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

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

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164

Box  
59

Folder  
871

A great age and a frightened America, 1952.



794  
A GREAT AGE AND A FRIGHTENED AMERICA

April 6, 1952

My dear friends; ~~This~~ <sup>is emerging</sup> age in which we live is a truly great age, one of the greatest in human history. We are too near our times properly to appraise them. One requires distance in order to see great objects in their proper perspective. We are too much involved <sup>ourselves</sup> in the turmoil and the fears, the conflicts and the passions, of our day to be able to see objectively the amazing new pattern of life which ~~our turbulent~~ <sup>is emerging</sup> age is evolving. In a generation or two, when mankind <sup>will</sup> ~~shall~~ have entered quieter waters, <sup>and</sup> ~~when~~ a period of consolidation, ~~a period of~~ crystallization, <sup>have</sup> ~~will come to pass and~~ will follow this dynamic <sup>and revolutionary</sup> ~~age of ours, an~~ age of ferment and of revolutionary changes - I say, in a generation or two ~~man-~~ <sup>men</sup> ~~kind~~ will be able to look back upon this age of ours and evaluate it properly, ~~eval-~~ <sup>uate</sup> ~~this age which has filled the hearts of so many people with apprehension and~~ ~~with darkest forebodings.~~

Many people today <sup>are filled with dark forebodings and</sup> are quite pessimistic about this era in which we live. They are quick to describe it as materialistic, ~~as an age which is~~ <sup>as</sup> lacking in idealism, ~~as an~~ <sup>in</sup> aimless and ~~a purposeless~~ age, an age which is drifting helplessly to <sup>certain disaster</sup> ~~some unavoidable abyss, to some dreadful day of reckoning, "day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress", as the prophet Zephaniah would describe it.~~

Now, ~~this mood, this pessimistic mood~~ <sup>many</sup> is prevalent not alone among religious leaders ~~or moral teachers, who having despaired of this world in which we live today and of the possibility of ever correcting its evils, of finding an even keel for this storm-tossed ship - they have turned their hopes away from any idea of possible human progress to other-worldliness, to some kind of spiritual escapism.~~ I say, this mood is prevalent not alone among religious teachers, but also among <sup>many</sup> laymen in all walks of life. There is a <sup>word</sup> ~~note~~ of crisis abroad in our world. Men <sup>and there is fear in the hearts of men</sup> talk of economic collapse, of <sup>a third</sup> ~~another~~ world war, <sup>an irrepressible conflict between</sup> ~~There is fear in the hearts of~~ men, and certainly what we see every day about us of these feverish preparations the East and the West which will completely shatter our civilization -



for war, of the violent recriminations and the veiled threats hurled by one part of the world against the other, of the failure of every attempt, one after another, to come to some kind of an understanding on any issue which is calculated to reduce the tensions in the world - what one sees every day of the increasing number of erupting political incidents and the danger zones all over the globe - I say that all this cannot help but feed a mood of depression and pessimism.

There are very few people who <sup>see</sup> think of this age of ours as a great age; but I am persuaded that it is truly <sup>There is ground, of course for vent</sup> I think of it as a great age, while there is room for grave concern about all that is happening in our world, <sup>to say least</sup> there is in my mind no reason at all for depression or despair. Great things are coming to pass in our day. I am not referring to the new worlds which science is <sup>and historic</sup> discovering <sup>continually</sup> for mankind, <sup>the new insights into the nature of matter and energy</sup> to the new sources of power and energy and wealth, <sup>to</sup> the new and revolutionary methods of production and distribution, <sup>and</sup> transportation and communication all over the world. I am not referring to the <sup>amazing progress in the medical sciences which has so markedly</sup> great new medical discoveries which tend to improve the health of the human race and <sup>in crowd the average length of life, now</sup> prolong human life. I am not referring to the marvels of engineering, <sup>and</sup> to the miracles of construction all over the globe. There are too many <sup>unnumerable</sup> and too apparent to <sup>require any amplification</sup> call for any comment. Inventions of all kinds are so <sup>and discoveries are coming in such rapid succession</sup> numerous in our day that they no longer <sup>excite any special</sup> evoke any excited comment, <sup>from people</sup>. We take it all in our stride - the flying age, the television age, the atomic age - and what next? The inter-planetary age, perhaps. Certainly, man is achieving in our day in the scientific fields more in a <sup>decade</sup> year than in a 100 years <sup>heretofore</sup> in the past, in a whole cycle of ~~Cathay.~~

