



## 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 V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

---

Reel  
186

Box  
70

Folder  
956

American leadership in the world today, 1957.



AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD TODAY

Address delivered by  
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
of THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND  
before the annual meeting of the  
Religious Newswriters Association  
on Sunday evening, June 23, 1957

57-15  
see also  
55-19

I believe that the age in which we live is a great age and that we are moving towards an even greater age.

In characterizing our age as great, I am thinking in terms of social progress and welfare, in terms of human advancement and civilization.

What we are witnessing in our day, if we have eyes not only to see things, but to see into the heart of things, is not social disintegration, but a radical new reintegration of humanity, a profound change in the social evolution of man, a change not free, of course, from dangers - for there is no progress without danger - but one of boundless and immeasurable potentialities.

I believe too, that the coming age will be a great age for America. Destiny has singled out our beloved country, the foremost democracy on earth, to give leadership to the world and to lead mankind out of the grave social, political and economic predicaments in which it finds itself. I believe that American leadership will prove itself equal to the challenge if it will take counsel of faith and not of fear, and if it will be guided by the prophetic insights and the wide perspectives of the Founding Fathers of this Republic, who found them in the Book sacred to all of us - the Bible.

Unfortunately, in recent years our leadership has not been characterized either by vision or courage. In the first place, we ~~have~~ permitted ourselves to become frightened by Communism and by its methods to the point where we were in danger of paralyzing our own free way of life, which has been the real source of our strength.

Suppression and intimidation were at work in an increasing number of the educational institutions of our country and in departments of our government. Congressional



investigation committees arrogated to themselves "quasi-judicial" powers, and denied witnesses their basic rights under our Constitution.

The bed of Procrustes made its appearance in American life to enforce arbitrary conformity, and this was the first unfortunate result of the ebbing of confidence in ourselves and of permitting ourselves to be frightened by Communism. In our eagerness to save the world, we were in danger of losing our own soul.

This same fear is today determining the nature of our leadership in foreign affairs. Our chief concern has been to build up military strength and military alliances so as to enable us to confront the Soviet Union with such a preponderance of power that it will desist from further attempts at aggression, and will agree to international settlements acceptable to us. This is an appealing formula, but one which I am afraid has many pitfalls. When will we be sure that such a preponderance of power has been attained by us? When will we know that we are strong enough to sit down and negotiate with the Soviet Union?

Regardless of how powerful we become militarily, we shall still have to settle all our differences with Russia in one of two ways: war - which is unthinkable, which everyone agrees would result only in a bloody stalemate on a global scale; and negotiation - the way of give and take, the way of statesmanship in which skillful and inspired diplomacy are perhaps more effective than any assumed preponderance of power which can only be established in actual combat.

It is, of course, important that we be strong militarily and that we do not lower our guard. In the kind of a world in which we live, defenselessness is an invitation to aggression. But military strength alone will not improve the deteriorated and dangerous international situation of our day. We must learn to rely more on statesmanship and moral leadership and less on force. War is not inevitable. Neither we nor the Soviet want war. Neither has anything to gain from it. Both, whether as victor or vanquished, would be the loser. The principal causes of national aggression in the modern world are diminishing productive land and increasing population pressures. Neither situation applies to Russia or to the United States. It is fear - fear of



containment and attack, fear of undermining and propaganda, fear which results in anger and belligerency - fear, more than any other factor which has paralyzed ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> diplomatic initiative, ~~of both countries~~. In fear, both the East and the West have been building Maginot lines for their security. Military history has demonstrated that Maginot lines are no reliable defense in war; they certainly offer no security in a war of ideas. It is fear which has stymied all attempts at disarmament and predoomed all disarmaments conferences. <sup>TP</sup> Ways must and can be found for a tolerable "modus vivendi", a way of coexistence which, while never quite free from tensions and strains, will yet give the world a chance to breathe freely again and go about the real business of life. Ideologies cannot be adjusted by compromise, but political problems of coexistence can be. In the 16th and 17th centuries it was universally held that Catholicism and Protestantism could not live together in the same world. One or the other had to go. The stakes were enormous - far greater than those at stake in the East-West struggle today; for not only were the fortunes of this world involved, but also those of the next world. The ideologies could not be reconciled - and so the struggle passed from the realm of ideas and propaganda to the battlefield. Europe was drenched in blood. The wars of religion lasted for a hundred years and destroyed towns, cities and whole provinces, until the inevitable truth dawned upon men that a way had to be found for Catholicism and Protestantism - and other religious minority sects - to live together in the same world without sacrificing their particular loyalties and dogmas. A compromise of toleration was finally agreed upon, and Europe was able to move forward again once this frightful road-block was removed. Out of the religious toleration which was thus achieved, there flowed also political liberties to the peoples of Western Europe. Our age will have to find a formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in the one world in which we live. They may be irreconcilable in theory; they need not be in practice.

