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The prospects for Peace, 1951.

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## THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Address delivered at The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, May 27, 1951

What are the prospects for peace? Who can answer this question? If you ask government officials from the President down, or our top military leaders or the heads of foreign governments, the men who are in the best position to know, you will receive conflicting and contradictory replies. Sometimes this diversity of opinion will come from one and the same source. There are those who say that war is imminent. ~~It~~ ~~may break out at any moment.~~ There are others who say that there will be no war in 1951 or in 1952, but there is a definite likelihood that war will break out in 1953.

Again, there are other voices which declare that there will be no war, if we arm ourselves fully and make ourselves invincible, and if we arm all of our allies. This will discourage the aggressor <sup>and so avert</sup> ~~so that there will be no war.~~ On the other hand, there are those who maintain the very arming of ourselves and of our allies for the eventuality of war is bound to provoke war. Competitive armament time and again provoked war in the past.

What is the truth of the matter? The truth of the matter is that nobody knows — from Truman and Stalin down. Nobody knows! Neither side wants war, but both sides fear and suspect <sup>each</sup> ~~one~~ another. Each side tries to read the mind of the other, to out-guess the other, to impress the other; and, by ostensible, large-scale military mobilization, to over-awe and forewarn the other, in the hope that it will not commit any act of aggression which would lead to war.

Both sides fully realize the futility of a military show-down, the utter, disastrous pointlessness of a third world war, which neither side can win, and which will leave our globe one vast atomic shambles.

The fact that neither side wants war should logically lead <sup>to the conclusion</sup> ~~one to infer~~ that the prospects of peace are very bright. But then, why all the persistent speculation as to when the third world war will begin, and why all the feverish preparation for it?

The answer is quite simple. Both sides realize that they may, unwillingly and unwittingly, stumble and blunder into a universally unwanted and unwelcome third world war. They may outsmart themselves into it! Often in the past nations found themselves in the midst of a disastrous shooting war, when all that they had <sup>really</sup> planned was a clever diplomatic maneuver, a brilliant move on the checker board of power politics. What they <sup>had</sup> expected was a victory without war, or at worst, a little war and a big victory, a small investment and enormous dividends.

They always start, these big wars, in relatively minor and unimportant political incidents, but because there exist two armed, hostile camps, which are jealously watching one another, and which weigh each incident in terms of increasing or decreasing power and prestige, these relatively unimportant ~~political~~ incidents often turn out to be the burning fuses which explode the powder keg, which nobody wanted to explode. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo, relatively minor political incidents, caused the explosion of the first World War. Danzig blew up the flood-gates of the second World War.

No political incident is important enough to bring on a world war, but the belligerent predisposition which exists at the time, the receptive layer, as it were, the unresolved and accumulated tensions and fears, the prevalent mood and the climate - these constitute the dry tinder which any vagrant spark can set ablaze. Our world today is full of such inflammable stuff, of such explosive potentials. That is why people today are not optimistic about the prospects of peace. The bull of power politics is inside the china shop. He may be intent upon no deliberate destruction, but any clumsy move, <sup>on his part</sup> however unpremeditated, may bring <sup>the</sup> ~~delicately~~ <sup>international</sup> ~~poised~~ arrangements crashing down into universal havoc. That is why nobody is in position to give a satisfactory answer to the question, what are the prospects for peace.

and dangerously

On the other hand, war is not inevitable. It can be averted. I do not know the mind of the Kremlin. If <sup>the Russians</sup> ~~we~~ wants war, then war is inevitable. But I start out with the assumption that neither the Soviet Union nor the allied nations want war. The rulers of Russia are not so completely uninformed nor so utterly mad as not to realize what a third world war, with its vast atomic destructiveness, would mean to their country and people, a country and a people which have hardly emerged from the appalling ravages and devastations of the second World War. They are not fools, these rulers of Russia. It would be placing a very low and unrealistic estimate on the present and past rulers of Russia, who built up an empire which covers one-fifth of the globe, to regard them as fools or reckless knaves.

Undoubtedly, the present rulers of Russia would like to extend the borders of Communism. They must realize, however, that this is now impossible without war, and if they are not utterly bereft of reason, they must conclude that war, to use an expression of Benjamin Franklin, "would be too high a price to pay for the whistle."

The progress which Communism has made in recent years has not been through direct Russian military intervention. Communism has made amazing progress since the second World War. Hundreds of millions of people have been swung into the orbit of Communism since then, without a single Russian soldier fighting anywhere in the world! Russia, of course, provided propaganda, weapons and instruction, but it made doubly and trebly sure that it would not itself become directly involved in any war. Undoubtedly, the Russian rulers, at the behest either of the world-embracing revolutionary idea behind Communism, or the old but unappeased imperialism which is not, however, peculiar to the Slavic appetite<sup>above</sup>, would like to expand still further. But I am inclined to believe that they will not wish to do that at the cost of involving themselves in war. If that is so, then there are ways of checking this appetite for aggression by means short of war. <sup>TP</sup> We should build up our own strength and defenses to a point where the cost of aggression would be prohibitive. We should also help



our logical allies to build up their strength and defenses, provided they are willing to pay their own fair share of the cost of mutual defense. It is, however, futile and in the long run, dangerous, to re-arm former and unrepentant enemies of democracy. ~~in the world.~~ It is futile and dangerous, ~~in the long run,~~ to try to woo and win into a world alliance for freedom ex-Nazis and ex-Fascists, Tito Communists, and corrupt and discredited generals like Chiang-Kai-Shek! They are broken reeds to lean upon! We undermine our moral position in the world and bring the integrity of our cause into disrepute when we join hands with these reactionaries, dictators, and dangerous opportunists.

The most promising way of checking the spread of Communism in the world is to be found in those proposals which have been made in the last few years, and more recently again by the President of the United States, to extend economic aid to peoples whose level of subsistence is so low that they become the natural prey of Communist propaganda and allurements. The masses of the earth who live in frightful misery and degradation, possessed of nothing, not even of hope, not knowing where their next morsel of bread is coming from, are not interested in ideologies, either Communism or democracy. They are interested in bread. They want food, clothing, shelter, hospitals, schools. Whoever helps them with these necessities - not with guns, cannons and bombs which they cannot eat, and which only tend to increase their terror and their wretchedness - will win their friendship and will in time cause them to admire and welcome that way of life which brought them healing and help in their sorry plight. It were wise to extend such help wherever feasible through the agencies of the United Nations, thereby augmenting its prestige and the dependence of peoples upon it, making it increasingly more relevant and more necessary. <sup>TR</sup> The present strong appeal which Communism ~~makes~~ <sup>it</sup> to them is that ~~Communism~~ promises them a revolutionary change, a change which will take them out of the helpless and engulfing misery in which they find themselves.

Any change would be a change for the better for them! Communism promises them land and bread, and a planned economy which would provide them with these things. Of course, it has not as yet delivered any of these things to them, but the very hope and promise give them a psychological life out of the drab and tragic reality in which they find themselves. They beguile and entice them, and the progress of Communism among them is thus made easy and rapid. If we could give them not merely hope and promise, but concrete help and relief and, refusing to align ourselves with the representatives of reactionary colonialism and with the ruthless exploiters, native and foreign, of those peoples, <sup>if we could</sup> ~~would~~ convince them by our conduct of our sincere intentions to assist them <sup>towards</sup> ~~in their~~ full economic and political emancipation and ~~in their~~ social progress, we would win them to our side. A people that can see hope ahead, that can see a way out from hunger, ~~and~~ desperation and serfdom, will not go communist.

It is in this direction that America can best serve itself and mankind. The other way, the fighting way, the sending of our <sup>soldiers</sup> ~~soldiers~~ to the four corners of the earth, to resist by force any and every out-cropping of communism - to save the endangered liberties, as it were, of these underprivileged peoples - is, sad to record, not a very profitable enterprise for anyone concerned.

I read the other day a dispatch from Korea which appeared in the New York Times written by George Barrett:

In the past seven months, as the battle line advanced and receded, many Koreans have seen their regimes switch from Syngman Rhee to the Communists, back to Syngman Rhee, back again to the Communists, and now, for the third time, back to Syngman Rhee. Out of this see-saw experience, there seems to have crystallized for many Koreans a highly disillusioned point of view. Dislike and distrust of the Communists, with no great love for the South Korea regime.

To a great many of the Koreans, whose illiteracy rate probably is as high as 60%, the political issues inherent in a war are so much mumbo-jumbo. The big question is the stark one of just staying alive. This means for most Koreans how to keep from being killed in the fighting, and succeeding that, how to get enough food and warmth to stay alive.

The Communist platform announced from the North was an enticing one, according to a sampling of farmers, shopkeepers, and refugees . . . but disillusionment set in quickly, according to those who concede that they once were prepared to buy what the Communists had in theory to offer. . . .

Today vast numbers of Koreans have nothing left. No homes, no work and no food, except what they can forage or beg, and they tell you they are bewildered by the havoc created by the war that they never really understood. . . .

With this feeling of no love for either side, they are beginning to ask in increasing bewilderment what they themselves can hope to get out of all the killing and destruction, no matter who wins the military victory.

There are two danger spots in the world today. One is Korea. You may recall that I advocated some time ago the liquidation of the Korean military undertaking. It is now nearly a year since we invaded Korea. There is still no prospect for a decisive victory. Most military experts seem to believe that we are in a hopeless stalemate in Korea. The casualties have been mounting. They are now approaching 70,000. Recently it was revealed that there have been another 70,000 casualties in the non-combat activities connected with the Korean war. We do not want an all-out war for fear of bringing Russia in, and we, therefore, cannot have an all-out victory. And what did the all-out victories for the democratic nations in recent wars result in but the spread of dictatorship in the world!

A limited war can yield only a limited victory - and that the United Nations forces have already achieved with the defeat of the latest Chinese-North Korean offensive and the withdrawal of these forces beyond the 38th parallel.

A few days ago Democratic Senator, Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado introduced a resolution in the Senate which requested the United Nations to call upon all nations now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective June 25, 1951, the anniversary of the war, and that prior thereto the United Nations forces <sup>should</sup> retire to points south, and the opposing forces <sup>should</sup> retire to points north of the 38th parallel; and that before December 31, 1951, all prisoners of the Korean War shall be exchanged and all non-Korean persons, military and non-military, shall depart from North and South Korea.



Such action should have been taken a long time ago. I cannot see any other way out but the way of a cease fire, an agreement to end the struggle and to negotiate an all-around settlement. This will not be easy as long as there are people who insist that the present regime in China must never be recognized, and that in fact, efforts should be made on our part to revive the civil war in China in order to unseat the present government and bring back into power the government of Chiang Kai Shek.

Voices of very prominent men were heard recently in Washington declaring that the United States must veto the admission of communist China to the United Nations. There is a considerable confusion in thinking on this subject. China is today a member of the United Nations, one of the original members, and one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The question is not whether China should be admitted to the United Nations, but which of the rival Chinese governments who claim to speak for China should be accepted as the official representative of China in the United Nations, which of these two governments effectively controls China today, its territories and its peoples, and can speak authoritatively for the people of China? It is clear that there is only one government which is today in control of China, and that is the present communist Peiping government. The decision which the United Nations must make at such time as it chooses to make it, involves a question not of a substantive nature, where the veto power of one or another of the permanent members of the Security Council can be exercised, but of a purely procedural nature, where there is no possibility of the exercise of the veto. Should our government insist that it is a question of substance and not of procedure, it is not likely to be sustained in the Security Council. What purpose <sup>then</sup> is served other than lessening the chances <sup>for a</sup> of peace ~~ne-~~ <sup>settlement</sup> ~~gotiations~~, by calling for a United States veto of communist China which, in the last analysis, cannot be exercised!

Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, recently promised continued American aid to Nationalist China, declared that the American government would not recognize the Communist regime, and, in so many words, offered to help

the Chinese people if they revolted against their present government. It should be clear even to a child that you cannot negotiate with a government which you are publicly repudiating and which you are intending to destroy. It is not possible to sit down with the representatives of a government and work out a settlement with ~~it~~<sup>them</sup>, when at the very same time, you are inciting the people of that country to revolt against ~~that~~<sup>their</sup> government. Does our government really want a cease-fire in Korea, and a general peace settlement for Korea and with communist China? If not, what is it that it wants?

The statements of Dean Rusk have been more or less explained away by the State Department, but Mr. Rusk still retains his key position in the Department. As long as he remains influential in determining American policy in the Far East, it is not likely that the Korean affair will approach a reasonable solution. In Dean Rusk's direction lies endless war and the prospect of a third world war.

The present moment seems to be propitious for a determined and honest effort to settle the Korean affair. We missed two or three such moments in the past year. The latest Chinese offensive has failed, and they are not likely to mount another one in the near future. They have been driven out of South Korea. This is a good time for earnest and honest peace overtures.

Korea still remains one of the two danger spots in the world which make the prospects for peace rather dim at the moment.

The second one is in Iran. Iran has resolved to nationalize the vast oil reserves which have been heretofore in the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. The Iranian government is prepared to compensate the company for its investments. It has called upon the company to send representatives to arrange for the early transfer of its properties to the Iranian government. Great Britain replied at first with threatening gestures. It has sent some 4,000 parachute troops to Cyprus, presumably to impress the Iranian government. It is rather strange for a government like Great Britain, which itself has nationalized in recent years some of its own basic resources



and industries, to condemn another nation for doing the very same thing. Should Great Britain send troops into Iran, it might provoke Russia, which has a treaty with Iran covering just such contingencies, to do likewise. The prospects of a world war would then become dangerously real.

We had the same problem of expropriation of <sup>American</sup> oil properties in Mexico 25 years ago. For a time it looked very threatening. Fortunately, our government had the wisdom and the statesmanship to work out a mutually satisfactory arrangement with Mexico.

There is no way today of stopping the peoples of Asia from exercising their full sovereignty. There is a way of cooperating with them, as equals, for mutual benefit and for common interests. When that policy is adopted, <sup>and</sup> honestly ~~adopted~~ followed, we will be making friends of these peoples because they would normally turn to us, as to their natural allies. They do not wish to become satellites of Moscow. But they will no longer tolerate acts of exploitation or the curbing of their independence and sovereignty. Resentment and resistance to intervention and exploitation may drive them into the arms of the Soviet.

If the Korean war can be wound up satisfactorily, if the Iranian dispute can be amicably adjusted, if we will carry out the constructive program for which the President of the United States recently appealed to Congress to make the benefits of our scientific advances and our industrial progress available for the improvement of the underdeveloped areas of the world, and if we will give up the idea of a crusade against communism all over the world, then the prospects of peace may become increasingly bright in our day. War is not inevitable. War can be averted. What is called for, on our part, at least - we cannot speak <sup>or</sup> ~~of~~ act for Russia - is to make the maximum effort for peace and to exercise the wisest and most far-visioned statesmanship to meet the present dangers. We may fail. ~~It may well be that we do not understand Russia.~~ It may well be that Russia is determined upon war. In that case, war will come. But if Russia is not hell-bent upon war, then the initiative, the leadership for peace, is ~~perhaps~~ <sup>and</sup> in our hands. The prospects for peace ~~may be~~ <sup>are</sup> within the power of our fashioning.

Sermon 774

## THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

May 27, 1951

What are the prospects for peace? Who can answer this question? If you ask government officials from the President down, or our top military leaders or the heads of foreign governments and all the men who are in the best position to know, you will receive conflicting and contradictory replies. You will receive a diversity of opinion. Sometimes this diversity of opinion will come from one and the same source. Some will say that war is imminent, it may break out at any moment. From time to time voices from Washington are heard, prophesying imminence of war. At the same time you will hear other voices who will say that there will be no war in 1951 ~~as~~ in 1952, but there is the definite likelihood of war in 1953.

But you will also hear voices - and sometimes from the very same sources - declaring that there will be no war, if we arm ourselves fully and make ourselves invincible, if we arm all of our allies. This will discourage the aggressor, and consequently, there will be no war. On the other hand, you will hear other voices saying that this arming to the teeth of ourselves and of our allies is bound to provoke war, just as such armament, rearmament, mobilization for war in the past always provoked war.

What is the truth of the matter? The truth of the matter is that nobody knows from Truman and Stalin down. Nobody knows! No one wants war, but both sides - and our world is divided into two camps today - both sides and fear and suspect one another; each side is trying to read the mind of the other, to out-guess the other, to impress the other; and by ostensible large-scale, military mobilization, to over-awe the other and to forewarn the other, in the hope that it will not commit any act of aggression which will lead to war. Both sides fully realize the futility of a military show-down, the utter, disastrous pointlessness of a third world war, a third world war which neither side can win, and which will leave our globe one vast atomic shambles.

So neither side wants war, and this fact would logically lead one to the inference that the prospects of peace are very bright in our day, but if so, why all this persistent conjecture as to when the third world war will begin, and why all this feverish preparation for it? The answer to it is a simple one. Both sides realize that they may very easily, unwillingly and unwittingly, stumble and blunder into this universally unwanted and unwelcome third world war. They will blindly and unwillingly stumble into it. That's the fear. Often in the past nations found themselves suddenly in the midst of a shooting war, when all that they had planned for and expected was either a smart diplomatic maneuver, a bloodless international tour-de-force, a clever move, as it were, on the checker board of power politics, - all that they expected was a victory without war, or at worst, a little war and a quick, big victory, and enormous dividends.

