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The Cold War, 1950.

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THE COLD WAR

Sunday, April 30, 1950

My dear friends, as a by-product of the Cold War which is today the normal order of our world, unfortunately, there is taking place by way of a side-show a domestic cold war of our own, in Washington a partisan war of nerves which is making the air thick with charges and accusations of Communism against public officials, against our State Department and other departments of government. Congressional hearings are being held and senatorial dignity is being sadly frayed as heated controversy develops over the testimony which is being presented by repentant Communists, by ejected Communists, by suspected Communists, who brand each other as liars and, for all I know, may be telling the exact truth about each other. And this smog in Washington will probably not lift until after the elections in November.

In the meantime, the average American citizen is greatly disturbed by all these violent charges, as yet entirely unsubstantiated, by the innuendoes and the gossip, and the average American citizen is led to imagine that his country is imminently threatened by wholesale betrayal in the key posts of our government, at the center of our government, that Moscow has its agents, that espionage is rampant, that our bureaus are honeycombed with reds, and that America is in the gravest of dangers from spies and from Communists.

In my humble judgment a great disservice is being rendered by broadcasting from the most powerful station in the world, the Congress of the United States, without first thorough investigation of such charges. A great disservice is being rendered not only to the people directly accused and to the many patriotic men in government service whose loyalty is being made suspect; it is a great disservice to the men who are responsible for the conduct of our foreign affairs in the world, whose position and prestige have been undermined vis-a-vis the representatives of other governments, but it is a gross disservice to the average American citizen who is becoming confused and alarmed, and is, therefore, being diverted from clear and logical thinking which

he must do for the sake of his country in these very difficult and dangerous times in which we live. The average American citizen is not being instructed or enlightened, but as in some of these horror melodramas, he is being emotionally assaulted and thrown into a panic.

Senator McCarthy is faithless to his trust as a Senator of the United States when for publicity or for political aggrandizement he exploits the post and the immunities of his high office to smear public men and departments and agencies of our government without first taking his information, if he has any, to the available agencies of our government for investigation, and, if found true, for prosecution. There are such agencies available and in existence for just that purpose, and those in Congress who aid and abet, wittingly or unwittingly, the tactics of Senator McCarthy are doing greivous injury to their country, to its institutions, to its freedoms.

President Truman is to be applauded for the statement which he made about a week ago before the Federal Bar Association in which he first of all cut down to size the reality of the Communist menace in the United States, thus helping to restore to our people a true perspective on this problem of Communism in the United States which demagogues and partisans have so shamefully inflated. President Truman said:

We know that the greatest threat to us does not come from the Communists in this country, where they are a noisy but small and universally despised group.... The fact of the matter is - because of the measures we are taking - the internal security of the United States is not seriously threatened by the Communists in this country. There are proportionately fewer Communists in this country than in any large country on earth. They are noisy and they are troublesome, but they are not a major threat.

Moreover, they have been steadily losing group since their peak in 1932, at the depth of our greatest depression, when they polled the largest number of votes in their history.

And the President draws attention further to the measures which have been taken by our government to curb even this small and noisy group.

We have prosecuted and obtained conviction of eleven top ranking members of the Communist Party in this country. We have successfully prosecuted many other persons related to crimes in this country related to Communism. We have also prosecuted and obtained conviction of a large number of alleged Communists on charges of contempt for refusing to testify before Federal grand juries or Congressional committees.

We have now under investigation the cases of over 1,000 citizens to determine whether steps should be taken to revoke their citizenship on grounds involving subversive activities. One hundred and thirty-eight persons are under orders of deportation on grounds involving Communism.

... The F.B.I., the agency loyalty boards and the Loyalty Review Board have quietly and effectively carried out their job of protecting the integrity and security of our government.

And the President concludes by calling attention to what he regards as the correct way of meeting any possible threat of Communists to our own country, and indicating also what he regards as the wrong way.

... we are working quietly and effectively, without headlines or hysteria against Communist subversion in this country wherever it appears, and we are doing this within the framework of the democratic liberties we cherish.

That is the way this Administration is fighting Communism. That is the way it is going to continue to fight Communism.

Now I am going to tell you how we are not going to fight Communism. We are not going to transform our fine F.B.I. into a gestapo-like secret police. We are not going to try to control what our people read and say and think. We are not going to turn the United States into a right-wing totalitarian country in order to deal with a left-wing totalitarian threat.

In short, we are not going to end Democracy. We are going to keep the Bill of Rights on the books. We are going to keep those ancient hard-earned liberties which you...have done so much to preserve and protect. If we all work together to maintain and strengthen our democratic ideals, Communism will never be a serious threat to our American way of life. The example we set for free men everywhere will help to roll back the tide of Communist imperialism in other parts of the world.

I have outlined for you my program against Communism. This is the way I have worked against it. This is the way I shall continue to work against it. And I call on all fair-minded men and women to join in this good fight.

I say that President Truman is to be applauded for speaking up as he has done at this time when irresponsible people are endeavoring to create a mood of hysteria and panic for which there is no warrant in the realities of the American situation.

Much of this uproar in Washington stems from what is claimed to have been the failure of our government and of our State Department policy in China, and the fact that the Reds have been victorious in China. And much of the ammunition which is being used in attacking certain prominent people who opposed Chang-Kai-Shek and his nationalist government - much of the ammunition is being supplied by the very heavily financed Chinese Nationalist lobby in Washington.

