



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

Reel
163

Box
59

Folder
859

Taking stock of 1951, 1951.

TAKING STOCK OF 1951

December 30, 1951

By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple

The year 1951 will be remembered, not for any important historic events which transpired in it, but as a stage in the unfoldment of certain important historic processes. It is not for any momentous, world-shaping, specific occurrences, but as part of a significant trend that this year will be recalled, if it is recalled at all.

The year 1951 did not inaugurate the cold war. It continued it. It did not launch the Korean War; it dragged it out. It did not initiate the political and military containment policy against the Soviet Union; it extended it. It did not originate a disarmament proposal for the nations of the world; it produced another brace of such proposals as part of what appears to be an impressive prologue to futility. It did not begin the liquidation of ~~the~~ European colonization^{alism} and imperialism in Asia and Africa; it accelerated it dramatically. It also brought, I believe, increasing and reluctant enlightenment to ~~some~~^{some} in our country, that Communism cannot be stopped by arms alone, and that war with the Communist world is not inevitable. The year 1951 also witnessed a welcome continuation of the great debate ~~here~~^{at home} among our citizens concerning our basic foreign policy, our strategy of defence, and the role which America is to play in the society of nations and in shaping the future of the world.

The War in Korea is drawing to a close with the closing of the year 1951. Armistice negotiations have now been going on, off and on, for ~~six~~ six months. It appears likely that they will soon be consummated^{ed} in an armistice agreement, following which the long drawn-out peace negotiations will presumably begin. The American people and the world at large will welcome the end of hostilities with a sigh of relief. It has never been a popular war. It has certainly not been a victorious

war. It is ending in a bleak stale-mate. We come out of it, I am afraid, with our authority and prestige not enhanced any where in the world - certainly not in Asia. At best, we shall have achieved a truce, which we could have had many months ago, and spared ourselves ~~tens~~ of thousands of casualties, if at the instigation of our military leaders we had not tried for a knock-out victory. Our first military encounter with Communist foes on the battlefield ^{was} ~~was~~ not what we had expected; nor was the response of the free world to our intervention in Korea and their offers of cooperation as affirmative and enthusiastic as we had been led to believe, nor did the peoples of Asia acclaim our crusade for democracy and ~~liberty~~ ^{liberty} as we had hoped.

Our action in Korea was precipitate; neither Congress nor the United Nations was consulted. Our preparations ^a for such military intervention was ~~inadequate~~ inadequate; our military intelligence proved faulty; our evaluation of the consequences of our action as far as China was concerned was ~~a~~ grossly erroneous, and our military leadership committed blunders of such magnitude that even the valor and fighting stamina of our fine soldiers could not overcome them. What was fatuously conceived of as a small-scale police action turned out to be a full-scale war which cost our people over 100,000 casualties and tens of billions of dollars. We shall have to write off the Korean affair, I am afraid, as a costly blunder, the result of bad diplomacy, over-confidence, and indefensible yielding to domestic political pressures.

Just a year ago, when I reviewed the events of the year 1950, I said:

"I believe that the events of 1950 brought to ~~most~~ ^{most} Americans a few sobering lessons which will prove most salutary in the re-vamping of our foreign policy which is now, in my judgment, long overdue. Americans have learned that their government must not proclaim global policies like the Truman Doctrine in order to meet some local situation, as was the case in Greece. We must not make commitments on which we cannot make good. Our choice does not lie between isolationism on the one hand, and

global meddling on the other. This is a fictitious choice of alternatives. There is a golden mean somewhere ⁱⁿ between which we must find. We simply have not sufficient military power and financial resources, and never can have, to police the whole world. Nor should we rely so much upon the power of ^{the} dollar, to win friends and influence people. Dollars have their decided limitations, even in international relations. We cannot arm allies in the hope of having them fight on our side when the time comes if their own self-interest dictates otherwise. We should support only those peoples who do not need to be coaxed and bedevilled into rearming, who are themselves prepared to pay part of the price of their rearming, and who can be counted upon at the critical moment not to go Vichy. ~~we~~ We have learned, too, I believe that we should not act first, as we did in Korea, and then get the approval of the United Nations. ~~we~~ We should act as a member, ~~a~~ a loyal member, an important member, to be sure, of the United Nations, but only as one member. We should channel the maximum of our contribution through the United Nations and wait upon the directives of the United Nations before we act in a military way. And we must not spurn opportunities for uncompromising conference with the Soviet Union, however/ ~~representative~~ they may appear. It is better to have ten international conferences fail than to have ten thousand American boys perish in the ice and snows of Korea.