They always start, these big wars, with relatively minor and unimportant political incidents, but because there exist two armed, hostile camps, which are jealously watching one another, and which weigh each incident in terms of their own increasing or decreasing power and prestige, these relatively unimportant political incidents often turn out to be the burning fuses which explode the power kegs, which nobody wanted to explode. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo brought on the explosion of the first World War - relatively minor political incidents. Danzig blew up the flood-gates of the second World War.

Now, these incidents in themselves are not important, and no political incident is important to bring on a world war, but the predisposition which exists, the receptive layer, as it were, the unresolved and accumulated tensions and fears which exist, the mood and the climate of the world - these are the dry kindling which any spark, sometimes accidentally, can set ablaze. And the world in which we live today is full of such dry kindling, of such dangerous potentials. That is why people today are not



very optimistic about the prospects of peace. Our world is still very much like a china shop, and the ball of power politics is inside of it. And though he is intent upon no deliberate destruction, he may by some unpremeditated act of clumsiness, begin the universal havoc and disaster. So nobody is in position to give you a satisfactory answer to the question, what are the prospects for peace.

On the other hand, war is not inevitable. It can be averted. I do not know the mind of the Kremlin. If it wants war, then war is inevitable. But I start out with the assumption that neither the Soviet Union nor the allied nations want war. The rulers of Russia are not so completely uninformed nor so utterly mad as not to realize what a third world war, with its vast atomic destructiveness, would mean to their country and people, a country and a people which has hardly emerged from the frightful ravages and devastations of the second World War. They are not fools, the rulers of Russia. The rulers of Russia were never fools, even before the days of the Communists. A nation of fools does not build up an empire which covers one-fourth of the globe.

Presumably, the present rulers of Russia would like to gain certain advantages which, however, only war can win for them, but if they are not utterly bereft of reason, they will come to the conclusion that these advantages which they would like to gain - the expansion of Communism in the world, for example - that war will be too high a price to pay for the whistle. The progress which they have made in recent years has not been by war. Communism has made amazing progress since the second World War; in fact, some 700 millions of people have come within the orbit of Communism since the end of the second World War, and that, without a single Russian soldier fighting anywhere in the world! Russia provided propaganda. It provided undoubtedly ammunition, but it made sure and doubly sure and trebly sure that it itself would not be involved militarily. Undoubtedly, the Russian rulers would like to expand the Communist empire further; that is the basis of the revolutionary idea behind world Communism.

But I am inclined to believe that they do not wish to do that at the cost of involving themselves in war. And if that is so - I am not at all sure that it is so - I am trying to think through the problem - if that is so, then there are ways of checking this kind of would-be aggression short of a world war. In the first place, we can build up our own strength and defenses in such a way that increasingly the fact will be borne in on the minds of the rulers of Russia that the price which they would have to pay for their aggression would be prohibitive. In the second place, we can help our logical allies build up their strength, provided they are willing and willing to pay their fair share of the cost for self-defense. It is, however, futile and in the long run, dangerous to re-arm former and unrepentant enemies of democracy and freedom in the world. It is futile and dangerous, in the long run, to try to woo and win into an alliance with us ex-Nazis and ex-Fascists, Tito Communists, and what-not! They are broken reeds to lean upon! And we undermine our own moral position by joining hands with these reactionaries and dictatorships.

The most promising way of checking Communism and the spread of Communism in the world is, in my judgment, to be found in those proposals which have been made in the last few years, and more recently again by the President of the United States, to extend economic aid to those peoples whose level of subsistence is so low that they become natural prey to Communist propaganda and enticements. The vast masses of the earth who live in frightful misery and degradation, many of them on the verge of starvation, not knowing where their morsel of bread is coming from the next day - these vast masses of the earth are not interested in ideologies, in Communism or in democracy. They want bread. They need food, clothing, shelter, hospitals, schools. And when you help them in these directions - not with guns and cannons, bombs which they can't eat, which only tend to destroy their ramshackle huts in which they live - when you help them in these directions, you make friends of them. You make them grateful



for the kind of a society which gives these things to them, which helps them and their children. The appeal of Communism to them is that Communism promises them a change, a revolution which will take them out of this engulfing misery in which they find themselves. Any change would be a change for the better for them! It promises them land and it promises them bread, and a planned economy which would provide them with these things. It hasn't as yet delivered any of these things to them, but it is the very hope and promise against the drab and tragic reality in which they find themselves. It beguiles them and entices them, and makes the progress of Communism among them easy and rapid. The people that can see hope ahead, the people that can see a way out from hunger and desperation will not go Communist.

And it is in this direction that America can best serve itself and mankind. The other way, the fighting way, the sending of our corners of the world in order to check Communism, to save the liberties, as it were, of these people is, sad to record, not a very profitable way for anyone and everyone concerned.

I read the other day a report which appeared in the New York Times from Korea.

In the past seven months, as the battle line advanced and receded, many Koreans have seen their regimes switch from Syngman Rhee to the Communists, back to Syngman Rhee, back again to the Communists, and now, for the third time, back to Syngman Rhee (President of Southern Korea). Out of this see-saw experience, there seems to have crystallized for many Koreans a highly disillusioned point of view. Dislike and distrust of the Communists, with no great love for the South Korea regime.

To a great many of the Koreans, whose illiteracy rate probably is as high as 60%, the political issues inherent in a war are so much mumbo-jumbo. The big question ~~now~~ is the stark one of just staying alive. This means for most Koreans how to keep from being killed in the fighting, and succeeding that, how to get enough food and warmth to stay alive.

The Communist platform announced from the North was an enticing one, according to a sampling of farmers, shopkeepers, and refugees . . . but disillusionment set in quickly, according to those who concede that they once were prepared to buy what the Communists had in theory to offer. . . .

Today vast numbers of Koreans have nothing left. No homes, no work and no food except what they can forage or beg, and they tell you they are bewildered by the havoc created by the war that they never really understood. . . .

With this feeling of no love for either side, they are beginning to ask in increasing bewilderment what they themselves can hope to get out of all the killing and destruction, no matter who wins the military victory.

In my judgment, friends, there are two danger spots in the world today. One is Korea. You may recall that I advocated a long time ago the liquidation of the Korean military undertaking. It is now nearly a year since we invaded Korea on June 25th of last year. There is still no prospect for victory; in fact, most military experts seem to suggest that we are in a hopeless stalemate in Korea. The casualties have been mounting. There are now reaching up to 70,000 of those who are casualties in actual battle, and recently it was revealed that there have been another 70,000 casualties in what is known as the non-combat activities connected with the Korean War. And there is nothing to look forward to in this Korean embroglio.

A few days ago the Democratic Senator, Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado introduced a resolution in the Senate which, in my humble judgment, should have been introduced 11 months ago.

Whereas to permit civilization to be destroyed by World War III is utter insanity and unworthy of the men of this century; and

Whereas the Korean War has every appearance of being a hopeless conflict of attrition and indecisiveness and a breeder of bitter racial hatreds; and

Whereas a limited war like a limited or smoldering fire, is gravely dangerous, for it may burst forth into a world-wide conflagration at any moment; and

Whereas the North and South Koreans, the Chinese and the United Nations have suffered more than 1,000,000 casualties, with the only tangible result so far the indescribable misery which has been heaped upon the Korean people; and

Whereas by slaughtering additional millions of humans an uneasy peace might in time be forced upon the vanquished; and

Whereas the people of the United States traditionally have held the people of China in the highest esteem and affection and still do; and

Whereas the people of the United States have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan "Asia for Asiatics" if it were to be applied to Asia; and

Whereas it has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government over any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine its own form of government and its own way of life, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid - the little along with the great and the powerful; and

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Senate that the United Nations call upon all nations and all groups now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective at 4 a.m. June 25, 1951 (the anniversary of the war); and that prior thereto the United Nations forces retire to points south, and the opposing forces retire to points north of the thirty-eighth parallel; and that before December 31, 1951, all prisoners of the Korean War shall be exchanged and all non-Korean persons, military and non-military (except the ordinary diplomatic representatives) shall depart from North and South Korea.

I can't see any other way out but the way of a cease fire, an agreement to end the struggle and to negotiate an all around settlement. This will not be easy. As long as there are those in control of our government - and I can only speak for our government - that is, I cannot speak for our government; I can only express a hope of what the leaders of our government should do; I can only speak for our side - I say, this will not be easy as long as there are people who insist that the present regime in China must never be recognized, and in fact, that efforts must be made on our part to bring about a civil war in China, to unseat the present government and bring back into power Mr. Chiang kai Shek.

Voices of prominent men were heard recently in Washington declaring that the United States must veto the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. And there is a terrible confusion in this thinking. First of all, China is a member of the United Nations, one of the original members of the United Nations, one of the prominent members of the Security Council. The question is not whether China should be admitted to the United Nations, but which of the rival Chinese governments who claim



who claim to speak for China shall be accepted as the official representative of China in the United Nations. Which of these two governments actually represents China, actually can commit China by its vote? Which of these two government effectively controls China today, its territories and its peoples, and can speak for the people of China? Now, this is a question not of a substantive nature, but of a procedural nature, and on questions of procedure, there is no possibility of casting a veto vote. On matters of procedure a majority vote prevails in the United Nations. Should our own government attempt to insist that it is a question of substance and not of procedure, it is not likely to receive adequate votes in the Security Council to maintain its position, and certainly not in the Assembly of the United Nations.

It is clear that there is only one government which is today in control of China, and that's the present Communist government. It is clear that Chien kai Shek has been driven off the territories of China.

More recently Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, promised continued aid to Nationalist China, declared that the American government would not recognize the Communist regime, and in so many words offered to help the Chinese people if they revolted against their present government. Now, it is crystal clear that you cannot negotiate with a government which you are intending to destroy. You cannot sit down with the representatives of a government to agree upon a settlement when you are inciting the people of that country to a civil war against that government. As someone said, a question of survival is not a matter of negotiation.

Now, Dean Rusk, who has more or less been officially repudiated by the State Department, but he is still in the same key position, and as long as he remains a spokesman for our government, it is not likely that the Korean affair will approach some kind of a reasonable solution. In that direction, Dean Rusk's direction, lies endless war and the provocation of a third world war.

The moment seems to be propitious, and we have had two or three similar moments in the past which we missed, for a concerted and determined and honest effort to settle the Korean affair. The latest Chinese offensive has failed, seemingly, and they are not likely to try another offensive in the near future. There has been a tightening up of the shipment of vital war supplies in China, which did not exist before. This is a good time for earnest and honest peace overtures.

But Korea still remains one of the two danger spots in the world which make the prospects for peace rather dim at the moment.

The second one has recently flared up, and that has to do with oil in Iran. Iran has resolved to nationalize its vast oil reserves which have been largely heretofore in the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. The Iranian government is prepared to compensate the company for its investments. It has called upon the company to send representatives to arrange for the early transfer of its properties to the Iranian government. Great Britain has replied at first with threatening gestures. It has sent some 4,000 parachute troops to Cyprus to intimidate the Iranian government. It is rather strange for a government like Great Britain, which itself has nationalized some of its basic industries, to resent when another nation does the very same thing. Should Great Britain send troops into Iran, it will provoke Russia, which has a treaty with Iran, looking to just such a contingency, to do likewise. Then the prospects of a world war become dangerously real.

We had the same business with Mexico some years ago, you will recall, on the question of oil. Fortunately, we had the wisdom and the statesmanship to work out that problem with Mexico without any great loss to us really in the long run.

There is no way of stopping these Asiatic peoples from full sovereignty - no way in the world to do that. There is one way of cooperating with them, as partners, as equals, for mutual benefits, for common interests. When that policy is adopted, honestly adopted, we will be making friends with these peoples because they would normally



turn to us, as their natural allies. They, too, are not uninformed - their leaders. They know the countries where liberty and freedom prevail, the countries which are linked with the progressive and advancing march of civilization. But they will no longer put up with any acts of exploitation or any efforts at curbing, delimiting their independence and their sovereignty. And any public official in Iran or any other country who would yield to that kind of pressure would not last 24 hours! The predecessor of the present Prime Minister was quickly assassinated when he gave indications of yielding on this issue, which has aroused the peoples of Iran.

And if we can close satisfactorily the Korean affair, if the Iran affair can be adjusted, and if we can continue on the constructive program which we have announced, which the President of the United States appealed recently to Congress, a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and our industrial progress available for the improvement and the growth of the underdeveloped areas of the world - if we can do that, if we can give up the idea of crusading to exterminate Communism in the world, then the prospects of peace, in my judgment, may become increasingly bright in the world. War is not inevitable, can be averted. What is called for, on our part, at least, is to make the maximum effort and to exercise the wisest and most far-visioned statesmanship to meet the present situation. It may fail. It may well be that we are miscalculating about Russia. It may well be that Russia is determined upon war. In that case, war will come. There is no way to stop it. But if that is not the case, then perhaps the leadership is in our hands, / <sup>the initiative</sup> ~~leadership~~ is in our hands, to solve these problems which threaten at the moment the peace of the world, and to prosecute this long-range, constructive program of helping the submerged masses of the world to rise to higher levels of wellbeing and competence, and so to organize the free world into one vast and loyal front against any possible aggression from dictatorship in any part of the world. We ought to make, in my humble judgment, the prospects for peace.

**A 7-PAGE SPECIAL PHOTO REVIEW**

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Section

VOL. III, NO. 22

SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1951

48 PAGES—4 SECTIONS

# **MARSHALL TRIP TO KOREA HINTS NEW TURN IN WAR**

STORY ON PAGE 3

**KOREA, IRAN AND PEACE**

***War Is Not Inevitable, If . . . !***

**By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver**

IN THE MAGAZINE



# Diplomats' Wires Deepen Mystery of Disappearance

By JACK SMITH

Associated Press Correspondent

London, June 8—The mystery of Britain's two vanished diplomats deepened tonight with the disclosure of telegrams from France saying one planned a "long Mediterranean holiday" and the other "had to leave unexpectedly." The messages supposedly came from the diplomats, Donald

D. MacLean and Guy Burgess, but were sent in their behalf by a third person believed by Paris police to be of a different nationality.

The messages gave rise to a dozen different theories in this baffled capital, increasingly fearful that the Russian-speaking pair may be taking Anglo-American secrets to Russia. There was speculation about the safety of the British diplomatic code. A high government source, however, said neither had worked with codes—only translations.

Crack counter-espionage agents stepped up the search throughout Western Europe and especially around the Mediterranean. Diplomatic missions in Russia and Eastern Europe already had urgent orders to keep their eyes and ears open.

The Foreign Office gave out the texts of three messages received this week by relatives of the two men, who went to France by steamer and disappeared two weeks ago today.

The text of one, received by the American wife of MacLean, 38-year-old head of the Foreign Office's American Department:

"Had to leave unexpectedly. Sorry, darling, I love you. Please do not stop loving me, Donald."

Another, unsigned, received by his mother, Lady MacLean:

"I am quite all right. Do not worry. Love to all."

One received by Mrs. J. R. Bassett, mother of Burgess, 40, recalled recently from his job as Second Secretary of the British Embassy in Washington:

"Terribly sorry for my silence. Am embarking on long Mediterranean holiday. Do forgive, Guy."

A Foreign Office spokesman said Britain "is accepting the messages as having originated with the two men," because of their general tone and phrasing.

**Third Person Involved**  
The originals of all three, however, were in the handwriting of the mysterious third person. The spokesman acknowledged that, in these circumstances, there "could be some slight doubt."

A high police official in Paris said the handwriting appeared not of an Englishman, although the that of an Englishman, although the messages were in English. Handwriting experts of the Surete, the French FBI, were called in to make analyses.

French officials said MacLean's messages were handed in at the

(Continued on Page 38)

## News of the World

### Korea

#### Reds May Be Abandoning Key Base

Tokyo, June 8 (Saturday) (AP)—Allied armored forces rammed slowly ahead yesterday toward two vital North Korean bases amid indications the foe may be abandoning one—Chorwon—for a long retreat.

U.N. forces ground out gains up to nearly three miles toward Kumhwa behind a thunderous artillery barrage. An AP correspondent reported there were increasing signs the ceaseless shelling may force the Chinese to abandon Chorwon, southwest corner of their "iron triangle."

One allied patrol stabbed within four miles of the flattened city 17 miles north of the 38th Parallel. Two commanding heights south of the city were seized earlier.

A frontline officer said loss of Chorwon probably would force a North Korean retreat 65 miles northward to a line anchored at Wonsan, on the east coast.

Chinese artillery fire from Chorwon fell off sharply Friday night. Two small Chinese counter-attacks were smashed.

"If we get Chorwon we will have cut the only good east-west road in the big plain where he builds up for his drives," the officer added.

The road itself already was under allied shell fire.

The Chinese battled furiously on the far western and eastern fronts, holding U.N. forces in those areas to gains measured in yards.

In one drive at Kumhwa, the U.N. advance was held to less than a mile by bitter ridge-line resistance and deep mud. Censors did not pinpoint the location of the action.

Chinese artillery in that sector evidently had been silenced, but mortar and automatic weapons fire was fierce.

The main punch seemed to be directed at Chorwon. The city controls the northwest supply artery from Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, as well as the roads to northeast Korea.

On the east-central front, North

Korean troops stalled the U.N. drive north of Inje. The 8th Army reported slight advances were made east and west of the town five miles north of the Parallel.

An AP correspondent said the North Koreans harassed the entire eastern front with artillery and mortar fire.

The North Korean radio at Pyongyang Friday reported inflicting thousands of Allied casualties—6,100 killed or wounded on Thursday alone. It said also that 12 Allied planes were shot down.