Now, the Communists won in China because the then-existing Nationalist government of Chang-Kai-Shek was corrupt, was inept, was more concerned with power and with graft than with serving the impoverished and war-wearied masses of China. This is not the testimony of Communist propagandists; this is the sober conclusion of anti-Communist American and European students of the situation, and this is the report which was brought back time and again by American diplomats who were sent by our government to investigate the situation in China. Our State Department issued some months ago a comprehensive review of America's policy in China over a period of years and called attention to the tremendous efforts which our government made to maintain Nationalist China with money, with arms, and the hopelessness of that effort because of the corruption and the ineptitude of the government. Here a few weeks ago Secretary of State Dean Acheson, speaking in San Francisco, declared:

For years the Chinese struggled with unbelievable courage and endurance and patience against the adversities of nature, against internal division and strife and against foreign enemies until the end of the war seemed to bring almost within their grasp the achievement of the hopes for which they had been striving. Then the failure of their government in response to their needs, its ineptitude and blindness destroyed all their confidence and support. The Nationalist Government was overthrown in China not by force of arms. It collapsed from its own inherent weakness and the withdrawal of the people's support.

The Communists won by default, not by what they offered. They employed the well-known Communist technique of probing for weakness, and on finding it, exploiting it to the full. As a result of the blindness, ineptitude and ineffectiveness of the National Government and the cunning of the Communists, the National Government today exercises authority only on the islands of Formosa and Hainan

and since this was written, only on the island of Formosa.

A new deal is clearly due in our relation with China, but not in the direction as Senator McCarthy and some of the others would wish it - not in the direction of resuming our financial and military aid to the beaten and discredited Nationalist government of China which has been driven out of that country and is hanging on precariously in this island of Formosa. This new deal must take the direction, in my humble judgment, of an early de facto recognition of the regime actually today in control of China, and cultivating as in the past years the friendship of the Chinese people. It is not at all sure that China will be content indefinitely to take orders from Moscow, even as Tito has refused indefinitely to take orders from Moscow. Chinese patriotism - and there is tremendous patriotism among the Chinese people and great love of country and great pride in their ancient history - Chinese patriotism may in the long run find a most trusted friend in America, a more disinterested and altruistic friend than in expansionist and imperialist and dictatorial Russia. As some keen observer suggested, "Acceptance of Marxist ideology does not necessarily mean taking orders indefinitely from Moscow."

There is, therefore, no service rendered to America for world peace in any partisanship attack on the Administration because of the triumphs of the Reds in China, a situation which our government was utterly helpless to prevent. And those who in the United Nations have refused to seek the representatives of the new government of China, but have persisted in permitting the representatives of a fugitive and discredited government no longer in China to continue to speak for the Chinese people and thereby compelling the representatives of the entire Communist bloc in the United Nations, in protest to absent themselves from the important working committees and organization of the United Nations, thereby bringing to a practical standstill the work of the United Nations. I say, those who have done that have likewise not rendered any service to the United Nations and to the cause of world peace.

My dear friends, because of what has transpired in the last year or two, because of the Cold War which is now raging, people everywhere have begun to despair of the

United Nations which seems to be going the way of the old League of Nations. Secretary Trygvie Lie is on his way to Moscow at the moment to see whether this institution, the hope of the world, the League of Nations, cannot still be salvaged. Former President Herbert Hoover a few days ago proposed a reorganization of the United Nations to exclude the Communist countries. He urged the creation of a united front of God-fearing nations against the tide of what he called Red agnosticism and creeping Red imperialism, to reorganize the United Nations by excluding the Communist countries. Now, this can be done quite easily, but after you have done it, what have you? Certainly not a United Nations Organization. Certainly not a world organization. What you will have is a military alliance of a certain number of countries against a certain number of other countries.

The Soviet Bloc today represents more than 30% of the population of the earth, over 700 millions of human beings are within the orbit of political Communism, and the other 70% is not within what you might call the democratic or the Western orbit - not at all. Quite a number of the countries within this remaining 70% would be unwilling to join this bloc of the moral, of the religious nations of the world. They have time and again indicated, some of these countries, their unwillingness to align themselves either with one or the other of these world power groups because that would tear them apart inwardly, that would make for perpetual civil strife within their own country, for these democratic countries are not free from Communists, native Communists.

After the United Nations will have been reorganized, as Mr. Hoover suggests, with Communist countries excluded, there will still be the need, as there was before the creation of the United Nations, before the creation of the League of Nations - there will still be need for a forum, for a meeting place where states not of the same mind, of differing minds and of differing interests and of differing ideologies, could meet, where the Soviet complex of states, the so-called Atlantic Pact complex of states, and

the so-called neutral states could meet in order to carry on international relationships, in order to resolve as far as possible difficulties which arise between them, and to lessen as far as possible the dangers of war.

The undermining of the League of Nations after the first World War, through the absence or the withdrawal of some of the great powers, was the prelude to the second World War. In 1939 on the eve of the second World War the United States, the Soviet Union, Germany, Japan and Italy were outside of the League of Nations. Now, the question which must confront us today, as we hear people talking about reconstructing the United Nations to exclude one-third of the peoples of the world, is, is the United Nations breaking up, and is this to be the prelude to the third World War, the atomic war.

But in the last analysis, what good will it be, if we hold say, Russia responsible for the break-up of the United Nations and for the next war? What good will it be? No one will win the next war. No one but Tohn Vo-Vohul, no one but Death and Chaos.

