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Taking Stock - 1958, 1959.

TAKING STOCK -- 1958

THE TEMPLE

January 4, 1959

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

As nineteen hundred and fifty-eight progressed, one sensed a new strength, a new dynamism in American life. The twelve months previous to 1958 had been sobering, perplexing, frustrating months. During 1957 the United States had reaped the whirlwind. We had been for the ten years since the end of the Second World War busy curing all the economic ills of other nations. And suddenly in 1957 we awoke to a splitting financial headache of our own. Little Rock aired much of our dirty linen before the world, much to the delight of those nations who were somewhat tired with our pompous moralizing. During 1957 the Allies announced that they were no longer willing to accept without protest, without a will of their own, the leadership of the United States. At the NATO Conference of that year you will recall that some of them refused to allow American missile bases to be established on their territory, and most of them refused to go along with America's economic and political quarantine of the People's Republic of China. During 1957 we were repaid for our protection of General Nasser during the Suez invasion. We were repaid by a campaign of vituperation and vitriol unparalleled in history. And as 1957 progressed, one sensed that the initiative in the world rested with the Eastern bloc of nations. And when the first of the Sputniks cruised in orbit over our heads and when our own overly-publicized Vanguard missile lay prostrate at our feet, here in America there was much breast-beating and recrimination. There was the feeling that the Russians had somehow stolen a march on us, that they had tarnished our scientific prestige and that they had imperiled our national security.

And 1957 was a year of reflection, a year of blame-taking and blame-making.

But as 1958 moved along, one sensed that America had moved beyond self-pity to action, that we had, with characteristic American vigor, taken off our coat, rolled up our sleeves, and gotten down to work. We met the challenge of the recession head-on. In early spring of last year employment was at an all-time post-World War II high. Buyer resistance was being met in many industries. Stock quotations, stock inventories were low. There was great danger that this recession might snowball into a major depression, and as you will recall, during the spring of last year there was much pessimistic conversation about the extent and the depth of the depression which we were suffering. But America went to work. Business men cast their professional eye over procedures of distribution and production and they worked hard towards making those procedures more economical. Government regulatory agencies dispensed the medicine of lowered interest rates with purposefulness and with intelligence. Union and governmental unemployment compensation funds were ably administered. Local community governments and civic agencies cooperated to sustain a public attitude of optimism and of hope. And by the late fall of this year those responsible for our economic well-being were pretty well satisfied that America had overcome the worst of the recession and that we were moving into a new era of economic prosperity.

America went to work during 1958 in many ways. We went to work in the scientific field. For if the Sputnik had caused us to doubt our scientific competence, our technicians went to work. And as they launched missile after missile from the launching pads of Cape Canaveral we realized that we were no longer inferior to the other powers of the world in technical know-how, and that if they had stolen a march on us we would be able in time to close the gap of scientific knowledge which had yawned so wide open between them and between us. And during 1958 we scored a few/^{important} scientific triumphs of our own. Our Nautilus atomic-powered submarine cruised under the North Polar ice cap east to west, and its companion

the Sea Wolf returned the voyage west to east, a voyage of some eighteen hundred and thirty miles opening up new trade routes and new commercial potentials to man. A missile of the United States, a lunar probe, cruised some seventy-one thousand miles out into the heavens, the furthest to that point which any missile had penetrated the space world. We managed to launch into space an Atlas missile equal in size to a railroad car, the most weighty of all the nuclear heads which had been pushed out and propelled into space. And during 1958 also our scientists devised a mechanical method of reproducing the natural process of photo-synthesis and in giving man thereby the potential in time to harness the power of the sun and to use its vast resources of power for the potential good of man.

And if 1959 began with a new and quite astounding success on the part of the Russians in this age of space pioneering, I think that the United States was psychologically and scientifically prepared to admit that this was no longer a catastrophe of major proportions, but rather the expected interchange of leadership in spacial competition. We were prepared to recognize that they would at times seem to have the upper hand and we at times would seem to be able to score the "firsts" in this spacial competition. During 1958 our scientists had been hard at work, and they had exerted prodigious amounts of energy in order to win back for America a feeling of scientific and technical security.

America continued to work also during 1958 in many other ways. We increased by ten billions of dollars our investment in the largest and most extensive cultural and educational system of any country in the world. We continued to support the most beautifully developed and conceived social service agency type of activity which has been conducted at any time in history on a voluntary basis. We went to work to improve our schools, and much was done locally and nationally to make the discipline and the curriculum of the schools more attuned to the requirements and the rigors of the new world. We began and undertook a major program of college scholarships on a national basis, a program much necessary in this era of

rising educational costs. We undertook and carried out programs of urban renewal and slum clearance and city planning as we began to blueprint and chart out the development of our own communities to meet the population explosions and the technological advances of the twentieth century. All in all, America sobered up and went to work, and if this sobering, this desire to get to work, to be purposeful in our activity showed itself in many ways during 1958, it showed itself also in a rejection of policies of economic drift and political aimlessness, because perhaps the most symbolic of all the events which took place domestically during 1958 was the election of last November, a Congressional off-year election, in which some almost forty-eight millions of our people went to the polls and administered to the party in power one of the most crushing votes of no confidence ever administered to an administration. Now this vote was due to many things. It was due to the recession and to unemployment. It was due to depressed farm prices. It was due to internal Republican bickerings. It was due to the highly unpopular "Right to Work" Amendment which appeared in certain states. But it was due also, and I think in largest measure to a rejection of the lack of leadership, the lack of the ability of the present administration to make understandable to the American people the goals towards which we were working and the means which we must employ to achieve those goals. The Democratic party during the last election was unwilling or unable to set out or to blueprint a new formula for American life. And so we must set down this election rout simply to a rejection of a lack of leadership, the lack of positive accomplishment in the programs of the current administration. Certainly the unwillingness of our President to exert energetic leadership, despite his good intentions and his good will, certainly this unwillingness to exert vital leadership in a vital age, to make hard decisions when hard decisions were required, certainly this was a requirement which the American people felt a President must accept and one which many groups in the American people felt he had not adequately shouldered. And if our Secretary of State had made many decisions, somehow these

decisions had not been blessed with happy fruition, with victory in the diplomatic sphere, and though he had done much global touring and though he had visited many nations and made many contacts with foreign dignitaries, somehow he had not been able to make real and understandable to the American people the purpose of all this activity, the purpose of all these commitments, the purpose of all the billions of dollars which we were spending for foreign aid, the purpose of all the conventions which we were undertaking with nations throughout the world. We rejected during 1958, we the American people, we rejected a lack-luster leadership, a leadership by indirection, a leadership which seemed to lack the will to meet head-on the serious, difficult obstacles which Americans faced domestically and in foreign affairs during very difficult and trying days.