In Washington, the Army estimated total North Korean-Chinese casualties at 1,115,111 since the outbreak of the war. It was an adjusted figure from last week's estimate of 1,133,410. The corrected figure through June 2 includes 806,800 battle casualties and 156,311 prisoners.

### U. S. Policy

#### Senators 'Misled' By Joint Chiefs: Cain

Washington, June 8 (AP)—Sen. Cain (R-Wash.) charged today that Senators have been "misled" by the Joint Chiefs of Staff into believing Gen. MacArthur first suggested quitting Korea last December. He demanded their recall for further testimony.

Cain told the MacArthur inquiry group that new information on a message from the Joint Chiefs to MacArthur last Dec. 29 was "very startling" and called for an explanation.

He said the Joint Chiefs gave a paraphrase of this message to the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees which did not give an "accurate estimate of the situation in Korea." He added this paraphrase did not cover "half the subjects" in the message to MacArthur.

The Joint Chiefs and their chairman, Gen. Omar N. Bradley, all have said the possibility of evacuation was first raised by MacArthur early in December.

Chairman Russell (D-Cal.) of the inquiry group agreed with Cain "there seems to be some marked differences" in paraphrases of the Dec. 29 message. But a majority of the committee was not present when Cain made his demand and Russell said the matter could not be put to a vote. Cain said he would bring it up later.

This new development came as Secretary of State Acheson was winding up his seventh day of testimony on the MacArthur ouster and U. S. Far East policy. He will be questioned again tomorrow in the 31st day of the hearing.

Wiley Assails Acheson

During the day, Acheson came under heavy Republican fire from Senators Taft of Ohio and Wiley of Wisconsin.

Acheson testified he had no advance notice of Defense Secretary Marshall's sudden trip to Korea. And Wiley promptly declared this situation indicated a lack of co-operation between the military and the diplomatic.

Wiley added: "Maybe that is" (Continued on Page 3)



SOLID ARROWS indicate positions of Allied troops while open arrow shows point of heaviest enemy resistance. In "Iron Triangle" (shaded area), U.N. artillery has flattened Chorwon. Fierce fighting was reported in Yanggu-Inje area.

Associated Press Map



### THE COMPASS COLONEL

Chairman, COMPASS Military Analysis Staff

If North Korean 'Triangle' Falls, Next Battle Will Hit Pyongyang

Washington, June 8—The "iron triangle" of Chorwon, Pyongyang and Kumhwa was having its angles knocked out as U.N. pressures continued, chiefly at Chorwon. If that northern key area is crumpled, what next?

Unless the strong Northern counter-attack hinted at building up west of Chorwon is able to relieve the pressure—and there were no indications of a probable early breakthrough this afternoon—the next intensive engagement is scheduled to be fought around the North Korean capital of Pyongyang.

The city is not as solidly entrenched as the area now under attack. Although it has an enormous amount of manpower still available for defense, it is obvious that the maximum of firepower, munitions and reserves are being committed in the effort to hold the "iron triangle."

Pyongyang is less likely to stand than the triangle itself.

From that point on, the course of the war will be determined by two things, closely interrelated:

1. Will the U.N. forces slow down and seek to dig in on an established defense line roughly at or slightly south of the 38th Parallel?

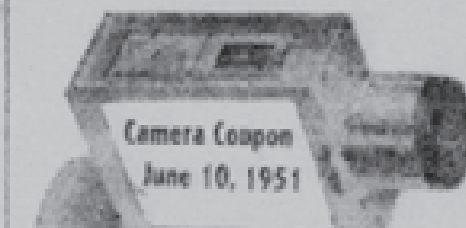
2. If not, will "volunteer" air cover be committed, by North Ko-

rea, along with added armor and tanks, from Manchuria and the Soviet Union?

Certainly the pressures from North Korea and from China for a vast amount of new equipment, particularly air cover, will be increased.

**THE ONLY HOPE** of the combined Chinese North Korean armies for stalemate, let alone possible victory, will lie with the extent to which that plea is successful and the speed with which this type of reinforcement can be committed, if the plea proves successful.

From here, it seems very doubtful that the Soviet Union, having refrained from this type of materiel aid during the spring offensive when it might have been most effective, will be persuaded that the time to accede has arrived.



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DONALD D. MACLEAN

The Missing Diplomats



GUY BURGESS



# SUNDAY COMPASS MAGAZINE

## AND SPECIAL ARTICLES SECTION

THE COMPASS, JUNE 10, 1951

### KOREA, IRAN AND PEACE

# War Is Not Inevitable, If..!

One of the most respected voices now speaking out for peace is that of Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, and a former president of the Zionist Organization of America and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dr. Silver's world reputation for statesmanship, as well as his intimate connections with the Republican Party, make him immune to the Red smear which has silenced so many other men of good will but little courage. The editors of *The Compass*, who from time to time have printed other messages from Dr. Silver to his congregation and his country, are pleased to be able to provide a wider audience for his sermon of May 27 — an analysis of the world situation which, while not agreeing in every formulation and phrase with the editorial policy of *The Compass*, is considered a document of vital importance.

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

What are the prospects for peace?

Who can answer this question? If you ask government officials from the President down, or our top military leaders or the heads of foreign governments, the men who are in the best position to know, you will receive conflicting and contradictory replies. Sometimes this diversity of opinion will come from one and the same source. There are those who say that war is imminent. There are others who say that there will be no war in 1951 or in 1952, but there is a definite likelihood that war will break out in 1953.

Again, there are other voices which declare that there will be no war, if we arm ourselves fully and make ourselves invincible, and if we arm all of our allies. This will discourage the aggressor and so avert war. On the other hand, there are those who maintain that the very arming of ourselves and of our allies for the eventuality of war is bound to provoke war. Competitive armament provoked war in the past time and again.

What is the truth of the matter? The truth of the matter is that nobody knows—from Truman and Stalin down. Nobody knows!

Neither side wants war, but both sides fear and suspect each other. Each side tries to read the mind of the other, to out-guess the other, to impress the other; and by ostensible, large-scale mobilization, to over-awe and forewarn the other, in the hope that it will not commit any act of aggression which would lead to war.

Both sides fully realize the futility of a military showdown, the utter, disastrous pointlessness of a third world war, which neither side can win, and which will leave our globe one vast atomic shambles.

The fact that neither side wants war should logically lead to the conclusion that the prospects of peace are very bright. But then, why all the persistent speculation as to when the third world war will begin, and why all the feverish preparation for it? The answer is quite simple. Both sides realize that they may, unwillingly and unwittingly, stumble and blunder into a universally unwanted and unwelcome third world war. They may outsmart themselves into it!

Often in the past nations found themselves in the midst of a dis-

astrous shooting war, when all that they had really planned was a clever diplomatic maneuver, a brilliant move on the checker board of power politics. What they had expected was a victory without war, or at worst, a little war and a big victory, a small investment and enormous dividends.

#### Small Incidents Set Off Explosions

They always start, these big wars, in relatively minor and unimportant political incidents. But because there exist two armed, hostile camps, which are jealously watching one another, and which weigh each incident in terms of increasing or decreasing power and prestige, these relatively unimportant incidents often turn out to be the burning fuses which explode the powder keg, which nobody wanted to explode. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo—relatively minor political incidents—caused the explosion of the first World War. Danzig blew up the flood-gates of the second World War.

No political incident is important enough to bring on a world war, but the belligerent pre-disposition which exists at the time,



RABBI SILVER  
'Neither Side Wants War'

the receptive layer, as it were, the unresolved and accumulated tensions and fears, the prevalent mood and the climate—these constitute the dry tinder which any vagrant spark can set ablaze.

Our world today is full of such inflammable stuff, of such explosive potentials. That is why people today are not optimistic about the prospects of peace. The bull of power politics is inside the china shop. He may be intent upon no deliberate destruction, but any clumsy move on his part, however unpremeditated, may bring the delicately and dangerously poised international arrangements crashing down into universal havoc. That is why nobody is in position to give a satisfactory answer to the question, what are the prospects for peace.

#### War Can Be Averted

On the other hand, war is not inevitable. It can be averted. I do not know the mind of the Kremlin. If the Kremlin wants war, then war is inevitable. But I start out with the assumption that neither the Soviet Union nor the allied nations want war.

The rulers of Russia are not so completely uninformed nor so utterly mad as not to realize what a third world war, with its vast atomic destructiveness, would mean to their country and people, a country and a people which have hardly emerged from the appalling ravages and devastations of the second World War. They are not fools, these rulers of Russia. It would be placing a very low and unrealistic estimate on the present and past rulers of Russia, who built up an empire which covers one-fifth of the globe, to regard them as fools or reckless knaves.

Undoubtedly, the present rulers of Russia would like to extend the borders of communism. They must realize, however, that this is now impossible without war, and if they are not utterly bereft of reason, they must conclude that war, to use an expression of Benjamin

Franklin, "would be too high a price to pay for the whistle."

The progress which communism has made in recent years has not been through direct Russian military intervention. Communism has made amazing progress since the second World War. Hundreds of millions of people have been swung into the orbit of communism since then, without a single Russian soldier fighting anywhere in the world! Russia, of course, provided propaganda, weapons and instruction, but it made doubly and trebly sure that it would not itself become directly involved in any war.

#### Communism Expands Without War

Undoubtedly, the Russian rulers, at the behest either of the world-embracing revolutionary idea behind communism, or the old but unappeased imperialism which is not, however, peculiar to the Slavic appetite alone, would like to expand still further. But I am inclined to believe that they will not wish to do that at the cost of involving themselves in war. If that is so, then there are ways of checking this appetite for aggression by means short of war.

We should build up our own strength and defenses to a point where the cost of aggression would be prohibitive. We should also help our logical allies to build up their strength and defenses, provided they are willing to pay their own fair share of the cost of mutual defense.

It is, however, futile and in the long run, dangerous, to re-arm former and unrepentant enemies of democracy. It is futile and dangerous to try to woo and win into a world alliance for freedom ex-Nazis and ex-Fascists, Tito Communists, and corrupt and discredited generals like Chiang Kai-shek! They are broken reeds to lean upon! We undermine our moral position in the world and bring the integrity of our cause into disrepute when we join hands with these reactionaries, dictators and dangerous opportunists.

#### There Are Means Short of War

The most promising way of checking the spread of communism in the world is to be found in those proposals which have been made in the last few years, and more recently again by the President of the United States, to extend economic aid to peoples whose level of subsistence is so low that they become the natural prey of communist propaganda and allurements.

The masses of the earth who live in frightful misery and degradation, possessed of nothing, not even of hope, not knowing where their next morsel of bread is coming from, are not interested in ideologies, either communism or democracy. They are interested in bread. They want food, clothing, shelter, hospitals, schools.

Whoever helps them with these necessities—not with guns, can-



SEN. JOHNSON  
Calls for a Cease-fire

nons and bombs which they cannot eat, and which only tend to increase their terror and their wretchedness—will win their friendship and will in time cause them to admire and welcome that way of life which brought them healing and help in their sorry plight. It was wise to extend such help wherever feasible through the agencies of the United Nations, thereby augmenting its prestige and the dependence of peoples upon it, making it increasingly more relevant and more necessary.

The present appeal which communism is making to them is that it promises them a revolutionary change, a change which will take them out of the hopeless and engulfing misery in which they find themselves. Any change would be a change for the better for them! Communism promises them land and bread, and a planned economy which would provide them with these things.

Of course, it has not as yet delivered any of these things to them, but the very hope and promise give them a psychological lift out of the drab and tragic reality in which they find themselves. They beguile and entice them, and the progress of communism among them is thus made easy and rapid.

If we could give them not merely hope and promise, but concrete help and relief, and, refusing to align ourselves with the representatives of reactionary colonialism and with the ruthless exploiters, native and foreign, of those peoples, if we could convince them by our conduct of our sincere intentions to assist them towards full economic and political emancipation and social progress, we would win them to our side. A people that can see hope ahead, that can see a way out from hunger, desperation and serfdom, will not go communist.

It is in this direction that America can best serve itself and mankind. The other way, the fighting way, the sending of our soldiers to the four corners of the earth, to resist by force any and every outcropping of communism—to save the endangered liberties as it were, of these underprivileged peoples—is, sad to record, not a very profitable.

(Continued on Next Page)

# War Is Not Inevitable, Says Rabbi Silver

(Continued from Preceding Page)  
able enterprise for anyone concerned.

I read the other day a dispatch from Korea which appeared in the New York Times written by George Barrett:

"In the past seven months, as the battle line advanced and receded, many Koreans have seen their regimes switch from Syngman Rhee to the Communists, back to Syngman Rhee, back again to the Communists, and now, for the third time, back to Syngman Rhee. Out of this seesaw experience, there seems to have crystallized for many Koreans a highly disillusioned point of view. Dislike and distrust of the Communists, with no great love for the South Korea regime.

"To a great many of the Koreans, whose illiteracy rate probably is as high as 60 per cent, the political issues inherent in a war are so much mumbo-jumbo. The big question is the stark one of just staying alive. This means for most Koreans how to keep from being killed in the fighting, and succeeding that, how to get enough food and warmth to stay alive.

"The Communist platform announced from the North was an enticing one, according to a sampling of farmers, shopkeepers, and refugees . . . but disillusionment set in quickly, according to those who concede that they once were prepared to

buy what the Communists had in theory to offer. . . .

"Today vast numbers of Koreans have nothing left. No homes, no work and no food, except what they can forage or beg, and they tell you they are bewildered by the havoc created by the war they never really understood. . . .

"With this feeling of no love for either side, they are beginning to ask in increasing bewilderment what they themselves can hope to get out of all the killing and destruction, no matter who wins the military victory."

## The Johnson Resolution

There are two danger spots in the world today. One is Korea. You may recall that I advocated some time ago the liquidation of the Korean military undertaking. It is now nearly a year since we invaded Korea. There is still no prospect for a decisive victory.

Most military experts seem to believe that we are in a hopeless stalemate in Korea. The casualties have been mounting. They are now approaching 70,000. Recently it was revealed that there have been another 70,000 casualties in the non-combat activities connected with the Korean war. We do not want an all-out war for fear of bringing Russia in, and we, therefore, cannot have an all-out victory. And what did the all-out victories for the democratic

nations in the recent wars result in but the spread of dictatorship in the world?

A limited war can yield only a limited victory—and that the United Nations forces have already achieved with the defeat of the latest Chinese-North Koreans offensive and the withdrawal of these forces beyond the 38th Parallel.

A few days ago Democratic Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado introduced a resolution in the Senate which requested the United Nations to call upon all nations now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective June 25, 1951, the anniversary of the war, and that prior thereto the United Nations forces should retire to points south, and the opposing forces should retire to points North of the 38th Parallel; and that before December 31, 1951, all prisoners of the Korean War shall be exchanged and all non-Korean persons, military and non-military, shall depart from North and South Korea.

Such action should have been taken a long time ago. I cannot see any other way out but the way of a cease-fire, an agreement to end the struggle and to negotiate an all-around settlement. This will not be easy as long as there are people who insist that the present regime in China must never be recognized, and that in fact, efforts should be made on our part to revive the civil war in China in

order to unseat the present government and bring back into power the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

Voices of very prominent men were heard recently in Washington declaring that the United States must veto the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. There is a considerable confusion in thinking on this subject. China is today a member of the United Nations, one of the original members, and one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The question is not whether China should be admitted to the United Nations, but which of the rival Chinese governments who claim to speak for China should be accepted as the official representative of China in the United Nations.

Which of these two governments effectively controls China today, its territories and its people, and can speak authoritatively for the people of China? It is clear that there is only one government which is today in control of China, and that is the present Communist Peking government. The decision which the United Nations must make at such time as it chooses to make it, involves a question not of a substantive nature, where the veto power of one or another of the permanent members of the Security Council can be exercised, but of a purely procedural nature, where there is no possibility of the exercise of the veto.

Should our government insist that it is a question of substance and not of procedure, it is not likely to be sustained in the Security Council. What purpose then is served other than lessening the chances for a peace settlement, by calling for a United States veto of Communist China which, in the last analysis, cannot be exercised?

Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, recently promised continued American aid to Nationalist China, declared that the American government would not recognize the Communist regime, and, in so many words, offered to help the Chinese people if they revolted against their present government. It should be clear even to a child that you cannot negotiate with a government which you are publicly repudiating and which you are intending to destroy. It is not possible to sit down with the representatives of a government and work out a settlement with them when, at the very same time, you are inciting the people of that country to revolt against that government.

Does our government really want a cease-fire in Korea, and a general peace settlement for Korea and with communist China? If not, what is it that it does want?

The statements of Dean Rusk have been more or less explained away by the State Department, (Continued on Page 28—Mag. 8)

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# "Mr. President, We Cannot Believe . . ."

... from a recent Open Letter to  
President Truman signed by 238 prominent citizens

The prospect of a U.S. military alliance with the Franco regime, and of furnishing U.S. arms to its fascist troops — the subject of discussions which the State Department has characterized as part of a "new phase" in relations with Spain, must come as a shock not only to the American people. To people in every section of the world who fought and sacrificed heavily to wipe out fascism, this prospect will be interpreted as a promise of betrayal.

The nature of our relations with Franco Spain, Mr. President, is one of the sternest tests of the morality of our thinking. We cannot believe that the Franco regime, the last avowed fascist dictatorship in Europe, fits into a sound American program for national security and world peace. To arm Franco now, and to continue extending him loans and credits, will strengthen the hand of his dictatorship at the very moment when, after twelve years, the heroic Spanish people show the strongest signs of challenging his rule.