It may give us satisfaction, pleasure to believe that the Soviet Union is entirely responsible for the Cold War, perhaps it is. It may give us satisfaction to believe that Russia is responsible entirely and exclusively for this furious arms race which is now in progress and for all the conditions which exist today and which in the past were always the storm signals for the approach of war. But what then? How have we helped matters merely by entertaining these conclusions? How are we helping to avert the war which no one but death can win?

But I am not so sure that we are entirely faultless in the situation which has developed. Many people are not entirely convinced that the foreign policy of our country in the last few years has always been wise and always been correct, nor that our attitude towards the United Nations has always been helpful. We charge Russia with aggression in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania. Undoubtedly, there was aggression there, but it should be remembered that these states, especially Hungary

and Czechoslovakia and Rumania swung into the Red orbit, so to speak, in 1948, but the Truman Doctrine which proclaimed to all intents and purposes the intention of the American government to intervene in the affairs of foreign nations whenever they are threatened by Communism, which in other words threw the gauntlet down to the Soviet government - the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed in March 1947. The Truman Doctrine did not come in response to the aggression of the Soviet Union in these states. We took over the burden of military aid in Greece which Great Britain could no longer bear in support of a monarchist government there, and we justified our coming into an area of the world so far removed from ours, where historically we had no contacts, no interests, no commitments, on the ground that we must hold that part of the world for democracy against the threat of Communism.

In that act the Soviet Union saw, or it capitalized upon that act, to spread the idea of the first evidence since the World War of the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union, and the strikes which are Communistically inspired in France and in Italy and the Berlin blockade followed the Truman Doctrine, not preceded it. American economic aid to Europe which came to be known as the Marshall Plan was not channeled through the United Nations. It could have enormously enhanced the prestige, the authority, the power of the United Nations in the world, if the aid which we were prepared to give and should give up to a point to help restore the economic life of the war-torn countries of the world, of the whole world, had been channeled through an agency which had been created by the nations of the world just for that purposes and similar purposes. We side-stepped the United Nations. And because the Marshall Plan or the Marshall proposals, which were originally intended to be open for all of Europe, for all the countries of Europe, coming as it did after the Truman Doctrine, was quickly interpreted on the part of the Soviet Union as another evidence of the conspiracy on the part of the United States to extend its influence over smaller nations in its anti-Soviet campaign. As a result, only Western European countries became beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan, and a sharp division of the world, schism, was tragically

extended and enlarged.

I don't know where to place the blame. I do not know that the blame can be placed in any one spot. The Soviets, drunk with victory after the victories of the second World War, believing that the United States would quickly withdraw from Europe and convinced, too, that a catastrophic economic depression would soon overtake America, and thus, paralyze its diplomatic activity on the international scene, the Politburo became in the last few years intransigent, arbitrary, high-handed, certain agreements were violated; certain unreasonable demands were made; certainly they did not exploit every opportunity for cooperation that was offered to them; certainly their position on the international supervision and control of the atomic bomb was unjustified from every point of view. The Soviet leaders did not direct the energies of their party to the basic work of reconstruction in the Soviet Union and recovery from the ravages of the war, but they encouraged and they stimulated and inspired Communist propaganda all over the world. Mistakes were made, I believe, on all sides, and I am not equating the responsibility, for I am in no position to do so, but it is not all white and all black. Certain fundamental misconceptions led to this tragic situation. The Russian leaders were really in many ways intellectually quarantined, self-isolated from an understanding of the vast currents that are sweeping over the rest of the world. The leaders of the Soviet government underestimated the basic concern of the American people with the preservation of democracy in the world. They misinterpreted our motives time and again. They gambled foolishly on our economic collapse. We in turn here underestimated the strength of the Soviet regime. We perhaps relied too much on our monopoly of the atomic bomb and everybody was startled when in September 1949 the President of the United States announced that Russia, too, was in possession of the atomic bomb.

We underestimated, too, and we are still doing it - not merely government officials, but the average American citizen - underestimating the appeal of Communism to the masses of the world even when it does not have behind it the power of the Red Army or the conspiratorial assistance of Moscow propagandists. There are vast masses of

human beings on this earth that are unhappy, that are in want, to whom any appeal for a change is welcome - masses in Asia, masses in Africa, exploited, downtrodden, discriminated against because of their color, exploited by so-called democratic empires to whom this universal message of Communism, its theory, its ideology, its Messianic motif are music to their ears. And these misconceptions, misinterpretations have brought about a condition of the Cold War between the East and West which is leading to the break-up of the United Nations, which may be the prelude to the next world war.

Now, the question which I ask myself - and I am certainly not a Communist and certainly know more about the evils of dictatorship than others who have perhaps not observed it as closely as I have had opportunity to observe it - the question that I ask myself is, is it worth-while to make efforts and repeated efforts time and again and at every opportune moment and to seize every occasion to put an end to this Cold War. Or shall we rely entirely in our foreign policy upon the monetary aid which we will have to pour out year after year in order to hold a certain group of nations as friends? We have already spent 30 thousand million dollars in grants and loans to do just that. Our national debt has risen from 1917, when our national debt was 3 billion dollars, to 1949, when our national debt is 257 billion dollars. How long can we continue this process of trying to bolster up an unworkable foreign policy by pouring out money and relief to nations, and by giving them military weapons, by financing their military budgets year after year. There is an end even to the vast resources of our country, rich as it is. Shall we rely exclusively on that, or shall we rely exclusively on building up such military strength year after year as will in our hope discourage aggression on the part of anyone and thus, maintain peace in the world?