"We must be alert, but calm and resolute. We should arm ourselves fully. We ~~should be strong. I believe that we are strong/and not weak~~ - **stronger by far than the Soviet.** We can afford to be patient. We must learn to be wise, not emotional, not dissheveled in our thinking and sporadic in our actions. We must not be misled by slogans or swept off balance by shrewd propaganda which does not always emanate from the left. If we apply these lessons, these sobering lessons, we may come through the dangerous hour which is upon us unscathed - we and the world with us. A world war is not inevitable. War can be averted. Alone, of course, we cannot avert it, but let us make sure that we do our utmost, our full part, to avert it."

The Cold War continued through 1951 unabated. Both the East and West intensified their competitive propaganda. New ways and new techniques were evolved to besmirch one another ^{roundly} and ^{to} blacken one another's character, actions, and motives. The United Nations, which was to serve as a forum for the open and responsible discussion of international problems and disputes and as a place for reconciliation and arbitrament, or to use the words of the Charter of the United Nations, "to be the center for harmonizing the actions of nations", has been ^{converted into} a loud, noisy sounding board for the most unbridled recriminations, mutual abuse, and invectives on the part of the spokesmen and leaders of nations. The world has never witnessed such a shocking spectacle, such a degradation of tone, temper and civility in any assembly of statesmen and accredited representatives of nations.

It is doubtful whether anyone is converted by such violent, blatant, and transparent propaganda, but it certainly does not contribute to any serious negotiations or improve the prospect of a rapprochement between nations. Russia began these unwarranted and unworthy tactics in the precincts of the United Nations. Other nations have ~~been~~ following suit. Clearly there must take place a disarmament within the council chambers of the United Nations, an end to provocative verbal offensives and counter-offensives and ^{to all} attempts ^{include} to ~~make~~ the United Nations ^{within} the battle area of partisan propaganda, before any serious discussion of world disarmament or the adjustment of serious differences can take place.

The world is getting tired of the Cold War. The Russians are not getting anywhere with it. Nor are we. We and they are arming to the teeth. We do not know Russia's military budget. It must be enormous. We do know ours - and that of our allies. To date 130 billions have been voted by Congress. Another 40 to 50 billions

will probably be voted by Congress when it reconvenes next month. These are staggering figures which are reflected in our ^{mounting} taxes and in our spiralling inflation.

Our allies have been fretting and restive under the load of their increased cost of armament to meet their commitments under the North Atlantic Treaty arrangements. Their estimated expenditures for armaments for the next three years is 66 billions. It is severely affecting their standard of living and their social services. They have never been impressed with the imminence of Soviet aggression as we have been, and a crusade against Communism and for the liberation of Communist-dominated countries has made very little appeal to them. They even resent what they believe to be America's aggressive leadership in these directions, and some of them are unhappy about the growing dependence of their countries upon this leadership and upon the military and economic aid which goes with it.

Leaders of organized American labor who have recently returned from Europe have expressed their disappointment at the apathetic attitude of European labor toward the fight against Communism. "Europeans," they stated, "are soft on the issue of Communism. You are given the feeling that only Americans are concerned about Communism." ^{Actually} They are more interested in the improvement of their economic life than in tightening their belts still further to build up a military establishment to fight Russia. ^{want to} They ~~must~~ increase trade with Russia and the rest of the world if it will improve ^{did} their economic position. The Marshall Plan aid ~~has~~ ^{did} helped certain sections of the population in certain countries, but it seemingly ~~has~~ not percolated down to the masses of the people. They do not want war. They do not want any increased and costly preparations for war. They are not persuaded that Russia wants war. As a result, it is becoming increasingly clear that most of the cost of the rearmament of Europe will have to be met by the United States - and it is the United States principally that will have to rebuild militarily, finance and equip the new army of Western Germany which is to be included in the European ~~army~~ defense system

Such a reconstituted German Wehrmacht, in my judgment, would be a greater menace to the peace of Europe and of the world than the Soviet armies, especially after Western and Eastern Germany are reunited. Because of our fear of Russia, we are rebuilding the ^{military} ~~might~~ of Germany. This is how Hitler succeeded in hoodwinking the Allies, and in paving the way for Germany's second ^{murderous} assault upon Europe.