IN THE SELF INTEREST OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY, we therefore petition you, Mr. President, to bar any military aid to, or alliance with, fascist Spain, and to ban any further economic aid or comfort until such time as the people of Spain can decide their own destiny.

Respectfully,

Won't You, Too,  
Write the President Today?

SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS, Ashburn, N.Y.  
REV. PROF. W. RUSSELL BOWEN, Alexandria, Va.  
RAY BOTTE, New York, N.Y.  
PROF. G. MURRAY BRANCH, Atlanta, Ga.  
BISHOP CHARLES W. BRASHARES, Des Moines, Ia.  
HARRY BRIDGES, San Francisco, Cal.  
WALTER BYNNER, Santa Fe, N.M.  
RUDOLPH A. CLEMEN, Princeton, N.J.  
REV. DR. HENRY SLOANE COFFIN, Ithaca, N.Y.  
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## GLOBAL GOSSIP

### Diplomats See Relaxation Of Tensions This Summer

By JOHANNES STEEL

THE CONSENSUS in diplomatic quarters is that all indications point to a real relaxation of international tensions for the summer. The danger of a world war seems definitely to have passed as far as 1951 is concerned. Now the critical year is considered to be 1953.

The U.N. nations fighting in Korea, led by the United States, are expected to make a new armistice offer on the basis of the military status quo, without any reference to future political settlement. The offer will be couched in such a form as to make it impossible for China to accept it, because Peking still maintains that a cease-fire in Korea must be linked to general negotiations on Formosa as well as the Japanese treaty and a general withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. The general expectation therefore is that there will be a three-month military stalemate in Korea, followed by expanded military operations in Asia generally.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has let it be known that he would like Gen. Eisenhower to become Secretary of State. Now that Dean Acheson has so successfully defended himself, he is said to be about to retire and rest on his laurels. Washington talk is that Acheson thoroughly enjoys himself when testifying before the Senate committees. The diplomatic corps was impressed by his skillful performance. Truman is further reported willing to see to it that Eisenhower gets the Democratic nomination for President if he accepts the post of Secretary of State. This is said to be the only alternative to Truman's running again himself.

NEHRU'S GOVERNMENT in India is in real trouble as a result of the left-wing revolt in the ruling Congress Party. Meanwhile Nehru has let it be known he considers the agreement concluded between Peking and Tibet and the return of Tibet to China a very good thing. He is happy that further conflicts have been avoided.

THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS were a severe disappointment to Washington as well as to the De Gasperi government. Despite a tremendous expenditure of money, as well as the fact that the Vatican threw its entire weight actively into the campaign in violation of the Lateran Treaty, the Communist-Socialist bloc literally did not lose any votes although—through the new electoral law—it lost control of some municipalities. The point is that in Italy, as well as in France, the electoral picture no longer reflects the real political composition and relationship of force of the country.

The De Gasperi government was particularly disappointed because

it had been given to understand by Washington that if it succeeded in decreasing the voting strength of the Communist-Socialist bloc, it would be permitted to make formal application for revision of the peace treaty with the Allied powers and that the application would have a chance of success.

Both the Italian municipal elections and the forthcoming general elections in France were conceived within the framework, and as part and parcel, of the politico-military strategy of the Western powers. As such the Italian elections have already proven anything but a success.

The forthcoming elections in France were organized for the purpose of reducing the number of Communist votes as well as halving Communist representation in the National Assembly. Indications, however, are that the Communist vote will more or less remain the same in numbers, and the representation in the Assembly will be reduced from some 180-odd to perhaps 135.

THERE IS GREAT PRESSURE in the City of London (financial district) for revaluation of the pound sterling and a general relaxation of exchange restrictions on the part of the sterling area. The City generally has started an offensive for the revaluation of European currencies as against the dollar.

Conversations between John Foster Dulles and Herbert Morrison in London have been extremely agitated with the British still resisting the idea of having Nationalist China sign the Japanese peace treaty.

Communist China, for the first time in years, now has a favorable trade balance. . . . Workers in Holland are not eating butter any more. The price of bread and soap has risen 25 per cent during the past six months because of the heavy arms burden. . . . Australian trade with Japan is increasing at the expense of British trade. . . . The U. S. Army is buying textiles in western Germany. . . . The British are not enchanted by the role played by U. S. Ambassador Henry Grady in Iran.

By CORLISS LAMONT  
(Second of Two Articles)

The bottom of the Palisades is just as fascinating as the top. So are the slopes. For example, at



LAMONT

some point during your explorations you will surely want to investigate one of the huge rock-piles that extend far up from the waterfront. These immense masses of giant boulders, heaped one upon the other in profuse and wayward splendor, are simply broken-off sections of the cliffs that were pried loose by erosion, sliding down one day or night with a mighty roar and overwhelming trees, underbrush and everything else in their path. Some of these great landslides clearly occurred in the distant past; others are more recent. One took place opposite North Yonkers after a storm in 1938 and just prior to the Munich Conference. It left a configuration of rock distinctly resembling the face of Adolf Hitler.

For a distance of five miles north of the Yonkers-Alpine Ferry slip there lies perhaps the most superb stretch of the entire Palisades. Along the top in this section are many of the finest look-outs and views, as well as the cliffs' high-point of 530 feet (three miles above Alpine) where the main highway sweeps out to the edge. If you walk about a quarter of a mile north here and then look back, you can see the profile of a hook-nosed Indian jutting out from the mountain wall.

Still further north you arrive at a small monument marking the boundary between New Jersey and New York and find nearby a beautiful path down to the river. This connects with the regular Hudson trail which goes north for half a mile to Sneden's Landing, where Major Andre was brought in a boat on his way to be tried at Tappan, N. Y.

The trail along the Hudson south of the state line leads through the recent landslide (with Hitler's face above it) and past other rock-piles of even greater size and interest. One of these extends for a full half-mile along the base of the Palisades; and through it winds the exciting section of the trail known as the Giant Stair. Looking up from the Giant Stair to the towering precipice itself, rising sheer to its greatest height, you get an overwhelming impression of nature powerful and awe-inspiring in its rugged might. This is especially true in winter when there is no foliage to soften the austere effect of the cliff.

It is perfectly feasible to stay in the Palisades Park well into the evening; and to build a fire and cook your supper somewhere along

the river. From either the top or bottom of the cliff you can watch the river soften and deepen in color as the sun goes down and twilight takes its place. The sky gradually turns a blue velvet. All along the New York shore and on the slope behind, the lights come out, one by one at first and then, as real darkness falls, in spreading clusters. If you are somewhere near the George Washington Bridge at night, you will see one of the finest sights along the Hudson, with this great steel structure silhouetted against the river and its central span outlined by electric bulbs.

Is there wild life in the Palisades region? Yes, plenty, though mostly of the smaller species. Once, however, a few years ago I saw three young deer in the woods near the state line; and during the winter of 1945 there were instances of deer being marooned on ice cakes floating down the river in this same vicinity. Squirrels and rabbits and birds naturally abound in the park.

One of my favorite pastimes is to sit near the edge of the cliff and watch a hawk or seagull coast along, seldom flapping a wing, and wheeling, banking, smoothly gliding on the currents and eddies of a vagrant wind. Butterflies, too, yellow and blue and red, like to follow the contour of the cliff.

Occasionally in hot weather you may come across a snake, almost invariably a harmless species like the black snake which sometimes climbs a tree if it hears you approaching. Only a few poisonous copperheads, richly colored like autumn leaves, still inhabit this vicinity. In all my walks along the Palisades I have met a copperhead but once. This was when I went on a special copperhead hunt several years ago, prying with a walking stick behind every likely rock and into every sunny glen. I

finally found one innocent copperhead sunning himself peacefully and in plain sight near the river; and I have always felt a little conscience-stricken that I killed him as a trophy.

Until recently the entire range of cliffs has remained almost as wild and unspoiled as during my boyhood. An important step in preserving the Palisades area intact was John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s generous action in 1933 when he bought for \$11,000,000 almost the entire strip of land along the top and presented it to the Interstate Park. Unfortunately, in 1947 the New Jersey State legislature, backed by the Interstate Park Commission, put through a bill for the erection of a new \$5,000,000 parkway to run northward from the George Washington Bridge through this very strip, between the edge of the cliffs and the present Route 9-W.

This parkway is not only unnecessary for automobile traffic, since 9-W could have been adequately widened at a far lesser expense; but also will do away with much of the wildness of the section, slaughtering in a wide swath right and left the natural growth of trees, shrubbery and flowers. It seems to me one of the most foolish and wasteful boondoggles ever to be perpetrated in this country, bringing doubtful benefit to motorists and certain detriment to hikers, picnickers and nature-lovers in general. Meanwhile, the top of the Palisades is closed to the public while the parkway is being constructed.

Nonetheless, the greater part of the Palisades' native loveliness and splendor will remain essentially as built and embellished by nature throughout aeons of time. And we may be assured that this incomparable park will continue to be a place of refreshment and joy for lovers of beauty who come after us.

## War Isn't Inevitable, Says Rabbi Silver

(Continued from Page 14—Mag. 2)

but Mr. Rusk still retains his key position in the Department. As long as he remains influential in determining American policy in the Far East, it is not likely that the Korean affair will approach a reasonable solution. In Dean Rusk's direction lies endless war and the prospect of a third world war.

The present moment seems to be propitious for a determined and honest effort to settle the Korean affair. We missed two or three such moments in the past year. The latest Chinese offensive has failed, and they are not likely to mount another one in the near future. They have been driven out of South Korea. This is a good time for earnest and honest peace overtures.

Korea still remains one of the two danger spots in the world which make the prospects for peace rather dim at the moment.

The second one is in Iran. Iran has resolved to nationalize the vast oil reserves which have been heretofore in the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. The Iranian government is prepared to compensate the company for its investments. It has called upon the company to send representatives to arrange for the early transfer of its properties to the Iranian government.

Great Britain replied at first with threatening gestures. It has sent some 4,000 parachute troops to Cyprus, presumably to impress the Iranian government. It is rather strange for a government like Great Britain, which itself has nationalized in recent years some of its own basic resources and industries, to condemn another nation for doing the very same thing. Should Great Britain send troops into Iran, it might provoke Russia, which has a treaty with Iran covering just such contingencies, to do likewise. The prospects of a world war would then become dangerously real.

We had the same problem of expropriation of American oil properties in Mexico 25 years ago,

For a time it looked very threatening. Fortunately, our government had the wisdom and the statesmanship to work out a mutually satisfactory arrangement with Mexico.

There is no way today of stopping the peoples of Asia from exercising their full sovereignty. There is a way of cooperating with them, as equals, for mutual benefit and for common interests. When that policy is adopted, and honestly followed, we will be making friends of these peoples because they would normally turn to us, as to their natural allies.

They do not wish to become satellites of Moscow. But they will no longer tolerate acts of exploitation or the curbing of their independence and sovereignty. Resentment and resistance to intervention and exploitation may drive them into the arms of the Soviet.

If the Korean war can be wound up satisfactorily, if the Iranian dispute can be amicably adjusted, if we will carry out the constructive program for which the President of the United States recently appealed to Congress to make the benefits of our scientific advances and our industrial progress available for the improvement of the under-developed areas of the world, and if we will give up the idea of a crusade against communism all over the world, then the prospects of peace may become increasingly bright in our day.

War is not inevitable. War can be averted. What is called for, on our part, at least—we cannot speak or act for Russia—is to make the maximum effort for peace and to exercise the wisest and most far-sighted statesmanship to meet the present dangers.

We may fail. It may well be that Russia is determined upon war. In that case, war will come. But if Russia is not hell-bent upon war, then the initiative, the leadership for peace, is in our hands. The prospects for peace are within the power of our own fashioning.

## Sale of Children Into Slavery Increasing in the 'New Japan'

(Continued from Page 15—Mag. 3)  
having sold the daughter, had deserted the family. Sumi-san, the eldest in the family, is mothering the rest of the children and preparing for the birth of her own child a few months hence.

Both the broker and the madame are under investigation now. If convicted, they can be sentenced to prison for not more than one year or a fine of not more than 10,000 yen.

Almost without exception the families that sell children were either too large or their income too small to pay for even the minimum necessities of life. Parents are generally day laborers, farm hands, unemployed workers or miners. Children are sold for as little as 5,000 yen (\$14) and as much as 50,000 yen (\$140). Only extremely beautiful girls who have sufficient talent to be trained as geishas bring the latter price.

The children are sold under contracts binding them to the purchaser for periods ranging from one to ten years, but averaging about three years. During the contractual period, unless the Labor

Ministry can interfere, the children get only their food, lodging, clothing and a minimum of spending money. If they serve as waitresses or prostitutes, half of their earnings go to the "owners," and about 10 per cent for taxes. They pay for their food, rent and clothing; from the remaining 40 per cent, which means that most of them quickly go into debt.

When the Labor or Welfare Ministry rescues a child from bondage it is authorized to pay the family a subsidy. But this averages only about 600 yen a month (less than \$2), by no means enough to meet bare costs of food. Pregnant girls or those with VD are given free medical care. The government also tries to place the youths in better jobs, where minimum labor standards prevail.

The government is waging today an intensive anti-slavery propaganda campaign, the only feasible method of combating the trade considering Japan's loosely-drawn laws. But, as Miss Imai says, "as long as poverty exists, human traffic can not be controlled."



## Baseball Standings

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

	W.	L.	Pct.	G.B.
DODGERS	30	16	.652	—
St. Louis	25	23	.521	6
Cincinnati	24	23	.511	6 1/2
GIANTS	25	25	.500	7
Boston	24	25	.490	7 1/2
Chicago	21	23	.488	7 1/2
Philadelphia	23	26	.469	8 1/2
Pittsburgh	17	29	.370	12

## FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Chicago at GIANTS, night postponed.  
Pittsburgh at DODGERS, night postponed.  
Cincinnati at Philadelphia, night postponed.  
St. Louis at Boston, night.

## GAMES SATURDAY

Chicago, Minor (3-5) at GIANTS, 1:30 p.m.  
Pittsburgh, DODGERS (2-5) at DODGERS, 2:00 p.m.  
New York (2-5) at St. Louis, 1:30 p.m.  
Cincinnati, Blackwell (2-5) at Philadelphia, 2:00 p.m.  
Washington (2-5) at Baltimore, 2:00 p.m.  
St. Louis, Loefer (2-5) at Boston, 2:00 p.m.

## GAMES SUNDAY

Chicago at GIANTS (2), Polo Grounds, 2:00 p.m.  
Pittsburgh at DODGERS (2), Ebbets Field, 2:00 p.m.  
Cincinnati at Philadelphia (2), 2:00 p.m.  
St. Louis at Boston, 2:00 p.m.

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

	W.	L.	Pct.	G.B.
Chicago	32	12	.727	—
YANKEES	30	17	.638	3 1/2
Boston	27	20	.574	6 1/2
Cleveland	26	21	.553	7 1/2
Detroit	22	23	.489	10 1/2
Washington	17	27	.386	15 1/2
Philadelphia	15	21	.328	17 1/2
St. Louis	15	23	.313	19 1/2

## FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Yankees 4, Chicago 1, night.  
Detroit 9, Philadelphia 2.  
Cleveland 7, Boston 1, night.  
Washington at St. Louis, called at end of four innings, rain, night.

## GAMES SATURDAY

YANKEES, Stone (2-3) at Chicago, Field (2-3).  
Philadelphia, Fowler (2-4) at Detroit, Newkirk (2-4).  
Boston, Farrell (2-3) at Cleveland, Lemon (2-3).  
Washington, Knepper (2-3) at St. Louis, Mahey (2-3).

## GAMES SUNDAY

YANKEES at Chicago (2).  
Philadelphia at Detroit (2).  
Boston at Cleveland (2).  
Washington at St. Louis (2).

## Tigers' 8-Run 3d Buries A's, 9 to 2

Detroit, June 8 (AP)—The Tigers' eight-run outburst in the third inning buried the Athletics, 9 to 2 today. Dixie Trout gave up nine hits to grab his third win against six losses.

Jerry Friday singled to start the third inning romp and, appearing a second time in the inning, drove home the eighth run with another single.

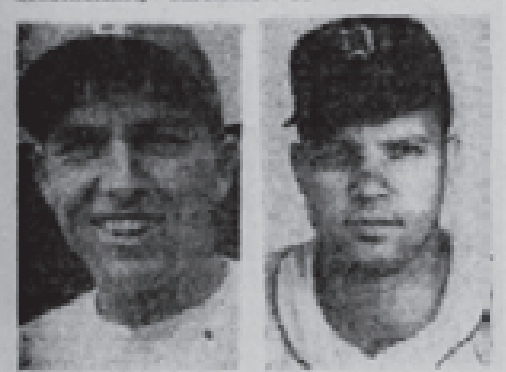
Starter Carl Scheib suffered his fifth loss against one win. The Tigers smashed 12 hits off him and relief pitchers Morris Martin and Ed Burtchey.

The Tigers sent 12 batters to the plate in the third. This was the most runs they had scored in one inning this year.

AVIATION: 0-0 0-0 1-1 2-2 2-2  
TIGERS: 0-1 2-0 0-0 0-0 0-1 2-2  
Scheib, Martin (3) and Trout: Trout and Burtchey.