On this subject I should like to read the recent book of John Foster Dulles called "War and Peace". We shall have the pleasure of welcoming John Foster Dulles as our guest on the occasion of our Centennial Banquet. This book of his, "War and Peace" is a very thoughtful, a very substantial discussion of the basic problems confronting our world today by a man who has been close to the international scene now for nearly four

decades, and while one does not always agree with him and need not always agree with him in his conclusions, there is wisdom, penetrating insight into many of his observations. John Foster Dulles writes in his chapter on "The Role of the Military" the following:

We are engaged in an armament race. The race is very exciting, and it is easy for the followers to be carried away by their excitement and lose their sense of proportion.

We are, as a nation, working intensively to make atom and hydrogen bombs and jet bombers, and we feel we need to have everywhere good places from which to launch them. We feel our government should get for us bombs and bases, and get as many of both as possible. We have not stopped to count the cost in political and moral disadvantages. Public sentiment in this matter is strong and makes it hard for civilian officials who themselves see that safety is not to be found merely in the modern equivalent of horses and chariots.

Military needs are important, and a strong military establishment is a necessity. But we shall fail in our search for peace, security and justice unless our policies, in reality and also in appearance, give priority to the hopes and aspirations for peace of the peoples of the world. Let us remember these facts:

The Kaiser followed implicitly the dictates of military expediency.

It was the same with Mussolini and Hitler in the 1930's.

It was the same with the Emperor of Japan.

Each of these governments had, at the beginning of war, great military advantages. Each was defeated.

The peoples of the world have long looked on the United States as a peace-loving nation. Because of that we have had good will everywhere and when war came, we were able to organize great alliances that marshalled most of the manpower and resources of the world against those who were deemed to be militaristic. Our moral authority, in time, overcame initial military disadvantages.

Let us not trade that moral birthright for a mess of potage. As a result of excessive zeal to give the military whatever they professionally suggest, we have let it appear that we have gone militaristic. The Soviet Union, which has perhaps the greatest military force in the world, whose leaders preach the necessity of violence, appears as the advocate of peace. ~~Even~~

It is imperative that our government should get good military advice. I have no doubt that we are getting it, for American officers are the most competent and most patriotic of any in the world. But that advice should be weighed by those who believe that war is not inevitable, that we can and must have peace, and that it may be necessary to take some chances for peace. Indeed, history suggests that only those who are willing to take some chances for peace have a good chance of winning total war.

The Cold War is not a solution of our world problem. Building up huge military establishments is not a solution. Reorganizing the United Nations to throw out a third of mankind is not a solution. There is no one single, simply solution. No one has the formula. The solution lies in the direction (a) of building up to maximum strength that organization for international cooperation which is in existence and which is being threatened, by throwing more and more of our help, by investing it more and more with authority, with competence, with function, with effective leadership, therefore, in international affairs. We should be much more concerned with the United Nations than we are with any other single item in our foreign policy, and we should seek out every opportunity, even when opportunities time and time again, having been sought out, yield nothing; when we are rebuffed. We must continue to seek out every opportunity for cooperation with the Soviet Union, not because we are weak, but because we are strong, because we are the only country which, if freed from the meshes in which we have unfortunately entangled ourselves with other and lesser countries, with other policies and other objectives in mind - I say, we must seek out every opportunity for contact with the Soviet Union, with its leaders, for agreement on details here and there until the number of details cumulative sum up to a major agreement. Unless we do that, our world is facing a desperate situation and our country will be rent ^{with} that sort of thing which is now taking place in our capitol.

Spiritual leadership, moral leadership in the world is not an easy thing. It isn't a pleasant thing. It's a desperately hard thing. Leadership is a crown of thorns, of great responsibility, but leaders of our country in the past, in times of crisis, rose to the challenge of the hour, saved the situation, as I am persuaded we should do it again today.

Text of Truman's Speech Telling of U. S. Fight on Communists

WASHINGTON, April 24 (AP) —The text of President Truman's address tonight before the Federal Bar Association follows:

I am delighted to be at this dinner tonight, and to join in commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of this fine organization of Federal lawyers. It would be hard for me to deny that I am friendly to lawyers. The record would speak against me if I did.

Six of the nine members of my Cabinet are lawyers. So are quite a few other top officials of the Executive Branch.

When you couple this with the fact that over half of the House of Representatives and about two-thirds of the Senate are lawyers, as well as all our Federal judges, of course, you can see that—so far as the Government of the United States is concerned—the legal profession is not just a passing fancy. It is probably here to stay.

Our lawyers have a primary responsibility in the maintenance of justice. This is particularly true of the Government lawyers, whose first devotion must be to the public interest. The public interest does not mean only the interest of the Government. It means also the protection of the rights of individual citizens.

Our concept of justice represents a basic difference between our system of government and that of the totalitarian states. Justice is the foundation of true democracy. Our system of justice preserves the freedom and dignity of the individual, and his right to think and speak as he feels and to worship as he pleases. It protects him in the assertion of his rights even against his own government. It makes certain that his assertion of those rights will be fairly considered and justly decided.

Tyrannical Force a Menace

But there is in the world today a tyrannical force which does not recognize justice as we know it. It is a force which crushes the minds and bodies of those under its control, and seeks to enlarge itself by aggression and by false promises of freedom and economic security.

Wherever this force extends, there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of religion, no freedom even of opinion. The State is the all-powerful arbiter of men's words and acts. Human dignity and human freedom are meaningless.