America must lead in finding the way. The way is not that of a global armament race which will impoverish the peoples of the earth - ourselves included - and end as such races always end - in the catastrophe of war. It is time to change over onto



a new course. The way is rather that of giving urgent leadership to a program of speedy and balanced reduction of armament. The new way will put us in a position to render through the United Nations more extensive and constructive aid to the backward peoples of the world, and to cooperate with them in achieving necessary agrarian and social reforms which will set them firmly on the road to a free and happier life. The ultimate defense of democracy in the world lies not in superior armor or in the atomic or hydrogen bomb, but in raising the standard of living of the masses of the earth whose misery and wrongs are receptive soil for all kinds of doctrines of violent revolution and for all types of economic deceptions. While Communism breeds in other places beside poverty, certainly it never overlooks these natural seed-beds. When we shall come to these underprivileged peoples bringing them the gifts not of bombs and bayonets, but of bread and health and education and freedom, they will become our natural allies, and our alliance will be cemented in good will and in hope. At present they are suspicious even of our generosity because they have lost confidence in our motives. They regard our humanitarian efforts as part of a calculated over-all strategy to draw them into an armed conflict with the Soviet Union for which conflict they have no desire whatsoever. They are convinced that a war, even a successful war, will not give them either bread or freedom. Our generation waged two world wars to make the world safe for democracy, and there is less democracy in the world today than in the last one hundred years. <sup>P</sup> This is the kind of leadership to which the world will respond, leadership which does not wait on the occasion but makes it, which is prepared to take calculated risks for peace, which is eager for negotiation and conference to settle all issues which endanger the peace of the world - a leadership which exerts sincere and unremitting pressure for limitation of armaments and the lifting of the crushing military burdens from the backs of the peoples of the earth - a leadership which aggressively plans for world-wide cooperation to help and guide the backward and impoverished peoples to higher levels of agricultural and industrial development, of well-being, health and education - a leadership which seeks the liberation of all dominated, colonial peoples and extends friendly help to them in adjusting themselves to their new way



of life - this kind of leadership - which is not dictation, which is not imposed by our wealth and power, which is not enmeshed and hampered by commitments to the imperial interests of colonial empires and which flows naturally from the head-waters of our great liberal traditions and history - is sure to re-kindle the hopes of the world.

Above all, we must look to our own political, economic and spiritual defenses at home. We must remain free at home, and solvent and civically uncorrupted. If our own free institutions and the moral character of our own people are undermined at home, the last great hope of mankind for a new birth of freedom will have perished. We must not take our rich heritage of freedom for granted. It can be lost and dissipated. No one has guaranteed its survival. Democracy can be easily damaged and easily destroyed. We must be on the alert to defend it against enemies with and without - against hostile propaganda, but also against hysteria and witch-hunting. We must not allow ourselves to be panicked by slogans and by words which are emotionally loaded. We should not resort to impatient and illegal action to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. *P* We should not over-burden our government if we wish to keep it free. When impossible political and economic burdens are placed upon a democratic government, it collapses. Those people who want their government to provide them at all times with bread and circusses must be prepared to surrender all power to their government. We must work unremittingly for progressive, economic justice, for the avoidance of prolonged economic depressions and large-scale unemployment among our people, for these incite to all kinds of desperate remedial measures. A fair sharing of our country's wealth and opportunities by all of its citizens is a safeguard of freedom for all. *P* We should resist all forms of bigotry and intolerance in our midst. They are the caries which cause decay and spread infection. Racial and religious intolerance will disrupt our national unity in dangerous times and will call into question our credentials for leadership in a world which is not all of one color or of one religion.

