Middle East, not only for space,  
but to find resources in other directions.



5/ Russia is very powerful to-day. She has a powerful army and holds the key military points in <sup>Central & Europe</sup> ~~Prussia, Poland,~~ <sup>Germany, Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia and Belgrade</sup> and a large part of ~~Germany~~. Her people are flushed with victory - a victory liberally swathed from the fumes of death & defeat.

6/ S.B. is the weakest, the 3 great powers. To emerge from the war. Alone she cannot to-day underwrite her Empire. Alone she cannot control the sea or the air. Financially she is in bad shape. The ~~the~~ people ~~who~~ and countries whom she controlled for generations - are in revolt - active or passive. Her colonial empire is crumbling.

To maintain her imperial sway & sphere of influence, she needs America's financial & military backing.

To obtain it - she must persuade the U.S. that it is <sup>in its own</sup> ~~its~~ vital interests to ally itself diplomatically & militarily with the B. Empire against the ~~the~~ other great power in the world, which is threatening both of them - Russia.

But just how is Russia threatening the U.S.? Certainly no territorial or econ. issues have arisen bet. the 2 countries, so acute or imminent as to foster such fear. Russia & U.S. have ~~so far~~ <sup>so far</sup> along



will for ~~the~~ a hundred years and more. We are not  
rivals in world markets or in empire.

According to the <sup>absence</sup> ~~presence~~ of such rivalry - which  
might lead to war - Communism is looked out  
as a menace to the U.S. - But the Russian way of  
life is not our way of life - be. it believes in freedom  
Socialism and a one-party system, just - diff.  
sharply from our econ. & pol. system - it is an  
ever-present danger to us - and we must  
join with allies everywhere with S.B. - against it.  
to ~~not~~ defend our freedoms - our way of life

7). This is the reasoning and this is the trap!

This is how <sup>Hitler</sup> ~~Germany~~ Hitler was built up in Europe - as  
a bulwark of Communism -

This is how France was persuaded by the Eng. speaking  
world to destroy the French Republic.

This is how Munich was sold about - and the 2nd  
world war.

And this is how the 3rd world war will be prepared.

8). Churchill made <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ very clear in his Fulton, Mo.  
speech on March 5 - He is to be commended for his  
frankness & forthrightness - speaking as a Briton.

(a) after discussing the threat, the atomic bomb ~~(bomb)~~  
(1) and (2). And having painted this dark picture  
of menacing Communism - what is to be done.



② Why U.S. must fit together, immediately, with U.S. ⑥

No time to lose! "The Dark Ages may return! Beware,  
I say, time is short." Do not let us take the  
course of letting events drift along till it is too  
late."

(1) Solution <sup>(just)</sup> (3). Military alliance - Russia!

9) What Churchill has called for - others - not as faithfully

① Hist. has demonstrated that these <sup>Military</sup> ~~alliances~~ <sup>changes</sup> lead  
to war.

② U.S. - underwrite a worldly empire - and all its  
commitments & ambitions. - Free hand to hold on  
to as to ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> ~~future~~ <sup>colonial</sup> ~~interests~~ <sup>interests</sup>  
<sup>7700 M. colored people</sup> ~~empire~~ <sup>on another</sup> ~~to look for~~ <sup>its</sup> ~~arms~~ <sup>arms</sup>, ~~wealth~~ <sup>wealth</sup>, ~~sanctuary~~ <sup>sanctuary</sup>

③ It would make a hollow mockery, U.N. ~~before~~  
~~before~~ it has had a chance to get going.  
Hope, U.N. is to ~~substitute~~ <sup>substitute</sup> for war-breaking Balance  
Power - Collective Security.

10) However - if there is danger, we Implement UN.1  
but no country feels that it can automatically  
commit <sup>on</sup> to U.S. - ~~if~~ <sup>if</sup> whenever it fits into war -  
- an ideal <sup>change</sup>

11) As there diff. bet. U.S. & Soviet - Certainly - But



Barnes!

will misunderstand <sup>visitation, incidents</sup> ~~Russia~~ - certainly - but they need not lead to war. - That's what we have

U R - Court -

12/ Is Soviet always right? Certainly not? <sup>stupid - defects & blunders</sup>  
Is Soviet idealistic, altruistic, in her foreign policy?  
- As much as <sup>most</sup> the great powers

13/ Do we have to yield to Soviet always - Certainly not  
Oppose her when in the wrong -  
Side with her when in the right  
But not when J. B. says she is right wrong!

