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Wherein lies America's security, 1958.

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

THE TEMPLE

October 26, 1958

WHEREIN LIES AMERICA'S SECURITY

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

It would be a simple matter indeed to say that the security of our country lies in its armed might, but this would hardly be true even if we limited the term "security" to military defense against armed aggression. From time to time, of course, we are reassured by the heads of our military establishment and by men in high government position that we have nothing to fear, that we are the strongest power on earth, and that together with our Allies we are impregnable. At other times, however, especially around budget appropriation time, we are gravely warned by high government officials and men of high military rank that our defenses are seriously defective and in this or that vital area of air, sea, or land defense, we are out-distanced by our potential enemy and are dangerously exposed.

The average citizen, who is not a military expert, and cannot of course have access to the top secrets wither of the Pentagon or of the Kremlin, must rely for his information that which is given to him by those who are entrusted with the security. The average citizen is kept oscillating between optimistic reassurance and dire alarm. Most assuredly his mind does not rest secure today in our armed might. He does not under-estimate it, of course, or its importance for national security, but is inclined to question its adequacy or the wisdom of our sole reliance upon military might to insure the future of our country. He would like to think that we have powerful Allies who form with us a united front against any possible aggression, but he notes how often and how sharply these Allies differ from us on vital matters of foreign

policy and how often they serve notice, in unspeakable terms, that they will not go along with us on this or that line that we have adopted because they believe that this line would lead us to the brink of war. And the average citizen notes too how often we have flouted our Allies, as in the case of Suez, and brought defeat and humiliation upon them.

A day or two ago we read in our newspapers a statement by Field Marshal Montgomery who maintains that our policies on the Suez sabotage British and French influence. Field Marshal Montgomery charged today that the United States must bear a large share - perhaps most of the blame - for the present world situation. Here speaks an ally of ours. American policy, he asserted, has worked to destroy the influence of Britain, of France and the Netherlands and Asia and Africa at a time when these countries might have been stabilizing influences. It must now be clear, he wrote, to all except the very stupid that if the United States had not sabotaged the Suez operation and had joined the Baghdad pact earlier, the situation in the Middle East would be very different today; and of course this view is shared by many in government circles of Great Britain and France and among the rank and file.

We have one policy toward the Soviet Union, in many regards our Allies quite another. We refuse to recognize the firmly established government of Red China; our Allies have recognized it and are doing business. We are the protectors of Chian Kai-shek and have supplied his government with military equipment to the tune of a thousand million dollars and have impend ourselves in the protection of the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, and our Allies have no stomach whatsoever for this dangerous alliance of ours.

The average American citizen would like to believe that his country is truly the defender of democracy in the world today and that our costly efforts are duly appreciated in the non-communist world. Alas, he finds that we are disliked and distrusted in almost the entire free world and in both hemispheres. The reception which Vice-President Nixon received not so long ago among our neighbor peoples to

the south of us in Latin America came as a shock only to those Americans who had been lulled into the fond belief that only the Communists hate us in the world.

We have been driven deeper and deeper into the morass of an unending cold war with more than one-third of the earth's population, and have been forced to look for Allies among some of the worst dictators of the world - Franco, and Tito, and Chian Kai-shek, and to bribe feudal rulers in the Middle East and elsewhere to maintain positions of what we call neutrality, in which they can blackmail us indefinitely, and all the while, as someone summed up recently, all this while we have been following this policy, communism has not been contained, democracy has not been extended and a position of strength has not been achieved. And all that we have done in the field of foreign relations or in the building up of our military strength has not given our people a strong sense of security.

WHEREIN THEN LIES AMERICAN SECURITY - in continuing the cold war indefinitely? Therein lies clear and deadly danger for us, for the Soviet Union, for the whole of mankind. Somewhere along the line someone's foot has slipped. Somewhere someone will commit the irretrievable error, wittingly or un-wittingly, and then the Nuclear push-button war will be on and very little will be left when that sea of fire sweeps over the earth.

And even if a cold war does not consummate in a total war of nuclear destruction it is bound to drain and exhaust and bankrupt us so completely that it will drive the free world blindly and irresistibly into disastrous military dictatorship and forms of political life hardly distinguishable from those forms against which we are now waging the cold war.

WHEREIN DOES OUR SECURITY LIE? All along the ultimate security lies in quickly ending the cold war. This is not easy, but it is clearly imperative. The end of the cold war must come, of course, simultaneously from both sides; one side cannot end it.

And without lowering our guard we must work earnestly and sincerely, sincerely and earnestly to seek ways of a modus vivendi - a mode of living - for us, and for them on the same globe, in peace; to trade with one another, to exchange cultural and scientific data and information, to travel freely in each other's territory, to bring about a normal state of international relationship. And in my humble judgement, democracy stands to gain from such an interchange of contacts and trades and ideas.

Of course, communism is a revolutionary movement; of course, it has world-conquering aims; so does democracy, so does liberty, so does human freedom! And for 150 years, democracy has been sweeping our world, toppling one tyranny after another, and one throne after another, until the disaster of two world wars and the resultant universal chaos and misery of mankind gave reaction and all forms of dictatorship their opportunity but by no means their final and ultimate triumph. Peace and prosperity are bound to attenuate all forms of dictatorship and tyranny and perhaps destroy Communism; but war - hot or cold - continued international tensions and crises will only entrench dictatorship in the world.