Prejudice, intolerance, race and group hatreds are tragic walls which men



build around themselves, and our age has unfortunately witnessed the erection of many such forbidding walls. Whenever there is unhappiness, discontent or unrest among men, racial and religious bigots swarm out of their dark holes, sweep over the land and sow the dragon seed of suspicion and hate. Sometimes even good and respectable citizens build walls around themselves which are effective blocks to mutual understanding and good will. They build walls of social exclusiveness and snobbery. They segregate themselves in some illusory eminence and hug to their bosoms the delusion that they are somehow better than the common run of humanity. In the sight of God there are no blue bloods and no first families, no Brahmins and no untouchables - only children of the dust who, in their brief careers on earth, may find a measure of happiness in life by helping one another in goodness and love.

I believe that a moral revival among our people is long overdue. We must tidy up our moral lives. We must demand more of ourselves. We must raise our sights as to the meaning and obligations of our lives, as free citizens in a menaced world. Freedom survives only in spiritual discipline. We cannot give leadership to the world if we are hollow and spiritually wasted within. All the great democracies of the past which perished were first undermined from within by corruption and indifference, by a moral laxity which prepared the way for the vicious and unpatriotic elements to step in and take over, who then drained and weakened these democracies to the point where their fall became inevitable.

In this great age, we must learn to live greatly. It is a time for greatness. Our country is important; these United States of America are very important, to us and to the world. The importance of our country is to be found not alone in its vast material resources, in its great production machinery or its technological and scientific achievements, but in its rich political and social traditions, the wealth of new and emancipating ideas which pioneer and settler of the wilderness, which Pilgrim and Puritan and immigrant and revolutionist bequeathed to us and through us to mankind as a heritage. What these people gave to us and to mankind was something new. De Tocqueville, the historian of early America, sensed it when he spoke of the young



America of his day as "the great experiment". "In that land", he wrote, "the great experiment of the attempt to construct society upon a new basis was to be made by civilized man; and it was there, for the first time, that theories hitherto unknown or deemed impracticable, were to exhibit a spectacle for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past." The whole world caught fire from the sparks of these "unknown and impractical" theories as they were being forged in the smithy of the Western world. As our founding fathers foresaw, one nation after another in the Old World, inspired by our example, threw off the galling yoke of tyranny and broke the shackles of their enslavement. Our country helped those nations to freedom, not by going out into the world as a military power crusading for freedom, as Napoleon attempted to do in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity. We helped other nations to freedom by building freedom here at home, by an example which inspired others to do likewise. James Madison who expressed this conviction of the founders of our country, said, "The free system of government we have established here is so congenial with reason, with common sense and with a universal feeling, that it must produce approbation and a desire for imitation . . . Our country, if it does justice to itself, will be the workshop of liberty to the civilized world, and do more than any other for the uncivilized."

Our world has, of course, changed very much since the days of the American Revolution, and it is no longer possible by example alone to help mankind. Nevertheless, as we move out upon the international scene, in our new role of active leadership, involving ourselves in numerous alliances, commitments and obligations, let us never lose sight of the original inspiration of our country, "to be the workshop of liberty to the civilized world." They were small and weak in the days of the Revolution, a few scattered colonies in the lonely wilderness of a new world; yet they had masterful confidence in their ideals and in their destiny. They were so sure that they were ushering in a new age - a great, new age - that they placed upon the official seal of the government which they set up the words, "Novus Ordo Seclorum" - a new order of the ages. America was ushering in a new era for



mankind, an American Era. Definitely, mankind is within that era today. May it be given unto us, physical or spiritual descendants of these far-visioned pioneers, to match the quality of our leadership with theirs and with our great hour.





# Green's (or Leadership) in the World to-day

I believe that the age in which we live is a  
great age and that we are moving towards an even  
greater age.