14/ Do we have to accept <sup>Campanium</sup> ~~Campanium~~ to be on  
friendly terms with Russia? Certainly not.

They have their ideas. We have ours. <sup>They have one way of doing things - we have another.</sup>  
Their ideas are changing. - So are ours. <sup>Do not have to approach</sup>

Even Tony England has gone Socialistic - Age of change  
+ new opportunities. - World moving <sup>leftward</sup>

<sup>Changes are coming to America</sup>  
We have changed in past. <sup>Former Planned Economy</sup> <sup>Calvin Coolidge</sup> <sup>many</sup> <sup>webster</sup> <sup>called</sup> <sup>Un-American</sup>

We are not perfect. Not solved (1) Unemployment (2) Colors  
(3) Individual Rights (4) Shores (5) Jim Crowism  
(6) Antisemitism.



History will determine which system is right not 18  
on basis of ideologies — which works best for welfare  
of happenings of men.

We believe ours will meet the test — let us do our  
utmost to make it so —

But — let us not threaten or refuse internat. cooperation  
to another people which thinks otherwise.

Let us not entangle ourselves in the power politics of  
a declining old world empire — and make such  
cooperation difficult, if not impossible.

107. Will Russia encourage communistic propaganda  
in the U.S.? and elsewhere? Possibly, certainly  
if Russia comes to regard our part as def.  
in ~~day after~~ ~~allied~~ <sup>allied</sup> against her. If our relations will  
be friendly there is little to be worried about, it.  
In any event — the way to fight comm. in Amer. is not  
to org. a military or gross military & diplomatic  
alliance of Russia —

It is to make our system function smoothly —  
to keep our people employed. To keep them  
maintain a high standard, living &  
enjoy econ. security. Can. will there be  
no threat to the Amer. way, & life.



16). In 16<sup>th</sup> C. - Europe believed that Protest. Statesmen (9  
being ideolog. incompatible, could not exist side by  
side.

As a result <sup>the Treaty of</sup> Europe was drenched in blood.

17). No one wants war - <sup>Stalin says - fear reactions</sup>  
<sup>"informed" against enemies</sup>

Berlin - "I can't conceive of any circumstances in which  
Britain & Russia should go to war and I can't see  
what we have to fight about" But - alliances

America - Key position - power - of all - it  
is freest from super-entanglements.

Let it lead! All power to ~~the~~ UNO! - All

despites threatening world peace to UNO.

All power to enforce decisions to UNO!



(2) mer Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless, the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again, one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lost faith now.

#### GROWING CHALLENGE

However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world. Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth, and in the United States, where communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are somber facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy, and we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well informed about the Far East and such devoted friends of China that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the West and in the East, falls upon the world. I was a minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel the same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at this time.

On the other hand, I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable, still more that it is imminent. It is because I am so sure that our fortunes are in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have an occasion to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries.

Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them; they will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be relieved by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our danger will become. From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering these principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however,

they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

Last time I saw it all coming, and cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous, and honored today, but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool.

We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections.

Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46,000,000 in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one-half, even in wartime, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after 6 years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privations as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see seventy or eighty millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defense of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes we and you espouse. If the population of the English-speaking commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea, and in science and industry, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, or seeking to lay no arbitrary control on the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time but for a century to come.

#### U. S. S. "Arkansas"

#### SPEECH

OF

#### HON. W. F. NORRELL

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1946

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, in news releases from the Navy Department regarding the forthcoming atomic bomb tests to be carried out in the Pacific area, it was some weeks ago learned that the U. S. S. *Arkansas*, the dowager of the fleet, which has come through two world wars undamaged, would be among those vessels to be used in the test.

