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The Role of American in the World Today, 1946.

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THE ROLE OF AMERICA IN THE WORLD TODAY

Are we leading towards peace? Are we heading for war?
The implications of the Byrnes--Wallace--Baruch controversy.

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, October 20, 1946

The night before last our Secretary of State, Byrnes, on his return from Paris, reported on the deliberations which took place at the Paris Conference. Among other things he stated that "what disturbed him most was the continued if not increasing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Just about a months ago, Secretary of Commerce, Wallace, was forced to resign his post in the Cabinet because of a speech of his delivered in the City of New York and because of an earlier letter which he had written to the President of the United States interpreted as sharp criticism of policies towards the Soviet Union pursued by Secretary of State, Byrnes. As you will recall great political commotion ensued both here and abroad. For months now the bitterest kind of wrangling back-biting, recriminations had taken place between our representatives in Paris at the United Nations and the Soviet Union.

Now, what's wrong? We were closely allied in the Second World War and the war is just one year passed. We found it possible to cooperation in war with the Soviet Union and to fight a common enemy. Neither of us could have won the war without the other. The Soviet Union was helpless without our ten billion dollar lend lease, and the United States and Great Britain were helpless without the Soviet Union's 430 divisions pinning down and destroying more than 200 Nazi divisions in the East without which our invasion of Europe, the invasion of Normandy would have been impossible. In this common war effort in which the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, the Soviet Union sacrificed in terms of war casualties ten times more than the combined number of war casualties suffered by Great Britain and the United States. Now Russia's communism, its atheism, its undemocratic way of life did not prevent our loyal working together to achieve a common victory. You will recall that all we regarded as worthy of condemnation in the Soviet Union was quite well known to us in 1941 when we allied ourselves with Russia in a common destiny where victory meant survival for both, and defeat the destruction of both of us. No one will suggest that that alliance was based on the approval of each other's

systems of government. The differences, the radical differences were fully understood and known for many years. Nevertheless they found it quite possible to find a strong basis of cooperation to strive for common objectives.

Now a number of conferences were held during the war and after the war between us and the Soviet Union and Great Britain. One was held at Potsdam as late as July, 1945, three months after the war ended in Europe. It was attended by Truman, Stalin, Churchill and Attlee. At that conference far-reaching decisions touching the matter of peace treaties, the United Nations and many other subjects were discussed. From that conference emanated a report signed jointly and seemingly there was great cordiality between these three great powers. I am quoting: "President Truman, Generalissimo Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee leave the Conference, which has strengthened the ties between the three governments and extended the scope of their collaboration and understanding, with renewed confidence that their governments and peoples, together with the other United Nations, will insure the creation of a just and enduring peace." That was in July, 1945.

What happened since to bring about this marked deterioration in our relationship that people here and abroad have begun to talk about war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Of course the making of peace is essentially more difficult than the making of war. Secretary Byrnes was quite correct when he said: "After every great war the victorious allies have found it difficult to adjust their differences in the making of peace." And he quoted President Roosevelt: "The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious of differences among the Allies." This is very true. But I am afraid that that is not the entire story. It does not explain many things. It does not explain, for example, why just two months after this Potsdam Conference, the Conference of Foreign Ministers, representing these same governments, meeting in London in September, 1945, resulted in a complete fiasco -- days and weeks of the most acrimonious charges and counter-

charges which ended in nothing. Nor does it explain who after that -- in December, 1945 at a meeting in Moscow, attended by Mr. Bevin, Molotov, Attlee, a far different spirit prevailed -- one of marked cordiality and good will. Nor does it explain why all subsequent conferences after the Moscow Conference again reverted to this mood of bitter antagonism, suspicion. And one may make his own interpretation of what transpired. My own feeling is that to the London Conference our representatives came very unprepared, and being unprepared, they followed the line of Great Britain which is always prepared. That gave the Russians the impression that a block was organized against them. So they reacted violently. In Moscow, our representatives having learned the sad lesson of London, followed a line of its own, an independent American line which would be the pro-Russian, Pro-British line, as a result of which it was impossible to come to an amicable agreement.

Russia and Great Britain have many points of conflict. Their empires clash at many points. That has been so for many many years and decades. The United States and Russia have no point of conflict. Our territories and territorial boundaries do not clash at any point. For 160 years there has been no trouble between the United States and Russia, so that logically, quite properly the role of the United States in the world today was almost marked out by destiny as the role of friendly mediator between these two empires which had so many points of difference between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. And the United States could have and can play a very helpful role in adjusting the differences between these two empires, but such a role is greatly displeasing to the British. In fact they denounced it as immoral. That would take the decisive diplomatic role of Great Britain away and puts it in the hands of the United States. Great Britain could not see that. In times of crises she would have at all times the automatic backing of the State Department and the United States and to have the United States acting independently with all the authority of her vast strong resources and prestige would be to reduce Great Britain to the role of second-rate power in the world -- that would never do. Their problem

was how to avert it. It was a simple device resorted to after the last war. It was to revive the red scare, to raise the cry again that the Soviet Union was out to conquer the world, to say again that there have ^{been} in the world two irreconcilable systems struggling against each other — capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. The Anglo-Saxon represents the democratic pattern in the world and the Soviet Union ~~the~~ dictatorial communism in the world. Therefore the Anglo-Saxon countries must stand solidly together in defense of their system. Therefore, the United States — that is the implication of course — must back up Great Britain in every issue else the Anglo-Saxon front is weakened and the Russian menace is increased. Wherever Great Britain's interests are involved — in Iraq, Greece, Italy, Egypt, the Near East — it makes no difference — the United States must automatically rush to the defense of Great Britain, right or wrong. Because of larger objectives — defending the Anglo-Saxons against Russian communism, millions of dollars must be loaned to Great Britain to save her way of life regardless of whether Great Britain does violence to our way of life in other parts of the world. You will recall that was exactly the line which was adopted by Hitler and the Nazis in its propaganda to establish itself in power and compel democracies to back them up against the menace of Russian communism. It was the very same thing that was used after the first war, and successfully for them. We collaborated then to establish a cordon solidaire around the Soviet Union, even in a military way to help defeat Bolshevism after the war.

And so, early this year, an amazing propaganda was stimulated in our country by many forces culminating in the famous speech of Churchill at Fulton in March of this year — to "arm and unite against Russia." (would be wonderful if the United States would underwrite the British Empire. He warned world of menace of Soviet Union. Coined famous phrase "iron curtain" between the Soviet Union and other peoples.... to all intents and purposes a military alliance between the United States and Great Britain — to defend themselves against a common potential enemy — the Soviet Union.)

Many in the United States were eager to receive that message and applauded it. They were anxious to gang up on Russia. And our State Department, I am afraid — and here again I give my own personal opinion,—accepted this line and proceeded to carry on our American Foreign policy along that line...Great Britain having succeeded in maneuvering us in a role which is imperially theirs, and having involved us in a bitter feud with it, thus fighting England's diplomatic battles for England, Great Britain is today graciously offering herself as the mediator between the United States and the Soviet Union.

All the fighting is done by Mr. Byrnes. Great Britain's representatives sit down and help along, at times even deprecating our extremism and vehemence...

President Roosevelt understood fully the importance of Russia to the future of world organization and peace, and he was determined not to permit Great Britain's interests to interfere with winning Russia's fullest collaboration. Mr. Sumner Welles was not only Under-Secretary of State during the period of the Administration of Roosevelt, but one of the greatest friends, writes in his latest book, "Where Are We Heading?" He says: "To Franklin Roosevelt a firm agreement with the Soviet Union was the indispensable foundation for peace ~~in~~ in the future. He never feared differences with Great Britain. Differences between the two English-speaking countries would inevitably arise from time to time, but he realized that these would from now on be only superficial."