We believe that we are building up ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{only} strength to check aggressive Communism, but we are simultaneously building up to strength a nation which twice brought calamity upon the world, ^{We are strengthening also} ~~and~~ other reactionary governments ^{which} ~~are~~ as hostile to us and the things we stand for, as Soviet Russia.

All these factors are beginning, I believe, to ^{loom larger in our thinking and to} ~~modify~~ the over-simplified foreign policy of the United States. We are beginning to think more in terms of finding a "modus vivendi" - a way to live on tolerable terms with the Soviet world than of an inevitable show-down. Many in the United States are beginning to share Prime Minister' Churchill's opinion that the danger of a third world war is not as great now as it was at the time of the Berlin "air lift" crisis in 1948. They are beginning to ask for serious disarmament talks among the great powers, for serious conversations between the heads of these governments to bring about if only a piecemeal settlement of the irritating problems which exacerbate their relationships, and for a halt in the ^{some of} ~~beating~~ ^{frenzied} of the war drums. If this is a real trend, and if it continues uninterruptedly, then 1951 may yet prove to be a good year indeed for mankind.

The year 1951 continued the process of the liquidation of Western European colonialism ^{of the year} ~~and~~ imperialism in Asia and Africa. The new and dramatic incidents in this relentless process were the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran and the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The British were compelled

to surrender their rich oil concessions in Iran, and ^{they} are being pressured by popular riots and disturbances in Egypt to abandon their military base at the Suez Canal. The same process is continuing in Indo-China, Burma and Malaya. France is fighting desperately to retain her hold on Indo-China at great cost in life and wealth, and our country is supplying the French forces with much of their military material. The Asians are determined to run their own continent. There is nothing that we can do to stop ^{it.} Whatever else it is, and whatever other forces play a part in it, no one can deny that essentially it is the irresistible ground-swell of a great liberating movement. The long-submerged, oppressed and miserable masses of Asia are rising to demand their patrimony, the breaking of shackles, the opening of doors of opportunity, of freedom and equality, of a better way of life for themselves and their children. It is not all as simple as that, but it is all as profound and urgent and irresistible as that.

Our country can either get behind that revolution, guide it into constructive channels and facilitate it, or it can try to stop that revolution by seeing in it the work of Satan, the cunning machinations of ~~Satan~~ Stalin, and therefore, a threat to the free world. It would be disastrous for us, for Asia and for mankind if we adopt the ~~latter~~ course. We will ^{make enemies of} ~~make~~ half of mankind who logically should be our friends. We will give Russia allies in such numbers and with such resources as will make her the greatest power on earth.

The genius of America is the genius ^{for} ~~of~~ freedom, ^{for} ~~the~~ the rights of man - of all men. It is America and not Russia which proclaimed the inalienable rights of men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is America which lifted high the torch of liberty and ^{hope} ~~and~~ and opportunity to the denied and the dispossessed of the earth. Our mission is not over and done with. Shall we ^{now} ~~we~~ tell the suffering and struggling masses of the earth that they no longer have a friend in us - but that for

~~for~~ salvation for sympathy and understanding and for help against foreign domination and exploitation, against serfdom and landlordism and poverty, they must turn to the dictators in Moscow? Or shall we offer them the help, the vision and the fellowship for which they hunger?

In Point Four we have given indication of a new line - a more hopeful line, a truly American line in our foreign policy. We should concentrate on that and develop it. It is not by equipping armies to fight Communism in Asia that we will save Asia from Communism, but by helping every progressive, constructive movement among the peoples of Asia which aim to raise their standard of living, eradicate illiteracy, improve health, and build up institutions of freedom and self-government.