9

(1) In characterizing our age as great, I am thinking in terms of social progress and welfare, in terms of human advancement and civilization. More is being done in our day for the improvement of the conditions of the common man, for the raising of his standard of living, his health, his education, and for his protection against the disabilities of sickness, unemployment and old age, than in any generation, than any five generations in the past. Never were more determined efforts made to bring about a fairer sharing of the wealth that is produced and a better way of life for all. This is religion. *building the Good Society!*

Never have the submerged races and peoples of the earth risen as they have risen in our day to demand and to achieve, as they have to a large measure achieved, freedom and self-determination. Within the last ten years one-fourth of the earth's population - more than five hundred million non-self-governing people - have obtained their political self-determination. Imperialism and colonialism are in their death-throes. Backward peoples are pressing forward into the light of a new day, and the exploitation of the dark races of the earth is rapidly drawing to a close. This is religion. *too, is building the Good Society!*

✓ (2) What we are witnessing in our day, if we have eyes not only to see things, but to see into the heart of things, is not social disintegration, but a radical new reintegration of humanity, a profound change in the social evolution of man, a change not free, of course, from dangers - for there is no progress without danger - but one of boundless and immeasurable potentialities.

I do not wish to overdraw the picture. I am not suggesting that our age is rapidly approaching perfection, or that the millenium is just around the corner.

The important thing to consider is not whether we are on the eve of the millenium but whether the major trends of our age are in the direction of the hoped-for good society, or away from it. Is our age trying to eradicate poverty



long submit to the bondage of man. Neither dictatorship nor racialism nor statism nor militarism can or will command the future of the human race. They represent the sunk wreckage of the past which the storms of our day have dredged up again from the bottom of their buried depths and have set them afloat again dangerously upon the ship lanes of the world. They are the enemies of ~~our~~ <sup>the world</sup> religion.

(3) I believe, too, that the coming age will be a great age for America. Destiny has singled out our beloved country, the foremost democracy on earth, to give leadership to the world and to lead mankind out of the grave social, political and economic predicaments in which it finds itself. I believe that American leadership will prove itself equal to the challenge if it will take counsel of faith and not of fear, and if it will be guided by the prophetic insights and the wide perspectives of the Founding Fathers of this Republic, who found them in the Book sacred to all of us - the Bible.

I believe that our age will find the formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and the fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in the one world in which we live. They may be irreconcilable in theory; they need not be in practice. Our religious dogmas were deemed irreconcilable in the past and frequently led to religious warfare, but a way of toleration was ultimately found and a way of cooperation. America will lead in finding the way - for America is not self-seeking, nor bent upon exploitation and aggrandizement. When mistakes are made by our people they are of the mind, not of the heart. In time our country will learn to give mankind the kind of leadership to which it will gladly respond, a leadership which is prepared to take calculated risks for peace, which is eager for negotiation and conference to settle all issues which endanger the peace of the world, which



4) Unfortunately, in recent years our leadership has not been characterized either by vision or courage. In the first place, we have permitted ourselves to become frightened by Communism and by its methods to the point <sup>where</sup> we ~~are~~ in danger of paralyzing our own free way of life, which has been the real source of our strength.

Suppression and intimidation <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ at work in an increasing number of the educational institutions of our country and in departments of our government. Congressional investigation committees ~~have~~ arrogated to themselves "quasi-judicial" powers, and <sup>denied</sup> ~~are denying~~ to witnesses their basic rights under our Constitution. ~~Americans will soon be free to express only approved views under our Constitution.~~ Americans will soon be free to express only approved views and accredited opinions; that is to say, views approved by the majority and opinions which an organized and vociferous minority <sup>would</sup> ~~will~~ permit <sup>them</sup> ~~us~~ to entertain.

In Russia, the government is dictating to scientists and educators the correct ~~and orthodox~~ opinions which they must hold and teach on such matters as the theory of relativity, Freudian psychology, and the gene theory of inheritance, not to speak of what constitutes good art, good literature and good music. This is a logical and inevitable development, for political dictatorship must lead to intellectual and cultural ~~dictatorship~~ <sup>Dictators ~~they~~ must set scourges over all human thought.</sup> dictatorship as well. The suppression of unorthodox political and economic views quickly passes over into all other forms of suppression, and human progress is retarded either by the fear of actual persecution or by a calculated shift to comfortable acquiescence.