And during 1958 America was faced with grave challenges at home and almost abroad. We had a major crime problem here at our hands in all the thickly populated urban areas. Crime was on the rise. Crimes of violence especially were beginning to frighten our people, and the American cities were faced with a major program of crime prevention, one which is still only in its infancy. And in the South of our land we were faced with what has become the endemic problem of racial tension, of violence by those who refuse to accept the majesty and the dominion of the American dream and of the American law. In the South our problem took two forms during the year 1958. On the school issue itself it took the form of the closing of the schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville and Warren County in Virginia and in Little Rock in Arkansas. The courts had ordered specifically the integration of schools in these communities, and following a program of massive resistance, the governors of Virginia and of Arkansas had ordered the schools to be closed and had made some sixteen thousand, four hundred of our younger citizens pay the price of their political demagoguery and of their mature prejudices. Over one million school days had been lost by these sixteen thousand, four hundred young people. It is a tragedy of major proportions. In an age when America requires the most talented trained leadership available, in an age when even the act of citizenship itself

requires a breadth and extent of knowledge requiring deep study and learning, for governors of two of our sovereign states to deny, because of their prejudices and for no other reason, the right to a public education to some sixteen thousand of their young people, to deny to the American people the trained minds which these youngsters represent, this was a problem of the first magnitude with which America had to come to grips and had not yet, as the new year began, come to grips. For these schools were still closed on January 1, and the makeshift private school systems which had been established were manifestly inadequate, and next year there will be new orders by the courts for the integration of further school systems. This was a challenge which the new American energy, the new American desire to be purposeful in its activity, would have to meet head-on in 1959.

And secondly during 1958 we were met with an outbreak of acts of terrorism, of acts of incendiarism, with acts of violence. There were twenty-eight major bombings or attempted bombings of public institutions in the South during the year 1958. The Junior High School at Osage, West Virginia was demolished. The Senior High School at Clinton, Tennessee was badly damaged. The Jewish Community Center in Jacksonville, Florida was badly damaged. The home of a University professor of the Louisiana State University was demolished. The Mount Zion Methodist Church in Nashville, Tennessee was bombed. The Reform Congregation in Atlanta had its educational wing badly damaged. These and many other acts of terrorism were carried out by a group of neo-Fascist lunatics reminiscent of the Bundists of the pre-World War II movement, reminiscent of the Ku Klux Klan of the post World War I days, by A small, inbred group of bigots who encouraged the defiance of the law on the part of the law makers in the South undertook to carry out an actionist, violent policy aimed at destroying all those elements in the American society which they personally contemned and condemned.

It is interesting to note that men of good will decried these acts obviously of violence, and decried the closing of the schools in 1958. They had

decried similar acts of violence and similar closings of schools in 1957 and 1956. And if there had only been that preachers and thinkers in America were speaking out against these policies of interposition, of massive resistance, of violentist policies based on prejudice, then we could not say that during 1958 America took a step forward. And yet she did, because during 1958 for the first time the average people in these communities began to undertake positive policies to meet the challenge of bigotry and demagoguery placed before them. In Norfolk the Norfolk School Board petitioned Governor Armin not to close the school systems, and when he persisted in carrying out his policy they went to the courts to try and thwart his program. In a recent election in Little Rock three of the six members elected to the Little Rock School Board stood in direct opposition to Governor Faubus, and they were pledged to a program of opening the schools at any price, even if integration is a necessary prerequisite. And in the South during the year 1958 Mayor Hayden Burns of Jacksonville organized a Southern conference on bombing which was an organization of law enforcement agencies from all the Southern communities undertaken to correlate and to draw together all known information about known terrorists, known Klannists, known Knights of the White Camellia, known anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro actionist groups, and to make this information available to any local agency requiring it in its detection. And throughout the South, leaders of all the faiths and of all the races raised their voices as one, to set the climate of opinion against these acts of lawlessness and of terrorism. And finally, after the October bombing of the Atlanta Temple, our Federal government for the first time actively intervened and speedily brought to trial five of the men allegedly responsible for this action.

Nationally and locally, action is being taken as the old year closed, to bring an end to the extremes of this program of prejudice and bigotry and to reassert the dominion of law and of right throughout our land. But the outbreaks of violence served only to point up the large way - what our American primitives would call the "fur path" - which the American people must follow if they are to

achieve domestically the kind of life which we desire. For if we have achieved the end of the recession, we have not yet solved the problems of a corrosive inflation which in twenty years since 1939 has reduced the purchasing power of our dollar by fifty-three per cent. And if we have brought about a return to an increasingly productive society, we have not yet been able to prove that the new high costs of labor and of service will enable us to compete favorably in foreign markets, and we have not yet been able to devise assurances that we will be able to meet the challenge of foreign competition. And if we have undertaken programs to tighten up our public school system, we have not yet proven that we are willing to be consistent in this program and to make it a long range and important and vital one. And if we have undertaken programs of slum clearance and urban renewal, we have not yet come to grips with the larger problem of social stratification in our cities, our most artificial barriers, these restrictions which prevent minority groups of race or color or religion from inhabiting in whatever areas of the city they may seek to settle. These and many other problems confront America as the new year begins.

But the new willingness of the American people to get down to work, to be up and to be doing, this new spirit, this new surge of the American pulse augurs well for tomorrow. The vital test, of course, will come in the field of foreign affairs. 1958 was not an auspicious year, as 1957 had not been an auspicious year, as 1956 had not been an auspicious year in the area of foreign affairs. We scored no signal victories; we suffered a few rather disastrous defeats. Our foreign policy was based on continuing programs of the military containment of Russia, of the erection of a series of military alliances through Europe, the Near East and Asia aimed at that containment, at the ^{re-}unification of Germany, the reestablishment of the sovereignty of Chiang Kai Chek over the mainland of China, at the winning over of the feudal lords and the new rulers of the Arab Near East in order to win for the West the richness of their oil, and towards a rather patronizing but somewhat helpful attitude towards our Latin-American and

South American neighbors. But as 1958 progressed, we saw evidence after evidence that these old principles of national policy were no longer viable ten years after they had been promulgated. The policy of military alliances aimed at the containment of Russia was shown to be weak, and Iraq, the only nation in the Near East which had joined the Baghdad Pact, the only consistently pro-Western country in that area, in July of last year suffered a revolution which overthrew the Pahlavi monarchy and reestablished the rule of the military Junta headed by General Kassem. Iraq in 1958 in January had been the bastion, the bulwark on which we based the Baghdad Pact in the Near East. In January of 1959 we were timid and afraid that Russian influence would again be asserted in Iraq. Russian aid had already there been received, and local Communist parties were already active there in and out of the government. The question of the appeasement of the Arab world again was in the forefront of most minds. It might have been thought that we had learned our lesson well during the previous years and would no longer follow an appeasement of General Nasser and of his megalomaniac ambitions. As 1958 began we knew full well that he was grasping for power, that he aimed to overwhelm whatever sovereignties stood in his way. And we knew well that the United Arab Republic was infiltrated by Russian groups. The Syrian army was commanded by Communist-sympathizing and Communist-believing generals. During the year of 1958 we had no reason to change our attitude of mind towards General Nasser. In Tunisia and the Sudan prodigious efforts had to be undertaken by this country simply to keep pro-Nasser groups from overthrowing legitimate governments. Only the intervention of American troops in July and of English troops in Jordan and in Lebanon prevented the swallowing of these midget states by the United Arab Republics. Throughout the year Cairo ~~radio~~ radio continued to broadcast an avalanche, a torrent of anti-American diatribe. By the end of the year American, British, German and Italian ministrators were in Cairo seeking to give General Nasser aid on the Aswandam project, freeing his currency, buying again his cotton. But thinking people questioned what Iraq and

what Egypt meant as far as the consistent philosophy of an American policy. If we depended for our military alliances on areas as weak as the government of Iraq, and if we depended on appeasement on reeds as broken as General Nasser, could our policies hope in the long range to be worthy of achieving any desirable goal? And moving into the area of the Far East, we recognized here also a need to reconsider the basic American philosophy of foreign affairs.