The year 1951 was made disturbing and unpleasant for Americans by disclosures of widespread crime and corruption, the collusion between organized crime and government, by numerous evidences of irregularities, fixings, graft and the peddling of influence in the Internal Revenue Department and in other departments of our government, and by shocking scandals in amateur sports. We became aware of a serious moral slump among our people - of an evil that was eating at the heart of American life.

Surely there is room here for a serious soul-searching on the part of our people.

Spiritual corruption, the breakdown of standards of honest government, the ~~loss~~ loss of confidence on the part of our people in the integrity of the agencies of their government and its laws, and therefore, in democracy itself, are more to be feared than Communism, which is really not a serious threat to our country. We can only be destroyed by moral corruption from within. All the great ~~republics~~ ^{Republics} of the past which perished were first corrupted from within, undermined by the moral laxity of their citizens. America is not on the brink of any moral collapse, but there is a real warning in what has come to light which should not be ignored.

Our people in the past was never content to let corruption permanently prevail, once it was made sharply aware of what was taking place. Another major effort is clearly indicated, a spiritual revival to tidy up our moral lives, and to clean up our institutions. We must learn to demand more of ourselves and to abide more faithfully by the moral code which we proclaim.

As the year 1951 closes, one reads with sorrow of outbreaks of bigotry and intolerance in one of the Southern states of our Union. Jewish houses of worship are dynamited. Bombing attempts are made on a Catholic church. Negro housing projects are bombed. A few days ago a Negro leader of his people was killed by a bomb that shattered his home. It is not clear who is behind these outrages - whether an individual or a group - or whether it is the forerunner of a recrudescent Klan movement in the South. But whatever it is, it is a blot on the escutcheon of America. It puts weapons in the hands of our enemies abroad. It discredits us in the eyes of the world. It is a clear warning that we have much to do here at home to put our own house in order.



782
TAKING STOCK OF 1951

December 30, 1951

The year 1951 will be remembered, not for any important historic events which transpired in it, but as a stage in the unfoldment of certain important historic processes. It is not for any momentous, world-shaping, specific occurrences, but as part of a significant trend that this year will be recalled, if it is recalled at all.

The year 1951 did not inaugurate the cold war. It continued it. It did not launch the Korean War; it dragged it out. It did not initiate the political and military containment policy against the Soviet Union; it extended it. It did not originate a disarmament proposal for the nations of the world; it produced another brace of such proposals as part of what appears to be an impressive prologue to futility. It did not begin the liquidation of ~~the~~ European colonialism^{alism} and imperialism in Asia and Africa; it accelerated it dramatically. It also brought, I believe, increasing and reluctant enlightenment to ~~some~~^{some} in our country, that Communism cannot be stopped by arms alone. ^{To an increasing number it brought the conviction} ~~and~~ that war with the Communist world is not inevitable. The year 1951 also witnessed a welcome continuation of the great debate ~~here~~^{at home} among our citizens concerning our basic foreign policy, our strategy of defence, and the role which America is to play in the society of nations and in shaping the future of the world.

The War in Korea is drawing to a close with the closing of the year, 1951. Armistice negotiations have now been going on, off and on, for ~~at~~ six months. It appears likely that they will soon be consummated^{HA} in an armistice agreement, following which the long drawn-out peace negotiations will presumably begin. The American people and the world at large will welcome the end of hostilities with a sigh of relief. It has never been a popular war. It has certainly not been a victorious

war. It is ending in a bleak stale-mate. We come out of it, I am afraid, with our authority and prestige not enhanced any where in the world - certainly not in Asia. At best, we shall have achieved a truce, which we could have had many months ago, and spared ourselves tens of thousands of casualties, if, at the instigation of our military leaders, we had not tried for a knock-out victory. Our first military encounter with Communist foes on the battlefield ~~were~~^{was} not what we had expected; nor was the response of the free world to our intervention in Korea and their offers of cooperation as affirmative and enthusiastic as we had been led to believe, nor did the peoples of Asia acclaim our crusade for democracy and ~~liberty~~^{liberty} as we had hoped.