5) The bed of Procrustes ~~has~~ made its appearance in American life to enforce arbitrary conformity, and this <sup>was</sup> ~~has been~~ the first unfortunate result of the ebbing of confidence in ourselves and of permitting ourselves to be frightened by Communism. In our eagerness to save the world, we <sup>were in danger of losing</sup> ~~may lose~~ our own soul. <sup>TP</sup> This same fear is ~~as~~ <sup>to-day</sup> determining the nature of our leadership in foreign affairs. Our chief concern has



5 been to build up military strength and military alliances so as to enable us to confront the Soviet Union with such a preponderance of power that it will desist from further attempts at aggression, and will agree to international settlements acceptable to us.

This is an appealing formula, but one which I am afraid has many pitfalls. When will be sure that such a preponderance of power has been attained by us? When will we know that we are strong enough to sit down and negotiate with the Soviet Union? We marched into Korea two years ago, confident that we had a preponderance of power with which to carry out a successful police action there. But we were proved wrong by events. After two years of costly fighting, we reached a stalemate in Korea, and we are now laboriously trying to work out an armistice and a peace arrangement to end a war from which we are certainly not emerging victorious.

When can any nation be sure that it has a preponderance of military power? The not inconsiderable power of France has not been adequate to insure victory for it in a much smaller and weaker Indo-China.

While we are building up to our maximum military strength, the Soviet Union is likewise building up to its maximum military strength. To be sure, the Soviet Union is industrially no match for us. But need it be our equal industrially to keep us from scoring a decisive victory over it? Russia cannot be bombed into submission and cannot be invaded and conquered. Hitler as well as Napoleon learned that lesson at frightful cost to themselves.

In fact, the whole idea of total victory is a preposterous idea in the modern world. George F. Kennan, who is now going as our Ambassador to Moscow, wrote in his interesting book, "American Diplomacy":

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.



6 { Regardless, ~~then~~, of how powerful we become militarily, we shall still have to settle all our differences with Russia in one of two ways: war - which is unthinkable, which everyone agrees would result only in a bloody stalemate on a global scale; and negotiation - the way of give and take, the way of statesmanship in which skillful and inspired diplomacy are perhaps more effective than any assumed preponderance of power which can only be established in actual combat.

In order to build up to strength and check-mate the aggression of the Soviet Union, we have been attracting to our democratic front dictators of the type of Franco and Tito, and we have made a rearmed Western Germany the keystone to our entire scheme of European defense.

We, who had denounced the Germans for being militaristic, are now insisting that they should rearm. ~~We, who had agreed with Russia and Great Britain that Germany should be disarmed and neutralized after the war to insure the peace of Europe, have~~ ~~now~~ Because of our total absorption in the building up of a front against Russia, *we have* invited Western Germany to rearm and to join the defense forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This, of course, can only come about if Germany remains divided, but the German people want to be united far more than they want to fight on the side of the Allies against Russia. They have had their stomach full of fighting Russia in the last world war. ~~Now~~ <sup>do not</sup> ~~do~~ They want their country to become the battleground for a war between America and Russia; <sup>nor</sup> ~~neither~~ do they want a civil war to rend their people apart. Stalin countered our move by putting forward his program for a united, rearmed, but neutral Germany. Stalin, too, as a result of the disastrous cold war between Russia and the United States, has been forced to retreat from the position which he ~~and the Allied heads took~~ <sup>where they agreed</sup> ~~held at Potsdam in August 1945.~~ At Potsdam all the Allies ~~had agreed~~ that "all war potentials of Germany were to be destroyed - war plants, warships, aircraft and arms - so that Germany would never again be able to make war." From this sound, statesman-like position, Stalin, too, under pressure of the cold war, has now retreated.



*and that we do not lower our guard.*

(7) It is, of course, important that we be strong militarily. In the kind of a world in which we live, defenselessness is an invitation to aggression. But military strength alone will not improve the <sup>deteriorated and</sup> dangerous international situation of our day. We must learn to rely more on statesmanship and moral leadership and less on force.

War is not inevitable. Neither we nor the Soviet want war. Neither has anything to gain from it. Both, whether as victor or vanquished, would be the loser.