<sup>I am thinking of it</sup> But I am thinking of our age as a great age in terms of social progress, as well in terms of human advancement, <sup>and</sup> ~~in terms of~~ civilization. More is being done in our day for the common man and for the average man, for the improvement of the conditions of <sup>the</sup> his life, <sup>the common man</sup> for the raising of his standard of living, for his health, for his education, for his protection against the disabilities of sickness ~~and~~ unemployment and old age, than in any generation, in any five generations in the past. Never was as



much thought given to the <sup>lot of the</sup> individual, to the common man, never were governments so much concerned with improving <sup>the lot of the</sup> the lot of the common man of the masses, I mean of those vast segments of humanity who in the past were the forgotten men, the exploited and the down-trodden, who lived in <sup>unbelievable and</sup> unspeakable poverty, and ignorance and disease <sup>than is being given in our day.</sup> and life-long misery. Never was so much progress made in the field of improving the lot of that common man as in our day. Never was so much social legislation - industrial, agrarian - enacted to protect the working man, to protect the laborer, to protect the child, <sup>and to</sup> the protect women in industry, as in our day. Never were more determined efforts made to bring about a fairer sharing of the wealth and <sup>that is</sup> the goods which are being produced, and to make education available to all men.

Never have the submerged races and peoples of Asia and Africa and of other parts of the earth, who for <sup>for</sup> countless centuries <sup>endured</sup> suffered under foreign or native tyranny and despotism - never have they risen <sup>so they have risen in our day to demand and to</sup> to demand and have achieved, <sup>as they</sup> to a large measure <sup>adjusted</sup> freedom and self-determination as in our age. Imperialism and colonialism <sup>are in their death throes.</sup> have received their death-blow in our day. Backward peoples are pressing forward into the light of a new day for themselves, and the <sup>exploit, taken</sup> supremacy of the white race and its rule over the dark races of the earth is rapidly drawing to a close. (m)

Now, I do not wish to overdraw the picture. I am not suggesting that our age is <sup>perfect.</sup> by way of achieving an idyllic society. I do not wish to suggest that we are quickly ushering in the millenium. The millenium is not around the corner. There <sup>is not</sup> <sup>from the</sup> a spot on the globe <sup>crying</sup> today where there are not many evils, social wrongs and injustices, and where the masses, <sup>I want to</sup> to a greater or lesser degree, are still underprivileged and disadvantaged. There is no country on earth <sup>which</sup> that is altogether free from class <sup>conflict</sup> struggle, from bigotry, <sup>and</sup> from intolerance, from slums <sup>or</sup> and from poverty. And it will take centuries, not decades or generations, <sup>but</sup> centuries before all the peoples of the world will possess what some of the most favored peoples of the world already possess today, and what <sup>these latter possess</sup> is far from the optimum.







But, <sup>remember</sup> the important thing to consider is not whether we are on the eve of a millenium, but whether the major trends of our age are in the direction of the good society, of the hoped-for good society, or away from it. Is our age breaking chains and removing shackles from men and nations, or not? Is our age removing barriers, or not? Is it extending the opportunities of education? Is it systematically trying to eradicate poverty <sup>and eliminate</sup> and to raise the standard of living <sup>for</sup> all peoples, regardless of race or color or creed? Is it trying to satisfy the legitimate <sup>demands</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>peoples</sup> <sup>nations</sup> rights of nations to freedom and independence? Is it trying to organize the world for peace and for international cooperation <sup>for the common good</sup>? I believe that in all these <sup>major</sup> directions, in all these major trends, which are significant and determinant, our age has given evidence of great determination and of considerable progress. It is moving in the right direction. <sup>It is interesting to note that</sup> the concern with the rights of man - <sup>improvement</sup> and this is interesting to note, <sup>the last of the Russian war</sup> frequently overlooked - that the concern with the rights of the human being, as such, has not been limited to the governments of the free and democratic countries alone. Communism, too, regardless of the <sup>wrong</sup> methods which it employs and of which we do not approve, has made the improvement of the <sup>life</sup> <sup>the Russian war</sup> lot of the human being its chief concern, and its battle-~~cry~~. The evils which it has wrought in the employment of <sup>a</sup> the wrong method of progress should not blind us to the positive good which it has achieved for the masses of the Russian peoples in terms of education, <sup>and the</sup> <sup>then</sup> in terms of raising their standard of living, which <sup>have advanced</sup> for centuries were denied them by Czarist despotism.