## Baseball's Big Six

Player	Team	W.	L.	Pct.
Robinson	DODGERS	18	10	.643
Minnick	White Sox	12	12	.500
Feller	White Sox	11	11	.500
Mantle	Cardinals	11	11	.500
Flem	Athletics	11	11	.500
Reichman	Cardinals	11	11	.500



HODGES WERTZ

BEING BATTERED BY  
National League  
Hodges, Dodgers 20  
Mantle, Cardinals 20  
Feller, White Sox 20  
Wertz, Pirates 20

HOME BEINS  
Hodges, Dodgers 11  
Wertz, Pirates 11  
Knepper, Pirates 11

## Presko's 5th in Row Downs Braves, 2-1

Boston, June 8 (AP)—Rookie right-hander Joe Presko clicked off his fifth straight victory with a 2-1 decision over the Braves tonight to snap the Cardinals' three-

## Yanks, Raschi Stop White Sox Streak, 4-2

Special to THE COMPASS

Chicago, June 8—You know what they say about the Yankees—they always win the big ones. That's what it was here tonight as they ended the rampaging White Sox' six-game winning streak, 4-2, as the biggest crowd in the history of Comiskey Park watched.

Casey Stengel had his big guy, Vic Raschi, going for him, and he couldn't have picked a better

man. Raschi spotted the Sox a two-run homer by Ed Robinson in the third inning. After the Yanks came back to get him ahead, Vic put a lock on the wonder boys the rest of the way.

He blew down the last nine batters in picking up his ninth victory. His pitching opponent, Ken Holcombe, was victimized for a pair of runs in the fourth and fifth innings and those proved to be the difference. Marv Rotblatt pitched the last two innings for the Sox.

With Raschi going the way he was, it didn't make much difference, but Stengel really had the thinking cap going in the late innings. He made three changes to strengthen his defense. Gil McDougald replaced Bobby Brown at third and Hank Bauer took over for Mickey Mantle in right field in the eighth. And in the ninth, Stengel pulled Joe DiMaggio for Jackie Jensen. There was no sentiment in Comiskey Park tonight.

A World Series atmosphere prevailed as the teams battled in the early innings. Every White Sox hit and Yankee out was greeted with tremendous roars by the hopped-up Chicago fandom.

The first thrill came in the first inning when the Sox had Nellie Fox on third and Ed Stewart on first with Orestes Minoza hitting. He lifted a fly to short right and when Fox tried to score after the catch, Mickey Mantle threw him out at home.

Then Robinson broke through a scoreless tie with a two-out homer into the right field seats in the third. The Yanks tied it up in the fourth, however, and went in front in the fifth.

A walk, Johnny Hops's double, the first hit off starter Ken Holcombe, and Mantle's hit to right tied it. Then in the fifth, the Yanks double-decked three singles around two sacrifices for another pair. Jerry Coleman, Gene Woodling and Bobby Brown got the hits.

Meanwhile, Raschi was allowing the White Soxers to get on base, but the Yankee pork chops pitcher wouldn't let anybody score.

YANKEES: 0-0 2-0 1-0 4-0 0-0  
WHITE SOX: 0-0 0-0 1-0 2-1 0-0  
RASCHI and Jensen: HOLCOMBE, Rotblatt (3) and Stengel, RR: Chl-Robinson.

## Battlefield Has Peter Pan to Himself

This week's big race at Belmont Park is the Peter Pan Handicap for three-year-olds and it will be marked by the absence of Count Turf. The Kentucky Derby winner and victor over Bold during the week was not entered, which leaves it up to Battlefield, the No. 2 colt at the moment.

He will go off at 3-5 against Battle Morn, Father Tiber, Away, Away, the Green-tree entry (Hall of Fame and Big Stretch), Volcania, Counterpoint and Outpoint.

CHICAGO  
Giants  
POLO GROUNDS  
SATURDAY—1:30  
2 Games Sunday—2:00  
MONDAY NITE—  
EXHIBITION BENEFIT—6:00  
with RED FOX by Nats  
Admission Free

## NCAA Stands Firm On Television Ban

The National Collegiate Athletic Association's television steering committee, meeting here in emergency session, stood firm Friday in the face of Pennsylvania's defiance of the NCAA's football television restrictions. "We have not given up our program because of Penn's announcement," said Rear Admiral Tom Hamilton, committee chairman, who is athletic director of the Pittsburgh university.

"We are in the middle. A great many of the colleges want no television at all," said Hamilton. "Some want a little. By and large all of them have been willing to accept sacrifices in order to try out our program."

Some members of the steering committee predicted privately that Penn might lose as many as five opponents next fall if it goes ahead with television. Already California, Columbia, Cornell and Dartmouth among Penn's opponents have sounded a cautious note on the possibility of playing at Franklin Field. Of the others, Army and Wisconsin have shown a willingness to go ahead. All are members of the NCAA and theoretically should refuse to play Penn.

The steering committee also made public its "report No. 2" on the effects of television on college football attendance. This was compiled by the National Research Center of the University of Chicago.

"Experience to date offers no

## Herring Shades Flood In Garden Slugfest

Jimmy Herring, 18-year-old "golden boy" of the Brooklyn small clubs, evaded the bullish rushes of Jimmy Flood Friday night to out-box his ever-willing foe for an eight-round decision in the Garden. Flood weighed 163, Herring 157 1/2.

Both judges gave the fight to Herring, the 2 to 1 favorite, but referee George Walsh called it all even in rounds and points with four for each. Judge Nick Gamboli found for Herring 5-3 and Judge Jack O'Sullivan 4-3-1. THE COMPASS card has it 5-3 in favor of Herring.

A small crowd of 4,026 paid \$12.159 for this neighborhood brawl that closed out the regular Garden season.

There were no knockdowns in this battle between the slicker boxing Herring and Flood, strictly a take-five-to-land one strong

confirmation of the theory that attendance losses will be regained as television's novelty effect wears off," said the report. "Thus far, the declines in attendance have become progressively more severe, as more and more sets are introduced into an area."

"In 1950, unfavorable television effects were observable in seven of the eight NCAA districts. Overall, the colleges in TV areas dropped about 4 per cent from their normal attendance, while colleges out-

side of those areas gained 4 per cent."

Meanwhile Francis T. Murray, Penn's director of athletics, requested a hearing by the NCAA on its "hasty action" in placing Penn in bad standing because of its decision.

The Notre Dame Athletic Council met today but no immediate announcement was made on its decision on television. College men consider Notre Dame as the key to the whole television situation.

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## Feller Beats Bosox, 7-1, for 8th Victory

Cleveland, June 8 (AP)—Bob Feller got even with the Red Sox for his only setback tonight by pitching the Indians to a 7-1 victory that was decided by a five-run outburst in the second inning. Lefty Maury McDermott was the victim of the Indians' rally that resulted in Feller's eighth victory, 7-1.

Feller also stopped Dominick DiMaggio's hitting streak at 27 games. The other DiMaggio went hitless in five trips.

RED SOX: 0-0 0-1 0-0 0-0 1-1 0-0 0-0  
INDIANS: 0-0 0-1 0-0 0-0 1-1 0-0 0-0

McDermott, Maury (3), Nixon (3) and Moss, Feller and Brown, RHO: Indians—Mantle, Hops.

## Racing

## Senator Offers Bill To Stop Racing

Washington, June 8 (AP)—Senator Langer (R-ND) today offered a bill designed to stop gambling on horse and dog racing in the country by stopping the races.

The measure would prohibit interstate shipment of racing horses and dogs for the purpose of taking part in contests where there are facilities for betting on such races.

Langer said races could continue in states where it is legal as long as the animals were not shipped from one state to another. He pointed out, however, that most racing animals make a circuit of the country each year to follow the seasonal heats.

## Hart Eliminates Althea; Beverly Belts Betty

Manchester, England, June 8 (AP)—Poker-faced Doris Hart of Jacksonville, Fla., ended Althea Gibson's first challenge for an English tennis title today as she beat the American Negro champion, 6-1, 6-4 in the semifinals of the northern lawn tennis tournament.

Miss Gibson won only five games, the same number she got off America's No. 2 player the only other time they met—in the quarter-finals of the National Clay Courts tournament in Chicago last July.

In tomorrow's final, Miss Hart will face Beverly Baker of Santa Monica, Calif., the No. 4 ranking U. S. star, who nosed out Betty Rosenquest of South Orange, N.J., 9-7, 6-4.

Gardner Mulloy of Miami kept the American colors flying in the men's division as he overpowered Lorne Main of Canada, 6-0, 6-3, but the bid for an American sweep failed when Hal Burrows of Charlottesville, Va., bowed to Don Candy of Australia, 6-3, 6-0.

Miss Gibson appeared nervous in the first set against Miss Hart and double faults helped her lose. She rallied to lead twice in the second set at 3-1 and 4-2 before her ground strokes went bad and she lost four straight games and the match.

The Baker-Rosenquest match was one of the best of the tournament, which serves as a warmup for the Wimbledon Championships.

The lead changed with the service in the give-and-take first set until Miss Baker, an ambidextrous cutie, broke through at 8-7 after a long volley. Miss Rosenquest, who upset defending champion Shirley Fry yesterday, fought all the way but the California girl, who drives equally well with either hand, was just a fraction better in all departments.

Miss Gibson appeared nervous in the first set against Miss Hart and double faults helped her lose. She rallied to lead twice in the second set at 3-1 and 4-2 before her ground strokes went bad and she lost four straight games and the match.

The Baker-Rosenquest match was one of the best of the tournament, which serves as a warmup for the Wimbledon Championships.

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# BEST BETS

BYE Q. BETT'S ALIVE—M (2-3)  
BURN S.—ARGENT—DUN (2-1)

# THE SUNDAY COMPASS

# COMPASS PICKS

Saturday  
DOGGERS OVER PIRATES  
GIANTS OVER CUBS  
TANKERS OVER WHITE SOX

40

THE COMPASS, JUNE 10, 1951

# Headgears Urged After Dynamite KO

Washington, June 8 (AP)—Little Dynamite, a game little Washington Negro fighter whose skull was fractured in a bout last night, was given only a 50-50 chance to live today. And a National Boxing Association official pleaded for headgears for professional fighters to prevent similar injuries.

Little Dynamite was knocked out by Gene Smith in the last round of a torrid featherweight fight at Griffith Stadium. He was carried unconscious from the ring, his skull fractured, his brain hurt.

Throughout the day the word from Garfield Hospital remained the same: "still critical."

The boxing association's executive secretary, Col. Harvey L. Miller, insisted that the 21-year-old Little Dynamite—his real name is Elijah Williams—might have escaped serious injury had he been wearing a protective headgear.

"The injury was caused by his head hitting the canvas, not by the blow," Miller told a reporter. "At least, that's what the doctors tell me."

"Every protection was taken," Miller said. "The canvas was two inches thick, the best you can get anywhere. We had a stretcher under the ring. We had a rule that seconds can't come into the ring on a knockout like this till a doctor can get to him."

"We had the best surgeons in the country to look after him."

"And yet—this had to happen."

Sonny Boy West, another popular Washington Negro, died last December after a fight in New York. West, like Little Dynamite, hit the canvas with a sickening thump. He died 22 hours later.

Miller insisted then that a head harness might have saved West, and in a benefit bout for West's widow, the headgear was given a tryout.

Reception was mixed. All the fighters who lost said they didn't like it. One of the winners on that card was Gene Smith, the victor last night and the nation's sixth ranking featherweight. Smith said he thought the headgear was okay.

Miller said that many of the complaints made about the headgear will be eliminated by a new model.

"Some people say it's silly to wear a headgear," Miller said. "But they said the same thing the first time boxers put on gloves."

A crowd of 7,000, largest in some years, had turned out and had seen a whale of a fight. It was so even that, while all of the judges were for Smith, their scorecards read: 84-82, 84-81 and 85-84.

Smith turned cartwheels of joy at the knockdown. Then, when he realized what had happened, he burst into tears and knelt down and prayed for the boy he had just knocked out.

One of the spectators at the fight was Dynamite's wife, Margie. They have a two year-old daughter, Victoria.

MORE SPORTS  
ON PAGE 39

**WINNING HORSE**  
25c Weekly — 5 Issues Mailed \$1  
See the edition for a full list of winners  
BELMONT PICKS HIS ONE HILL AND  
WINNING HORSE  
IN N. CLARK CHICAGO 2, ILL.

**JACK ORR**  
TV or Not TV—Penn Case  
Really Has NCAA in a Lather



THIS THROWBACK is what the trade calls a non-viewer (maybe even an anti-viewer), so there's little concern here one way or the other whether the University of Pennsylvania or anybody else puts its football games on television. What with the two-platoon system and snow on the screen it's a wonder anybody cares.

Still it's interesting to hear the howls the college athletic heads are sending up at the prospect of getting belted in the pocketbook.

Somebody's going to get hurt if Penn does televise; others are going to get hurt if the non-television forces hold.

For those who came in late, this is what's been going on: the National Collegiate Athletic Association, a loose organization, which sort of governs college athletics, decided that unrestricted television was hurting juicy football gates. Accordingly, a plan was adopted last January.

It called for one televised game a week in each metropolitan area, from Sept. 22 to Nov. 24. Television would be barred at all member games on one weekend to see what would happen to gate receipts under those conditions.

WELL, the University of Pennsylvania thought this over all winter and spring and the other day decided that it wasn't going to observe these restrictions. Penn said it would televise all eight of its games from Franklin Field.

And oh the moaning. The university was accused of placing the university's interests above the welfare of other schools. Somebody said that Harold Stassen, president of the university, was trying to get publicity for a shot at the next Republican Presidential nomination. Penn was said to be "setting itself apart" and wasn't "willing to accept sacrifice."

There were threats that the other schools wouldn't play. Columbia's athletic director, Ralph Furey, said the Lions probably will refuse to sign the contract for this year's game. Asa Bushnell, of the Eastern College Athletic Conference, said his group has "a firm agreement . . . that they will confine their competition to those institutions observing the principles and resolutions of the conference." Cornell said it would be required to kill its traditional game with Penn.

But it seems here this is so much whistling around. The best guess is that Notre Dame will follow Pennsylvania's lead and go for television, come NCAA or high water. If Notre Dame goes along, Army and Navy are almost sure to follow.

Even now there's pressure in Congress to have Army and Navy, "our national institutions," televise their football games for the people around the country. Congressmen being what they are, it's likely that the two service schools will be right along.

IN THAT CASE, the NCAA would have to fold its plan and throw up its hands. Then the big schools would be free to televise wherever they pleased, no doubt, at the expense of attendance at the smaller schools' games.

But as was suggested earlier, this is no hot viewer of television. And does it matter which college coffers get fat, either by television pay-offs or big gates?

# News of Sports

## THE OLD SCOUT

## Greenberg Has Troubles—Indian Writer Would Have His Scalp

We have heard one prominent Cleveland sports columnist say, "It's either Greenberg or me. There's no room in this town for the both of us."

This seems a bit far-fetched. The columnist is taking Greenberg and the Indians and the game of baseball too seriously. But it illustrates a serious rift. Hank Greenberg apparently is not the most popular man in town.

He is, you know, the general manager of the Indians—his second year, as such—and some of the newspaper boys are saying he is on the spot, that if the Indians do not win the pennant, Hank will be out.

We doubt it. General managers, as a rule, get paid on two counts: First, to produce talent for their field managers. Second, and slightly more important, to keep the turnstiles humming.

The Indians seem to be doing a fairly brisk business. The last check showed them leading the league in attendance. If they hold to their patronage pace they'll attract about 1,500,000 customers, and that's about 350,000 more than they'll need to break even.

As further indication that Greenberg is secure and that the Indians are quite solvent was owner Ellis Ryan's approval of a record \$120,000 grant to Billy Joe Davidson, a North Carolina lad who pitches left-handed.

But for a ball player who got along famously with the press, Greenberg should mend his public relations fences and see that the town's newspapermen all get a square deal.

The manner in which Lou Boudreau was fired and Al Lopez was hired alienated reporters but not Boudreau; Hank was kind enough to give Lou his unconditional release and thereby make it possible for the shortstop-manager to make his own deal.

Greenberg himself was not thus privileged. You may recall that he had given a lifetime of service to the Detroit Tigers only to learn one evening, sitting by the radio, that he had been waived out of the American League and sold to Pittsburgh for \$35,000.

That deal embittered Greenberg. He was 35 years old and the least the Tigers might have done—Billy Evans in particular—was to inform Hank that he was on his way out and to ask if he had any preference in the way of an outbound destination.

Hank took a certain pride in his American League connections. He wanted no part of the National. He believed the Yankees would have him and it would have been nice, he thought, to finish out his career in his home town.

When the deal broke, Hank held a secret rendezvous with Frank McKinney, then boss of the Pirates, and asked him how much the Pirates paid for him. He was told the price was \$35,000.

"If you pay me \$35,000," Greenberg told McKinney, "if you will release me."

"I know how you feel," McKinney said, sympathetically. "But we have already told the fans of Pittsburgh that you are with us. We can't afford to let them down. They will regard the whole deal as a hoax."

So McKinney paid Greenberg a fantastic salary, the most ever given to a National Leaguer, and threw in a few prize stallions from the stable of vice-president John Galbreath for Hank's wife, a horse fancier, and the big guy was placated.

This Greenberg remembered when he released Boudreau. But he botched up the announcement. Two days before the story broke a Cleveland paper went on the limb with a report that Boudreau would return. Apparently Hank had given the paper a bum steer. It hasn't forgiven Hank yet.

Greenberg's Indians have played erratic baseball, traceable chiefly to (a) Luke Easter's trick knee and (b) Bob Lemon's aching back which caused him to miss two turns and then to pitch badly in three more. But now the team is in pretty good shape, and Greenberg doesn't look too bad except that Lou Brissie, whom he had acquired from the A's, hasn't helped the Tribe.