"The relations between the United States and the Soviet Union he regarded as in a wholly different category. In the narrower sense, neither country depended upon the other. But in the wider sense he saw that each could achieve security only if it had the co-operation of the other. He told me in one of the final talks I had with him that he believed that Stalin saw this fact as clearly as he did himself. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States could be safe unless each was confident that there was no reason for it to defend itself against the other. Each could prosper only if it could live in a safe and prosperous world. Each could progress only if the community of nations witnessed a universal rise in living ~~stand~~ standards."

Franklin saw no need to fear Communism if an international organization existed. To him it need be feared as a disruptive force only if the world were divided into two armed camps, one headed by the Soviet Union and the other by the English-speaking powers."

And his son writes some memoirs of a conversation which he had with his distinguished father. Elliot Roosevelt in his recent book says: "The biggest thing, Roosevelt said, "was in making clear to Stalin that the United States and Great Britain were not aligned in one common bloc against the Soviet Union. I think we've got rid of that idea, once and for all. I hope so. The one thing that could upset the applecart, after the war is if the world is divided again, Russia against England and us."

That, I am afraid is exactly what the State Department has consciously or unconsciously achieved during the past year with the consequent results that there has been considerable suspicion on the part of Russia on all matters great and small. When you add to this major fact this agreement, so to speak between Great Britain and the United States and add to this fact other facts: namely the United States controls the Atom Bomb, that the United States is still manufacturing the atom bomb, is allowing further experimentation ^{of} ~~to~~ the atom bomb -- all this gives evidence that the United States is now thinking in terms of a third world war. When you add an appropriation of 13 thousand million dollars for Army and Navy, ten times as great as was the budget of the army and navy during the war, when you add military bases in half of the world, you can understand why Russia is suspicious, resentful, uncooperative. This is what was ^{the} in mind of the then secretary Wallace when he spoke at Madison Square Gardens and wrote to President R. Truman in a letter.

Now Mr. Wallace's position both in his speech and letter could be criticised. There is the question of whether he should have made this speech as a member of the Cabinet who was not charged with Foreign policy issues. Byrnes was. No Secretary but Byrnes should have attempted to do that. ..Partisan issue -- as if The Republicans

were responsible for following anti-Soviet line while ... He was wrong on his understanding of the report which was presented to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and the "veto" question involved. Mr. Baruch was correct in setting a rather peevish Wallace straight on his misinterpretation. Wallace did not accept the correction very graciously. He was particularly wrong when he said "We have no business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe and the United States. What took place in Eastern Europe forced the United States into the world war. There isn't a part of the world today where we are ^{more} immune politically than in any other. But fundamentally he was right. We were trying to bring about peace by getting tough with Russia and by following a pro-British line instead of a pro-American line. This is the heart of the statement:

"In this connection, I want one thing clearly understood," he said. "I am neither anti-British nor pro-British, neither anti-Russia nor pro-Russian. And just two days ago, when President Truman read these words, he said that they represented the policy of his Administration." Thus, if he was wrong, Truman was wrong. "Secretary Wallace declared that we must not let our policy toward Russia be influenced by those inside or outside the United States who want war with Russia, but that this did not mean appeasement."

"We most earnestly want peace with Russia," he continued, "but we want to be met half way. We want cooperation. And I believe we can get that cooperation once Russia understands that our primary objective is neither saving the British Empire nor purchasing oil in the Near East with the lives of American soldiers. We must not allow national oil rivalries to force us into war."

"The real peace treaty we now need is between the United States and Russia. On our part, we should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe and the United States."

I have quoted the heart of this statement of Wallace calling for an independent American Foreign Policy. All this is not to say, of course that Russia is altogether

blameless for the dangerous diplomatic situation which has arisen between the Western powers, Russia and the United States. Russia has been amazingly secretive on issues which she might very graciously have accepted. Too often it has been "my way" or veto -- not at all. A good deal of this of course is the fear of being out-manuevered. A good deal is due to hardness not tempered by years of friendly negotiations with the outside world. She was an outcast until quite recently. Something is due to her intoxication with her new found power of victory, her pride.

Russia has not lived up to all the commitments of the Soviet Union. The liberated countries presently occupied by her armies have regimes not always elected by the fairest of democratic procedures. Coercion and intimidation and false propaganda are not unknown or infrequent.

The Soviet Union has not convinced her former allies that she does not intend to foster communist revolutions in Europe by methods fair or foul and elsewhere. Some of the talk which emanates ~~is~~ for home consumption but has a way of reaching and frightening other peoples who are satisfied or reconciled to let Russia have her communism, but who do not wish Russia's communist infiltration in their own borders.

In all these matters Russia is in the wrong. It is not necessary nor is it wise to placate or appease Russia. It is not necessary. It should be remembered that Russia is in no position to wage war, nor does she wish to, any more than we do. Russia came out of the world war ravaged, her farms stripped, her factories manufacturing the barest necessities. At the moment she is far behind both Great Britain and the United States ~~technologically~~ technologically. Her people are mostly subsisting on the barest necessities of life. Russia is confronted for decades to come with the problem of reconstruction, of rebuilding. We have nothing to fear by way of war from Russia. Our attitude toward ^{Russia} therefore should be not to get tough, or to be soft, but just and friendly. We should be independent in our political judgments. What we are striving for is one world not two worlds but the cooperation of all people, not the cooperation of one group allied against another. The world of tomorrow must not

be ruled by Anglo-Saxons, nor by slavs, nor by Latins, nor by ^{or}/ientals, nor by occidentals, but by a United Nations. It means the end of isolation in the United States. We mean by that not cooperation alone with the British Empire. We mean cooperation with the United Nations, with the whole world. We are not leaving one form of isolation to enter ⁱⁿ/to another form of isolation. Our whole weight should be put in the United Nations, not into 10 Downing Street....

We have to live in this world in which already three major economic systems exist -- the capitalistic system represented at the moment by our own country, the semi-socialistic state -- England and the State socialistic or communistic state as represented by Russia. There will be other variations in the world. Anyone who thinks it possible to live in a world in which competitive economic blocs are re-enforced by ~~politic~~ political blocs is naive. We must work for a modus vivendi of these various systems, how to trade with one another, how to live with one another. Attempts to organize blocs is economic suicide.

That is the surest guarantee for stability and success of our economic and political system -- to make it work, function smoothly, produce maximally and provide security for our working population. Prosperity will never endanger our system. Depression may, unemployment, disillusion of our people may when exploited by gangster demagogues of the Right or Left. It is prosperity and employment which liquidate communism. Depressions are very well known to us here. We have much to set straight in our own household....

Resistance to Soviet expansion is not as Reinhold Niehbur seems to think the only real hope of peace. Peace in the world, democracy in the world will only destroy communism, nor is peace to be achieved in the world merely through the economic revival and rehabilitation of German economy....

Peace to be attained in this atomic age must be done through thinking globally in terms of one world one world organization in which there will be room for friendly political systems and friendly economic concetions. Unless we can begin to think in those terms, unless we take this global view, we will be doomed. And this task in

which there is nothing greater and more imperative in my judgment is that the United States Government, the American people shall work for attainment of that goal - one world -- that is our mission. That is our task.