What has created the mood of crisis in our day is not that our age is not making progress, but the conflict <sup>which has developed as to</sup> concerning the methods of ~~human~~ progress. It is a crisis of method - the democratic method ~~for human advancement~~ as against the method of dictatorship. Each ~~is~~ claims to be the best and quickest way of achieving, of establishing the good society; that is to say, of <sup>bringing about the most favorable</sup> <sup>to the use thereof</sup> establishing the best conditions of life not for any one class or ~~any one~~ group, for for all men. The ends which <sup>they</sup> have in mind are practically the same. Their social idealism is practically the same.



The conflict is really not one of ideology, but one of methodology.

But it is a dangerous conflict, and it is tearing our world apart, ~~and it~~ is this crisis of method <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ has filled the minds of men today with <sup>apocalyptic fear</sup> ~~apprehension~~ and with apocalyptic dread, as if we were approaching some <sup>fiery denouement</sup> ~~chasm, some fatal abyss.~~ in human history.

Now, if ways could be found which would permit both of these contrasting methods to prove themselves in action, to work themselves out in their respective spheres and countries, without trying to destroy one another, <sup>in blind, competitive haste</sup> human progress would be tremendously accelerated, the rich promise of our day would be realized, and a new mood of optimism would infuse the hearts of men.

~~Now,~~ It has been my conviction that such ways can be found, and ~~it is the~~ <sup>that</sup> task of inspired statesmanship <sup>can</sup> ~~in our day to~~ find them. If Communism were, like Fascism and Nazism, committed to <sup>basic</sup> human inequality; if Communism were <sup>aimed</sup> ~~committed to~~ the <sup>create</sup> ~~creation of~~ a society of the elite, of <sup>self-defined</sup> ~~super-men~~ who would <sup>thrive upon the</sup> ~~live off and thrive~~ upon the ~~subjugation and~~ exploitation of the lower class of society which is ~~basic to the philosophy of Fascism; if Communism~~ <sup>sought</sup> ~~aimed, as did Fascism and Nazism,~~ to enthrone one superior race over all others and to dominate all others, and to <sup>all others</sup> ~~enslave or exterminate~~ <sup>such as</sup> ~~all others races~~ <sup>and undeniably</sup> ~~which they regarded as inferior; if~~ <sup>wedded</sup> ~~Communism were committed to the ideals and traditions of militarism and the idealization of war, as Fascism and Nazism were,~~ then no way could possibly be found to enable these two systems <sup>7 the East and the West</sup> ~~to live together for long~~ <sup>side by side</sup> ~~in the same world.~~

But these are not the ideals of Communism. They are not found in their texts and in their official scriptures, they are not taught to their youth, they are not propagated in their press or in their literature. They abhor these conceptions quite as much as we do.

~~Therefore, I say that~~ <sup>touching</sup> ~~inasmuch as~~ their basic ethical ideals ~~concerning~~ the status and the destiny of ~~the individual man,~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~being~~ more or less ~~the~~ common to ~~doctrine and teaching of~~ both of these systems, ways can be found, ~~should be found~~ which would make it possible for them to live and to work out their destinies in the



# MISSING PAGE (S)













is being done for the average man in our day. for the (3)  
improvement of the conditions of his life for the raising of his  
standard of living, of his health, of his education, for his  
protection against the disabilities of sickness, unemployment  
and old age than in any generation on record.

There was as much ~~thought~~ <sup>service</sup> to the individual, never  
were former units so much concerned with improving the  
lot, the individual - & the masses - & their vast segments  
& mankind who in the past were the forgotten ones, the  
exploited the down-trodden, living in unspeakable  
poverty, ignorance, disease and misery - as in our day.

never was so much <sup>spirit</sup> legislation, <sup>understanding and sympathy</sup> enacted to protect  
the <sup>the farmer,</sup> ~~the poor man,~~ childhood and womanhood - ~~to~~ as in our  
day; men were determined efforts made to buy about  
a fairer share of ~~the~~ wealth and the ports which are  
frudued them in an age. - and to make education  
available to all -

available to all -  
 never have the submerged masses and ~~not~~ peoples  
 of the earth - in Asia and Africa and elsewhere - who  
 for thousands centuries - suffered under foreign  
 or native slavery and domination - risen to demand  
 and achieve their freedom and self-determination as is  
 our age! - Imperialism and colonialism have reached  
 their death - blow in our day. Backward peoples  
 are being pressed into the light of a new day - and  
 the inferior, the White race and its rule over the  
dark races, the earth is rapidly drawing to a close.