Our action in Korea was precipitate; neither Congress nor the United Nations was consulted. Our preparations for such ^a military intervention was ~~inadequate~~ inadequate; our military intelligence proved faulty; our evaluation of the consequences of our action as far as China was concerned was grossly erroneous, and our military leadership committed blunders of such magnitude that even the valor and fighting stamina of our fine soldiers could not overcome them. What was fatuously conceived of as a small-scale police action turned out to be a full-scale war which cost our people over 100,000 casualties and tens of billions of dollars. We shall have to write off the Korean affair, I am afraid, as a costly blunder, the result of bad diplomacy, over-confidence, and indefensible yielding to domestic political pressures.

Just a year ago, when I reviewed the events of the year 1950, I said:

"I believe that the events of 1950 brought to ~~most~~^{most} Americans a few sobering lessons which will prove most salutary in the re-vamping of our foreign policy which is now, in my judgment, long overdue. Americans have learned that their government must not proclaim global policies like the Truman Doctrine in order to meet some local situation, as was the case in Greece. We must not make commitments on which we cannot make good. Our choice does not lie between isolationism on the one hand, and

global meddling on the other. This is a fictitious choice of alternatives. There is a golden mean somewhere ⁱⁿ between, which we must find. We simply have not sufficient military power and financial resources, and never can have, to police the whole world. Nor should we rely so much upon the power of ^{the} dollar to win friends and influence people. Dollars have their decided limitations, even in international relations. We cannot arm allies in the hope of having them fight on our side when the time comes, if their own self-interest dictates otherwise. We should support only those peoples who do not need to be coaxed and bedevilled into rearming, who are themselves prepared to pay part of the price of their rearming, and who can be counted upon at the critical moment not to go Vichy. We have learned, too, I believe that we should not act first, as we did in Korea, and then get the approval of the United Nations. We should act as a member, ~~as~~ a loyal member, an important member, to be sure, of the United Nations, but only as one member. We should channel the maximum of our contribution through the United Nations and wait upon the directives of the United Nations before we act in a military way. And we must not spurn opportunities for conference with the Soviet Union, however unpromising they may appear. It is better to have ten international conferences fail than to have ten thousand American boys perish in the ice and snows of Korea.

"We must be alert, but calm and resolute. We should arm ourselves fully. We should be strong. I believe that we are strong ^{stronger by far than the Soviet} ~~and not weak~~. We can afford to be patient. We must learn to be wise, not emotional, not dissheveled in our thinking and sporadic in our actions. We must not be misled by slogans or swept off balance by shrewd propaganda which does not always emanate from the left. If we apply these lessons, these sobering lessons, we may come through the dangerous hour which is upon us unscathed - we and the world with us. A world war is not inevitable. War can be averted. Alone, of course, we cannot avert it, but let us make sure that we do our utmost, our full part, to avert it."

The Cold War continued through 1951 unabated. Both the East and West intensified their competitive propaganda. New ways and new techniques were evolved to besmirch one another ^{roundly} and ^{to} blacken one another's character, actions, and motives. The United Nations, which was to serve as a forum for the open and responsible discussion of international problems and disputes and as a place for reconciliation and arbitrament, or to use the words of the Charter of the United Nations, "to be the center for harmonizing the actions of nations", has been ^{converted into} a loud, noisy sounding-board for the most unbridled recriminations, mutual abuse, and invectives on the part of the spokesmen and leaders of nations. The world has never witnessed such a shocking spectacle, such a degradation of tone, temper and civility in any assembly of statesmen and accredited representatives of nations.

It is doubtful whether anyone is converted by such violent, blatant, and transparent propaganda, but it certainly does not contribute to any serious negotiations, or improve the prospect of a rapprochement between nations. Russia began these unwarranted and unworthy tactics in the precincts of the United Nations. Other nations have ~~be~~ been following suit. Clearly there must take place a disarmament within the council chambers of the United Nations, an end to provocative verbal offensives and counter-offensives and ^{to all} ~~the~~ attempts to ^{include} ~~make~~ the United Nations ^{within} the battle area of partisan propaganda, before any serious discussion of world disarmament or the adjustment of serious differences can take place.