In September of 1958, guns from the shores of the People's Republic of China began to blast out against Quemoy and against Matsui. And though we had long since recognized that there is little hope if any of General Chiang Kai Shek's ever being reestablished as the government of China, a series of ten-year-old commitments brought us in September very close to the brink of a major Sino-American war. And again Americans questioned whether now was not a propitious time for reassessment. General President Sigmund Ree during December of last year also did the American cause/a grave disservice. We had spent three years of battle, ^{in Asia} spilling American blood, to save his little nation from North Korean and Chinese invasion. He was to be, under our aegis and with our aid, a symbol of the meaning of democratic government throughout the Asian world. In December of this year, at gunpoint, he pushed through his General Assembly, his Parliament, a new constitution which in effect made him the virtual absolute dictator of South Korea. All vestiges of democracy were destroyed, were torn aside, and the Asian world looked on, I am sure somewhat askance and somewhat sniggering, at this disciple of American democracy, at this bastion of American democracy throughout the Far East.

Europe during 1958 was prosperous. Its currency was sound, so sound that by the end of 1958 they were able to make these currencies convertible for the first time since the end of the Second World War. France experimented with strong central leadership and gambled on the life and the person of General De Gaulle to bring them the kind of strong government which they had lacked for many years. But American policy in Europe continued to be based eminently on a program to reunify Germany, and the policy of the East German government and in the Soviet

Union obviously was based on the opposite precept of sustaining the division of East and West Germany. And they continuously put America on the defensive. By the end of the year we were faced in Berlin with a crisis of major proportions. Russia had told us that by June 1st we must end the military occupation of Berlin, and in all probability the reason for this lies in the desire of the East German government to gain for itself recognition from the West and stability. Most experts seemed to feel that this program, this threat to American life, this threat of war, will be solved long before June 1st. But it served to remind Americans again that a central principle on which we had based our post-war policy had brought us to the precipice of a third world war and perhaps was no longer meaningful as a principle of foreign policy in the next decade ahead.

So 1958 was a year in which Americans were forced to think clearly and think rather candidly about the principles upon which their foreign policy ~~was~~ was being based. And if the architects of American policy were unwilling to change the direction of their activities, there grew up in America a ground-swell of protest. Men and women of significance and of position, men and women who could not be silenced by being decried as Communist and Communist sympathizers, men and women representing all the religious branches of American life, who spoke out for a policy based not on war but on peace, not on containment of Russia but on the possibility of peaceful co-existence in one world with Russia. I had occasion several weeks ago to read to you the text of the China Statement of the World Order Movement which met here in Cleveland. The World Order Study Group was a group of six hundred leading representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ, which is the overall body of most of the Protestant Churches in America. In closing that statement, speaking now not so much of the Chinese program but of their views on foreign policy in general, this very important group in American life had this to say:

Stronger efforts should be made to break through the present stalemate and to find ways of living with the Communist nations. Sometimes this is called "co-existence", but we are concerned with

something more than the minimum meaning of the word. Our relationship with the Communist nations should combine competition between ways of life with cooperation for limited objectives, our resistance to Communist expansion goes with recognition of the fact that Communist nations are nations, have their own legitimate interests and their own reasonable fears. We should avoid the posture of general hostility and cease the practice of continual moral lectures to them by our leaders.

In the cold war we allow ourselves to drift into defensive positions in which we hesitate to admit any imperfections in our society, lest it seem to confirm the Communist indictment; thus we inhibit the self-criticism which is essential to the health of a democracy. We tend to make opposition to communism the touchstone for policy both in domestic life and in international relations.

There is real hope that new generations within the Communist countries will be less fanatic in their ideological convictions and they will be more preoccupied with peace, with economic well-being and with tentative experiments in cultural freedom than in the attempt to dominate other nations.

It is not to be expected that they will formally renounce what we consider to be their errors. It is enough for the kind of living together described above if their emphasis and priorities change. The establishment of good relations will require tireless negotiations with them and imaginative programs of communication, cultural exchange and personal contacts.

Vigilance and realistic precautions are necessary, but unwillingness to recognize any good in each other is a poisonous atmosphere in which to try to conduct negotiations.

It is not enough to deplore war and to call for its abolition, we must engage, and encourage our country to engage without reservation, in the things that make for peace.

This is an important statement by an important group of our fellow citizens, and I will parallel this statement by the conclusion of an essay written in the important Catholic magazine Commonweal by Professor Donald Brandon of the Department of History of the University of San Francisco, as I think you will see, coming from an entirely different religious orientation, much of the same spirit:

On all four fronts of the cold war - military, diplomatic, economic and psychological - the Soviet regime has the initiative, and the U.S.-led free world is on the defensive. America has used poorly the non-military instruments of foreign policy. Allies and neutrals are losing confidence in the American capacity to deal with the complex challenges of the Communist bloc and the contemporary world.

James Burnham was as right in his criticism of the negative character of containment as he was wrong in his advocacy of a policy of liberation. Containment, both in theory and practice, is essentially a policy of reaction to Soviet pressure. This policy followed by the United States leaves the initiative in the hands of the Communist bloc and places the free world in the position of responding to Soviet moves at times and places chosen by the Russians. It is almost inevitable that such a policy should degenerate into mere anti-Communism in the hands of the present Administration, for its leaders from President Eisenhower on down have shown little or no conception of a positive foreign policy.

For the age of conflict, which began in 1914 and has not yet run its course, this age is a transitional one in which an old order is passing and a new one is struggling to be born. Moreover, the technological revolution of our time has made possible the creation of one world for the first occasion in history. The basic issue is whether the nations and peoples of the world shall be united by force or by consent. Either the Communist bloc will succeed in organizing a world despotism or America will lead the nations toward a free, pluralist association which represents the religions, cultures, and legitimate political and economic systems of the peoples of the world.

No one can be certain that mankind will escape the dreaded nuclear catastrophe, but the ever-present possibility of that conflagration and the necessity of military preparedness dare not deter the United States from the positive diplomatic and positive economic policies which are indispensable to the wrestling of the initiative from the Communist bloc in our contemporary world.