Against this tyrannical force, which we know as Communism, the United States stands as the great champion of freedom. Against this force, the United States has developed and put into effect a positive program to strengthen freedom and democracy. Our program is shaped to strengthen the United States and to help other free nations protect themselves against aggression and subversion.

Since the end of the war we have taken far-seeing steps, unprecedented in the history of the world, to help other free nations rebuild from the destruction of war and strengthen their democratic institutions. Our programs of foreign aid have made it possible for these free nations to resist Communist aggression.

The Greek-Turkish Aid Program, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the Military Assistance Program and our support of the United Nations are major elements in our central policy to work for a peaceful and prosperous world. We have taken the leadership in aiding underdeveloped areas, and in reducing trade barriers between nations. We are keeping our military forces strong and alert, and we are giving meaning and strength to our joint defense arrangements with other countries.

Communists Noisy, but Few

We have done all this because it represents enlightened self-interest. We know that the greatest threat to us does not come from the Communists in this country, where they are a noisy but small and universally despised group. The greatest threat comes from Communist imperialism abroad, where the center of its military and economic strength lies. The real danger is that Communism might overrun other free nations and thus strengthen itself for an ultimate attack against us.

But although communism is not a major force in this country, we are taking no chances on its becoming strong here. On the one hand, we are working to create

conditions in the United States in which communism cannot possibly thrive. On the other, we are striving hard blows at Communist subversion wherever it is found.

We are vigorously pressing domestic programs to improve the standard of living of our people, to assure equal opportunity for all, and to promote their health and education, and their security and freedom. These programs were not specifically designed as anti-Communist measures. We would have had them even if there were not a single Communist in the world. Nevertheless, they are among the strongest anti-Communist weapons in our whole arsenal.

Communism has little appeal for people who are healthy, well-educated, prosperous, and free. Moreover, there are few things that will do more to prevent the Communists from winning followers in other lands than a demonstration by the United States that democracy truly means a better, freer life for everyone.

While we have been working to improve our Democracy, we have been fully aware of the threat of Communist subversion within our own borders. Through the Federal Bureau of Investigation and our other security forces, through prosecutions in the courts by the Department of Justice, through our Federal Employee Loyalty Program, and in many other ways, we have vigorously attacked Communists wherever their activities became a threat to our liberties.

There has been so much confusion recently about who is doing what to defeat communism in this country, that I think the record should be set straight.

Steady War on Communism

This administration has fought Communism with action and not just with words. We have carried on this fight with every law on the statute books, and we have recommended new laws when we found they were necessary and could be framed without impairing the very freedoms we are seeking to protect.

No known instance of Communist subversion—or any other kind of subversion—has gone uninvestigated.

No case where the facts warranted has gone unprosecuted.

We have prosecuted and obtained conviction of eleven top-ranking members of the Communist Party in this country. We have successfully prosecuted many other persons for crimes related to Communism. We have also prosecuted and obtained conviction of a large number of alleged Communists on charges of contempt for refusing to testify before Federal grand juries or Congressional committees.

We now have under investigation the cases of over 1,000 citizens to determine whether steps should be taken to revoke their citizenship on grounds involving subversive activities. One hundred and thirty-eight persons are under orders of deportation on grounds involving communism.

There is no area of American life in which the Communist party is making headway. The Communists have done their best to penetrate labor unions and the Government, but they are being successfully fought on both fronts. Labor has been doing a splendid job of cleaning its house. In the Federal Government, the employee loyalty program has been an outstanding success, and Government lawyers have contributed greatly to that result.

Program Double-Barreled

I set up the employee loyalty program three years ago with two objectives in mind.

I was determined, as far as it was humanly possible, to see that no disloyal person should be employed by our Government, whether he was a Communist or a native American Fascist of the Silver Shirt or Ku Klux Klan variety. I was equally determined that loyal Government employees should be protected against accusations which were false, malicious, or ill-founded.

The loyalty program was drafted by able and experienced persons to protect the security of the Government and to safeguard the rights of its employees. It is the first time in the history of this country that we have had such a program. The Communists and their friends, as well as some sincere idealists, say that it is too drastic. The false patriots and even some honest reactionaries say that it is entirely too mild. They want us to dismiss employees

on the basis of unsupported charges. They actually resent the Democratic safeguards of the loyalty program. All this confirms me in the conviction that it is a sound and effective program conceived and carried out in the American tradition.

The F. B. I., the agency loyalty boards and the Loyalty Review Board have quietly and effectively carried out their job of protecting the integrity and security of our Government. The Loyalty Review Board is the central organization which directs the whole program. It is divided about half and half between Democrats and Republicans and is headed by a distinguished Republican lawyer, Mr. Seth Richardson, who served as Assistant Attorney General of the United States under President Hoover.

Under the supervision of this board, the loyalty program has rid the Government of all employees who were found to be disloyal—and they were only a tiny fraction of 1 per cent.

No Disloyal on Payroll Today

Not a single person who has been adjudged to be a Communist or otherwise disloyal remains on the Government payroll today.

The able men charged with carrying out the loyalty program know that keeping disloyal persons out of the Government is a business which must be done carefully and objectively. They know that the job cannot be done by publicly denouncing men as "Communists" without having evidence to support such charges, or by backening the character of persons because their views are different from those of the accuser, or by hurling sensational accusations based on gossip, hearsay, or hunch. They know that no one whose principal concern was the security of this country would try to do it that way. They know that anyone who had information about Communist activity and who placed the security of this country above selfish or partisan considerations would turn that information over to the F. B. I., so that it could be properly investigated and the necessary action taken.