1) Night before last - Seizure of State By-laws - Conf. of Paris -

"What disturbed him most was the continued if not increasing tension bet. the U.S. and the Soviet Union"

Just about a month ago, Seizure of Commerce, Henry A. Wallace, was forced to resign over - interpreted as sharp criticism - and great pol. commotions ensued both here & abroad. For months now the bitterest kind of warring, back-biting has taken place bet. Paris - U.S. -

2) What's Wrong? We were allies in 2nd World War - and the war ended just ~~15 months~~ ^{over one year} ago.

We found it possible to cooperate in war - to fight a common enemy. We then could have won the war without the other. Soviet help without our 10 h. lend lease.

+ destroyed V.S. help without Russian 430 divisions fighting to down Nazi divisions in the East, and snatching the prize to invade Germany and overrun to the coast of Germany. Russian conscience, to a certain its understand way of life did not prevent our loyal working - together to achieve a common victory. All that we regard as deserving of condemnation in the Soviet system was just well known to us in 1941 - when we allied ourselves with the Soviet Union in a common destiny where victory meant survival for both - & defeat the destruction of both. Soviet Union had been in existence since 1918 - they will do that alliance was based on a mutual interest approval of each other's systems and ideologies. Diff. fully known. Nevertheless - quite possible - to find a way basis for cooperation, & plans for common objectives.

Just a mo. ago Conference was held - ~~at~~ Potsdam as late

as July 1945 - 3 mos. after War ended in Europe
Tr - Stalin - Churchill - Attlee - important decisions
+ agreements reached - touching the matter of peace treaties, the U.N.

"Pres. Truman, Generalissimo Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee
leave this Conference, which has strengthened the ties bet. the 3 govts
and extended the scope, their collaboration and understanding,
with renewed confidence that their govts and peoples, together
with the other United Nations, will insure the creation of a just
and enduring peace."

3) What happened since to bring abt the mental deterioration in U.S.-
relations? So bad - task of war - frequently heard -
of course - the making of peace is as diff. as the making of war -
Byrnes is entirely correct: "after every great war the victorious
allies have found it difficult to adjust their differences in the
making of peace" - quoted Roosevelt: "the nearer we come to lan-
guishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious
of differences among the allies"

But I am afraid that that is not the entire story: It does
not explain - Council of Foreign Ministers - (London) Sep 1945 -
- better agreement, the shouting & his all - & ended in nothing.
= The improved mood which prevailed at the latter Conf. Byrnes -
Molotov & Khrushchev in (Moscow, Dec. 1945)
- In light of ^{not having a clear} following Br. lead - ^{Winston} ^{Blair} ^{for} Moscow, asserted
in def. line - distorted to Br. -

4) Russian vs. B. interests clash - at many points
" & U.S. do not even have - 160 yrs -

The proper role for U.S. - friendly mediator -

Displeased British - Immoral - Intrusion & decision to

U.S. - Br. Empire no longer ^{could} ~~can~~ pressure to demand

the same, confident that in all crises, which her diplomacy might ~~not~~ bring about - she will have backing of U.S. - In fact

Downing ~~that~~ ^{that} could carry on in ~~war~~ with in it our

name of that [S.D.] U.S.

To have U.S. act independently - with all the authority, her

vast strength - resources - prestige - Egy - 6th rate power

This would never do! - How to avert it? ^{corporate sanction} ~~Interference~~

Previous Red Scare! - ^{Same as after last war} ~~Scare~~ out to conquer world.

Unless Anglo-Saxons would unite in force - divided!

- 2. Inevitable ^{in this connection - capital} ~~in this connection~~ in every crisis -

U.S. must back up Great B. in every crisis -

Take lead

← else Anglo-Saxon front is weakened & the

German menace is increased. Whenever Br. interests

are involved - Iran - Greece - Turkey - Trieste -

Italy, Egypt, ^{the Middle East} ~~a Palestine~~ . U.S. must authoritatively

rush to S.B. defense -

Billions, dollars - loaned - "to save our way, ^{by} ~~the~~

regardless of how S.B. does violence - to run

"way, ^{by} ~~the~~" in other parts, ^{parallel} ~~parallel~~.

9/. You will recall that the Nazis used same propaganda.

5). An amazing propaganda was stimulated in our country (4) in early months of 1946 - culminating in the famous speech, Churchill at Fulton - in March - Pres. Tr. - "Iron Curtain" - "arm and unite against Russia" - Iron Curtain "to liquidate the Empire" - Irish

Many in U.S. eager for this "gang up" on Russia.

6) Having succeeded in pushing us into the role, the ~~natural~~ ^{natural} antagonist, the Russia - a role which is imperially thrust and having involved us in a bitter feud with it, then fighting England's diplomatic battles for England - England is now peacefully offering ~~help~~ ^{help} as the "mediator" bet. the U.S. & Russia.

Fighting is done by Byrnes. - but by and by along. at times even deprecating our extremities and vehemence.

Labour Party - sends delegates to Moscow

7). Pres. R. understood in fact that Russia to hold on and peace - Determined not to permit Br. imperial interests to interfere with winning R's full collaboration. (Waller - "Where are we heading?" - (p 36-7))

8). Byrnes has since his return from Moscow followed up the line, Fulton, Mo. with the consequent

~~but~~ resentful suspicion on all matters large or small (5)
 Russia. (1) Add to this that U.I. continued at 13.14 in Feb. 1947 (2) Press-Times Committee
 9/ Halber - in his July 23 letter to Pres. Tr. - expressed the
 deep concern, many have - at this unfortunate trend
 in our foreign policy. True also of his speech in Madison

Garden on Sep. 12.

(a) There is ground for criticism - on several scores. Justified
 when as a member, Cabinet, not charged -

(b) Partisan issue - as if (Roosevelt) were responsible
 for the anti-Soviet line which Sec. Acheson followed

(c) Wrong on his understanding of the report which
 was forwarded to the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission
 and the "Veto" question involved. Mr. Bernell
 was correct in setting a rather peevish Halber
 straight on his misinterpretation

10/ But fundamentally he was right. We have no business in the first affairs of East Eur. & Russia
 about ~~press~~ by setting tough with Russia - and by
 following a pro-British line, instead of an Amer. line

(Inate - also Peifer).

11) Is Russia altogether lawless in the ^{dangerous} diplo. situation.
 Not at all!
 She has been considerably intransigent. ^{significant & serious} issues on

(6)

and false prophecies

by methods for a part
and elsewhere

It is not all covered, by any means.

plants

Factors

system called for recent things

13/ Not tough - a soft - Just and Friendly. (7)

— Above all independent - in our pol. judgments.

— Strong for the world - Not Two!

— Anglo-Saxon must not rule. her hand - her nation - her

Mental her occidental - but United Nations

End 7 brother - Europe - in U.N. does not mean conf. with U.S. (with U.S.)

14/ ^{own} Weight put there! but in 10 Downing Street

— let it not languish to death - League - no influence taken

no confidence - vital decisions made by 3-4 by passing

15/ As rapidly as possible - power transferred - but Atomic Energy

— cap. future - semi-socialist - state ^{can argue for} socialism - Variation

— Must work out under U.N. - How to deal with each other

— To org. ^{by these} competition Econ blocs, reinforced by pol. blocs

is suicidal.

16/ Surest guarantee for stability + success of our ^{econ. & pol} system
is to make it work - function smoothly, produce max. wealth
and provide security for our working population.