The United States would not need to fear the Communist capture of the genuine revolutions which are taking place in the underdeveloped nations of the world if America reassumed its traditional role as the leader of the positive revolution in world affairs.

In short, America needs to be strong not only in arms but in principle. We need to stand, not only for military preparedness, but for moral rectitude. We need to embark on a policy which is designed not so much at the military containment of our potential enemies but at the moral preparation of the American people for life in the twentieth century. We need to be prepared, yes, we need to be prepared for our own domestic problems. We need to be prepared for a world of co-existence, a world in which we shall continue to live as we now live, with many nations ideologically far from our own point of view, culturally far distant from our own cultural norms, and yet willing to exchange ~~exactly~~ ideals with us, willing to exchange trade and cultural missions with us, willing to sit down with us at bargaining tables time and time again, to hammer out accommodation - accommodation

which will make possible a world of peace, a world of plenty, and a world of progress. I think that this upsurge of opinion in America requiring a more positive and flexible foreign policy will be heard during the coming year, because it is a basic groundswell surge. It represents the clearest thinking, I think, of the leadership in America. Whether this surge will bring us peace or war of course no one can tell. Peace requires the will of all parties in our world to establish peace. We have no reason to believe as yet that the Russians' protestations of peaceful intent are genuine, and yet I submit to you that we have really no reason to disbelieve their being genuine. Perhaps we stand closer to world accommodation than we now know. Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan will be in Washington for talks which obviously have to do with a settlement of some of the world tensions. Premier Khrushchev addressed a very beautifully written New Year's message to the American people in which he spoke of the intent of the Russian people to live side by side with our own in a world of peace. And I found, in the New York Times of yesterday, this very interesting report of ^{an} ~~the~~ article written by the Russian propagandist Sovietskaya Rossiya Ilya Ehrenburg in the Soviet newspaper ~~Sovetskaya Rossiya~~ just two days ago. And if it represents the thinking of the leadership in Russia we have no way of knowing. But if it does, then perhaps we are closer to a world of peace than any of us dare hope or pray. The article begins as follows:

What is a thinking Russian to think at the end of another year of "cold war"?

At least one thinks that there is hope. Ilya Ehrenburg, novelist and occasionally a newspaper correspondent, attracted wide attention here today with a long essay containing a demonstration of candor and an attempt at understanding.

Here is the essence of what he told his countrymen in the columns of Sovietskaya Rossiya:

The Soviet people have accomplished much, but a great deal remains to be done. There are strange contrasts in Soviet society, contrasts between bold pioneers and lazy laggards, between shiny jet planes and poor household utensils, between contractors digging up wastelands and a shortage of gardening tools, between an indisputable triumph over illiteracy and the absence of a literary match for the Russian greats of a hundred years ago.

Much remains to be done to overcome the "cult of form" among bureaucrats and the neglect of form by artists.

and I might say that we might find parallels to all of these oppositions in our own American life.

But to accomplish, (he continues) what must be accomplished, the Soviet people, like all people, need peace.

Recent events may seem to leave little room for hope, but there is hope. "Much has been changed for the better among us", and changes have taken place abroad as well. "Besides diplomats and generals there exist people" and the seeming change of public opinion in the United States is most encouraging.

Russians speak a lot about American monopolies, and it is true they play a big role in American life, but so do the wishes of tens of millions of ordinary Americans. Life in the United States is strange and not easily summarized or understandable, for the United States is as young as well as a big, rich and energetic country.

Its mighty technology developed faster than its caution, comfort was valued higher than duty, and tremendous success led to complacency and to the belief that the American way of life was better than anything else.

But, said Mr. Ehrenburg, Americans have no militarist tradition, they can fight but they are not bellicose. Why then do so many not only tolerate but really support the "cold war"? Out of fear. Communism is so strange to people accustomed to have even water and gas and electricity controlled by monopolies that they are dumfounded by "Socialist" society. When politicians "started proving that the Soviet system threatens the whole world", the Americans approve military measures that seem to be a logical precaution.

The bad thing was that some Americans began to dream of giving the whole world their way of life and became convinced that sooner or later they would have to "liberate" the Russians from the "Reds".

But the worst facet of the "cold war" -- the spy mania and the witch hunts -- are over in the United States. Hundreds of visitors to the Soviet Union, without approving of communism, can see that the Soviet order is firm, that Russians want to build up their country and do not want to attack anyone, and that trade and exchange with Russians are possible.

For one of the key Russian publicists to make this analysis of the American scene, to see these possibilities for world co-existence, is perhaps one of the most optimistic indications that we can have. The fact and for his speech to be allowed to be printed in an official Russian publication, is perhaps one of the most optimistic indications that we can have. The

possibilities of working out our mutual differences would be made available to us during the coming year, and that if we remain strong and prepared, and if we remain courageous and willing to sit down to hammer out conventions settling the major outstanding difficulties of the world, if we are not myopic in our view and unwilling to come to grips with any of the major issues which now confront and confound the world, if, in short, there are not only words of peace but a desire and a will for peace expressed in American policy, I am optimistic that 1959 will bring us closer to that great day "when every man shall sit under his vine and under his fig tree, and though every man may not agree with his neighbor, none of them need be afraid". Amen.



Donald Brundage
U. of San Francisco

There is, moreover, the fact that not only have the Soviets managed to match American nuclear power and to outdistance the U.S. in the development of missiles, they have succeeded in many parts of the world in convincing governments and peoples that it is the U.S. and the Western alliance which threatens to provoke World War III. Russia has managed to make it appear that the U.S.S.R. has the best interests of humanity at heart, and that it is the "capitalistic" world which is responsible for the cold war and its almost unbearable tensions. It is not the past record of successful checkmating of Communist aggression, but the future prospect of losing the world struggle - either without firing a shot or as a result of a surprise nuclear assault by the Soviets - that concerns critics of current American foreign policy.

On all four fronts of the cold war - military, diplomatic, economic and psychological - the Soviet regime has the initiative, and the U.S.-led free world is on the defensive. America has used poorly the non-military instruments of foreign policy, ~~as well as neglecting military requirements in recent years.~~ Allies and neutrals alike are losing confidence in ^{the} America's capacity to deal with the complex challenges of the Communist bloc and the contemporary world, and ~~the advocates of "Fortress America" have been emboldened by the current frustration. The policy of containment has weaknesses, but the answer to these deficiencies does not lie in isolation. It lies rather in the revival of a conception of America's role in world affairs which has been falsely discredited because of the unrealistic expectations of earlier adherents.~~

James Burnham was as right in his criticism of the negative character of containment as he was wrong in his advocacy of a policy of liberation which could only have ended in total nuclear war if it had been followed by the United States. Containment, both in theory and practice, is essentially a policy of reaction to Soviet pressure. As Mr. Burnham argued in Containment or Liberation and ^{this} as the record shows, the policy followed by the United States leaves the initiative in the hands of the Communist bloc and places the free world in the position of responding to Soviet moves at times and places chosen by the Russians.