The principal causes of national aggression in the modern world are diminishing productive land and increasing population pressures. Neither situation applies to Russia or to the United States. It is fear - fear of containment and attack, fear of undermining and propaganda, fear which results in anger and belligerency - <sup>fear</sup> more than any other factor which has paralyzed the diplomatic initiative of both countries.

In fear, both the East and the West have been building Maginot lines for their security. Military history has demonstrated that Maginot lines are no reliable defense in war; they certainly offer no security in a war of ideas. *It is fear which has paralyzed all attempts at disarmament and pre-empted all disarmament efforts.*

Ways must and can be found for a tolerable "modus vivendi", a way of coexistence which, while <sup>never</sup> ~~not~~ quite free from tensions and strains, will yet give the world a chance to breathe freely again and go about ~~with~~ the real business of life. Ideologies cannot be adjusted by compromise, but political problems of coexistence can be.

In the 16th and 17th centuries it was universally held that Catholicism and Protestantism could not live together in the same world. One or the other had to go. The stakes were enormous - far greater than those at stake in the East-West struggle today; for not only were the fortunes of this world involved, but also those of the next world. The ideologies could not be reconciled - and so the struggle passed from the realm of ideas and propaganda to the battlefield. Europe was drenched in blood. The wars of religion lasted for a hundred years and <sup>destroyed</sup> ~~devastated~~ towns, cities and whole provinces, until the inevitable truth dawned upon men that a way had to be found for



Catholicism and Protestantism - and other religious minority sects - to live together in the same world without sacrificing their particular loyalties and dogmas. A compromise of toleration was finally agreed upon, and Europe was able to move forward again once this frightful road-block was removed. Out of the religious <sup>toleration</sup> ~~liberty~~ which was thus achieved, there flowed also political liberties to the peoples of Western Europe.

Our age will have to find a formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ one world in which we live. They may be irreconcilable in theory; they need not be in practice.

America must lead in finding the way. The way is not that of a global armament race which will impoverish the peoples of the earth - ourselves included - and end as such races always end - in the catastrophe of war. It is time to change over onto a new course. The way is rather that of giving urgent leadership ~~in the United Nations~~ to a program of speedy and balanced reduction of armament, ~~a thing which we cannot do~~ sincerely or effectively at the moment because we are overwhelmingly committed to a program of maximum rearmament <sup>for ourselves and</sup> ~~for our allies~~. The new way will put us in a position to render through the United Nations more <sup>extensive and</sup> constructive aid to the backward peoples of the world, and to cooperate with them in achieving necessary agrarian and social reforms which will set them firmly on the road to a free and happier life. The ultimate defense of democracy in the world lies not in superior armor or in the atomic <sup>or hydrogen</sup> bomb, but in raising the standard of living of the masses of the earth whose misery and wrongs are receptive soil for all kinds of doctrines of violent revolution and for all types of economic deceptions. While Communism breeds in other places beside poverty, certainly it never overlooks these natural seed-beds. When we shall come to these underprivileged peoples bringing them the gifts not of bombs and bayonets, but of bread



and health and education and freedom, they will become our natural allies, and our alliance will be cemented in good will and in hope. At present they are suspicious even of our generosity because they have lost confidence in our motives. They regard our humanitarian efforts ~~in their behalf~~ as part of a calculated over-all strategy to draw them into an armed conflict with the Soviet Union for which conflict they have no desire whatsoever. They are convinced that a war, even a successful war, will not give them either bread or freedom. Our generation waged two world wars to make the world safe for democracy, and there is less democracy in the world today than in the last one hundred years.

(5) This is the kind of leadership to which the world will respond, leadership which does not wait on the occasion but makes it, which is prepared to take calculated risks for peace, which is eager for negotiation and conference to settle all issues which endanger the peace of the world - a leadership which exerts sincere and unremitting pressure for limitation of armaments and the lifting of the crushing military ~~burdens~~ <sup>burdens</sup> from the backs of the peoples of the earth - a leadership which aggressively plans for world-wide cooperative ~~effort~~ <sup>effort</sup> to help and guide the backward and impoverished peoples to higher levels of agricultural and industrial development, of well-being, health and education - <sup>a leadership which seeks</sup> the liberation of all dominated, colonial peoples and <sup>extends</sup> friendly help <sup>to them</sup> in adjusting themselves <sup>selves</sup> to their new way of life - this kind of leadership - which is not dictation, which is not imposed by our wealth and power, which is not enmeshed and hampered by commitments to the imperial interests of colonial empires and which flows naturally from the headwaters of our great liberal traditions and history - ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> sure to re-kindle the hopes of the world.