I have been surprised to see how much ignorance and misunderstanding there is about the loyalty program—even on the part of persons who should know better. It has occurred to me that, perhaps, they do know better—that, perhaps, there is some element of politics in their accusations.

Refusal of Files Redefined

A large part of the hue and cry about the loyalty program has centered on my refusal to turn over to a Congressional committee confidential loyalty files concerning individual employees. I have already stated several times the reasons why these files must not be disclosed. I want to restate them briefly, now.

The preservation of the strictest confidence with respect to loyalty files is the single most important element in operating a loyalty program which provides effective security for the Government and justice for the individual employee.

The disclosure of these files would not only destroy the whole loyalty program but would seriously damage the future usefulness of the F. B. I. Information is given to the F. B. I. in confidence, which the F. B. I. has sworn to protect. Breaking the confidence would not only greatly embarrass and even endanger the informants involved but would gravely impair the F. B. I.'s ability to get future information from other confidential sources.

Opening these files would reveal F. B. I. procedures and methods. It might reveal highly secret information vital to our national security and of great value to foreign nations.

Disclosure of the files would result in serious injustice to the reputation of many innocent persons. This is true because the F. B. I. investigative files do not contain proved information only. They include unverified charges and statements, as well as mere suspicions, which, upon investigation, are found to be untrue.

If I should now open these files, I would create a precedent for future cases in which access to these files is demanded—and there would be many of them. This would completely destroy the loyalty program, since, as experience shows, it would mean an attempt to try all loyalty cases over again in newspaper headlines, although they had already been carefully considered and fairly decided by a bi-partisan board of

loyal and distinguished Americans.

This question of maintaining the confidential character of information which the President determines it would not be in the public interest to disclose is not new. It goes back to the beginnings of our Government. Washington, Monroe, Jackson, Cleveland, and Theodore Roosevelt are only a few of the Presidents who have taken the same position which I am taking.

Despite the historic precedents, with which I was thoroughly familiar, I gave the most careful consideration to the recent request of a Senate committee for access to the loyalty files. I obtained the views of Attorney General McGrath, Loyalty Review Board Chairman Richardson, and F. B. I. Director Hoover before I reached my decision to deny this request. All three were unanimous in recommending to me in the strongest possible terms that I refuse to make the files available. The decision was mine and I made it. I am confident that no President, whatever his party, would have acted otherwise.

U. S. Civil Service Held Best

The Federal employee loyalty program has demonstrated that the United States has the most loyal civil service in the world. It is a splendid organization, which I am proud to head.

Of course, in an organization as large as the United States Government it is always possible, despite the greatest precautions, that there may be a few bad individuals. We shall not for one minute relax our vigilant efforts to protect the security of the Government.

The present Attorney General and his predecessor have repeatedly asked that if any person has any information about the presence of any Communist in the Government, it be furnished to them.

I now repeat that request.

If any citizen knows of the presence of a single Communist or other subversive person in any Federal job, let him furnish that information, and the evidence which supports his belief, to the Attorney General or to the F. B. I. Any information that may be furnished in response to this request will be promptly investigated and will be acted upon if the allegations are found to be true.

The fact of the matter is—because of the measures we are taking—the internal security of the United States is not seriously threatened by the Communists in this country. There are proportionately fewer Communists in this country than in any other large country on earth. They are noisy and they are troublesome, but they are not a major threat.

Communists Losing Ground

Moreover, they have been steadily losing ground since their peak in 1932, at the depth of our greatest depression, when they polled the largest number of votes in their history.

There is a right way and a wrong way to fight communism. This Administration is doing it the right way, the sensible way.

Our attack on Communism is embodied in a positive, threefold program:

One, we are strengthening our own defenses and aiding free nations in other parts of the world so that we and they can effectively resist Communist aggression.

Two, we are working to improve our democracy so as to give further proof, both to our own citizens and to people in other parts of the world, that democracy is the best system of government that men have yet devised.

Three, we are working quietly but effectively, without headlines or hysteria, against Communist subversion in this country wherever it appears, and we are doing this within the framework of the democratic liberties we cherish.

That is the way this Adminis-

tration is fighting communism. That is the way it is going to continue to fight communism.

Now I am going to tell you how we are not going to fight Communism. We are not going to transform our fine F. B. I. into a gestapo-like secret police. We are not going to try to control what our people read and say and think. We are not going to turn the United States into a right-wing totalitarian country in order to deal with a left-wing totalitarian threat.

In short, we are not going to end Democracy. We are going to keep the Bill of Rights on the books. We are going to keep those ancient, hard-earned liberties which you lawyers have done so much to preserve and protect.

If we all work together to maintain and strengthen our Democratic ideals, Communism will never be a serious threat to our American way of life. The example we set for free men everywhere will help to roll back the tide of Communist imperialism in other parts of the world.

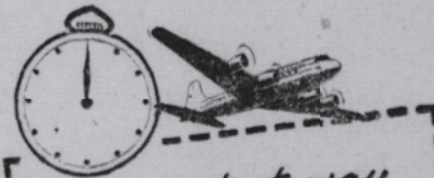
I have outlined for you my program against Communism.

That is the way I have worked against it.

That is the way I shall continue to work against it.

I call on all fair-minded men and women to join in this good fight.

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SWEARING IN NEW SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE



Defense Secretary Louis Johnson administering oath to Thomas K. Finletter in ceremony at the Pentagon. Looking on are W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Mrs. Finletter. The New York Times (Washington Bureau)

JETS FLY IN TRIBUTE AS SYMINGTON GOES

Continued From Page 1

gram "without any reservations whatever."