It ^{is} ~~was~~ almost inevitable that such a policy ^{should} ~~would~~ degenerate into mere anti-Communism in the hands of the present Administration, for its leaders from President Eisenhower on down have shown little or no conception of a positive foreign policy. ~~But while the Republicans can be legitimately censured for their conduct of affairs, the defensive policy of containment which they inherited is not a satisfactory guide for America in the second half of the twentieth century.~~

For the age of conflict, which began in 1914 and has not yet run its course, ^{this age} is a transitional one in which an old order is passing and a new one is struggling to be born. Moreover, the technological revolution of our time has made possible the creation of one world for the first ^{occasion} ~~time~~ in history. The basic issue is whether the nations and peoples of the world shall be united by force or by consent. Either the Communist bloc will succeed in organizing a world despotism or America will lead the nations toward a free, pluralist association which ^{represents} ~~respects~~ the religions, cultures, and legitimate political and economic systems of the peoples of the world. ~~The final form of this association of nations and peoples in freedom can be debated, and the road to realization of such a world is long and difficult. But though Woodrow Wilson was naive in his expectations following World War I and Franklin Roosevelt was also overly optimistic in his hopes concerning the current postwar world, they were both right in their conception of America's destiny to lead the nations of the world toward recognition of the international common good. America must recapture its vision of a world order based on freedom and justice without losing sight of realities and the obstacles barring the path to its practical realization.~~

Military victory and diplomatic defeat in two world wars, together with the partially valid realist critique of interwar idealism in theory and practice, have undermined traditional American confidence in the future of the nation and of mankind. While the nineteenth century conception of inevitable progress was obviously false, and American innocence was bound to be destroyed by contact with problems of maturity at home and totalitarianism abroad, the ~~currently fashionable pessimism~~ and pseudo-sophistication have robbed the United States of the will and vision to lead the free world successfully.

No one can be certain that mankind will escape the dreaded nuclear catastrophe, but the ever-present possibility of that conflagration and the necessity of military preparedness dare not deter the United States from the positive diplomatic and ^{positive} economic policies which are indispensable to the wresting of the initiative from the Communist bloc in ^{the} contemporary world.

The United States destroyed its moral position after World War I by reverting to an impossible diplomatic isolationism, and America has endangered its leadership in the current situation by following largely negative and simply anti-Communist policies. Although the revolutionary turmoil of the postwar world lends itself to exploitation by the Communist bloc, the foreign policy successes of Russia and Red China are attributable more to the failure of the United States to stand for a positive conception of the world which is emerging than to the appeal of the Communist solution to the problems of the mid-twentieth century. In particular, while the challenges confronting the billion people of the Near East, Africa, the Far East and Latin America would exist even if there were no cold war, the conflict between America and Russia makes it imperative that the image of the United States as the leader in the struggle for a better world, which formerly existed in these areas, be restored. The United States would not need to fear ^{the} Communist capture of ^{which are taking place} the genuine revolutions ^{of the world} in the underdeveloped nations if America reassumed its traditional role as the leader of the positive revolution in world affairs.

WALTER LIPPMAN pointed out as long ago as 1947, in The Cold War, that containment assumed America would live up to its highest traditions and that the Soviet Union would decline in power and prestige. While neither premise has been realized, it is probably that the Communist bloc would in time abandon its fanatical efforts to subvert the free world if the latter were so strong, morally, politically and economically, that neither the carrot nor the stick could affect it. And if Communism were literally contained in its own sphere, there would be some grounds for hope of its liberalization or disintegration.

American resistance, as in Korea, and the "balance of terror" are likely to deter Communist military aggression for the foreseeable future, provided the Western nations develop the capacity to fight limited war. But the non-military techniques of Communist expansion cannot be blunted so long as the United States fails to support, and even encourage, the legitimate aspirations of allied and neutral nations alike.

It is often noted that the United States and the Western powers lack an effective counter-strategy in the struggle with international communism. It may be impossible for the Grand Alliance to match the unity, crusading fervor, and techniques of the enemy, but if the United States were to readopt its historic position as the advocate of freedom and self-determination of peoples the ideological initiative could be reclaimed. Most of the peoples of the world, whether in allied, neutral or Communist lands, seek the kind of world which the United States has traditionally championed. But America has become identified in the minds of peoples the world over with a purely military response to the problems of the age as a result of foreign policies based on a one-sided interpretation of containment.

Reassumption of its historic role would not enable American foreign policy makers to resolve every issue confronting them in today's complex world on a "scientific" or mathematical basis. ~~The United States attitude toward European-colonial problems, for example, cannot be logically deduced from the principle of self-determination, for that standard can be claimed by both the participants in the conflict.~~ Nevertheless, the mere fact of proclaiming anew its support of a pluralist world based on an association of nations in freedom, as opposed to Communism's efforts to impose a massive totalitarian system, would give the United States new respect and prestige in Western European and in neutral nations. Moreover, restoration of faith that the future belongs to freedom and not to slavery would enable America to formulate diplomatic and economic policies on its own initiative rather than merely react to international Communism's specific challenges.

It is probable that the breakup of the international bi-polarity which has developed in the last few years will be accelerated in the future. The increased spirit of independence on both sides of the Iron Curtain in Europe, currently manifested by the return to power of de Gaulle in France and by Soviet-Yugoslav tensions, challenges both Washington's and Moscow's conception of solid camps in the cold war struggle. America must make the most of the flexible situation which is emerging, for the days of free world and Communist bloc solidarity are over. West Germany and Japan are certain to become more independent in their attitudes and policies toward Russia and Red China respectively as they regain their military power and prestige. On the other hand, it is long past time for the U.S. to begin developing policies which exploit the present and latent conflicts of interest between Moscow and Peiping. America must abandon the false premises of containment if she is to cope successfully with the challenges and opportunities presented by allied and Communist bloc flexibility and by the national and social revolutions taking place in the under-developed areas.

The policy of containment has failed to prevent the expansion of Communist power and prestige at home and abroad. The United States obviously must do what is required to restore its military position if Communist aggression is successfully to be deterred or defeated in the future. But while neither general nor local war can be ruled out, it is clear that the major immediate threat to the entire free world lies in the non-military areas of foreign affairs. There are many obstacles to American leadership of the complex free world of allied and neutral nations, but the U.S. cannot hope to see the kind of world it seeks unless it abandons the sterile interpretation and limitations of the present policy of containment, unless it reasserts its historic vision of international progress based on self-determination and freedom.

FLEMMING'S STATEMENT ON CLOSED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Washington, Dec. 1 -- Following is the text of a statement today by Secretary Flemming on the closing of public schools: Answer S.

Last September an unprecedented thing happened in America.

Teachers were ready to teach, young people were ready to learn, classrooms, books and other facilities were all ready -- but in four communities thirteen schools did not open.

This was a tragic new circumstance in a nation which has proudly pioneered in providing free public education for all.

Today the schools are still closed -- four schools in Little Rock, six in Norfolk, two in Charlottesville, and one in Warren County, Va. No one can predict when they will reopen.