6/ Let me not overdraw the picture. I am not saying (✓)  
that an age ~~has~~ <sup>is</sup> by way of achieving an ideal  
society, or a utopia in the millions. The willpower  
is not just around the corner. There isn't a spot on the  
globe where there are not evils, social ills & injustices -  
and where the masses <sup>- to a greater or lesser degree</sup> are still not understood and  
disadvantaged. There is no country on earth that is altogether  
free from class struggle - from bigotry and intolerance - from  
slavery and poverty - And it will take centuries, not  
decades or generations - before all the people, the world will  
possess what the most favored peoples possess today.

But - the important thing to consider is whether the major  
trends of our day is in the direction of the hoped-for good  
or away from it: Is our age breaking the chains  
of men, <sup>and</sup> removing their shackles or not? Is it removing  
barriers or not? Is it extending the sphere of education,  
or not? Is it systematically trying to <sup>to create a better</sup> ~~raise the~~  
standard of living of all men & peoples, <sup>regardless of</sup> ~~color or creed~~ <sup>race or creed</sup>?  
Is it trying to satisfy the <sup>basic</sup> ~~by~~ rights of nations to  
freedom and independence? Is it trying to organize the world  
for peace and for international cooperation for the common good -

In all these directions - in all these trends - our  
age has given evidence of great determination and of  
considerable progress. The concern with the rights  
of man - as such - has not been limited to the



15  
gents, the free & democ. countries. Communism, too  
regards, ~~the~~ the methods which it employs and of which  
we do not appear - has made the improvement, the best  
& man - its chief concern and battle-cry - The ends  
which it has wrought in the employment of a very method  
& progress - should not blind us to the position of  
which it has achieved for the masses, the Russian  
people - in terms of education <sup>and</sup> a better standard of living,  
~~and~~ - which for centuries they have denied under Tsarist  
despotism.

6). What has created the word, crisis in ~~the market~~ <sup>our day</sup>  
is ~~the~~ not the absence of progress but the conflict as  
regard the method of ~~human~~ progress. It is a crisis  
of Method! - the democratic vs. the method, dictatorship -  
Each claims to be the best and quickest way of achieving  
the good society - the best conditions, life not for any  
one class or group - but for all men. The end which  
they have in mind are <sup>- the social idealism is the same</sup> ~~practically~~ the same. - The conflict  
is really not one of ideology but, methodology.

But it is a dangerous conflict - and it is tearing our  
world apart - and it is that which has filled the minds  
of men to-day with apprehension - and with apocalyptic dread -  
as if we were approaching some fatal abyss chasm

If way can be found which will permit these contradictory  
methods to ~~present~~ <sup>present themselves</sup> ~~themselves~~ out as their



respective spheres and countries - without trying to (6)  
destroy one another - ~~a new word of optimism would inspire~~  
~~the hearts of men.~~ and human progress would be accelerated.  
the rich promise of our day would be realized and a new  
word of optimism would inspire the hearts of men.

Such ways can be found, and it is the task of civilized  
state marshals in our day to find them. Were communists,  
like Fascism & Nazism, committed to human inequality,  
to the creation of a society, the elite, & the superior  
to ~~the~~ when the subjugation ~~and~~ the lower castes of ~~the~~ <sup>social</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>race</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>to</sup>  
enthroning <sup>many</sup> one superior race to dominate all others, and  
to exterminate or exterminate all other races whom they re-  
garded as inferior: — ~~and~~ were it committed to the ideas and  
traditions, militarism and the idealization of war; — no  
way could possibly be found to enable them to exist  
to live together for long in the same world —

But there are not the ideas of common men — they are not found in their texts and scriptures. They are not taught to them of men — they are not propagated in their press or literature.

press or literature.

Their ethical ideas are very much there ~~the~~ <sup>there are enough</sup>

Their ~~method~~ <sup>method</sup> of proletarian dictating ~~to achieve them~~ <sup>where they lead things to themselves along and others</sup>

is not a method. - 13 When there is no essential

incompatibility ~~as to the~~ <sup>as to the</sup> as an ethical ideal ~~as~~ the

basic ideals of human states and society - ways

can be found which will make it possible to live

in the same world.



not be the decisive factor.

(4) <sup>to build up</sup> To build up preponderant strength and contain Soviet within a military wall - we have had to ~~make W. front~~ not only to attract to our democ. front, dictators, the type of France and T. to - but we have had to make a re-armed Western E. - the Kydstens to our scheme of defense. I warned against it more than a year ago - you may recall. To-day many Americans have begun to grasp the enormity of that blunder.