As for that sports columnist, he doesn't figure to get bounced either. In time he will discover that there is room in Cleveland both for Greenberg and himself.

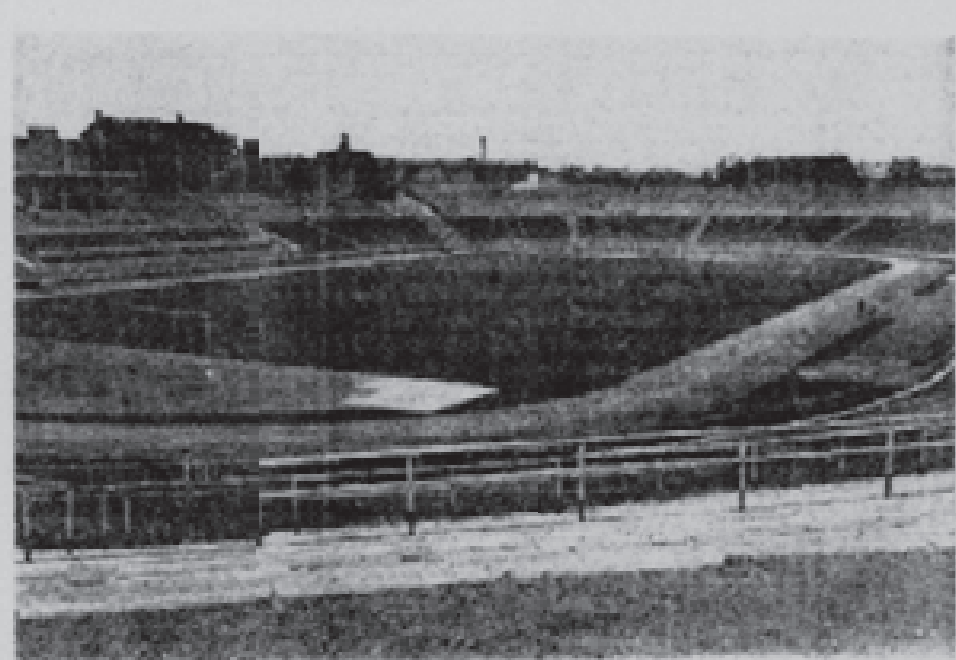


## Belmont Park

- |                                               |                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 King Wilson<br>Crazy Me Back<br>Belmont     | 5 Ted M.<br>Ryan's<br>Baptist                    |
| 2 Harshaw<br>Noble Sports<br>No Win           | 6 Battlefield<br>Hall of Fame (2)<br>Battle Born |
| 3 Betty's Auto<br>Dressed Best<br>Howard Deer | 7 Goldstone<br>Hank Kram<br>On the Mark          |
| 4 Jazzy<br>Blue Gypsy<br>Rode                 | 8 Ventoline<br>Kearney<br>Colleges               |

## Helen S. Selects

1. Belmont, New York, Belmont  
2. Our World, Omaha, Nebraska  
3. Port Jackson, White Pine, Texas, Blue  
4. Ayla, Blue, Acapulco, Mexico  
5. Bryan G. Pagliarini, War King  
6. Baltimore, Baltimore, Baltimore, Baltimore  
7. Argenta, On the Mark, Able Co.  
8. Burn's Award, Approval, Approval



WALTER ULBRICHT stadium in Berlin, which seats 60,000, will house the 11th World University Summer Games, Aug. 6-Aug. 15, sponsored by the International Union of Students.

## Handicappers' Score

10th WEEK	12th WEEK	VERIFIED
114.40 C. W. T. S.	114.40 C. W. T. S.	114.40 C. W. T. S.
114.40 W. M. S.	114.40 W. M. S.	114.40 W. M. S.
114.40 B. M. S.	114.40 B. M. S.	114.40 B. M. S.
114.40 R. M. S.	114.40 R. M. S.	114.40 R. M. S.
114.40 G. M. S.	114.40 G. M. S.	114.40 G. M. S.
114.40 Y. M. S.	114.40 Y. M. S.	114.40 Y. M. S.
114.40 P. M. S.	114.40 P. M. S.	114.40 P. M. S.
114.40 D. M. S.	114.40 D. M. S.	114.40 D. M. S.
114.40 K. M. S.	114.40 K. M. S.	114.40 K. M. S.
114.40 L. M. S.	114.40 L. M. S.	114.40 L. M. S.
114.40 J. M. S.	114.40 J. M. S.	114.40 J. M. S.
114.40 I. M. S.	114.40 I. M. S.	114.40 I. M. S.
114.40 H. M. S.	114.40 H. M. S.	114.40 H. M. S.
114.40 F. M. S.	114.40 F. M. S.	114.40 F. M. S.
114.40 E. M. S.	114.40 E. M. S.	114.40 E. M. S.
114.40 A. M. S.	114.40 A. M. S.	114.40 A. M. S.

THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

*Dr. Arthur H. Hays Sulzberger -*  
*Address delivered at The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, May 27, 1951*

What are the prospects for peace? Who can answer this question? If you ask government officials from the President down, or our top military leaders or the heads of foreign governments, ~~and all~~ the men who are in the best position to know, you will receive conflicting and contradictory replies. ~~You will receive a diversity of opinion.~~ Sometimes this diversity of opinion will come from one and the same source. *There are those who* ~~Some will~~ say that war is imminent. *It may break out at any moment.* ~~from time to time~~ *There are others* voices from Washington are heard, prophesying imminence of war. ~~At the same time you will hear other voices who will say that there will be no war in 1951 or in 1952, but there is a definite likelihood of war in 1953.~~ *that war will break out*

*Again there are other voices which* ~~But you will also hear voices and sometimes from the very same sources declare~~ ~~ing~~ that there will be no war, if we arm ourselves fully and make ourselves invincible, *and* if we arm all of our allies. This will discourage the aggressor, ~~and consequently,~~ *so that* there will be no war. On the other hand, *then are those who maintain* ~~you will hear other voices saying that~~ *in the eventuality, we* ~~the~~ *arming to the teeth* of ourselves and of our allies is bound to provoke war, ~~just as~~ *as before* ~~such armament, rearmament, mobilization for war in the past always provoked war in the past~~

What is the truth of the matter? The truth of the matter is that nobody knows— *Neither side* from Truman and Stalin down. Nobody knows! ~~No one~~ *Neither side* wants war, but both sides ~~and~~ ~~our world is divided into two camps today~~ ~~both sides~~ ~~and~~ fear and suspect one another. *Each side* ~~is trying~~ *tries* to read the mind of the other, to out-guess the other, to ~~impress~~ *impress* the other; and, by ostensible, large-scale, military mobilization, to over-awe the other and ~~to~~ forewarn the other, in the hope that it will not commit any act of aggression which ~~will~~ *would* lead to war. *TP* Both sides fully realize the futility of a military show-down, the utter, disastrous pointlessness of a third world war, ~~a third world war~~ which neither side can win, and which will leave our globe one vast atomic shambles.



The fact that

~~So~~ neither side wants war, ~~and this fact would logically lead one to the infer~~

~~ence~~ that the prospects of peace are very bright ~~in our day~~, But ~~then~~ why all ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> persistent ~~conjecture~~ <sup>speculation</sup> as to when the third world war will begin, and why all ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> feverish preparation for it? The answer ~~to it~~ is ~~quite simple~~ <sup>quite simple</sup>. Both sides realize

that they may ~~very easily~~, unwillingly and unwittingly, stumble and blunder into ~~this~~ a universally unwanted and unwelcome third world war. They ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> ~~blindly and unwillingly~~ <sup>outsprint</sup>

~~their selves~~ <sup>stumble</sup> into it! ~~That is the fear~~. Often in the past nations found themselves ~~out~~

~~deeply~~ in the midst of a ~~shooting war~~, when all that they had planned ~~for and expected~~ <sup>disastrous</sup>

was either a ~~smart~~ <sup>clever</sup> diplomatic maneuver, ~~a bloodless international tour-de-force~~, a ~~brilliant~~ <sup>brilliant</sup> ~~clever~~ move, ~~as it were~~, on the checker board of power politics, ~~all that~~ <sup>what</sup> they ex-

pected was a victory without war, or at worst, a little war and a ~~quick~~ <sup>quick</sup> big victory, a ~~small in vastness~~ and enormous dividends.

They always start, these big wars, ~~with~~ <sup>in</sup> relatively minor and unimportant political incidents, but because there exist two armed, hostile camps, which are jealously watching one another, and which weigh each incident in terms of ~~their own~~ increasing or decreasing power and prestige, these relatively unimportant political incidents often turn out to be the burning fuses which explode the power keg, which nobody wanted to explode. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo, ~~brought on~~ <sup>caused</sup> the explosion of the first World War - relatively minor political incidents. Danzig blew up the flood-gates of the second World War.

~~Now, these incidents in themselves are not important, and~~ <sup>enough</sup> ~~no~~ political incident is important to bring on a world war, but the ~~predisposition~~ <sup>belligerent</sup> which exists, the recep-

tive layer, as it were, the unresolved and accumulated ~~tensions and fears~~, <sup>which exist</sup> ~~the mood and the climate of the world~~ - these ~~are~~ <sup>counted</sup> the dry ~~kindling~~ <sup>tinder</sup> which any spark,

~~sometimes accidentally~~, <sup>can</sup> set ablaze. And ~~the world is which we live today is full~~ <sup>our</sup> of such ~~dry kindling~~, <sup>explosive</sup> of such dangerous potentials. That is why people today are not



The bull of power politics is  
~~very optimistic about the prospects of peace. Our world is still very much like a~~  
~~china shop, and the bull of power politics is inside of it. And though he is content~~  
~~upon no deliberate destruction, he may by some unpremeditated act of clumsiness, begin~~  
~~bringing delicately poised arrangements crashing down into~~  
~~the universal havoc and disaster. Nobody is in position to give him a satisfactory~~  
~~answer to the question, what are the prospects for peace.~~

On the other hand, war is not inevitable. It can be averted. I do not know the  
mind of the Kremlin. If it wants war, then war is inevitable. But I start out with  
the assumption that neither the Soviet Union nor the allied nations want war. The  
rulers of Russia are not so completely uninformed nor so utterly mad as not to realize  
what a third world war, with its vast atomic destructiveness, would mean to their

country and people, a country and a people which ~~has~~ <sup>have</sup> hardly emerged from the ~~night-~~ <sup>appalling</sup>  
~~ful ravages and devastations of the second World War. They are not fools, the rulers~~  
~~of Russia. The rulers of Russia were never fools, even before the days of the Commun-~~  
~~ists. A nation of fools does not build up an empire which covers one-fifth of the~~  
~~globe.~~ <sup>to regard them as fools or reckless knaves.</sup>

Presumably, the present rulers of Russia would like to ~~gain certain advantages~~  
~~expand further the borders of Communism. They must realize, that this~~  
~~is now impossible without war. And~~ <sup>however</sup>  
~~they will come to the conclusion that these advantages which they would like to~~  
~~gain - the expansion of Communism in the world, for example - that war will be too~~  
~~high a price to pay for the whistle. The progress which they have made in recent~~  
~~years has not been <sup>through direct Russian military intervention</sup> ~~Communist~~ Communism has made amazing progress since the second World~~  
~~War; in fact, <sup>Hundreds of</sup> ~~some 100~~ millions of people have <sup>been swung into</sup> ~~come within~~ the orbit of Communism~~  
~~since the end of the second World War, and that, without a single Russian soldier fight-~~  
~~ing anywhere in the world! Russia <sup>of course</sup> provided propaganda, ~~it provided undoubtedly~~ <sup>weapons and instruction</sup>~~  
~~itself, but it made ~~sure~~ <sup>sure</sup> and doubly <sup>sure</sup> and trebly <sup>sure</sup> that it itself would not be~~  
~~involved militarily. Undoubtedly, the Russian rulers would like to expand the Commun-~~  
~~ist empire further; that is the basis of the revolutionary idea behind ~~world~~ Communism.~~  
~~on the old but unappeased imperialism which is not <sup>however</sup> ~~member~~~~  
~~to the Slavic appetite, would like to expand still further.~~

But I am inclined to believe that they <sup>will</sup> not wish to do that at the cost of involving themselves in war. ~~and if that is so~~ ~~I am not at all sure that it is so~~ ~~I am try-~~

~~ing to think through the problem - if that is so, then there are ways of checking this~~

~~kind of would-be aggression short of a world war. In the first place, we should~~

<sup>by means</sup> ~~to a point where the cost of~~ our own strength and defenses in such a way that increasingly the fact will be borne in

~~on the minds of the rulers of Russia that the price which they would have to pay for~~

~~their aggression would be prohibitive. In the second place, we should also~~

<sup>to</sup> ~~allies build up their strength, provided they are willing and willing to pay their fair~~

<sup>own</sup> ~~share of the cost for self-defense. It is, however, futile and in the long run, dan-~~

~~gerous to re-arm former and unrepentant enemies of democracy and freedom in the world.~~

It is futile and dangerous, in the long run, to try to woo and win into <sup>a world</sup> ~~an alliance~~

~~with~~ <sup>other and corrupt and discredited guards like Chiang Kai-shek</sup> ~~as ex-Nazis and ex-Fascists, Tito Communists, and what not! They are broken~~

~~reeds to lean upon! and to undermine our own moral position by joining hands with~~

<sup>in the world and bring the</sup> ~~indefinitely of our cause with disrepute when we join hands with~~

~~these reactionaries, and dictatorships, and dangerous opportunists.~~

The most promising way of checking ~~Communism~~ and the spread of Communism in the

world is, ~~in my judgment~~, to be found in those proposals which have been made in the

last few years, and more recently again by the President of the United States, to ex-

tend economic aid to ~~those~~ peoples whose level of subsistence is so low that they be-

come <sup>the</sup> ~~natural prey of~~ Communist propaganda and <sup>abusement</sup> ~~enticement~~. The ~~vast~~ masses of the

earth who live in frightful misery and degradation, <sup>poor and nothing, not even of life</sup> ~~many of them on the verge of star-~~

~~vation~~, not knowing <sup>when</sup> ~~where~~ their morsel of bread is coming from ~~the next day~~ - these

~~vast masses of the earth are not interested in ideologies, <sup>either</sup> Communism or ~~democ-~~~~

~~racy. They want bread. They need food, clothing, shelter, hospitals, schools. <sup>whoever</sup>~~

~~when you help them in these directions - not with guns and cannons, bombs which they~~

~~cannot eat, which only tend to <sup>in case they turn and then we withdraw</sup> ~~destroy their ramshackle huts in which they live - when~~~~

~~will with their <sup>and will in time cause them to</sup> ~~you help them in these directions, you make friends of them. You make them grateful~~~~

~~admire and welcome that way of life which brought them~~

~~healing and help in their sorry plight. It was wise~~

~~to extend such help, where ever feasible, through the agencies~~

~~of the United Nations, thereby <sup>increasing the prestige and the</sup> ~~discrediting the prestige and the~~~~

defenders of people upon it, making it increasingly more relevant and more necessary.





for the kind of a society which gives these things to them, which helps them and <sup>present strong appeal which can make them</sup> their children. The <sup>appeal</sup> of Communism to them is that Communism promises them a <sup>new</sup> ~~new~~ <sup>change</sup> ~~change~~ <sup>change</sup> change, a ~~revolution~~ <sup>change</sup> which will take them out of <sup>the life and</sup> ~~this~~ engulfing misery in which they

find themselves. Any change would be a change for the better for them! <sup>Can we make</sup> ~~It~~ promises

them land and it ~~promises~~ <sup>Of course it has not</sup> bread, and a planned economy which would provide them

with these things. ~~It hasn't~~ <sup>Of course it has not</sup> as yet delivered any of these things to them, but ~~it is~~ <sup>give them a long chance and let out</sup>

the very hope and promise ~~against~~ <sup>the</sup> the drab and tragic reality in which they find them-

selves. <sup>they</sup> ~~It~~ beguiled them and enticed them, and ~~makes~~ the progress of Communism among

them <sup>is this made</sup> ~~easy~~ and rapid. <sup>If we could it is then not merely help and promise but concrete</sup> The people that can see hope ahead, ~~the~~ people that can see a

way out from hunger, <sup>and suffering</sup> ~~and~~ desperation will not go Communist. <sup>help out relief</sup>

~~and~~ It is in this direction that America can best serve itself and mankind. The <sup>save to the hour</sup> ~~other~~ way, the fighting way, the sending of our <sup>can't, to resist by force</sup> ~~corners~~ of the ~~world~~ <sup>in order to check</sup>

Communism, to save the <sup>endanger</sup> ~~liberties~~, as it were, of these <sup>understand</sup> ~~people~~ is, sad to record, not a

very profitable <sup>dispatch</sup> ~~one~~ for anyone ~~and everyone~~ concerned.

I read the other day a <sup>dispatch</sup> ~~report~~ which appeared in the New York Times <sup>from Korea.</sup>

Written by Bruce Barnett:

In the past seven months, as the battle line advanced and receded, many Koreans have seen their regimes switch from Syngman Rhee to the Communists, back to Syngman Rhee, back again to the Communists, and now, for the third time, back to Syngman Rhee, ~~(President of~~ <sup>President of</sup> ~~Southeast Korea)~~. Out of this see-saw experience, there seems to have crystallized for many Koreans a highly disillusioned point of view. Dislike and distrust of the Communists, with no great love for the South Korea regime.