At a news conference two weeks ago, I was asked for an evaluation of the effects of closing these schools. I feel that this is an appropriate time to make such an evaluation in view of the fact that this week the closed schools are passing the deadline when it is impossible for them to complete the recognized minimum school year of approximately 180 days by June 30. Any effort to complete the school year during the summer months would involve, of course, the payment of additional salaries to teachers and members of the school staff and would undoubtedly be very difficult to arrange.

A precise evaluation, of course, is impossible. There are some measurable factors such as days of schooling lost. There are reasonable surmises as to obstacles the young people may face in the future. But no one can foresee all the significant social, economic and psychological effects -- on the children, on teachers, on the community -- of closing the doors of public schools to our young people.

The Days Lost

I am indebted to the Southern Education Reporting Service for statistical data on the number of regular school days and the emergency arrangements which

have been made for many students. A summary of the situation in each community is attached.

Since the normal date for opening school, about 16,400 young people already have missed fifty-four to sixty-eight days of learning in their regular public schools -- a total of nearly 1,000,000 pupil days.

Of these 16,400 students, approximately 6,500 are attending improvised emergency classes in homes or makeshift quarters, many of them without laboratory equipment, libraries, or other needed facilities. About 3,000 are traveling varying distances to public schools in other communities. A little over 1,500 are attending newly established private schools set up especially for this emergency -- schools which also often lack laboratories, libraries, and other needed facilities. Approximately 250 to 300 are attending regular private schools. Others are attending special night classes in nearby public schools, or getting part-time education by mail or through other special courses.

It is clear that many parents, teachers, and students have improvised to meet the situation, in an effort to carry forward some type of educational program. There is little question, however, that many young people in these improvised classes are not receiving the same quality of well-rounded education they would have received in regular public schools.

And all these emergency arrangements still leave about 3,400 young people apparently deprived of any schooling whatsoever.

There are about 720 teachers in the closed schools. About 405 apparently are tutoring in improvised classes while 315 evidently are not teaching. Virtually all are continuing to be paid -- this year -- under their contracts.

It seems logical to conclude that many of these teachers will not be interested in continuing their professional careers under the conditions that now confront them in these communities. They will have no difficulty in obtaining employment elsewhere in view of the fact that we are confronted with a national shortage of

approximately 132,000 teachers.

I was impressed by the following testimony in Federal court by Mrs. Mary Johnson, a Norfolk teacher for thirty-six years, as quoted in the press:

"They (teachers) have put their whole lives in public schools -- they see what they have spent all their lives building up falling apart -- I can't really describe to you the feeling of insecurity."

Norfolk School Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker was quoted as testifying that school closings were having a demoralizing effect on teachers, and that the State of Virginia as well as Norfolk would have a hard time obtaining instructors next year.

While educational losses to the young people involved cannot be measured precisely, there are many reasons for grave concern. Following are some of these reasons:

Some of the young people who are out of school now may never return. During prolonged absences from school some young people develop other interests and lose their motivation or desire to return to school or go on to college.

Some of those who return to school may not do as well in their subjects. Extended absence frequently causes young people to lose interest in regular, intensive study. Desirable habits are broken. Further, because of the long void since they last attended regular classes, many students will have to spend more time reviewing earlier studies before they will be well prepared to move ahead into new ground.

Students who return to school after taking part-time courses this year, or only one or two classes, will have difficulty finding their place in the normal sequence of the school program. Because of the wide variations in education received by students during the period the regular schools are closed, the schools themselves will have difficulty re-establishing well coordinated classes and curricula.

Students who miss long periods of regular education lose much more than formal schooling in the basic academic subjects. They lose the benefit of many other regular activities which are a part of the ordinary schoolday. They miss the exposure to good literature, magazines and reference books in school libraries. They lose opportunities to acquire an appreciation of outstanding music and art. They lost the values of such facilities as science laboratories, machine shops, gymnasiums. Some pupils who are not in school may find some of these opportunities in the home, church, or elsewhere in the community, but such opportunities often are quite limited.

Many of the 2,360 seniors in the closed schools, who had planned to go to college next year and still want to do so, will find serious obstacles in their way. For example, for some, failure to complete a school year of 180 days will create problems when it comes to acceptance of credits for entrance into college. Some students may be able to overcome such handicaps through individual effort, or by taking special tests; but many students who miss all or part of their regular senior classes may have difficulty meeting college entrance requirements.

There are other effects of closing public schools which may be less immediate but which are significant in the long run. For example, sporadic or insufficient schooling can seriously lessen a young person's future earning power and productivity. Also, many young people need the sense of purpose -- the moral and social guidance -- provided by regular attendance in school. There is little doubt that the lack of regular, constructive activities in school can contribute to delinquency. Further, children who are suddenly unable to attend their regular school may develop a sense of insecurity, a fear that they will not be able to advance in competition with others who are receiving a normal education.

Finally, prolonged and enforced absence from school can affect the development of a young person for future citizenship. Throughout the history of this country, we have increasingly come to understand that our free society can prosper only on the base of an educated and informed citizenry, achieved through free public

education for all.

When young people in America are denied the opportunity of attending school, we risk a loss of their faith in one of America's highest ideals.

I am confident that as the losses flowing from the closing of public schools become more and more evident, the citizens of these communities are going to insist on decisions being made that will result in the schools being opened, under policies that will be in harmony with decisions of the courts.

DATA BY COMMUNITIES ON STUDENT DAYS MISSED AND
EMERGENCY EDUCATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

NORFOLK -- 9,950 young people have been out of their regular classes for 69 school days. About 1,620 students are attending regular public schools in other communities; 948 are attending special night classes in South Norfolk; about 4,200 are attending special tutoring classes taught by public school teachers; about 100 are in regular private schools, and 250 are attending newly improvised private schools. This leaves about 2,525 who apparently are getting no education.

LITTLE ROCK -- About 3,700 young people have missed sixty days in their regular schools. About 1,300 students are enrolled in full time private schools, 1,268 are enrolled in public schools in other communities; 527 are getting part-time education by mail or in special private classes; about 604 young people apparently are getting no education.

CHARLOTTESVILLE - 1,735 young people have missed 63 days in their regular classes. About 1,485 students apparently are attending private, emergency classes taught by public school teachers; 50 to 100 are in regular private schools; a few are attending public schools in other communities. This leaves 90 to 140 who apparently are not attending classes at all.

WARREN COUNTY -- 1,044 students have missed 54 days in their regular classes. About 780 are in emergency private classes; 90 to 100 are in regular private schools or public schools in other communities. Apparently about 160 are not in school at all.



as 1957 program was aimed at new and more vigorous production and material exp.