We had demanded for. for being militaristic. Now that for. was defeated - it is we who have been insisting that they rearm!

We had agreed with the Russians that the for. should be disarmed and neutralized - as a guarantee for the peace of Europe and the world.

But in our eagerness to build up a front of. Russia we have invited West. E. to rearm and to join the United Nations, North Atlant. Treaty Organization -

This rearm of course means a permanently divided Germany - for the Soviet Union, of course, never permit East. for to be added to W. front - and ~~to join~~ to join Nato - and armed forces against Russia.

But the for. people want to be united. More than they want to fight on the side, allies of Russia. They have had their stomach full fighting Russia. ~~They do~~ do they want their country to become the battle ground!







7). Destiny has singled out our beloved country - the freest dem. (7)  
on earth to press leadership to the world in this century -  
and out, this dangerous predicament.

So far our leadership has not been characterized by vision  
- ~~not~~ by courage which derives from confidence in the  
strength of our own convictions.

In the first place we have become blinking of eyes to the  
point where we are in danger of paralyzing our own free way  
of life at home which has been the source of strength and the energy and inspiration of the world. The  
Four Freedoms which we offered the world we are  
seriously undermining at home. I have shy of this  
not once but many times in the past. I do not wish  
to upset myself - but let a case appear, the U.S. Supreme  
Court speak - Justice William O. Douglas - article in

N.Y. Times Magazine 9 Jan. 13 - 1952. (Quote)

Suppression and intimidation as at work in some of  
our educational institutions and in govt + Congressional investigations  
committees, have amalgamated to themselves "mass-judicial"  
power, and dragging to witness their basic rights under  
our constitution; Americans will soon be free to express  
only approved views and accepted opinion - that is to say views  
approved by the majority and opinion tolerated by an organized  
and voracious minority.

8). But peace has also dictated our foreign policy: our  
sole concern has been to build up military strength and  
~~so as to be able~~ military alliances so as to be able to



of a hot. America & Russia, they do not want a Cold War. (10)  
Stalin has now again frankly put forward his program  
for a united Germany - a united and united Germany - but  
a united Germany. Stalin too in this discussion ~~did~~  
could not but Russia & U.S. has repeated from his  
position at Yalta Potsdam in August 1945 - for a complete  
demilitarization of Germany: "all war potentials & fac. used to  
be destroyed - war plants, workshops, aircraft and arms" - so  
that fac. would never again be able to make war."

Thus Jer. - in playing off the U.S. - Horat - has already  
secured a considerable victory without turning a finger -  
she will continue to play off one against the other - and  
with the aid of both - win the power again - ~~what she~~  
~~became again the most powerful~~. Then you will recall  
were the early and successful tactics of Horat.

The Adenauer Govt has fallen in line with the American plan for collaboration with the West. in this military program. But the Adenauer Govt. is not popular in W. Germany. It represents largely the Catholic element, the Social-Democrats, ~~and the Evangelical churches~~ are opposed to his program. It may not be possible for Adenauer to sell his program to his people in the face of the new Russian proposals for a unified, armed but neutral Germany.

Thus the Key-stone may fall from the arch which we have been so painstaking & careful - and ~~at a~~ <sup>at a</sup> ~~cost~~ <sup>cost</sup> called at cost.



- 9). <sup>Ever</sup> to have thought of Germany - as a demer. carrier of Europe from  
the memory of dictatorship - <sup>policy</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~her~~ <sup>her</sup> ~~stupidity~~. (11)
- G. will not fight for demer.
  - G. will not fight of dictatorship!
  - G. will fight - to remove her "last process" - to remove  
power and military power - she could make to any her  
last defeat
  - To do that - she will fight America - as she has done twice  
in the last 35 yrs - she ~~will~~ <sup>if need be</sup> fight Russia - as she  
did in 1941 (?)
  - "York Review" - Spring 1952 - "Germany Seven Years After Defeat"  
by William G. Carlisle - (Inst p. 329)

10). Recently the Soviet sent a note to the Allies on proceeding  
with a Germ. Peace Treaty - The Allies saw it what  
amounted to a knock-out. This did not change their own  
dipl. position in Germany or elsewhere - The critical issue  
of a unified, neutral Germany was evaded. - The real solution  
Potsdam summit

11). Recently, also, Stalin, again indicated his position that the  
coexistence of Conf. States would be possible. - and that a  
meeting of the heads of the great powers - to settle the major  
issues bet. them would be beneficial -

That, too, was ignored. - We seem to have settled with  
a routine of negotiation - waiting for 1953 - or 1954 - when  
we think we shall be strong to deal with Russia -  
that may not turn out that way at all - for the Allies



as becoming restive under the military burden which this /12  
scheme, in place upon their people  
In the mean-~~time~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ nation may be ~~seized~~ <sup>fatally out of the hands</sup> ~~by Russia~~ <sup>by the</sup> ~~but by Germany~~ <sup>by the</sup> and the U.S. - and seized  
by Germany!