The world is getting tired of the Cold War. The Russians are not getting anywhere with it. Nor are we. We and they are arming to the teeth. We do not know Russia's military budget. It must be enormous. We do know ours - and that of our allies. To date 130 billions have been voted by Congress. Another 40 to 50 billions

will probably be voted by Congress when it reconvenes next month. These are staggering figures which are reflected in our ^{mounting} taxes and in our spiralling inflation.

Our allies have been fretting and restive under the load of their increased cost of armament to meet their commitments under the North Atlantic Treaty arrangements. Their ~~estimated~~ expenditures for armaments for the next three years is 66 billions. It is severely affecting their standard of living and their social services. They have never been impressed with the imminence of Soviet aggression as we have been, and a crusade against Communism and for the liberation of Communist-dominated countries has made very little appeal to them. They even resent what they believe to be America's aggressive leadership in these directions, and some of them are unhappy about the growing dependence of their countries upon this leadership and upon the military and economic aid which goes with it.

Leaders of organized American labor who have recently returned from Europe have expressed their disappointment at the apathetic attitude of European labor toward the fight against Communism. "Europeans," they stated, "are soft on the issue of Communism. You are given the feeling that only Americans are concerned about Communism."

^{Actually} they are more interested in the improvement of their economic life than in tightening their belts still further to build up a military establishment to fight Russia.

They ^{want to} ~~must~~ increase trade with Russia and the ^{rest of the world if it will improve} their economic position. The Marshall Plan aid ^{did} ~~has helped~~ certain sections of the population in certain countries, but it seemingly ^{did} ~~has~~ not percolated down to the masses of the people. They do not want war. They do not want any increased and costly preparation for war. They are not persuaded that Russia wants war. As a result, it is becoming increasingly clear ~~that~~ most of the cost of the rearmament of Europe will have to be met by the United States; and it is the United States principally that will ~~have~~ to rebuild militarily, finance and equip the new army of Western Germany which ~~is~~ to be included in the European ~~army~~ ^{defense} system.

Such a reconstituted German Wehrmacht, in my judgment, would be a greater menace to the peace of Europe and of the world than the Soviet armies, especially after Western and Eastern Germany are reunited. Because of our fear of Russia, we are rebuilding the ^{military} ~~might~~ of Germany. This is how Hitler succeeded in hoodwinking the Allies, and in paving the way for Germany's second ^{murderous} ~~assault~~ upon Europe.

We believe that we are building up ^{to} ~~the~~ strength ^{only} to check aggressive Communism, ^{but} ~~we~~ are simultaneously building up to strength a nation which twice brought calamity upon the world, ^{we are strengthening also} ~~and~~ other reactionary governments ^{which} ~~are~~ as hostile to us and the things we stand for, as Soviet Russia.

All these factors are beginning, I believe, to ^{loom larger in our thinking and to} ~~modify~~ the over-simplified foreign policy of the United States. We are beginning to think more in terms of finding a "modus vivendi" - a way to live on tolerable terms with the Soviet world than of an inevitable show-down. Many in the United States are beginning to share Prime Minister Churchill's opinion that the danger of a third world war is not as great now as it was at the time of the Berlin "air lift" crisis in 1948. They are beginning to ask for serious disarmament talks among the great powers, for serious conversations between the heads of ^{of} ~~those~~ governments to bring about if only a piecemeal settlement of ^{some of} the irritating problems which exacerbate their relationships, and for a halt in the ^{frenzied} beating of the war drums. ^{have been} If this is a real trend, and if it continues uninterruptedly, then 1951 may yet prove to ~~be~~ a good year indeed for mankind.

The year 1951 continued the process of the liquidation of Western European ^{alien} ~~colonization~~ and imperialism in Asia and Africa. The new and dramatic incidents ^{of these are} in this relentless process were the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran and the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The British were compelled

at the Assembly of the U.N. in Paris our Govt made serious proposals for disarmament. So did the Soviet Union. ~~Efforts~~ ^{Efforts} were made to reconcile these views. They were not successful. But the views are not hopelessly irreconcilable. A commission was voted to explore the matter further using the American proposals as a basis. ^{Communism and suspicious State warships are} ~~the way~~ ^{the nations of the world are slowly} ~~the way~~ ^{the way}