The year before had been a sobering transition month. During 1957 America seemed to be undecided. After a decade of pursuing for the financial advance of other nations, underdeveloped or obsolete economic standards of our own. Later we seemed to let go of such American ideas. The surge of our outgoing world seemed to be up with our morality. Our growth during NATO Conference 1957 was significant to and of global importance. Some refused to make bones. Colombia refused to agree to our complete economic and political purposes of the Republics of Europe. During our huge invasion nations could be left to Egypt's invasion - at the expense of a huge war on about other - during 1957 Moscow stayed in mind & cam path of world's Communist nations under specific conditions called as equal and living. During 1957 we were a growing feeling that would include our world into modern world as Russia was when the Soviet Union also refused to be moved politically. Vietnam proved an absolute end - we were not only the policy the Russian had to make a magnificent scientific victory - but also our nation had to consider how left for world in the political, economic, & scientific competition and modern modern life. Frustrated by our mission to our future 1957 was for America a year of hard beating - of communism - & of victory. ~~The first part of the program~~ as 1958 program American got down to work. There were a new set of responsibilities in our world exp. America has been hit by the Russian for their own & persistence - during 1957 we were then production began to again to America.

During world as struggle of the economic revolution and with difficulties. By any way we were plagued with the food war high, production was very quickly cut back. Range of production was not in any industry. Investment and old production were necessarily decreased. From our national sense - and in your world under the shadow of the recession of the recession American resistance. During people made to work, trying production & distribution procedures more economical. Governmental regulation against applied such making or demand under with stability and stability. New & old program of unemployment, unemployment were also advanced, changed government and

live agency cooperated in resolving a public need of confidence and
optimism. men united and men planned and by the end of 1955 we had
a large measure designed ourselves ^{and not only} of the recession

There were other indications of the gradual pulse of creative life.

Spanish. I had heard the threat of ~~extended~~ ^{extended} American influence in

science & human nature. Just you are scientific about the gap.

~~Co reported~~ nickel recovered from the laundry pads at Cape

Concurred - answer was recommended we could purchase kit to

to Russian challenges to our scientific prestige and our national security.

During 1958 we had a few ^{scientific} surveys of our area. Our first planned

[illegible]

more fuel for car. A more precise nickel measuring method
cost 24,800 more than the other. Am

Tracy & still succeeded in receiving over 74,000 votes.

Scientist discovered an artificial method of duplicating the human brain and as a result man hopes of immortality.

no loss of photosynthesis and so gave more hope of
Coul of 1959 to give useful information. Res

supplied primary as seen. End of 1957 began

spatial awareness - then moon could be used
with now orientable long series of fish which would make the

with the new orientable long steel of great
promises of the CP. & Co. The scientific practice of such nations

more suitable beyond green town.

... of revenue national property.

One might point out the fact that the inclusion of revenue

has provided for over 10 billion dollars per year in educational and

We enlarged by over 10 billion dollars our
cultural programs and institutions. We continued to maintain & support

On first and next afternoon voluntary prayer of social service

On forest and most of the
landed by man. Progress of land clearing. The clearing was

decreased by men. Progress of
and increasing.

pushed my way.

Commerce had a plan about ^{over} the permissible pulling of home life
and Commerce's land the initial

and finally, included some no costs, commercial level

Sup. is development of a much needed material program of
class for work before to improve discipline

children and on my place last week when to improve the
primary and secondary school.

The renewed vigor of American life asserted itself in a rejection of policies of drift and ~~pass~~^{of} ~~and~~ ~~under~~ ~~leadership~~. In many of last year nearly 40 million Americans went to the polls. When the ballots were tallied the Administration had received to a consensus vote of "no confidence."

Examination of the road was multiple. Although it had to do with the effects of the recession, with depressed farm prices & commercial overproduction, with a scandal affecting the Federal Reserve system & recently introduced seemed to complicate Gov. Sherman's plan, such internal Republican bickering and middle Republican identification with the highly unpopular Trust & War, Government - but above all else now the Nation has seen a register of a pattern of human life characterized by good intentions but unsuccessful ^{unintentional} and ~~total~~ leadership.

Voters did not flock to the Dem. standard because of the ^{and} unimpaired appeal of the platform. The Dem. leadership was leaving the campaign unimpaired or unable to spell out any clear new platform. Rather the opposition ^{seemed to be} because the people were dissatisfied with two or three years - dissatisfied with a President who since his election 2 yrs. ago has seemed to show ^{to place political leadership} division - dissatisfied with a Secretary of State whose global ^{military alliance &} ^{and} peace ^{seemed} seemed only to move us nearer for "hot" to "cold" and to internally confront a peace-loving nation with a military ^{and} ^{central} ^{their} ^{position} ^{as} ^{the} ^{world}.

rather than a military one.
Americans in 1958 wanted to understand their position as air leaders.
~~The United States~~^{applied} ~~of finding good developed from them.~~ The US
~~found a contradiction with its role.~~ The purpose of these
manifested commitment. They wanted direction & a vision in domestic
affairs. This was administration would not give. The President's Commission
elaboration did not touch the American heart. The defect of the President
part can be attributed ^{directly} to its lack of purpose & to the multitude of commercial
its purposes to the people. Indeed, the most serious task facing Americans
now is that we would succeed well in crystallizing the purposes & goals
towards which we wish to direct our national effort
even better needs guidance & direction.

The new American Energy ball needs guidance & direction.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

On most issues that would come in the area of foreign affairs. If
domesticall RST ^{business?} ^{new} ^{residents} & new program, international
as related state continued to base its policies on the military continued
of Russia, non-recognition of China, the reunification of Germany, agreement
of the oil rich Arab states, the order of military allowing friendly powers, and
foreign order.

These policies were ~~not~~ successful in 1958 and 1959 have been
prevaling.

They were the only nation of the ^{near East} world which achieved successful
unusually into the 13th century. We had in return several
raids on the state. In July the troops of General Khabibull
Khan overthrew the Russian monarchy & on the basis of Russian
influence quickly disappeared, but place a centralized government
ready to receive Russian aid and at least partially of the will of
local communist parties. In 1918 full Russian service given to
our whole program of anti-Russian military alliance.

The political maneuvering of General Mervin has long been acknowledged.
The Communist influence in the Army - Court of the U.S.A.R. further
shows how long have common knowledge. During 1958 the Civil Status of
Sucher & Tammara had to take extraordinary steps against his collection,
only the large American support of Helman & Jordan was just sound
the midday state from his group. Throughout the year Curio
reduced power in an unprincipled series of anti-American defamations -
appeared grossly & pitifully failed - but through it years and
over exuberance, & an allied representative were in Curio
negotiating such names on trials & aids.

We based on China policy of Chiang Kuo-shan's ambition. Any hope of Chiang's request of the mainland has long since been buried. Yet the knowledge of the Japanese island of Tsung-Ming - Japetus, & the Great Yamato Sea - America - was that they passed almost unimpeded now, unimpeded America's interests committed had been.

In December President Aguirre of Korea which was a great
success from American. During the bloody years of war - repeated
our help by bleeding our men even further in war. At last
he signed a new constitution making his
Korea's future dictator - a strong example of the American way of
life for all to see.