He added, however, that he did not see how a balanced budget could be achieved with world conditions in the state they were now. Until differences between Russia and the United States were ironed out, he added, expenditures for arms and for other security purposes must continue on a heavy scale.

Allocation of manpower in the event of emergency, the retiring Secretary said, was probably the No. 1 problem now faced by the National Security Resources Board. He added he understood that that subject was now being taken up by the board and would be pressed to an early conclusion.

He said also that civil defense planning would be pressing, but added that stand-by mobilization legislation was in good shape and might be submitted to Congress soon.

200 See Finletter Take Oath

More than 200 well-wishers, ranging from Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, who administered the oath, and high-ranking officials of the armed forces, Joint Chiefs of Staff and others were on hand to see Mr. Finletter take the oath as Mr. Symington's successor. Air Force generals and personnel expressed satisfaction over the fact that such a strong supporter of a seventy-group Air Force as Mr. Finletter had been chosen for the post vacated by Mr. Symington.

Mr. Finletter, a New York lawyer, headed the President's Air Policy Commission in 1947-48, and it was that commission that fixed upon the seventy-group goal as the ultimate minimum requirement for United States domination of the air. At the time his nomination to be Secretary of the Air Force was announced, Washington reports had it that Mr. Finletter had come to an agreement with the President to support the forty-eight group program, but the Air Force feels it has a strong advocate for increased strength in the person of the new Secretary.

Secretary Johnson praised Mr. Finletter for his many services to the nation, before administering the oath of office. Later Secretary Johnson, the new Air Force Secretary and Mr. Symington held a reception in Mr. Johnson's office for Air Force officials and the many civilian visitors who had come to witness the swearing-in of Mr. Finletter.

The day of ceremonies at the Pentagon was marked also by the retirement of Arthur S. Barrows, Under-Secretary of the Air Force.

Mexico Seizes 5 U. S. Trawlers; Charges Raid on Fishing Waters

Shrimping Boats Taken About 10 Miles Offshore in Dispute Over Territorial Limits

PORT ISABEL, Tex., April 24 (AP)—Five Texas shrimping trawlers seized by a Mexican Government gunboat were taken into the Tampico, Mexico, harbor at daybreak today. Mexico alleges that they were caught fishing in Mexican territorial waters. The boats, from Port Isabel and Brownsville, were seized yesterday.

Gulf Coast Fishing Company officials planned to go to Tampico and possibly to Mexico City in an attempt to gain release of the craft, they declared.

Capt. Enrique Altamirano, commander of Mexico's first naval zone, told The Brownsville Herald by telephone from Tampico that he had ordered the seizures.

He said that two other Texas shrimpers had been released because they had not been in Mexican territorial waters. This version differed from reports gathered from short-wave radio broadcasts, which said the two had escaped after having been seized.

The two shrimpers that either escaped or were released were scheduled to return to Brownsville.

Captain Altamirano told The Brownsville Herald that the five shrimpers had been caught fishing seven miles below Soto la Marina yesterday morning. On orders from him, the captain said, they were seized by the gunboat cutter Virgilio Uribe.

Shrimping Captain Quoted

Listeners to the short-wave frequency of the shrimpers said the boats had been approached by the gunboat about 120 miles south of here, off the Mexican coast. Some of the boats were reported owned by Louisiana firms and the rest by local and Brownsville interests.

Lieut. (J. G.) James A. Alsop, commanding officer of the Coast Guard station here, said he had learned of the seizures by short-wave radio from the shrimper Joyce Marie, which was operating near-by.

Ray Wait of the Southern Fish Company here, listening to direct reports of the seizure from a short-wave receiver in his home, said he had heard one of the captains say that his fathometer, a depth-measuring instrument, was recording twenty-one fathoms [126 feet] at the time.

"Twenty-one fathoms means the boats were fourteen miles from shore," Mr. Wait said. "As I see it, those boats were within their rights. They carried papers from our State Department saying that Mexico recognizes three miles offshore as the international boundary."



The New York Times April 25, 1950

Five United States shrimp boats were seized by a Mexican gunboat off Soto la Marina (1) and taken to Tampico. The boats were operating out of Port Isabel and Brownsville (2).

Representative Thor C. Tollefson, Republican of Washington, a member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Another strong protest came from Representative Clark W. Thompson, Democrat of Texas, chairman of a Fisheries subcommittee, whose district includes some of the Gulf ports from which shrimp boats operate.

Mr. Thompson demanded that the State Department "take a strong hand" in the incident, and added, "It is time that we show those countries who seem to be doing everything to test our patience that we mean business."

Officials watched developments closely, because this is the latest in a series of incidents resulting between the United States and Mexican Governments over the limit of territorial waters.

The Mexican Government lays claim to control a nine-mile offshore limit within which United States fishing boats would be poaching in Mexican waters. The United States has insisted upon a three-mile limit, and has taken the position that American fishermen have a right to operate in international waters beyond that line. Mexico is the only country in the world claiming jurisdiction nine miles out in any international waters, it was said.

Officials explained that Mexico would like to collect taxes from United States craft fishing near their shores and transporting their catch to American ports for processing. Thus revenue, rather than a strict desire to keep United States boats away, was seen at the root of the trouble.

The State Department immediately instructed Harold B. Quarten, its consul at Tampico, to report all facts of the incident as soon as possible.

Word reaching...