— Prop. will not work as system. Depression & Unemployment
and disillusion in it - when exploited by fascist demagogues

— Even in war-ravaged West-Europe - under most unfavorable
conditions, Comm failed to win over the liberal post-war in
elections - even in Germany.

— Prop. + employment liquidates communism. History favors it.

— We have much to set straight in our own house.

— Racial Intol - Employment Discrim - Poverty & Depression.

- 17) Resistance to Soviet expansion is not, as Reinhold Niebuhr ¹⁸
seems to think - the only real hope of peace - Nazi-Soviet Pact
- No is the econ. ^{revival} rehabilitation & primary the way to check it.
- recruitment farm. industry -
→ Niebuhr, writes off U.R. as ineffective to prevent war
- "Strategic farmers & econ. reconstruction"

- 18) A new orientation - a global view - a new world view -
center of gravity in world org.

Amer. must lead -



TELEGRAMS - LONG DISTANCE

Date	Sent By	To	Type	Charge to
5-25-46	Rabbi Silver	Phila. Pa. Judge Levinthal	Telegram	Ran. 0822
"	"	New York I. Rozovsky	"	"
"	"	New York Dr. Stephen S. Wise	"	"
5-27-46	"	New York - Columbus 5-4384 Edward A. Norman	L.D.	"
5-31-46	"	Mr. Shapiro New York-Murryhill 2-1160	"	"
5-31-46	"	Mr. Landau New York-Murryhill 3-2641	"	"
6-3-46	"	Mr. Charles Ress Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	"	"
6-19-46	"	Emanuel Neumann New York-Murryhill 20694	"	"
6-19-46	"	Geller, Kirshblum, Zambrowski New York	Telegram	"
6-20-46	"	Prof. Chaim Fineman New York	"	"
6-20-46	"	Paul G. Gaiser Dayton, Ohio	"	"
6-22-46	"	Louis Lipsky Asbury Park, N.J.	"	"
9-5-46	"	Mr. Shapiro New York	"	"
9-18-46	"	David R. Wahl N.Y. (Mu 2-7197)	L.D.	"
9-18-46	"	David R. Wahl New York	Telegram	"
9-18-46	"	Emanuel Neumann N.Y. (Mu 2-0694)	L.D.	"
9-19-46	"	Mu-2 0694 Emanuel Neumann	L.D.	"
9-21-46	"	Emanuel Neumann N.Y. (Academy 2-2561)	L.D.	"
9-24-46	"	Emanuel Neumann N. Y.	Tele.	"
9-24-46	"	Staff, ZOA N.Y.	Tele.	"
9-24-46	"	Staff, AZEC N.Y.	Tele.	"
9-25-46	"	Emanuel Neumann New York, N. Y.	L.D.	"
9-25-46	"	Mr. + Mrs. Dewey Stone Brockton, Mass.	Self.	"

TELEGRAMS - LONG DISTANCE

Date	Sent By	To	Type	Charge to
10-4-46	Rabbi Silver	Washington Robt. R. Nathan	Telegram	Ran. 0822
10-7-46	"	Detroit, Mich. Senator Taft	"	" "
10-7-46	"	Detroit, Mich. Senator Taft	"	" "
10-7-46	"	New York, N. Y. Louis Segal	"	" "
10-7-46	"	New York, N. Y. Bernard Rosenblatt	"	" "
10-7-46	"	Brooklyn, N. Y. Rabbi Max Kirshblum	"	" "
10-18-46	"	Omaha, Nebr. Henry Monsky	L.D.	" "
10-18-46	"	Portsmouth, N.H. Benjamin A. Tober	Telegram	" "
10-18-46	"	St. Louis, Mo. Rabbi Isserman	"	" "
10-18-46	"	New York, N. Y. Bernard Baruch	"	" "



Be to us, O. God, the guiding light of this day,
that our minds may be clear with wisdom
and truth and our hearts underguided with
zeal, hope and joy. Keep all our motives loving
and kind, our methods gracious and strong,
and our goals righteous and true. Make us
aware of our obligations to our people, our country,
our fellowmen and to Thee. Teach us to hallow
each task we perform and as we begin this year
of study and devotion to our heritage, help us
to grow towards the best we can be.

of the violations. Mr. ed, while another was practice of holding union during normal working and preventing employees to their duties. ff awarded no damages e, holding that the com- reserved its right to damage issue at some e. The arbitrator's deci- pt cover the question of job classifications, on ings will be resumed by starting Monday. It with the store's allega- the union, by its actions, d the contract. ff held that the store's about appointment of a egey committee, refusal ertime, and distribution re to the public by id not constitute a viola- contract. as no comment by the

Gets Credit Currency Ring

ments were made for service agent to pick up Soroka's home, 3 West , and they were brought Newark in a carton by cording to U. E. Baugh- supervisor of the New t Service office. Mr. ted that the \$7,700 pur- was "a little too dan- carry around, and per- pair to accompany him for the pay-off. nt shop at 65 Orange ark, agents found a the back of a \$20 bill, of nine counterfeit ra- s. The recovered bills to represent practi- ire output of the plant, e \$20 bill was taken by r Tuesday in addition ased at the bank. ed Giarruso were held bail each by United missioner Garrett W. a hearing on Oct. 3 on uttering and passing Larkin and Pater- pected to be arraigned

Gives 3 Reasons for Call

Senator Pepper asserted that there should be a special session of Congress for at least three domestic reasons—to reinstate controls over prices and materials and prevent the depression that stock manipulators see around the corner, to provide housing for which veterans and citizens are clamoring and to begin at once the unfinished business of the Roosevelt Economic Bill of Rights.

"And finally, we need a special session now for a complete and full dress rehearsal of our blundering foreign policy," Senator Pepper continued. "We do not want well prepared official speeches 'explaining' our foreign policy. We want action and a cross examination of just what has been going on behind the scenes in the billion dollar banks and, yes, even in the secret meetings at Paris.

"The people are uneasy. They want to know now. They want to know why armed American forces become a symbol of royalty and reaction in the skies over Europe and Asia. They want to know why American diplomacy orders an American fleet to pull the British chestnuts out of the fire in Palestine, in the Bosphorus and in the Suez Canal at the grave risk of shattering the peace.

"For the people not only want prosperity but peace. It is the people's sons and daughters who die. In the next atomic bomb, rocket war, it would be the people themselves who would be blasted from their homes and businesses, strangled by gas or writhing in the agony of atomic virus. It is the people who will pay for this war with Russia that the Roosevelt haters as well as the Russia haters are trying to get us into."

Senator Pepper declared that, if the people turned out the Democratic Administration and put the Republican reactionaries wholly in power in Congress and in the White House, they would get us into a war with Russia.

"They don't believe in the Good Neighbor Policy of Roosevelt," he said. "Harding and Coolidge and Hoover believed, as did William McKinley, in American imperialism. They practiced dollar diplomacy. They put the dollar mark on the American flag in the countries of South America where they used American Marines as the col-

going, appeasing the imperialists in the Republican party, there can be no end but war. There can be no alternative but the division of the world into two armed camps, one headed by the Soviet Union and the other by the United States, which will rob us of our riches and eventually devastate our earth."

The Florida Senator declared that the American people were determined to do their part in keeping the world's peace and, unless their leaders betrayed them, would never go back to isolationism, but wanted America to be the bridge that will make unity possible between the British and between the other competing powers of the world.

"They want us to give Britain her due," Senator Pepper said. "But they also want us to give Russia her due. They know that we and the British have no right to tell Russia that she can't defend the Dardanelles, for the Dardanelles are a lot closer to the homeland of Russia than the Suez is to Britain or the Panama Canal is to the United States."

Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, warned that in its campaign to defeat Governor Dewey and elect a progressive Congress the CIO-PAC and its associated organizations faced a difficult task with the forces of reaction mobilized and "on the rampage." He charged Governor Dewey with seeking to arouse prejudice to gain votes, declaring that the Governor had called Henry Epstein, nominee for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, an ally of Communists, for that reason.

Paul Robeson denounced the lynching of Negroes in the South, attacked Governor Dewey for giving the "green light" to terrorism by refusing to reopen the case involving the killing of two Negro veterans in Fresno and attacked Great Britain for helping to crush the people's struggles toward democracy, freedom and independence in China, Greece, Palestine and other places.

Florence Eldridge March urged women to register and vote, to study the records of their representatives in Congress and not to limit their thinking to the narrow confines of nationalism, but to look beyond our borders, knowing the fate of one man is the fate of all.

The "strike" protest against Public School Avenue and 10 Queens, continuing their parents' strike to attend other Corona to which they

In the meantime, man, associated change of the j issued a statement reasons for the necessity for ma 16 a junior high Overcrowded co made it impera mentary school served by Public distributed wher for their welfare

"Some parents about the cross traffic highways only street that amount of traf Avenue. In no thus transferred cross this avenue Wade, the Su Schools, as a fun relief has promise portation will be dren who must distance to reach

A twelve-men from the protesting will confer with morning in an a some solution to t

Found Guilty

Harry Landin, 3 found guilty by a jury yesterday with three others on Feb. 8, 1935, of tional Bank at Judge J. Waties V sentencing until too Benjamin Lieberm Shore, were arres the crime and wen prison terms of thirty-five years. A States Attorney Joh that the fourth part robbery, Martin Den at large.

For new scenes—join States Marines. Appl son Avenue.

ts embodying more substantial proposals by the truck operators. Mayor. to have consist- respect the rec- their elected on a suggestion chief economist al union, that made for emer- of newsprint to newspapers from publication. 16 held no mem- out their leaders engaged in the and medicine to O'Rourke, secre- Local 282, re- od trucks began y afternoon for and for a num- sale grocers, thus rcity of canned ples in stores etropolitan area. in T. Lacey, sec- of Local 816, em- mbers of their lo- the general truck- all on strike.

ies Exempted e it clear that its d in the delivery ical supplies were pite the strike. orders from Dan- sident of the par- g bands of pickets rning back trucks ers of other locals d New Jersey, dis- activities almost ay. The police re- pickets had been ain thoroughfares thern New Jersey, red cases of inter- countered in West- and South Jersey. val of the picket ed with Mr. Tobin's at non-striking lo- their contracts, per- hauling building sup- thing and foods of ve freely here.

ck Still Dark here was no com- ong city officials or aders about the out- a prompt settlement d in the general truck- e here. Hundreds of

ing tens of thousands of additional workers into joblessness and increasing the pressure on the food supply.

The City Hall negotiations got under way shortly after 7 P. M., although the Mayor had originally scheduled the conference to begin an hour earlier. Assisted by Edward C. Maguire, his labor adviser, and Frederick H. Bullen, executive secretary of the State Mediation Board, the Mayor met first with committees representing the three striking unions. Michael J. Cashal, first international vice president, and Mr. Kaplan sat in for the parent union.

The joint wage scale committee representing the three principal employer associations, the Motor Carrier Association, the State Motor Truck Association and the Master Truckmen's Association met separately in an upstairs conference room. At 8:37 P. M. the employers and the union representatives got together for the first time.

The strikers have asked for a 30 per cent increase in weekly wages, a reduction in weekly working hours from forty-four to forty, increased vacations and other concessions, which would add 47 per cent to their over-all earnings. A proposal by the Mayor that wages be raised 18½ cents an hour and working hours be cut to forty has been rejected by both the employers and the membership of Local 807. The only offer made by the employers has been a wage increase of \$3 a week, or about 6½ cents an hour.

Compromise Indicated

Strong indications that the strikers were prepared to accept a compromise wage offer if the employers would exceed the proposal recommended by the Mayor were given at the Local 807 membership meeting. The suggestion that was greeted with greatest favor, although it was never put to a formal vote, was that the old base pay for forty-four hours be retained for forty hours and that 18½ cents an hour be added to this. This would mean that the driver on a trailer-truck who formerly received \$64 for forty-four hours would now receive \$71.40 for forty hours.

The Manhattan Center strike meeting was so stormy that John E. Strong, president of Local 807,

shortage will endanger the lives or health of their children or families.

"I now renew my demand that Local 807 immediately make arrangements to have the delivery of these commodities guaranteed to the people. It is your duty as members of organized labor and as our neighbors to meet this responsibility to the public. There is no reason why this cannot be done, pending wage negotiations. As Mayor of the City of New York I call upon you to cooperate."

Striking Driver Finds Trucking Easy Compared With Doing Chores Around

Joseph William Kennedy, truck driver and father of five, admitted yesterday he has worked harder than ever since he's been out on strike, tending his Chelsea backyard garden at 359 West Twenty-second Street. Not only has he repaired the stones in the flagstone walks, the white trellises and the water pipe feeding the stone fountain, but he has pruned the rose and rhododendron leaves and tended the chrysanthemums, asters and hydrangeas. He has also put the finishing touches on his newly made insulated greenhouse, filled with plants and fishbowls.

Mr. Kennedy comes by his gardening honestly. His father, the late William Kennedy, had charge of the Central Park Conservatory at 106th Street for twelve years. The son nearly followed in his footsteps. At 14 a deputy park commissioner gave him a job pruning roses. But when a Department of Parks timekeeper found out his age he said, "Come back in three years." By that time Joseph was a truck driver.

Mr. Kennedy confined his gardening as a young man to his family's Greenwich Village home. Jacqueline, a farmer's daughter from Lebanon, Ohio, had such fun helping him that "gardening led to romance and we married." She still works in the garden with him. He called her yesterday in mid-morning while she was "sleeping off" the effects of night duty as a registered nurse on a private case at the French Hospital.

"Mamma, feel the pulse on these plants, they're wilting," he said.

mies, drop attitudes of s and exclusiveness and m for newcomers," he said newcomers, working toge the older and more ex leaders of the chest ar movement, can add new new life to the movement.

Ralph Blanchard, Executive Director of Community Councils said that he "a bor's challenge to social ers" and welcomed labor role.

Mrs. Kennedy had nursing before the strike days ago, observing that us better bring in some she resumed it. Even times," when Mr. Kennedy for Associated Transp West Twenty-third Str A. M. to 5 P. M., he "h to finish supper" to don gloves, his wife said. fluorescent lights for e dening.

Fluorescent lighting minates the fish tank kitchen. In this aqua from a dead fireplace a gotten the idea from a Kennedy even painted background. In this t now in the garden po winter. The Kennedys the fountain's human the mouth as spout. 7 were made from Dais rubber bones, cast in Mrs. Kennedy's baking back hasn't been the we made the concrete Kennedy said, adding green picket fence an once Venetian blinds.

Mrs. Kennedy not on fan-shaped white trell garden ornaments o 40x29-foot garden, "a t dump heap when we m years ago." The ne particularly proud o wooden stork, Mrs. K

"Right after we put woman on the top flo was getting a baby," said.

look his seat in the Senate.

Neither Anti Nor Pro-British

In presenting his formula for world peace Secretary Wallace said that it had the approval of President Truman.