Above all, we must look to our own political, economic and spiritual defenses <sup>at home</sup>. We must remain free at home, and solvent and civically uncorrupted. If our own free institutions and the moral character of our own people are undermined at home, the last great hope of mankind for a new birth of freedom will have perished.



We must not take our rich heritage of freedom for granted. It can be lost and dissipated. No one has guaranteed its survival. Democracy can be easily damaged and easily destroyed. We must be on the alert to defend it against enemies within and without - against hostile propaganda, but also against hysteria and witch-hunting. We must not allow ourselves to be panicked by slogans and by words which are emotionally loaded. We should not resort to impatient and illegal action to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. ~~It is easy for a government to seize the industrial plants of a nation, but how long will it be before it seizes also its press, its radio and all information agencies, makes a rubber stamp out of Congress, and clamps~~ - a term which by liberal interpretation can be made to apply to any situation down a dictatorship upon its people under the pretext of an emergency? We should never forget that it is not only reaction which rivets dictatorship upon peoples, as in Spain, but also demagogical, pro-labor, so-called Socialist movements, as in the Argentine, and of course, in the Soviet constellation.

We should not over-burden our government if we wish to keep it free. When impossible political and economic burdens are placed upon a democratic government, it collapses. Those people who want their government to provide them at all times with bread and circuses must be prepared to surrender all power to their government.

We must work <sup>unremittingly</sup> for progressive, economic justice, for the avoidance of prolonged economic depressions and large-scale unemployment among our people, for these incite to all kinds of desperate remedial measures. A fair sharing of our country's wealth and opportunities by all of its citizens is a safeguard of freedom for all.

We should resist all forms of bigotry and intolerance in our midst. They are the carriers which cause decay and spread infection. Racial and religious intolerance will disrupt our national unity in dangerous times and will call into question our credentials for leadership in a world which is not all of one color or of one religion.



good neighbors." To the building of such walls for protection, privacy and ownership, there can be no objection. They are part of the necessary routine of civilized life.

But there are other walls which men erect which serve no such good purpose, but on the contrary, are harmful to the best interests of society.

(8) Prejudice, intolerance, race and group hatreds are tragic walls which men build around themselves, and our age has unfortunately witnessed the erection of many such forbidding walls. Whenever there is unhappiness, discontent or unrest among men, racial and religious bigots swarm out of their dark holes, sweep over the land and sow the dragon seed of suspicion and hate.

Sometimes even good and respectable citizens build walls around themselves which are effective blocks to mutual understanding and good will. They build walls of social exclusiveness and snobbery. They segregate themselves in some illusory eminence and hug to their bosoms the delusion that they are somehow better than the common run of humanity. In the sight of God there are no blue bloods and no first families, no Brahmins and no untouchables - only children of the dust who, in their brief careers on earth, may find a measure of happiness in life by helping one another in goodness and love.

Our world is divided today by political walls and iron curtains. There are those who would build these walls still higher, who resent those who suggest ways for razing these walls and leveling them off. In every age there have been the wall-building doctrinaires, the exponents of the irreconcilable. Either I or you survive! No middle road - no meeting ground - no compromise! This, of course, is the fateful road to war, and wars only serve to erect new walls on the ruined foundations of the old.

There are nations which put their trust and security in strong walls, in



Above all, we should safeguard with all the strength of which we are capable the moral integrity of our <sup>democratic</sup> government. The multiplying evidences of civic corruption, of bribery and tax evasion, <sup>of waste</sup> of venality in public office, of the alliance between organized crime and government, <sup>are</sup> and shocking and profoundly disturbing. This is the <sup>worm</sup> ~~worm~~ within the <sup>apple</sup> ~~apple~~ - an evil which <sup>will eat</sup> ~~may be eating~~ at the heart of American life. Added to these ~~evidences~~ of corruption in public life are evidences of moral disintegration elsewhere, in the increase of juvenile delinquency, in the ominous increase of divorce and broken homes, and in many other ~~ways~~ <sup>ways</sup>.