Back in ^{the} 1950's - just eight years ago - our present Secretary of State wrote in his book "War or Peace" that we are engaged in an armament race and this race is very exciting and it is easy for the followers to be carried away by their excitement and lose their sense of proportion. The people of the world have long looked at the United States as a peace-loving nation; because of that, we have had good will everywhere and when war came we were able to organize great alliances that marshaled most of the manpower and resources of the world against those who were deemed to be militaristic. Our moral authority in time overcame the initial military disadvantage.

Let us not trade that moral birthright for a mess of pottage. It is imperative, so wrote John Foster Dulles, it is imperative that our government should get good military advice. I have no doubt we are getting it for American officers are the most competent, the most patriotic of any in the world, but that advice should be

weighed by those who believe that war is not inevitable; that we can and must have peace, and that it may be necessary to take some chances for peace! Indeed, history suggests that only those who are willing to take some chances for peace have a good chance of winning total war.

I am afraid that since coming into office, the most important office next to President of the United States in the world, our Secretary of State has lost the courage and the convictions to take chances for peace.

WHEREIN DOES OUR SECURITY LIE? Our security lies also in strengthening the United Nations, in implementing it, in giving it more real and more extensive power, in enhancing its prestige. At the moment it is very weak and the cold war may, before very long, cause it to wither away altogether and follow the fate of the League of Nations. But it need not be so. It was a great vision and a great urgency which brought it into existence some thirteen years ago. This urgency is still here; the vision, unfortunately, has sadly dimmed. The United Nations is the one and only international agency which exists today for world peace and if the two world powers - the United States and the Soviet Union - would accustom themselves to refer great issues, whatever they are, great issues which divide them, to the United Nations as to a Court of Arbitration and Reconciliation and abide by its collective judgement and not use its rostrum and its platform for propaganda and for bitter attacks and invectives and recriminations, then the United Nations will ~~co~~ develop in the course of time into a powerful instrument for peace and a greater deterrent of war than any military establishment.

So far these great powers have been paying lip service to the United Nations, and carrying on the real business, so to speak, outside of its precincts.

X WHEREIN DOES OUR NATIONAL SECURITY LIE? Well, my dear friends, it lies in my judgement in our own way of life here at home. We can be destroyed from within. We

have a cold war going on right now here at home, a racial war; and it has not been such a cold war at that.

In recent months some eighty-three bombings of schools and homes and churches and synagogues have occurred which, directly or indirectly are related to the problems of race, In this instance immediately to the problem of school integration in the south.

Now I ask myself quite objectively if, from the point of view of the security of the American people, and the position of our country in the world, I ask myself "Does our security lie in continuing this cold war? In trying at all costs to maintain the status quo which would consign and continue to consign millions of our fellow citizens to segregation and degradation in a world where people will simply no longer put up with it?"

This native cold war, which is a dead legacy of a nation wronged, has already cost us our position of leadership in the free world and has made us this object of hate and distrust, in spite of our sincere intentions and in spite of the lavish aids which we have poured out, to so many peoples of the world. We simply do not realize how sensitive the colored population of the world which is the majority of the population, how sensitive that population is today to this issue.

I came across the other day an item in the newspapers from Mexico City, "The United States scored a diplomatic triumph last night in an International Film Festival here. Instead of the usual chorus of cat-calls and derisive whistles that have greeted anything connected with the United States in the festival thus far, the audience rose to cheer following the showing of "The Defiant One", the third United States offering in the two weeks' Festival." "The Defiant One" - I had the pleasure of seeing it the other day in New York, I think it is now here in Cleveland, "The Defiant One" is a Stanley Kramer production based on the story of two escaping penitentiary convicts, one a Negro and the other white, bound together by chains as they attempted to flee. They begin as mortal enemies but become friends after each has abandoned a possible chance of freedom to help the other.

"Racial discrimination", continued this article from Mexico City, - this is not Moscow, this is our neighbor, Mexico - "racial discrimination in the United States has been used here with increasing vigor and effectiveness by organizations obviously trying to create a widening rift between the United States and Mexico". Extra squadrons of Riot Policement armed with tear gas guns were brought out last Sunday to prevent demonstrations at the the huge auditorium, site of the Festival but last night it came as a surprise to many attending the Festival regularly to find the audience of 8,000 applauding enthusiastically throughout the showing of "The Defiant One". The Ambassador of the United States was cheered by this warm demonstration."

What does it all mean? It means that this is the most sensitive emotion of fact or situation or problem in the world today not only for the Negro population but for the entire non-white population of the world, and our national security lies in relieving as rapidly as possible racial barriers and discrimination of all kinds, and the responsibility lies squarely with lay leadership and with religious leadership, wherever such discriminations exist.

Following the bombing of the Temple in Atlanta, the editor of the "Atlanta Constitution" wrote in his paper "Dynamite in great quantities Sunday ripped a beautiful temple of worship in Atlanta. It followed hard on the heels of a light destruction on a handsome High School in Clinton, Tenn. The same rabid mad-dog minds were without question behind both. They also are the source of previous bombings and slaughterings in Alabama and South Carolina. The School house and the church are the targets of a diseased and hate-filled mind.

Let us face the facts, This is a harvest; it is the crop of things sown. It is the harvest of defiance of courts and the encouragement of citizens to defy law on the part of many southern politicians. It is not possible to preach lawlessness and restrict it. Tobbe sure, none said "Go bomb a Jewish Temple or a School" but let it be understood

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