TWO COAST BLAZES IMPERIL CYCLOTRON

Fire Destroys U. of California Building Near Atom Smasher —F. B. I. Is Investigating

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERKELEY, Calif., April 24—Fire fifty yards from the building housing the University of California's 184-inch atom smasher destroyed a research and engineering structure last night and early today. Nine hours later another blaze, soon extinguished, broke out in a plating shop about 700 yards away.

The Atomic Energy Commission, which is underwriting some of the major research work being pursued at the university's radiation laboratory, called in agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to seek the cause of the flames.

Harry A. Fidler, area manager of the commission, said that a board of inquiry would be named "to explore all angles" to determine if sabotage was involved. So far, he said, no evidence of arson had been turned up.

University officials asserted that all "classified material" connected with research in the destroyed building, was "presumed to be locked in fireproof safes and vaults."

A damage estimate of \$150,000 announced by Commission officials in the East was "as good a guess as any," according to a spokesman.

Half of the destroyed building was used for research and the rest for engineering work. Here William M. Brobeck, assistant director of the university's radiation laboratory and designer of the installation's new betatron, which is expected to develop energies of 6,000,000 electron volts, did his work.

The first fire was reported at 10:25 o'clock last night. The absence of wind aided firemen in controlling the blaze about midnight.

The cyclotron, on which there has been done much outstanding work in nuclear physics and which has developed energies of 350,000,000 electron volts with protons, is in a building scarcely 150 feet from the burned building. A linear accelerator, another form of atom smasher, is even closer, but the giant betatron lies on the opposite side of the hill.

The second fire appeared to have started from a gas jet left burning over the week-end.

Reports that explosives had occurred during the first fire were denied. A Geiger counter will be taken over the burned area as soon as ashes have cooled to see if any containers of radioactive material were broken.

The hillside structures in the radiation laboratory are surrounded by an electrified, ten-foot-high metal fence. The laboratory, in which much of the pioneer work leading to development of the atomic bomb was done, is directed by Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, inventor of the cyclotron.

Last February fire in the Palmer Physical Laboratory virtually destroyed Princeton University's \$400,000 cyclotron.

LAWN AND HEDGE MOWER

Combination Cutting Machine Patented by Texas Man

WASHINGTON (Science Service)—A single machine to cut the lawn and trim the hedge, just patented, is an electrically driven device. The cutting bar and motor have to be removed from the lawn mower when used for hedge trimming.

The cutting bar is like the type ordinarily used with farm mowing machines. It is mounted well to the front of the two-wheel mower frame. The motor is on a shaft projecting to the rear from the cutter. A device converts the rotary motion of the shaft to reciprocating motion in the cutter. The inventor is William G. Gordon of San Antonio, Tex., who got Patent 2,502,943.

JANSEN QUESTIONS 6 MORE TEACHERS

They Are Said to Have Refused Replies on Communism Unless Counsel Is Present

Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, yesterday questioned six teachers—all active members of the Teachers Union—regarding membership in the Communist party. A seventh teacher, the union's president, was scheduled to appear before Dr. Jansen, but the appointment was changed to today.

Before the meetings, which were held individually, Dr. Jansen released a brief statement in which he said the interviews "are merely a continuation of an investigation of membership in the Communist party I have been conducting for some time."

Neither Dr. Jansen nor those questioned by him would comment on the interviews. However, it was learned that the teachers gave this answer to the Superintendent's questions:

"I cannot participate in this inquiry because I do not have counsel present."

Teacher-Advisor Permitted

In Dr. Jansen's letter summoning the teachers to appear before him for questioning on their "fitness, character and conduct," the Superintendent said that they could, if they wished, bring a teacher-advisor along. None of the teachers appearing yesterday did so.

On Saturday, the Teachers' Union's attorneys, Nathan Witt and Harold Cammer, wrote to Dr. Jansen requesting that each teacher be permitted to have counsel at the hearing. Dr. Jansen indicated yesterday that those summoned to questioning could have a teacher-advisor, but not counsel.

The interviews were held at twenty-minute intervals, beginning at 2:15 P. M., and lasted from five to ten minutes each. They were held in Dr. Jansen's office at school headquarters, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn.

Six Who Were Questioned

Those who appeared yesterday are:

Mrs. Celia Lewis Zitron, secretary of the Teachers Union and a teacher for twenty-seven years; Miss Alice Citron, who has been teaching eighteen years; Louis Jaffe, a social science teacher with seventeen years of experience; Isador Rubin, co-chairman of the union's political action committee, who was reprimanded and fined \$1,200 by the Board of Education in 1948 in connection with his picketing in support of a strike by bank employees; Mark Friedlander, a teacher for ten years, who is co-chairman with Mr. Rubin of the political action committee; and Abraham Feingold, a teacher for twenty-eight years.

Scheduled to appear today before Dr. Jansen is the union's president, Abraham Lederman, who has had twenty-three years of teaching experience.

The Teachers Union is a local of the United Public Workers, which was ousted from the Congress of Industrial Organizations for alleged Communist domination. The Board of Education is considering a resolution that would withdraw recognition and privileges from the group. Action on this may come at Thursday's public meeting of the board.

Blue Noses Worn by Brides

HAMPTON, England (Canadian Press)—The vicar of All Saints Church here says a bride at the altar trembles not through nervousness but because she "wears next to nothing and is miserably cold." Too often, the Rev. J. L. Garrington adds, the traditional "something blue" is the bride's nose. The bearded, 38-year-old vicar would prefer "something red"—good old flannel beneath the bridal gown.