To a great many of the Koreans, whose illiteracy rate probably is as high as 60%, the political issues inherent in a war are so much mumbo-jumbo. The big question ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> the stark one of just staying alive. This means for most Koreans how to keep from being killed in the fighting, and succeeding that, how to get enough food and warmth to stay alive.

The Communist platform announced from the North was an enticing one, according to a sampling of farmers, shopkeepers, and refugees . . . but disillusionment set in quickly, according to those who concede that they once were prepared to buy what the Communists had in theory to offer. . . .

and refusing to align ourselves with colonialism and with the  
representatives of backward colonialism and with the  
~~and their~~ military exploits, nations and peoples, those  
peoples, nations and peoples, would convince them by our  
conduct of our sincere intentions to assist them in their  
full economic and political emancipation and in their  
social progress, we would win them to our side.

Today vast numbers of Koreans have nothing left. No homes, no work and no food except what they can forage or beg, and they tell you they are bewildered by the havoc created by the war that they never really understood. . . .

With this feeling of no love for either side, they are beginning to ask in increasing bewilderment what they themselves can hope to get out of all the killing and destruction, no matter who wins the military victory.

~~In my judgment, friends,~~ <sup>TP</sup> There are two danger spots in the world today. One is Korea. You may recall that I advocated ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> time ago the liquidation of the Korean military undertaking. It is now nearly a year since we invaded Korea, ~~on June 25th of~~

~~last year.~~ <sup>a decisive</sup> There is still no prospect for victory, ~~in fact,~~ <sup>in fact,</sup> Most military experts seem to ~~suggest~~ <sup>believe</sup> that we are in a hopeless stalemate in Korea. The casualties have been mounting. There are now ~~reaching up to~~ <sup>approaching</sup> 70,000 ~~of those who are casualties in~~  
~~actual battle,~~ and Recently it was revealed that there have been another 70,000

casualties in ~~what is known as~~ the non-combat activities connected with the Korean War. ~~And there is nothing to look forward to in this Korean imbroglio.~~

~~and we therefore cannot have an all-out victory.~~ <sup>We do not want an all-out war in fear of hurting Russia in</sup> <sup>rh</sup>

A few days ago ~~the~~ Democratic Senator, Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado introduced a resolution in the Senate which, ~~in my humble judgment, should have been introduced~~  
~~out and not after~~  
~~12 months ago.~~

Whereas to permit civilization to be destroyed by World War III is utter insanity and unworthy of the men of this century; and

Whereas the Korean War has every appearance of being a hopeless conflict of attrition and indecisiveness and a breeder of bitter racial hatreds; and

Whereas a limited war like a limited or smoldering fire, is gravely dangerous, for it may burst forth into a world-wide conflagration at any moment; and

Whereas the North and South Koreans, the Chinese and the United Nations have suffered more than 1,000,000 casualties, with the only tangible result so far the indescribable misery which has been heaped upon the Korean people; and

Whereas by slaughtering additional millions of humans an uneasy peace might in time be forced upon the vanquished; and

Whereas the people of the United States traditionally have held the people of China in the highest esteem and affection and still do; and



- And what did <sup>the</sup> all-out victory ~~in recent years~~ for the ~~democratic~~ <sup>united</sup> nations in recent years result in, but the spread of dictatorship in the world!  
A limited war can yield only a limited victory - and that the United Nations has already achieved with the defeat of the latest Chinese - North Korean aggression and the withdrawal of these forces ~~to~~ beyond the 38th parallel.



Whereas the people of the United States have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan "Asia for Asiatics" if it were to be applied to Asia; and

Whereas it has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government over any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine its own form of government and its own way of life, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid - the little along with the great and the powerful; and

*to* ~~RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Senate that the United Nations call upon all nations and all groups now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective ~~at~~ ~~a~~ June 25, 1951, (the anniversary of the war) and that prior thereto the United Nations forces retire to points south, and the opposing forces retire to points north of the thirty-eighth parallel; and that before December 31, 1951, all prisoners of the Korean War shall be exchanged and all non-Korean persons, military and non-military (except the ordinary diplomatic representatives) shall depart from North and South Korea.~~

*IP Such action should have been taken a long time ago. I cannot*  
~~I can't~~ see any other way out but the way of a cease fire, an agreement to end

the struggle and to negotiate an all around settlement. This will not be easy. ~~As~~

~~long as there are those in control of our government - and I can only speak for our~~

~~government - that is, I cannot speak for our government; I can only express a hope~~

~~of what the leaders of our government should do; I can only speak for our side - I~~

~~say, this will not be easy as long as there are people who insist that the present re-~~

gime in China must never be recognized, and in fact, <sup>that</sup> efforts <sup>should</sup> ~~must~~ be made on our

part to <sup>revive the</sup> ~~bring about~~ a civil war in China, <sup>in order</sup> to unseat the present government and bring

back into power <sup>the government of</sup> Chiang Kai Shek.

<sup>Very</sup> Voices of prominent men were heard recently in Washington declaring that the

United States must veto the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. ~~and there~~

there is <sup>considerable</sup> ~~a terrible~~ confusion in <sup>on this subject</sup> ~~the~~ thinking. First of all, China is <sup>to-day</sup> ~~a~~ member of

the United Nations, one of the original members, <sup>and</sup> ~~of the United Nations~~, one of the

<sup>permanent</sup> ~~prominent~~ members of the Security Council. The question is not whether China should

be admitted to the United Nations, but which of the rival Chinese governments ~~who~~ claim

who claim to speak for China <sup>should</sup> ~~shall~~ be accepted as the official representative of China in the United Nations. ~~Which of these two governments actually represents China, actually can commit China by its vote?~~ <sup>Which of these two government effectively controls</sup>

China today, its territories and its peoples, and can speak for the people of China?

<sup>The decision which the United Nations must make, at such time as it chooses to</sup> ~~Now, this is a question not of a substantive nature, but of a procedural nature, and on~~ <sup>Mr.</sup>

~~questions of procedure, there is no possibility of casting a veto vote. On matters of~~

~~procedure a majority vote prevails in the United Nations. Should our own government~~

~~attempt to insist that it is a question of substance and not of procedure, it is not~~

likely to <sup>be maintained</sup> ~~receive adequate votes~~ in the Security Council <sup>to maintain its position, and</sup> ~~and~~

~~other than asserting the charges of less hypocrisy, by calling~~ <sup>What purpose is served</sup>

~~certainly not in the Assembly of the United Nations. For a UN Ad States into 7 Communist China which is the last and only~~ <sup>can't be expected</sup>

~~It is clear that there is only one government which is today in control of China,~~

<sup>that is</sup> ~~and that the present Communist government. It is clear that~~ <sup>Peiping</sup> ~~Chen Kai Shek has been~~

~~driven off the territories of China.~~

<sup>recently</sup> ~~More recently~~ Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs,

<sup>American</sup> ~~promised continued aid to Nationalist China, declared that the American government~~

would not recognize the Communist regime, and in so many words offered to help the

Chinese people if they revolted against their present government. <sup>It should be clear even</sup> ~~Now, it is crystal~~

<sup>to achieve</sup> ~~clear~~ that you cannot negotiate with a government which you are <sup>plainly repudiating and which you are</sup> ~~intending to destroy.~~

<sup>It is impossible to</sup> ~~You cannot sit down with the representatives of a government to agree upon a settle-~~ <sup>and work out</sup>

<sup>with it</sup> ~~ment when you are inciting the people of that country to a civil war against that gov-~~ <sup>at the very same time</sup>

<sup>over</sup> ~~ernment. As someone said, a question of survival is not a matter of negotiation.~~

<sup>The statements of</sup> ~~Dean Rusk, who has more or less been officially repudiated by the State De-~~ <sup>have been</sup> ~~partment, but he is still in the same key position, and as long as he remains a spokes-~~ <sup>explained away</sup>

<sup>man for our government,</sup> ~~man for our government, it is not likely that the Korean affair will approach some~~ <sup>in the Department,</sup>

~~kind of a reasonable solution. In that direction, Dean Rusk's direction, lies endless~~

war and the <sup>prospects</sup> ~~provocation~~ of a third world war.

in planning in determining  
American policy in the  
Far East,



make it, <sup>or</sup> in other a question not of a substantive nature  
when the veto power of one or another of the permanent  
members, the Security Council. Can be exercised but of  
a purely ~~substantive~~ procedural nature, when there is no  
possibility, the decision, the veto.

(Q2) Does our government really want a cease-fire  
in Korea, and a general peace settlement for Korea  
and with communist China? If not, what is it  
that it wants?

The <sup>present</sup> moment seems to be propitious, <sup>and we</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>united</sup> have had two or three <sup>such</sup> similar moments in the past <sup>year.</sup> ~~which we missed~~, for a concerted and determined and honest effort to settle the Korean affair. The <sup>latest</sup> ~~latest~~ Chinese offensive has failed, ~~seemingly~~, and they are not likely to <sup>mount</sup> ~~mount~~ another <sup>one</sup> ~~offensive~~ in the near future. <sup>They have been driven out of South Korea.</sup> ~~There has been a tightening up of the shipment of vital war supplies in China, which did not exist before.~~ This is a good time for earnest and honest peace overtures.

~~But~~ Korea still remains one of the two danger spots in the world which make the prospects for peace rather dim at the moment.

The second one <sup>is</sup> ~~has recently flared up~~, and that has to do with oil in Iran. Iran has resolved to nationalize <sup>the</sup> ~~its~~ vast oil reserves which have been ~~largely~~ heretofore in the control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. The Iranian government is prepared to compensate the company for its investments. It has called upon the company to send representatives to arrange for the early transfer of its properties to the Iranian government. Great Britain ~~has~~ replied at first with threatening gestures. It has sent some 1,000 parachute troops <sup>presumably</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>in Korea</sup> ~~intimidate~~ the Iranian government. It is rather strange for a government like Great Britain, which itself has nationalized some <sup>in recent years</sup> ~~of its basic~~ industries, <sup>unsuccessfully</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>condemn</sup> ~~resent~~ when another nation <sup>for doing</sup> ~~does~~ the very same thing. Should Great Britain send troops into Iran, it <sup>will</sup> ~~will~~ provoke Russia, which has a treaty with Iran, <sup>covering just such a contingency</sup> ~~looking to just such a contingency~~, to do likewise. ~~Then~~ the prospects of a world war <sup>used to</sup> ~~become~~ dangerously real.

We had the same <sup>problem of oil</sup> ~~business~~ with Mexico <sup>years ago</sup> ~~some years ago~~, you will recall, on the <sup>very threatening</sup> ~~question of oil~~. Fortunately, <sup>our government</sup> ~~we~~ had the wisdom and the statesmanship to work out a <sup>mutually satisfactory arrangement</sup> ~~that problem with Mexico without any great loss to us~~ in the long run.

There is no way <sup>to-day</sup> ~~of~~ stopping these <sup>of Asian from exercising their</sup> ~~Asiatic~~ peoples ~~from~~ full sovereignty. ~~no way~~ <sup>in the world to do that.</sup> There is <sup>a</sup> ~~one~~ way of cooperating with them, ~~as partners~~, as equals, for mutual benefit <sup>and</sup> ~~for~~ common interests. When that policy is adopted, honestly adopted, we will be making friends <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~ these peoples because they would normally

turn to us, as <sup>to</sup> their natural allies. ~~They, too, are not uninformed - their leaders~~  
~~of Moscow.~~ <sup>They do not wish to become satellites</sup>  
~~They know the countries where liberty and freedom prevail, the countries which are~~

~~linked with the progressive and advancing march of civilization.~~ But they will no  
~~longer put up with any acts of exploitation or any efforts at curbing, delimiting their~~  
~~independence and their sovereignty.~~ <sup>tolerate</sup> ~~And any public official in Iran or any other coun-~~  
~~try who would yield to that kind of pressure would not last 24 hours!~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~The predecessor~~  
~~of the present Prime Minister was quickly assassinated when he gave indications of~~  
~~yielding on this issue, which has aroused the peoples of Iran.~~ <sup>Resentment and resistance to interven-</sup>

~~adjusted, and if we can continue on the constructive program which we have announced,~~  
~~which the President of the United States (appealed recently) to Congress, a bold new pro-~~  
~~gram for making the benefits of our scientific advances and our industrial progress~~  
~~available for the improvement and the growth of the underdeveloped areas of the world -~~  
~~if we can do that, if we can give up the idea of crusading to exterminate Communism~~ <sup>can be avoided</sup> <sup>will carry out</sup> <sup>can be used as stepping</sup> <sup>the Korean war</sup> <sup>Iran affair</sup> <sup>no dispute</sup>

~~the world, then the prospects of peace, in my judgment, may become increasingly bright~~  
~~in the world.~~ <sup>our day</sup> ~~War is not inevitable, can be averted.~~ <sup>war</sup> ~~What is called for, on our part,~~  
~~at least, is to make the maximum effort and to exercise the wisest and most far-visioned~~  
~~statesmanship to meet the present situation.~~ <sup>for peace</sup> ~~It may well be that we~~ <sup>do not</sup>

~~understand~~ ~~miscalculating about Russia.~~ <sup>understand</sup> ~~It may well be that Russia is determined upon war. In that~~  
~~case, war will come.~~ <sup>Part of Russia is not held back by war</sup> ~~But if that is not the case, then the~~  
~~perhaps the leadership is in our hands, to solve~~ <sup>the initiative</sup> ~~these problems which threaten at the moment the peace of the world, and to prosecute~~

~~this long-range, constructive program of helping the submerged masses of the world to~~  
~~rise to higher levels of wellbeing and competence, and so to organize the free world~~  
~~into one vast and loyal front against any possible aggression from dictatorship in any~~  
~~part of the world.~~ <sup>The prospect for peace may be within the power of our partnership</sup> ~~We ought to make, in my humble judgment, the prospects for peace.~~

~~- we cannot speak or act for Russia -~~



ties exported from its territory fall within the embargo, and apply controls to give effect to the embargo.

"(c) Prevent by all means within its jurisdiction the circumvention of controls on shipments applied by other states pursuant to the present resolution:

"(d) Cooperate with other states in carrying out the purposes of this embargo."

The use of armed force to defend South Korea against Communist aggression was recommended by the Security Council last June 27, but this was the first time that the United Nations had asked for an arms embargo. More comprehensive economic sanctions, including an arms embargo but excluding petroleum, were voted by the League of Nations Assembly against Mussolini but failed to stop his invasion of Ethiopia.

#### Soviet Bloc's Argument

Jacob A. Malik of the Soviet Union, Dr. Julius Katz-Sachy of Poland, and other representatives of the Soviet bloc made final protests in the United Nations Assembly against adoption of the resolution. They insisted that the Charter reserved such measures for the Security Council, and that they would therefore not take part in either the discussion or the vote.

Ernest A. Gross, deputy United States representative, noted in rebuttal that in 1946 Poland, with the support of the Soviet Union, had introduced in the General Assembly a resolution calling for both economic and diplomatic sanctions against Spain as long as the Franco regime remained in power.

Despite the certainty that the Soviet Union will continue to supply arms and, it is believed, at least a certain amount of petroleum to the Communist invaders, both India and Burma pledged yesterday that they would not permit exports of articles covered in the embargo. Indonesia has announced a policy of compliance, and few avowed violations, by other Asian countries or otherwise, are expected.

The General Assembly's adoption of the arms embargo resolution is generally viewed here as a sign of the belief in the United Nations that further measures are necessary to persuade Communist China or the Soviet Union, or both, to agree to a settlement in Korea.

#### Ridgway's "Parallel" Idea Recalled

However, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India, after expressing fears that the embargo resolution would add "another psychological hurdle" to a settlement, recalled yesterday a statement on March 12 by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, then United Nations field commander in Korea. In it General Ridgway said "It would be a tremendous victory for the United Nations if the war ended with our forces in control up to the Thirty-eighth Parallel."

Sir Benegal suggested that the United Nations consider General Ridgway's statement and make an early announcement on it to dispel any "unwarranted doubts" about the United Nation's aims in Korea. No other delegates commented, but United States circles said afterward that the delegation would not object to discussing the matter.

Sir Benegal also quoted General of the Army Douglas MacArthur's statements that, in modern war, with its immensive destructiveness, there could be no victory for either side, and that it was defeatism to think that war was inevitable.

Sir Benegal told correspondents afterward that he made his suggestion regarding the Ridgway statement in response to a resolution introduced yesterday by Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado proposing withdrawal of United Nations forces to the south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel as a condition for a cease-fire.

way as Mr. Rusk. Mr. Dulles joined in the appeal to the Chinese to give rise against foreign domination. Mr. Dulles gave assurances that Communist China would not be recognized as "the voice of China." He also called for quick action by this country to aid friends of the United States, while they still existed, both in Formosa and on the mainland of China.

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, and Charles Edison, former Secretary of the Navy, also spoke at the dinner. They pointed up the need for quick action by asserting that, in recent months, hundreds of thousands of Chinese had been killed by the Communists.

Senator Douglas, who has been mentioned as a possible Presidential candidate next year, urged the Government to adopt a world-wide anti-Communist program.

For the Far East, he advocated the use of the veto to keep Communist China out of the United Nations, keeping Formosa out of Red hands, extension of the Marshall Plan and land reform to Asia, a Korean peace settlement providing for occupation of North Korea for 100 miles above the Thirty-eighth Parallel, an economic blockade of Communist China and aid for Nationalist commando raids and guerrilla action on the Chinese mainland.

#### Urges Propaganda Drive

He proposed also a mammoth campaign of propaganda and subversion in all countries behind the Iron Curtain and a new alliance in the Near East to include Turkey, Greece, Israel and as many Arab states as would come in.