"In this connection, I want one thing clearly understood," he said. "I am neither anti-British nor pro-British, neither anti-Russian nor pro-Russian. And just two days ago, when President Truman read these words, he said that they represented the policy of his Administration."

Mr. Wallace declared that the price of peace, for us and for every nation in the world, was the price of giving up prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance.

Saying that we should welcome the opportunity to help in the rapid industrialization in Latin America, China, India and the Near East, Mr. Wallace said he had supported the loan to Great Britain of almost four billion dollars because without this aid the British Government would have been forced to adopt totalitarian trade methods and economic warfare that would have closed much of the world to American exports.

"For the welfare of the American people and of the world it is even more important to invest four billion dollars in the industrialization of undeveloped areas in the so-called backward nations, thereby promoting the long-term stability that comes from an ever-increasing standard of living," he continued. "This would not only be good politics and good morals; it would be good business."

Secretary Wallace declared that we must not let our policy toward Russia be influenced by those inside or outside the United States who want war with Russia, but that this did not mean appeasement.

"We most earnestly want peace with Russia," he continued, "but we want to be met half way. We want cooperation. And I believe we can get that cooperation once Russia understands that our primary objective is neither saving the British Empire nor purchasing oil in the Near East with the lives of American soldiers. We must not allow national oil rivalries to force us into war."

"The real peace treaty we now need is between the United States and Russia. On our part, we should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe and the United States."

Yalta declarations, that the United States had an obligation to do everything it could to participate effectively in the political and economic reconstruction of liberated and former enemy States.

Outlined at Yalta, Potsdam

This right and obligation were clearly outlined at Yalta, where Mr. Byrnes participated in the discussions, and in the Potsdam declaration, which was signed by Mr. Truman, and one objective of the Administration's "firm policy" toward the Soviet Union was to force execution of the "joint democratization" policies which had been approved by Premier Joseph Stalin.

In his speech tonight, however, Mr. Wallace was openly critical of the "get-tough-with-Russia" policy and he emphasized that, in his opinion, "we should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, western Europe and the United States."

Observers here believe that while Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Wallace were, as the President said, in line on ultimate objectives, the tactics proposed by both for attaining those objectives seemed to be dissimilar in some cases and almost contradictory in others.

For example, Mr. Byrnes is known to feel that the United States attempted for many months to be accommodating to the Soviet Union, that that policy did not succeed, and that only by being firm with the Soviet Union and demonstrating that we would oppose Soviet infiltration and domination over other States could we compel a just settlement in Europe and the near Middle and Far East.

For that reason, he insisted—even though he did not always succeed—on our right to participate in the political reconstruction of Eastern Europe; he took a firm line against the Soviet doctrine that the Big Three were the "receivers" of a bankrupt world; he opposed the Soviet tactics in Greece, Iran, and Korea; and despite all the political myths about the "balance of power," he attempted, by keeping troops in Europe, sending warships to the Adriatic and to Greece, to create a new and just equilibrium that would demonstrate that the Soviet Union could not get by force and

lectors of corrupt corporation debts. * * * That's dollar diplomacy.

It is a remarkable fact, but it is certainly a fact, that despite the President's statement, few persons believe that Mr. Wallace was either supporting Mr. Byrnes' present tactics or outlining a new tack in American foreign policy.

When the speech was handed out this morning, correspondents here treated it as another political speech designed to appeal to that segment of the Democratic party which the Secretary of Commerce was addressing. When the President said, however, that he approves the whole speech, it was widely cabled abroad that the United States' policy was veering from a parallel policy with Britain to a "softer" policy with the Soviet Union.

The truth seems to be less dramatic. The President has been preoccupied with domestic issues. Mr. Wallace sent him the speech, and under our casual Cabinet system Mr. Truman glanced at it hastily and evidently let it go without taking time to study its implications or think about how it would read here and abroad. This has happened before, and now, as then, foreign observers accustomed to the system of Cabinet responsibility tend to overestimate its significance.

There is, however, little evidence to support the theory the United States has suddenly decided to switch to a "get-soft-with-Russia" policy. That we are going to turn over to the United Nations, as Mr. Wallace suggests, "control of the strategically located air bases with which the United States and Britain have encircled the world; that we are going to approve and support the organization of the world on a sphere of influence basis, even if we cannot prevent that from happening; or that we are going to encourage the creation of political vacuums in Greece or eastern Europe."

Some members of the Truman Administration believe we should acquiesce in such a policy in the belief that we cannot avoid it in the long run. Others would actively promote such a policy. Mr. Wallace is evidently one of these, and he has his supporters but unless Mr. Wallace and Mr. Truman have reached some new agreement that the State Department knows nothing about, this is not yet the policy of the United States Government.

cer" in testimony given in sec. At first, Mr. Brewster said, it was talk of dispatching a subcommittee to Europe this month. This, he added, had developed signs that the investigation would be postponed until after November elections.

Committee Must Wait, Says

Senator Mead, in a statement issued this evening, said date for hearings in could be set at this time will be necessary to await completion of the preliminary investigation and the availability of attorneys to serve on the subcommittee.

"I have tried to cooperate with the chairman to work on the European trip," Senator Mead told a press conference this afternoon. "I flew down here in response to his letter regarding the assembly of the subcommittee to take up this and other important matters before the subcommittee. Now I find I can't come to him."

"It would be very unfortunate if the impression got around that the committee was making a poor record that has built up under the chairmanship of President Truman and Senator Mead."

"If one-half of what this subcommittee is capable of doing is true, it is a very serious situation. It would lead one to think that might follow the policies of MacArthur. Japan seems to be the only place overseas now where the American flag is being respected at this time. We responsible American officers feel that the United States occupation of Germany is far inferior to the German occupation of France. I cannot see anything more important for immediate investigation."

"I cannot see past military scandals as being of comparative importance. Gifts to launch ships—even if they're Helen of Troy—are of secondary importance. They are water over the dam. We should look to the future, especially when it is a matter of \$300,000,000 a year and investigate the possible effect on any future war."

"This is no 'dead horse,' as the President views the Canol project. This is living, and it is being shoved aside for eight other things. It involves alleged bad morals, things that could permeate the whole command and lead to a breakdown."

**STRIKE OF 172 PUPILS
AT P. S. 16 CONTINUES**

Education Record Assailed

ingling out the Governor's record in the field of public education, Hollander asserted that he had "killed the whole issue of a State university by burying it in a commission of inquiry," and had "acted on CIO demands for removal of the Board of Regents."

Labor chief also charged that Governor signed the law barring discrimination in employment on his hand was forced by demand, led by the CIO. He asserted that the Governor "has shown no interest in enforcement of the law but had a do-nothing commission" as failing to make it an instrument to combat

tristling attack on the Governor's labor record, the CIO pres- charged that Mr. Dewey's affirmative step in the field was to oppose and de- ne CIO proposal that the week penalty waiting period strikers to receive unemployment insurance be eliminated from w." Mr. Hollander also casti- the Governor for failing to e a bill that would have four weeks' retroactive unemployment insurance to veterans strike.