Europe during 1951 made great political and economic progress. From
wars - desperate gambles. Monetary stability & strong centralized joint,
The European common market was completed. Most European
countries became sufficiently sound and they were made convertible.
During 1951 America continued to exist and no European nation
could be merged unless it did not presuppose the reunification
of Germany & the East German would be led by Russia
continued with a demand of ^{peace} negotiation. It is definitely with a
front from Berlin by June 15 of 1951 - which again put the West on
the defensive & it was a real danger to the West of Europe -

foreign policy in the
of America, which seen equipped at the moment to undertake
a policy which looked beyond military containment - 1951 at
least saw development in our own country on increasingly national
& significant legal opposition. There was a sense of cooperation
as well as of containment - of foreign aid without foreign under-
national ^{examples} military alliance, ^{of military} & educational exchange,

I need to you under the spirit of the World Order which has given us
the New Congress of Churches of Christ. Its concluding paragraphs
have been repeated.

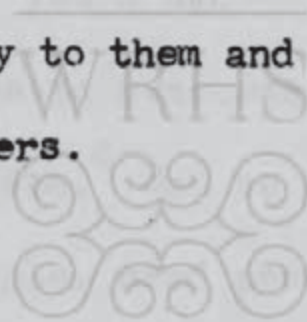
I should also like to mention the concluding comment by Professor
Donald Brandon of San Francisco, N.C. which is published
in the right. ~~Available~~ ^{magazine} ~~Commonwealth~~

WRS
Dec. 30
unwillingness to recognize the
any good ^{in each other} of all of each other's on all counts is a poisonous atmosphere in which to try to conduct negotiations.

It is not enough to deplore war and ^{to} call for its abolition, we must engage, and encourage our country to engage without reservations, in the things that make for peace.

Though military peace in the non-communist world remains a necessity, its limits should be more clearly recognized and far more of our attention and our resources should go into the task of helping nations find their own way to solutions of their social and economic problems.

We need to recognize that communist nations, as nations, have their own legitimate interests and their own reasonable fears, and we should avoid the posture of general hostility to them and cease the practice of continual moral lecture to them by our leaders.



Recent events may seem to have little to do with the future, but there is hope. "Much has been changed for the better among us," and changes have taken place abroad as well. "Besides diplomats and generals there exist people" and the seeming change of public opinion in the United States is most encouraging.

Russians speak a lot about American monopolies, and it is true they play a big role in American life, but so do tens of millions of ordinary Americans. Life in the United States is strange and not easily summarized or understandable, for the United States is a young as well as a big, rich and energetic country.

Its mighty technology developed faster than caution, comfort was valued higher than duty, and tremendous successes led to complacency and to the belief that the American way of life was better than anything else.

But, said Mr. Ehrenburg, Americans have no militarist tradition, they can fight but they are not belligerent. Why then do so many not only tolerate but really

TEXT OF CHINA STATEMENT

Cleveland, Nov. 21

Following are examples from a message adopted here today by a World Order Study Conference sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. The excerpts refer to the recognition of Communist China.

Stronger efforts should be made to break through the present stalemate and to find ways of living with the Communist nations. Sometimes this is called "co-existence", but we are concerned with something more than the minimum meaning of the word. Our relationship with the Communist nations should combine competition between ways of life with cooperation for limited objectives, our resistance to Communist expansion goes with recognition of the fact that Communist nations ~~are~~ ^{are} nations, have their own legitimate interests and their own reasonable fears. We should avoid the posture of general hostility ~~to them~~ and cease the practice of continual moral lectures to them by our leaders.

In the cold war we allow ourselves to drift into a defensive position in which we hesitate to admit any imperfections in our society, lest it ^{seem to} confirm the Communist indictment; thus we inhibit the self-criticism which is essential to the health of a democracy. We tend to make opposition to communism the touchstone for policy both in domestic life and in international relations.

There is real hope that new generations within the Communist countries will be less fanatical in their ideological convictions and ~~that~~ they will be more preoccupied with peace, with economic well-being and with tentative experiments in cultural freedom than ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ the attempt to dominate other nations.

It is not to be expected that they will formally renounce what we consider to be their errors. It is enough for the kind of living together described above if their emphasis and priorities change. The establishment of good relations will require tireless negotiations with them and imaginative programs of communication, cultural exchange and personal contacts.

MOSCOW, Dec. 30

What is a thinking Russian to think at the end of another year of "cold war"?

At least one thinks ^{that} there is hope. Ilya Ehrenburg, novelist and occasionally a newspaper ^{correspondent} ~~commentator~~, attracted wide attention here today with a long essay containing a demonstration of candor and an attempt at understanding.

Here in ^{the} essence ~~is~~ ^{of} what he told his countrymen in the columns of Soviestskaya Rossiya:

The Soviet people have accomplished much, but a great deal remains to be done. There are strange contrasts in Soviet society, contrasts between bold pioneers and lazy laggards, between shiny jet planes and poor household utensils, between contractors digging up wastelands and a shortage of gardening tools, between an indisputable triumph over illiteracy and the absence of a literary match for the Russian greats of a hundred years ago.

Much remains to be done to overcome the "cult of form" among bureaucrats and the neglect of form by artists.* But to accomplish what must be accomplished, the Soviet people, like all people, need peace.

Recent events may seem to leave little room for hope, ~~Mr. Ehrenburg said~~, but there is hope. "Much has been changed for the better among us," and changes have taken place abroad as well. "Besides diplomats and generals there exist people" and the seeming change of public opinion in the United States is most encouraging.

Russians speak a lot about American monopolies, and it is true they play a big role in American life, but so do ^{the wishes of} ~~tens~~ of millions of ordinary Americans. Life in the United States is strange and not easily summarized or understandable, for the United States is as young as well as a big, rich and energetic country.

Its mighty technology developed faster than ^{its} ~~caution~~, comfort was valued higher than duty, and tremendous successes ~~led~~ to complacency and to the belief that the American way of life was better than anything else.

But, said Mr. Ehrenburg, Americans have no militarist tradition, they can fight but they are not bellicose. Why then do so many not only tolerate but really

support the "cold war",² ~~against the Soviet Union?~~ he asked.

Out of fear, ~~was his reply.~~ Communism is so strange to people accustomed to have even water and gas and electricity ~~permeated by "trusts"~~ ^{controlled by monopolies} that they are dumfounded by "Socialist" society. When politicians "started proving that the Soviet ~~Union~~ ^{system} threatens the whole world," the Americans approved military measures that seemed to be a logical precaution.

The bad thing was that some Americans began to dream of giving the whole world their way of life and became convinced that sooner or later they would have to "liberate" the Russians from the "Reds".

But the worst facet of the "cold war" -- the spy mania and witch hunts -- are over in the United States, ~~Mr. Ehrenburg~~ ^{the} related. Hundreds of visitors to the Soviet Union, without approving of communism, can see that the Soviet order is firm, that Russians want to build up their country and do not want to attack anyone, and that trade and exchanges with Russians are possible.

The average American understands that it is impossible to destroy the Communist world without destroying the United States, too, and together with a growing number of political leaders these Americans want to end the "cold war", the article said.