The speakers were interrupted repeatedly by applause when they proposed stronger steps in support of the Chinese Nationalists and opposed the Chinese Communists.

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of Time, Life and Fortune magazine, presided at the dinner as toastmaster.

Mr. Luce, in introducing Mr. Rusk, commented that his publications had been opposed to the State Department policy on China in many instances. Later Mr. Luce commended the speaker on his "strong and vigorous statement."

Mr. Rusk said in his address:

"It is not my purpose, in these few moments this evening, to go into specific elements of our own national policy in the present situation. But we can tell our friends in China that the United States will not acquiesce in the degradation that is being forced upon them."

"We do not recognize the authorities in Peiping for what they pretend to be. The Peiping regime may be a colonial Russian government—a Slavic Manchukuo on a larger scale. It is not the government of China. It does not pass the first test. It is not Chinese."

"It is not entitled to speak for China in the community of nations. It is entitled only to the fruits of its own conduct—the fruits of aggression upon which it is now willfully, openly and senselessly embarked."

#### Calls Decision Up to Chinese

"We recognize the National Government of the Republic of China, even though the territory under its control is severely restricted. We believe it more authentically represents the views of the great body of the people of China, particularly their historic demand for independence from foreign control."

"That Government will continue to receive important aid and assistance from the United States. Under the circumstances, however, such aid in itself cannot be decisive in the future of China. The decision and the effort are for the

modities after that date. The Secretary of Defense would be em-

Chinese people, pooling their efforts, wherever they are, in behalf of China.

"If the Chinese people decide for freedom, they shall find friends among all the peoples of the earth who have known and love freedom. They shall find added strength from those who refuse to believe that China is fated to become a land of tyranny and aggression, and who expect China to fulfill the promise of its great past."

Mr. Rusk charged that Russia was seizing North China and was driving the Chinese into foreign aggression against the interests of China herself, to serve the aims of the Communist conspiracy.

He appealed to Chinese all over the world, not merely in China and Formosa, to aid the Chinese people at home to "assert their freedom."

#### Dulles Cites 'Abuse' by Reds

Mr. Dulles said the people and Government of the United States should not be "fooled," but should "treat the Mao Tse-tung regime for what it is—a puppet regime." This could change, he added, because "the Chinese people are abused to a degree that is causing many Chinese Communist leaders to feel rebellious against the subservience to Moscow."

"But, unless and until actual conduct gives clear proof of change, our national self-interest, our friendship for China, and the historical dedication of our nation to the cause of human freedom combine to require that no act of ours shall contribute to a Mao Tse-tung 'success' which could fasten the yoke of Moscow on the Chinese people," he added.

"My own official concern today is the Japanese peace treaty. I can assure you that, in negotiating that treaty, we shall not consider that the voice of Mao Tse-tung is the voice of China."

"While we thus adopt a negative attitude toward Mao Tse-tung and all his ilk, we should adopt a positive attitude toward the many Chinese who remain loyal to the welfare of China and to the friendship between China and the United States which in the past served China so well."

Senator Douglas repeated the Rusk-Dulles theme that the Chi-

tions were still in effect and reasons for continuing them.

ese Communist Government merely a "puppet" regime.

The Senator said it was obvious that the United States should permit Red China to be seated in the United Nations unless it abandoned aggression and suppressed

"The United Nations should reward aggression by admitting the aggressor to membership," went on. "Naturally, we hope the awakening consciousness of British and French people, as well as other nations, will cause Governments to join us in opposing such action."

#### Would Use Veto in U. N.

"But, if necessary, we should be prepared to exercise the veto. It is surely improper to permit a government whose hands are bloody with aggression upon a veto to keep the peace."

"Nor should we allow Formosa whatever may be our views concerning the strategic importance of that island, to be taken over by the Chinese Reds. To do so would again be a reward for aggression and the loss of Chiang Kai-shek's army and countless political refugees to the Chinese Communists."

"In the third place, it would be fatal to admit Red China to discussion of the Japanese peace treaty. That would be an invitation to futility and further conflict. It is wiser instead to proceed without them."

"I believe that American public opinion has crystallized in support of the three propositions which have just stated and, from the testimony of General Marshall before the Joint Senate Committee, I had inferred that the Administration had adopted all of them. Secretary Acheson's press interview of Wednesday, however, raised some doubt in my mind whether he is willing to use the veto."

Mr. Edison said there were "countless" Chinese who proved over the years their steadfast friendship and loyalty to the United States. He said these Chinese were willing and ready to "buy time" for the United States to rearm against the common enemy, and added: "They are entitled to the same loyalty from us."

## U. S. Fur Dealers Will Visit Leningrad For Auctions if the Soviet Grants Visas

New York fur dealers and brokers will attend the Leningrad fur auctions beginning July 23 if they can obtain visas to enter the Soviet Union. Those who cannot attend personally, it was learned yesterday, will authorize European fur merchants to buy on their account.

Merchants were amused at press reports that free transportation would be provided to the auction that will feature \$8,000,000 worth of raw furs. It is inconceivable, they said, that the Russians would give anything away, and those who go will pay their own expenses as they have done in the past.

Although worried about the unfavorable publicity that Russian furs have been getting and the statements of spokesmen for the International Longshoremen's Union that its members would not handle the furs at ports of entry, fur dealers here defended their purchases from Soyuzpushnina (Soviet Fur-Trust).

Inquiries have been directed at the State Department and the United States Department of Commerce to learn if the purchases were frowned upon in top Govern-

mental circles. The fur dealers have been advised, they said, that there is no objection to buying that category of goods from the Soviets and the impression is gained that the United States Government would like to see the trade continued.

If Americans stop buying, furs will be diverted to other markets without any loss to the Russians, it was pointed out. Great Britain and Switzerland are active in the Russian market and London is regaining its former position of the predominant market of the world.

In normal years, the value of raw skins consumed in the domestic fur market is approximately \$200,000,000. About 20 to 25 per cent of these furs originate in the Soviet Union. They include Persian lambs, squirrel, marmots, sable, ermine, Kolinsky, Baum Marten and Stone Marten.

Aside from certain areas such as Texas and the West Coast, there is no marked resistance to Russian fur. Surveys made by publications indicate that not more than one out of ten women have voiced any interest in the country of origin in connection with the furs that they wear.

## White Collar Man



The Nashville Tennessean

then appealed to the Supreme Court.

Even more alarming than the Supreme Court's decision to sustain Feiner's conviction was the reasoning on which it was based. The majority opinion said that he "was not arrested nor convicted for the making or the content of his speech. Rather it was the reaction which it actually engendered." Here is new constitutional law. By stretching the notion of "unlawful" and creating a danger where there was none, the Court might have tortured the clear and present danger theory of restricting unlawful speech into a decision against Feiner. But its spokesman was honest enough not to pay this lip-service to traditional free speech doctrines while he repudiated them.

Our law has never recognized an absolute right of free speech. Slander is the clearest example of speech unlawful in itself and thus beyond the protection of the First Amendment. But a public harangue that is clearly wrongful has not been considered unlawful unless the words create, in Holmes' phrase, "a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that . . . [the state] . . . has the right to prevent." In this view a disgruntled citizen who demands that the mayor be run out of town may be arrested if he is urging an angry mob at City Hall, but not if he is

belaboring the passers-by from a soap-box.

Statements conceded to be lawful have not been thought subject to the Holmes test. Brave or foolish people have long been legally entitled to speak innocently even when violence is almost certain to result. The Salvation Army won this battle for posterity in the King's Court in 1880 when it earned the right to parade through London in the teeth of mob opposition.

Ten years ago when a proposed CIO gathering in Jersey City was threatened with violence, the Supreme Court ordered that even Frank Hague and his friends in the veterans' organizations could not prevent the meeting. The current Supreme Court must have looked elsewhere for inspiration when it permitted Syracuse to arrest a man who was speaking neither unlawfully nor wrongfully to an audience that presented neither an imminent danger nor a substantial threat of violence.

Justices Black, Douglas, and Minton disagreed with the majority of the Court, and particularly with its reasoning. Black set forth the real and ominous meaning of the decision. He said that a procedure which silences the speaker because of the hostile reaction of his audience is an ideal weapon for authoritarian-

ism. It permits any group—a city government or the local vigilantes—to suppress the views which the group opposes. The formula is clear: Heckle the speaker, mill around in the crowd; find a policeman, and tell him that in about a minute you're going to knock the speaker off the platform. If the policeman, unaware of the law, suggests that you behave, hand him a mimeographed copy of *Feiner v New York* and tell him to get busy.

Today the reaction to the Communist line is not that appropriate to unpopular opinion but to heresy. The Feiner decision is likely to increase physical violence at public meetings if the word gets around—and ultimately it will—that it is legal to break up a Communist meeting. In the end, the decision is damned most by its encouragement of lawless hoodlums, to whom it lends the aid and support of the cop on the beat.

We shall have to watch carefully the enforcement of city ordinances prohibiting disturbances of the peace. This is likely to involve once more the duty to preserve freedom of speech for those who don't believe in it. Unpleasant as this may be, it can hardly be compared to the disservice to democracy to which the Feiner case quietly but certainly points the way.

## See-Saw in Korea

In the past seven months, as the battle line advanced and receded, many Koreans have seen their regimes switch from Syngman Rhee to the Communists, back to Syngman Rhee, back again to the Communists, and now, for the third time, back to Syngman Rhee. Out of this see-saw experience, there seems to have crystallized for many Koreans a highly disillusioned point of view. Dislike and distrust of the Communists, with no great love for the South Korea regime.

To a great many of the Koreans, whose illiteracy rate probably is as high as 60%, the political issues inherent in a war are so much mumbo-jumbo. The big question is the stark one of just staying alive. This means for most Koreans how to keep from being killed in the fighting, and, succeeding that, how to get enough food and warmth to stay alive.

The Communist platform announced from the North was an enticing one, according to a sampling of farmers, shopkeepers, and refugees . . . but disillusionment set in quickly, according to those who concede they once were prepared to buy what the Communists had in theory to offer. . . .

Today vast numbers of Koreans have nothing left. No homes, no work, and no food except what they can forage or beg, and they tell you they are bewildered by the havoc created by the war that they never really understood. . . .

With this feeling of no love for either side, they are beginning to ask in increasing bewilderment what they themselves can hope to get out of all the killing and destruction, no matter who wins the military victory.

New York Times dispatch from Taegu, by GEORGE BARRETT

1) What/are the prospects for peace? <sup>1952</sup> Who can answer that question? <sup>4</sup>  
If you ask govt. officials, from president down - top military  
leaders - the heads of foreign posts - the men who are in  
the best positions to know - you get ~~same~~ conflicting and  
contradictory replies - a diversity of opinion - some think  
war is an inevitability - may break out at any moment -

No war in 1951 or 1952 - but certainly in 1953,  
O thus - no war if we arm to the teeth - make  
ourselves invulnerable - and arm our allies as well.  
This will discourage the aggressor -  
O thus - ~~if we~~ this will prove war - as always in  
the past -

2) Truth, the matter - <sup>WRHS</sup> <sup>Knows</sup> From Truman  
and Stalin down. <sup>6666</sup>  
No one wants war - Both sides fear and suspect one  
another - Each side tries to read the other's mind -  
to outguess the other - to impress the other -  
any by ~~ostentatious~~ <sup>large scale military mobilization</sup> ~~to pressure~~ and ~~overawe~~ the other - so that it will not  
commit any acts of aggression.  
Both sides realize the futility of a show-down - the  
utter, disastrous pointlessness of a 3rd world war -  
which neither side can win - and which will leave  
no globe or atomic shambles.  
So neither side wants war - This would logically lead  
to the inference that the prospect of peace can



forgot! But then why all this conjecture as to when (i.e. the 3rd W. War will begin - and why all this feverish preparation for it?

3/ Both sides realize that they may <sup>very easily</sup> stumble and blunder into this <sup>unintentionally</sup> unwanted and unwelcome war - often, in the past, nations found themselves suddenly in the midst of a shocking war - when all that they had planned for and expected was a smart, diplomatic war - never; a blood-less, international fron-d-pro; - a clever move on the checker board of power - politics - a victory without war - or at worst a little war, <sup>and</sup> a <sup>great</sup> big victory - and even - never dividends.

4/ They always start - then big wars - with relatively unimportant pol. incidents - but, be. there exist two armed, hostile camps, jealous, watching one another, weighing each incident in turn; then run in - crossing a diminishing power and prestige, then relat. unimportant pol. incidents - often there act like the burning fuses which explode the powder kegs. The annexation of Bosnia & Herzegovina and the assassination of Archduke <sup>Francis</sup> Ferdinand at Sarajevo on the explosion, held War I - and Danzig - the blow up the first part, held War II.

The incidents are not important - The predisposition (3)  
the receptive layer - the unresolved and accumulated  
tensions and fears - the mood and climate, the world  
- these are the dry kindling which any spark  
can set alight.

(a) And our world is full of such dry kindling -  
of such dangerous potentials -

(b) That is why ~~the~~ people to day are not  
very optimistic about the prospects for peace. Our  
world is a China shop - and the hell of peace  
whether, the virtual upon us deliberate destruction  
may, by some <sup>unprovoked</sup> ~~chance~~, ~~series of unprovoked~~ move  
~~begin~~ cause havoc and disaster.

5/ But war is not inevitable! It can be averted!

(a) I do not know the mind of the Kremlin. If it would  
war - then war is inevitable. - I start out with the assumption  
that neither the Soviet nor the Allied nations want war - The  
rulers, Russia are not so completely unimpaired on so willing  
and a lot to realize the what a 3rd W.W. with its  
atomic destructions would mean to their country people,  
as yet hardly recovered from the frightful devastation,  
the 2nd W.W. -

Presumably they would like to gain certain

advantages - which, however, only was can was for (4)  
them - And, if they are not utterly bereft of reason, they  
will come to the conclusion, that ~~the whole~~ it will be  
"too high a price to pay for the whole".

(b) Communism - amazing progress since war -  
700 m - ~~now up to 1000 m~~ <sup>now up to 1000 m</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> Asia - without a single  
Russian soldier ~~fighting anywhere~~ <sup>fighting anywhere</sup> - ~~proach~~ <sup>proach</sup>

(c) Undoubtedly it aims to expand further - but  
again not at the cost of involving itself in war

(d) There are ways of checking this kind of  
aggression short of a world war

6. Building up our own strength and defence is one way.  
- Helping our logical allies to build up their strength  
and defence - is another way - This it is futile  
and in the long run dangerous to re-arm Germany  
~~and~~ and unimportant enemies of peace &  
freedom in the world - and to work with allies  
with us - ex Nazis - ex Fascists - & ~~Communists~~ <sup>to fight</sup>  
They are broken men to be an -

- The most promising way of checking the spread  
of Comm. in the world is found in the proposal  
recently further advanced by Pres. Tr. to extend



can. aid to these people - whose level of subsistence (5)  
is so low - natural way

(a) These people - not interested in ideologies  
com - vs. democracy - Bread! Need food, clothing,  
shelter - hospitals - schools -

(b) Help them - + you have made them friends -

(c) the appeal of com - + Land - + Bread!

(d) People that can see hope ahead - will  
not go communist - Hunger + Desperation for democracy

(e) In this direction Am. can best serve

7/ free - and manhood - The other way - fighting  
on alien soil - to save the liberation - these people - is  
not to mind - not very profitable - for everyone can.

7/ ~~Two dangers of this~~ concerned - (Just N.Y. Times)  
~~Korea~~ -

7/ Two Dangers of this

(Korea) - advocated long time ago - liquidation

it is now nearly a fact - June 25 -

(1) No prospect for victory -

(2) Casualties -

(3) Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, Dem. - Colorado

prepared in Senate (Just)

(4) There is no other way out - Agree to end  
struggle - and negotiate a settlement. (6)

(5) Not easy - ~~If Dean Rusk has his way~~  
If those who like Sen. Marshall, have their way on the  
subject of "returning" the admission / Comm. China to U.N.  
China, to-day, is a member & was an org. member, the U.N.  
& a permanent member, the Security Council

which, the real Chinese part is to represent  
China & vote for China in U.N.

which part represents actually ~~to-day~~ China  
to-day - & Comm. China by her vote. - who  
is in effective control, China - 2 Security for pepl.  
not Soviet help

This is a question procedural Justice before  
U.N. - not subject to veto - Should U.S. attempt  
to rein function - not likely to be sustained  
in Sec. Council

(6) Dean Rusk - East. Secy. State for Far  
Eastern affairs - promised continued aid to Nat. China  
- upheld not surprised the Comm. regime  
- offered to help Chinese pepl. if they revolted  
against their present Comm. govt.  
How can you negotiate - if you call for

aid was against it? - But Mr. Arthur - was Eiler 17

(a) Refused - Still in that hypothesis.  
Enablers was!

(b) Chinese defeat <sup>Tightening up on shipping ~~supply~~</sup> East turn for new orders  
of Iran Oil - Nationalization - Gen. Sathawat

Anglo-Iranian Oil Co - Arrange for transfer

4000 Parachute troops to Cyprus - Ruma - Heath

British Nationalization / it was basic industries -

think hills / it - Technical assistance -

Mexico

9/ If we can close Kor affair; Iran:

constructive Cooperation Program - Aid -

- Crusade ag. Crusade -

a bold, new program for making the benefits of our  
sc. advances and industrial progress available to the  
improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas - 1949

- Sen. Mc Mahon