The U. S. S. *Arkansas*, the third ship to be so named, had her keel laid Jan-

uary 25, 1910, and was built by the New York Shipbuilding Co. at a cost of \$4,675,000 for hull and machinery. With an over-all length of 562 feet, a normal displacement of 27,900 tons, and a speed of 21 knots, she has an allowed complement of 1,057 enlisted men. She was launched January 14, 1911, having been christened by Miss Mary Louise Macon, of Helena, Ark., daughter of Representative Robert M. Macon, and commissioned on September 17, 1912, under the command of Capt. Roy C. Smith.

Principal engagements in which she has participated in her illustrious career include the intervention at Vera Cruz in April 1914; service with Division 9 in July of 1918, in which she battled submarines in the North Atlantic and was later present at the internment of the German Fleet in the Firth of Forth on November 21, 1918. She did convoy duty in the North Atlantic in 1941-42, convoy duty in North Africa in 1943, and assisted in the Allied landings off the coast of Normandy in June 1944, and at Iwo Jima in February, 1945. Her service record includes escort duty to the U. S. S. *Washington* bearing President Wilson to Brest, France, December 1918; flagship of Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, on his return from the Peace Conference; flagship of Commander Scouting Fleet for Vice Adm. Arthur L. Willard; detailed for a number of years to midshipmen of the Naval Academy on their summer cruises.

The present Chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel was an ensign on the U. S. S. *Arkansas* at the time of her commissioning. Gen. A. A. Vandegrift, Commandant of the Marine Corps, has also served aboard her.

The people of Arkansas, speaking through their Governor and members of the Arkansas delegation in Congress, desiring that the ship be given into custody of the State as a memorial, requested that the Navy Department give consideration to sparing her from the atomic tests. It was expected to sail her up the Mississippi River to Helena, or into the Arkansas River to the vicinity of Little Rock. In view of the sentiment we attached to the vessel, and speaking as chairman of our delegation in the House, I expressed the hope to the Secretary of Navy that it would be found possible to give custody of the ship to the State of Arkansas.

The Secretary replied that the Navy's choice of vessels for use in the test had been reduced to a matter of military necessity and availability, and that it was regretted that such ships as the U. S. S. *Arkansas*, which had served with distinction in our Navy for so many years, cannot be spared and exhibited as memorials. It was felt that the ship could render one last distinguished service to her Navy and country, as a result of which our armed forces would be supplied vitally needed information to be gained from the tests.

Our people are now reconciled to such use of the ship, with the realization of the necessity for the use of vessels of various sizes and strengths. We consider that the notable part which the U. S. S. *Arkansas* has played in naval annals of the United States is becomingly high-



lighted in this final role of a splendid ship.

If she survives this final test it is our hope, as the Navy has indicated, that the U. S. S. *Arkansas* may be transferred to the State for which she is named as a remembrance of a gallant lady.

### Un-American Activities

#### SPEECH OF

### HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1946

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, attacks against the Un-American Activities Committee follow the same pattern as did the attacks against the old Dies committee. It is one smear after another. The purpose being to purge out of existence a congressional committee which attempts to preserve the American form of government and the American way of life. There is, however, a ludicrous side, as evidenced recently in a Communist sheet entitled "In Fact," George Seldes, editor, the March 4, 1946, copy of which I hold in my hand. On the right-hand side of the front page, George Seldes states: "Whereas the Dies committee refused to fight fascism," and yet on the left-hand side of the same page, is an article, which states in part, and I quote:

Last February, Gen. Van Horn Moseley, who has been exposed by the Dies committee as having Fascist leanings.

George Seldes, on the masthead of *In Fact*, claims that his paper is an antidote for falsehood in the daily press. If this is so, then which of Seldes' statements is antidote and which is false?

In the same connection, it is interesting to learn something about George Seldes, editor of *In Fact*. His complete record is as follows:

George Seldes is the ace smear artist of the American Communists. Among all the so-called intellectuals or professionals who have attached themselves to the Communist movement, Seldes is unquestionably the most perfidious in his smearing.

Seldes is a journalist of sorts. In the early post-War I years he was expelled from several European countries, including Russia and Italy. From Berlin he wrote some of the most hair-raising dispatches on the Communist world plot. In those days he was as acrimonious in his ravings against the Communists as he is now acrimonious on their behalf. About 1936 George Seldes went over to the Communists—lock, stock, and barrel. In these 9 years he has been affiliated with scores of Communist enterprises. He easily ranks as one of the country's leading Communists, as this rather exhaustive account of his Communist activities and connections will attempt to show.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born: Seldes was a sponsor of

this auxiliary of the Communist Party in 1941.