# The Black Silence of Fear

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 1, 1952*

*Mr. Lane.* Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the January 13, 1952, issue of the New York Times magazine, by William O. Douglas, an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court:

#### THE BLACK SILENCE OF FEAR

(By William O. Douglas)

There is an ominous trend in this Nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches. Orthodoxy normally has stood in the path of change. Orthodoxy was always the stronghold of the status quo, the enemy of new ideas—at least new ideas that were disturbing. He who was wedded to the orthodox view was isolated from the challenge of new facts.

The democratic way of life rejects standardized thought. It rejects orthodoxy. It wants the fullest and freest discussion, within peaceful limits, of all public issues. It encourages constant search for truth at the periphery of knowledge.

We as a people have probably never lived up to that standard in any of our communities. But it has been an ideal toward which most of our communities have strived. We have over the years swung from tolerance to intolerance and back again. There have been eras of intolerance when the views of minorities have been suppressed. But there

*has not been a period of  
greater intolerance than  
we witness today.*



There are those who are deeply opposed, many of whom put that issue beyond the pale of discussion. There are even some who make the crucial test of one's loyalty or sanity his acceptance or rejection of our present policy toward Asia.

The question of our Asian policy illustrates the need for a wide range of free public discussion. Asia poses probably the most critical issues of the day. Certain it is that if Asia, like China, is swept into the political orbit of Soviet Russia, the Soviets will then command or be able to immobilize the bulk of the people of the world, the bulk of the wealth of the world.

If that happens, it is doubtful if we, with all our atomic bombs, could even win a war.

The great danger of this period is not inflation, nor the national debt, nor atomic warfare. The great, the critical danger is that we will so limit or narrow the range of permissible discussion and permissible thought that we will become victims of the orthodox school. If we do, we will lose flexibility. We will lose the capacity for expert management. We will then become wedded to a few techniques, to a few devices. They will define our policy and at the same time limit our ability to alter or modify it. Once we narrow the range of thought and discussion, we will surrender a great deal of our power. We will become like the man on the toboggan who can ride it but who can neither steer it nor stop it.

The mind of man must always be free. The strong society is one that sanctions and encourages freedom of thought and expression. Where there is that freedom, a nation has resiliency and adaptability. When freedom of expression is supreme, a nation will keep its balance and stability.

Our real power is our spiritual strength, and that spiritual strength stems from our civil liberties. If we are true to our traditions, if we are tolerant of a whole market place of ideas, we will always be strong. Our weakness grows when we become intolerant of opposing ideas, depart from our standards of civil liberties, and borrow the policeman's philosophy from the enemy we detest.

That has been the direction of our drift. It is dangerous to the morale of our people; it is destructive to the influence and prestige of our country; it is depriving us of our resiliency, much of our inventive genius.

ends of orthodoxy already have been



tion against the bad behavior of states. In doing so, it forgets the limitations on the effectiveness of military coalition. . . . We see that the legalistic approach is closely identified with the concept of total war and total victory, and the manifestations of the one spill over only too easily into the manifestations of the other. And the concept of total war is something we would all do well to think about a little in these troubled times. . . . It is not only a question now of the desirability of this concept; it is a question of its feasibility. . . . In a sense, there is not total victory short of genocide, unless it be a victory over the minds of men. But the total military victories are rarely victories over the minds of men. . . . I am frank to say that I think there is no more dangerous delusion, none that has done us a greater disservice in the past or that threatens to do us a greater disservice in the future than the concept of total victory (pp. 99-102).

The dichotomy between "international morality" and "national interest" is not the fruit of moral or mental confusion. It is an inescapable imperative of effective political action in every system of sovereignties in which statesmen must be concerned with calculations of power while moralists and laymen, bewitched with the legal fiction that "states" are "persons," are no less concerned with the precepts of ethics. Since other powers feeling themselves threatened by an expanding power will at