Corporations vs. Veterans

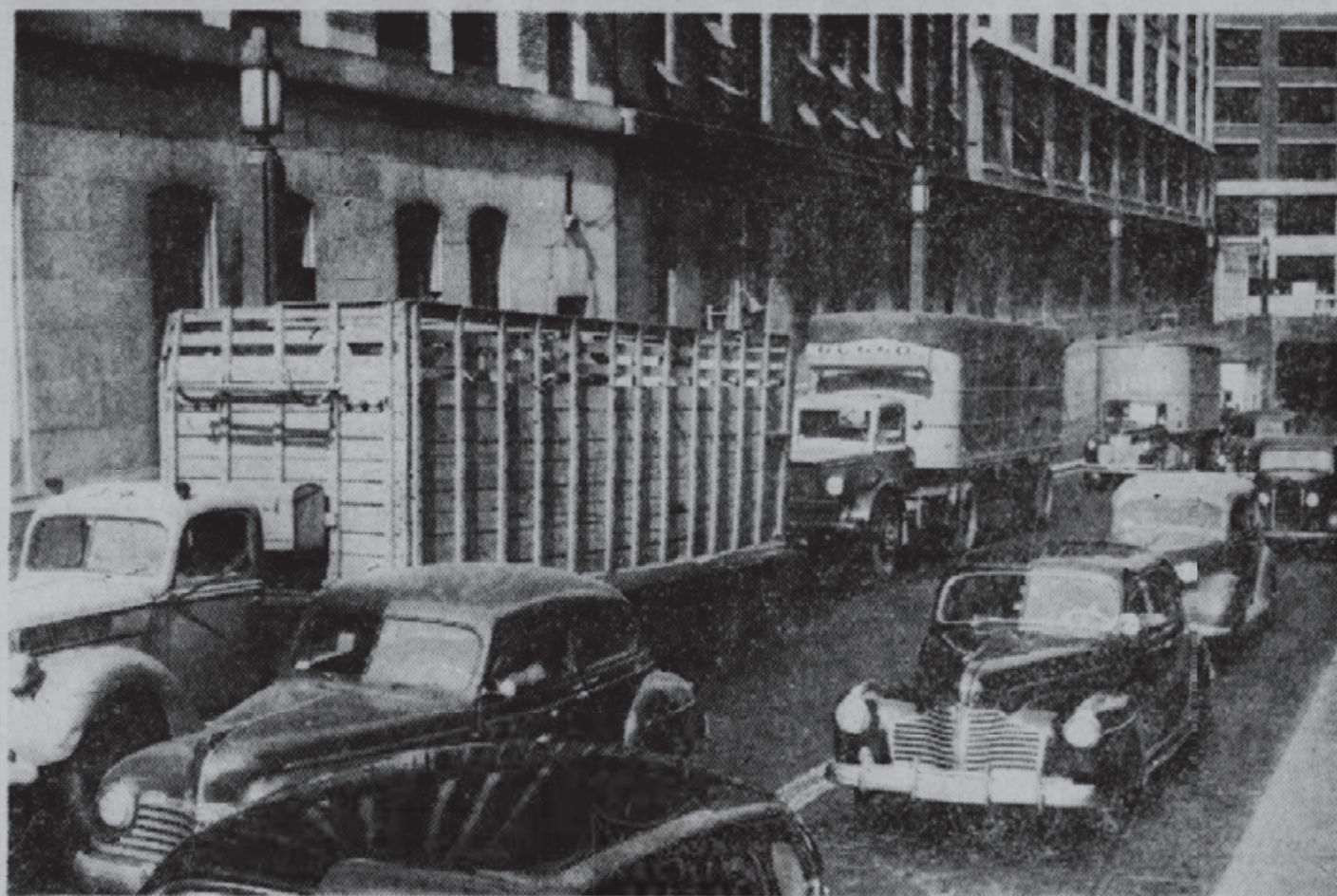
may well ask the Governor added, "What group or our State is more deserving special consideration, the corporations who asked for retained rebates in the sum of millions from the unemployment insurance fund, or the men or armed forces who were to give their lives that our might remain free."

is condemnation of the merit bill demanded by the Governor under which contributing employers got these rebates, Mr. Hollander asserted that the CIO had that any excess in the unemployment insurance fund be ed off in liberalized benefit use out of work, but was told ould be "subsidizing" unemployment.

oday he (Governor Dewey) d like the people of the State believe that he is responsible New York's magnificent no- record during the war," said eynoter.

ut that record cannot be at- ted to any action on the Gov- 's part," Mr. Hollander con- ed. "It was the result solely e determination of the work- State to maintain their

carrying medical supplies.



Vehicles coming out of the Holland Tunnel yesterday

The New York Times

TRUCK UNION OPENS PARLEY ON STRIKE

Continued From Page 1

the strike that has cut deeply into the city's food supply and forced widespread industrial curtailment. However, the peril to trade and food remained acute as 4,000 members of Local 807, in a tumultuous meeting at Manhattan Center, unanimously rejected an employer proposal that they go back to work, with the understanding that any wage increases finally agreed upon would be made retroactive.

With almost equal unanimity the strikers turned down a plea by the Mayor and their own officers that trucks carrying food for the Atlantic & Pacific, Bohack and Roulston chains be permitted to operate. The rejection was voted in the face of promises made by the chains that they were prepared

Hall Stripped of Glass For Teamsters' Meeting

The main auditorium at Manhattan Center, Thirty-fourth Street and Eighth Avenue, was in "battle dress" yesterday afternoon when striking members of Local 807 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, gathered there for a three and one-half hour meeting.

Attendants removed door handles, door panels, window glass and glass ornaments before the 4,000 strikers began streaming in to fill every inch of the huge hall and its two balconies. A thousand others, denied admittance by the Fire Department, were forced to mill about outside.

The meeting was turbulent but there was no disorder, except when a dozen or more delegates sought to reach the microphone at the same time.

chain store units and scores of large business establishments will have to close in a day or two, fore-

threatened repeatedly to adjourn it unless the members quieted down.

There was enthusiastic applause when a telegram from Mr. Tobin declaring that the men were "fighting for justice" was read, but the cheers turned to boos when Mr. Kaplan advised the men to stand behind their elected officers and not rely on the guidance of "street-corner Napoleons."

Telegram From Mayor

Amid renewed heckling, Mr. Strong endorsed the call for exemption of food and medical supplies from the effects of the strike. He read a telegram from the Mayor, which said:

"Today, in compliance with directions of Joint Council, Number 16, members of twenty-six out of the twenty-seven unions of Joint Council, 16, are at work delivering food and medicine in this city. This is a clear-cut demonstration that the teamsters' desire to protect New York City's citizens from unnecessary hardships. With the diminishing supply of food and medicine, the mothers of this city are becoming increasingly concerned. They must have further assurance that no food or medicine

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I now come to the second danger which threatens the cottage home and ordinary people, namely tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the United States and British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these states control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments, to a degree which is overwhelming and contrary to every principle of democracy. The power of the state is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous, to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries whom we have not conquered in war, but we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the habeas corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their famous expression in the Declaration of Independence.

AN this means that the people of any country have the right and should have the power, by constitutional action, by free, unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell, that freedom of speech and thought should reign, that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom, which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice and practice what we preach.

POVERTY IS AHEAD

I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation, which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety, but if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and cooperation can bring, in the next few years, to the world newly taught in the hard school of war, an expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience.

Now, at this sad, breathless, moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or subhuman crime which should deny to all the nations, the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I have often used words which I learned 50 years ago from a great Irish-American orator, Mr. Bourke Cockran: "There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace."

So far we are evidently in full agreement. Now, while still pursuing the method of realizing our ever-all strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have traveled here to say. 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 poten-

tial 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. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future.

The United States already has a permanent defense agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made under formal alliances. This principle should be extended to all the British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. 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.