to surrender their rich oil concession in Iran, and ^{they} are being pressured by popular riots and disturbances in Egypt to abandon their military base at the Suez Canal. The same process is continuing in Indo-China, Burma and Malaya. France is fighting desperately to retain her hold on Indo-China at great cost in life and wealth, and our country is supplying the French ^{forces} with much of their military material. The Asians are determined to run their own continent. There is ^{nothing} that we can do to stop. ^{it} Whatever else it is, and whatever other forces play a part in it, no one can deny that essentially it is the irresistible ground-swell of a great liberating movement. The long-submerged, oppressed and miserable masses of Asia are rising to demand their patrimony, the breaking of shackles, the opening of doors of opportunity, of freedom and equality, of a better way of life for themselves and their children. It is not all as simple as that, but it is all as profound and urgent and irresistible as that.

Our country can either get behind that revolution, guide it into constructive channels and facilitate it, or it can try to stop that revolution by ^{presuming to} see ^{Stalin} in it the work of Satan, the cunning machinations of ~~Satan~~, and therefore, a threat to the free world. It would be disastrous for us, for Asia and for mankind if we adopt the ~~latter~~ ^{course} ^{which is of} latter ~~line~~. We will ^{make} ^{us of} enemy half of mankind who logically should be our friends. We will give Russia allies in such numbers and with such resources as will make her the greatest power on earth.

The genius of America is the genius ^{for} ~~of~~ freedom, ^{for} ~~the~~ the rights of man - of all men. It is America and not Russia which proclaimed the inalienable rights of men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is America which lifted high the torch of liberty and ^{hope} ~~life~~ and opportunity to the denied and the dispossessed of the earth. Our mission is not over and done with. Shall we ^{now} ~~we~~ tell the suffering and struggling masses of the earth that they no longer have a friend in us - but that for

~~salvation~~ for sympathy and understanding and for help against foreign domination and exploitation, against serfdom and landlordism and poverty, they must turn to the dictators in Moscow? *Or shall we give them the help, the ~~first~~ vision and the*

helplessness for which they hunger?
In Point Four we have given indication of a new line - a more helpful line, a truly American line in our foreign policy. We should concentrate on that and develop it. It is not by equipping armies to fight Communism in Asia that we will save Asia from Communism, but by helping every progressive, constructive movement among the peoples of Asia which aim to raise their standard of living, eradicate illiteracy, improve health, and build up institutions of freedom and self-government.

The year 1951 was made disturbing and unpleasant for Americans by disclosures of widespread crime and corruption, the collusion between organized crime and government, by numerous evidences of irregularities, fixings, graft and the peddling of influence in the Internal Revenue Department and in other departments of our government, and by shocking scandals in amateur sports. We became aware of a serious moral slump among our people - of an evil that was eating at the heart of American life.

Surely there is room here for a serious soul-searching on the part of our people.

Spiritual corruption, the breakdown of standards of honest government, the ~~loss~~ loss of confidence on the part of our people in the integrity of the agencies of their government and its laws, and therefore, in democracy itself, are more to be feared than Communism, which is really not a serious threat to our country. We can only be destroyed by moral corruption from within. All the great ^{republics} ~~democracies~~ of the past which perished were first corrupted from within, undermined by the moral laxity of their citizens. America is not on the brink of any moral collapse, but there is a real warning in what has come to light which should not be ignored.

Our people in the past was never content to let corruption permanently prevail, once it was made sharply aware of what was taking place. Another major effort is clearly indicated, a spiritual revival to tidy up our moral lives, and to clean up our institutions. We must learn to demand more of ourselves and to abide more faithfully by the moral code which we proclaim.

As the year 1951 closes, one reads with sorrow of outbreaks of bigotry and intolerance in one of the Southern states of our Union. Jewish houses of worship are dynamited. Bombing attempts are made on a Catholic church. Negro housing projects are bombed. A few days ago a Negro leader of his people was killed by a bomb that shattered his home. It is not clear who is behind these outrages - whether an individual or a group - or whether it is the forerunner of a recrudescent Klan movement in the South. But whatever it is, it is a blot on the escutcheon of America. It puts weapons in the hands of our enemies abroad. It discredits us in the eyes of the world. It is a clear warning that we have much to do here at home to put our own house in order.