I believe that a moral revival among our people is long overdue. We must tidy up our moral lives. We must demand more of ourselves. We must raise our sights as to the meaning and obligations of our lives, as free citizens in a menaced world. Freedom survives only in spiritual discipline. We cannot give leadership to the world if we are hollow and spiritually wasted within.

All the great democracies of the past which perished were first undermined from within by corruption and indifference, by a moral laxity which prepared the way for the vicious and unpatriotic elements to step in and take over, who <sup>then</sup> drained and weakened these democracies to the point where their fall <sup>became</sup> ~~was~~ inevitable.

~~It is reassuring to know that our people <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ never content to let corruption abide and prevail once it <sup>became</sup> ~~became~~ sharply aware of it and ~~is~~ aroused about it. Time and again, in the past the American people <sup>called a halt and</sup> set its house in order. It must do so again.~~

In this great age, we must learn to live greatly. It is a time for greatness. Our country is important; these United States of America are very important, to us and to the world. ~~Our country has given to us and to generations of men a standard of living, a range of hope and freedom and opportunity unknown except to a privileged few in the whole recorded history of mankind. The importance of our country is to be found not alone in its vast material resources, which are after all the gift of a kind Providence, ~~for~~ in its great production machinery or its technological and sci-~~



entific achievements, but in <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ rich, ~~treasure troves~~ of political and social traditions, the wealth of new and emancipating ideas which pioneer and settler of the wilderness, which Pilgrim and Puritan and immigrant and revolutionist bequeathed to us and through us to mankind as a heritage. What these people gave to us and to mankind was something new. De Tocqueville, the historian of early America, sensed it when he spoke of the young America of his day as "the great experiment". "In that land," he wrote, "the great experiment of the attempt to construct society upon a new basis was to be made by civilized man; and it was there, for the first time, that theories hitherto unknown or deemed impracticable, were to exhibit a spectacle for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past."

The whole world caught fire from the sparks of these "unknown and impractical" theories as they were being forged in the smithy of the Western world. As our founding fathers foresaw, one nation after another in the Old World <sup>inspired by our</sup> ~~caught fire from the~~ <sup>example</sup> ~~flames of the American Revolution~~ and <sup>threw</sup> ~~began to~~ throw off the galling yoke of tyranny <sup>and</sup> ~~to break~~ the shackles of their enslavement, <sup>and</sup> ~~to strike out for their own freedom~~. Our country helped those nations to freedom, not by going out into the world as a military power crusading for freedom, as Napoleon attempted to do in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity. We helped other nations to freedom by building freedom here at home, by an example which ~~could~~ inspired others to do likewise.

James Madison who expressed this conviction <sup>of</sup> the founders of <sup>our</sup> ~~this~~ country, said, "The free system of government we have established here is so congenial with reason, with common sense and with a universal feeling, that it must produce approbation and a desire for imitation. . . . Our country, if it does justice to itself, will be the workshop of liberty to the civilized world, and do more than any other for the uncivilized."



Our world has, of course, changed very much since the days of the American Revolution, and it is no longer possible by example alone to help mankind. Nevertheless, as we move out upon the international scene in our new role of active leadership, involving ourselves in numerous alliances, commitments and obligations, let us never lose sight of the original inspiration of our country, "to be the workshop of liberty to the civilized world."

They were small and weak in the days of the Revolution, a few scattered colonies in the <sup>lonely</sup> wilderness of a new world; yet they had masterful confidence in their ideals and in their destiny. They were so sure that they were ushering in a new age - a great, new age - that they placed upon the official seal of the government which they set up the words, "Novus Ordo Seclorum" - a new order of the ages. America was ushering in a new era for mankind, an American Era.

Definitely, mankind is within that era today. May it be given <sup>unto us</sup> to the descendants of these far-visioned pioneers, to match the quality of <sup>our</sup> ~~their~~ leadership with <sup>theirs</sup> ~~their~~ great hour.

Physical and  
spiritual