There is, however, an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our overriding loyalties to the world organization? I reply that on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada and between the United States and the South American republics. We also have our 20 years' treaty of collaboration and mutual assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr. Bevin that it might well be a 50-year treaty. We have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement. On the contrary they help it. "In my Father's house are many mansions." Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbor no design incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

MUST BUILD TEMPLES

I spoke earlier of the temple of peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are intermingled and if they have faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future and charity toward each other's shortcomings, to quote some good words I read here the other day, why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each others' working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time, in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released.

The Dark Ages may return, the Stone Age may return on the gleaming wings of science, and what might now shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of letting events drift along till it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security

which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilizing the foundations of peace. Prevention is better than cure.

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 expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is sympathy and good will in Britain—and I doubt not here also—toward the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships.

We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers from all renewal of German aggression. We welcome her to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent, and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. 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.

NO DEMOCRACY EXISTS

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 preeminence 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 for-

Appendix

Address of Winston Churchill

SPEECH
OF

HON. E. E. COX

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1946

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the address that the great Winston Churchill made at Fulton, Mo., on yesterday, in addition to electrifying the entire world, should carry hope to the hearts of peoples of good will everywhere.

That Russia is actually now appropriating to her own use the contribution that we made to the winning of the war just closed must be recognized by everyone. That she intends to spread out her power and, if possible, to communize the entire world, cannot be doubted.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting the address of Mr. Churchill, notwithstanding the fact that it costs \$140, according to a statement furnished by the Public Printer.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

Mr. RANKIN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, and I shall not object, Winston Churchill rendered a great service to civilization yesterday, and I am glad the gentleman is putting his speech in the RECORD.

We may not agree with everything Mr. Churchill said, but his argument against communism is simply unanswerable.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

I am glad to come to Westminster College this afternoon and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name "Westminster" is somehow familiar to me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things.

It is also an honor, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities—unsought but not recoiled from—the President has traveled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here today and give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred Nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my

younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams.

Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind and that I speak only for myself. I can, therefore, allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms; and try to make sure that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. With primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you feel not only the sense of duty done but also feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must and I believe we shall prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words "Over-all strategic concept." There is wisdom in this as it leads to clarity of thought. What, then, is the over-all strategic concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottages or apartment homes where the wage earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

MUST SHIELD HOMES

To give security to these countless homes they must be shielded from the two gaunt marauders—war and tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbance in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the breadwinner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia, glares in our eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty states dissolve, over large areas, the frame of civilized society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, broken, or even ground to pulp.

When I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualize what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the earth. None can compute what has been called "the unestimated sum of human pain." Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. We are all agreed on that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed the "over-all strategic concept" and computed all available resources,

always proceed to the next stop, namely, the method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A world organization has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war. United Nations, the successor of the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung and not merely a cockpit in a tower of Babel. Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation, we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock. Anyone with his eyes open can see that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two World Wars—though not, alas, in the interval between them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organization must immediately begin to be equipped with an international armed force. In such a matter we can only go step by step; but we must begin now. I propose that each of the powers and states should be invited to dedicate a certain number of air squadrons to the service of the world organization. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their own countries with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation but in other respects they would be directed by the world organization. This might be started on a modest scale and a grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War and trust it may be done forthwith.

It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organization, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and ununited world. No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and some Communist or neo-Fascist state monopolized, for the time being, these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination.

God has willed that this shall not be, and we have at least a breathing space before this peril has to be encountered, and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment or threat of employment by others. Ultimately when the essential brother of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization, these powers may be confided to it.

to his favorite brandy

hold out much over nine months after we hit 'em."

Following the Teheran conferences, Father, the P.M. and the Combined Chiefs of Staff resumed their conferences at Cairo. And Father filled me in on a private conversation he'd had with Stalin.

"We still had an area of agreement to arrive at," he said, "and once he'd agreed to enter the war against Japan I . . ."

"What?" I cried. "That's terrific! Why didn't you tell me?"

He grinned. "You never asked me, as the tattooed lady said on her wedding night."

"When are they getting in?"

"Oh, not for months yet. But after all, it makes more sense militarily to have the Russians bringing all their weight against Hitler on the Eastern front. Time enough for them to fight against Japan after Hitler's licked. He mentioned a time period, too: six months after the final defeat of Hitler."

"Anyway, in view of that, there was quite a lot I wanted to talk to him about: China after the war, the Chinese Communists, and so on. Uncle Joe agreed that of course Manchuria would remain with the Chinese, and agreed to help us back Chiang against the British. . . . And Pat Hurley has gone on to Moscow to carry our talks further."

"You know, Elliott, men like Pat Hurley are invaluable. Why? Because they're loyal. I can give him



"Marshall's qualities were quite special, but they made him Churchill's enemy."

an assignment that I'd never give a man in the State Department."

"You know," he continued "any number of times the men in the State Department have tried to conceal messages to me, delay them, hold them up somehow, just because some of those career diplomats aren't in accord with what they know I think. They should be working for Winston. As a matter of fact, a lot of the time, they are."

"Stop to think of 'em; any number of 'em are convinced that the way for America to conduct its foreign policy is to find out what

the British are doing, and then copy that . . ." He stopped, grinning at the way he was raising his voice.

When I saw him again, in the morning, he told me the question of Turkey's entry into the war had been decided upon. Against.

"In a sense, I guess, it was Winston's last effort to enforce an attack from the South," he said.

I asked whether the Russians had taken a position, and he smiled.

"They agreed with me. No Lend-Lease to Turkey, Stalin said in effect, if it means any delay on the Western front."

Ike Gets a Big Job

"The biggest thing," Father continued, "was in making clear to Stalin that the United States and Great Britain were not aligned in one common bloc against the Soviet Union. I think we've got rid of that idea, once and for all. I hope so. The one thing that could upset the applecart, after the war, is if the world is divided again, Russia against England and us."

Later, I idly mentioned to Father that I probably would see Eisenhower soon.

"Say hello to Ike for me," said Father. "He'll be taking over an even bigger job pretty soon; poor fellow, I don't envy him."

Poor Ike, I thought, so it's back to the Pentagon for him. I knew how concerned he was that he might have to take a desk job in Washington and miss the big show—the Cross-Channel invasion.

"Is that official, Pop?"

"It's not absolutely settled yet, Elliott. But it seems pretty clear that Winston will refuse to let Marshall take over. It's not that Marshall has argued too often with the P.M. on military matters, it's just that he's won too often."

For a moment, I couldn't figure it out. "You mean, Ike *won't* be going back to the Pentagon?"

"The way it looks now, he's got the biggest job cut out for him anybody ever had. What would he be doing in the Pentagon?"

Of course it would be great news for Ike, but I was thinking about George Marshall. It was obvious that Marshall's qualities were something quite special, and made of him a commander well-equipped to handle men, to run a war, to run a conference. And—to his own disappointment—they seemed to be also qualities which had made him Winston Churchill's enemy.

On the last evening before he took off for home, Father talked of the meeting's accomplishments.

"The United Nations . . ." he said with great satisfaction. "People at home—congressmen, editorial writers—talk about the United Nations as something that exists only on account of war. The tendency is to snipe at it by saying that only because we are forced into unity by war are we unified. But war isn't the real force to unity. Peace is the real force. After the war—then is when I'm going to be able to make sure the United Nations are really United Nations!"

Why are we losing the peace? In the next, and final, article, Elliott draws conclusions—and he points an accusing finger.