American Committee to Save Refugees: Seldes was a sponsor of this Communist enterprise in October 1941.

American Council on Soviet Relations: Seldes signed a manifesto urging an American declaration of war on Finland under the auspices of this Corliss Lamont-headed Communist-front organization.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy: In 1937 this outfit was one of the Communist Party's auxiliaries for Spain. Seldes was among those affiliated with the organization.

American Investor's Union: In 1939, George Seldes was a member of the board of directors of this Communist organization. The organization sprang from the efforts of Bernard J. Reis and Consumers Union to harass business enterprise.

American Peace Mobilization: Seldes was a member of the national council of the American Peace Mobilization, the seditious Communist front organization which expressed the party line in the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Artists' Front To Win the War: In the days of the American Peace Mobilization, the Communists were bitterly isolationist—George Seldes included. Stalin was not then involved in the war. After Hitler's invasion of Russia, many of the same American Communists and Communist fellow travelers expressed their new line in a front which was known as the Artists' Front to Win the War. George Seldes was a sponsor of this latter organization, and was among those Communists who used this set-up to scream for a second front.

Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges: Seldes was a member of this obviously Communist front. Virginia Gardner, now Washington representative of the New Masses and Daily Worker, was its executive secretary.

Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War: This was another of the Communist fronts which operated during the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Seldes was in this, too.

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America: This Communist gathering was held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940, in the middle of the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Seldes, the ever-present Communist sponsor, was among its supporters.

Consumers Union: This Communist front, headed by Arthur Kallet, whose party name was "Edward Adams," had Seldes as one of its original sponsors—1936.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo: This committee was a subsidiary of North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and included George Seldes as one of its sponsors.

Emergency Peace Mobilization: Seldes sponsored this parent of the American Peace Mobilization, chief Communist front of the Stalin-Hitler friendship era.

Equality: This was a Communist-line magazine which appeared in 1939-40 and to which George Seldes was a contributor.

Frontier Films: This organization was one of the many Communist excursions

into the film field. George Seldes was a member of its advisory board.

Friday: This was another of the Communist-line periodicals which came and went. George Seldes was one of its endorers.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade was composed of at least 60 percent Communist Party members, according to the testimony of Earl Browder. George Seldes was among those who were affiliated with the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

League of American Writers: Attorney General Francis Biddle described this organization as subversive. Seldes was one of the signers of the call to its fourth congress.

National Committee for People's Rights: George Seldes was a member of this Communist-front organization which Attorney General Biddle described as subversive.

National Emergency Conference: Seldes was among the signers of the call to this conference. It was a Communist gathering which met on May 13, 1939.

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights: This Communist-front organization was the direct successor to the American League for Peace and Democracy (which dissolved in February 1940). George Seldes was a member of its board of sponsors.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties: One of the most important of all the Communist-front organizations of recent years. Seldes was affiliated with it in the defense of Communist Party leader Sam Darcy—real name Dardeck.

New Masses letter to the President: This was one of the rankest of defenses for the illegal and subversive activities of the Communists during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Seldes was a signer of the letter.

New York Peace Association: Early in 1940 the Communists organized numerous local groups to express the party line of isolationism in keeping with the Stalin-Hitler pact. The New York Peace Association was one such group. Seldes was one of its sponsors.

Open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union: In September 1939 a group of outstanding Communists and Communist fellow travelers issued this open letter. George Seldes was among the signers.

Soviet Russia Today: Among the contributors to this organ of Communist propaganda was George Seldes—November 1938, page 9.

Spanish defense committees: Seldes was one of the supporters of the Campaign to Aid International Volunteers, a Communist front to support the Loyalist cause in Spain.

Statement by American progressives on the Moscow trials: Stooges of the American Communists signed this statement, among them being George Seldes.

United American Spanish Aid Committee: Seldes was on the executive board of this Communist front.

United States Week: A Communist-line magazine of which Seldes was a contributing editor.