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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

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Taking Stock of 1960, 1961.

## TAKING STOCK OF 1960

The Temple  
January 1, 1961

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

During 1960 the post-war era of careless confidence came to an end. There had, of course, in the past been international crises aplenty. By and large, American life remained abundant, the spirit of America euphoric.

During the last twelve months cruel reality finally forced America wide awake. Anxiety usually begins in the pocketbook. This was true of America in 1960. It had no name, but it was certain that it was present. There was a down turn throughout 1960 of the economic indices and the economic cycles. The second major post-war recession was upon us. There were no breadlines in 1960. The stock market did not panic. But by the end of the year unemployment had risen to a level of six percent of the total laboring force, ~~of~~ the year's steel production had not reached fifty percent of capacity, and each passing week new communities were added to the rolls of the distressed area Federal list. Most sobering of all, the outflow of our gold reserves. Beginning as a trickle early in the year and growing to a flood of many millions of dollars each week, here was silent but irrefutable evidence that the financial centers of the world no longer looked to the American economy as a symbol of soundness, no longer regarded our currency as the acme of stability. When Secretary Anderson, hat in hand, in November made a tour of NATO capitals seeking to get these governments to take on added financial responsibility for the cost of



Western Europe armament, the post-war era of open handed American largess was at an end. And when these countries, most of whom owed their prosperity, if not their existence, to American generosity, when these countries turned down out of hand Secretary Anderson's requests, it became evident to Americans that they would have to look to their own economic knitting and that, financially at least, charity from now on would have to begin at home.

As the new year began it was hard to discern the economic road ahead. But there were many signs of important, even radical changes. We would have to retrench in our military offshore purchasing program. We would have to limit our fiscal commitments overseas. We would have to encourage a pool of capital from which to give to the underdeveloped nations of the world rather than to attempt their improvement singlehanded. We would have to increase government subsidy and government projects in our own distressed areas. We would have to curb American investment abroad when such investment was to the detriment of our own economy. Long range, careful, sober planning would be necessary to keep the American economy at its present high level of prosperity. The challenge of automation, the wage of overproduction, the competition of low cost economies which were in many cases being subsidized by our own dollars, the high level of chronic unemployment, these were sobering signs, challenges, which a new administration in the new year would have to meet.

If anxiety begins in the pocket, it is multiplied by evidence seen about us in our daily lives of challenge and crisis. And if domestically there were few crises, there was much evidence that all was not well on the American domestic scene. Throughout the fall we had the thickening evidence of the New Orleans school impasse, disheartening as testimony to primitive human emotions, brutality, hatred, ignorance, but most disheartening as evidence that sober, capable leadership was lacking nationally and locally, which might force this



situation to a sensible conclusion. America had, in the past several years, been sweeping its domestic problems under the rug. Out of sight was out of mind. And throughout the year there was evidence that we would have to confront these domestic problems realistically and take sometimes dramatic action to correct them. There was the scandal of the migrant farm worker. Low wages, bad housing, minimal education, given protection under the law. There was the crisis of our public school system. The public school systems had nobly and valiantly fought to build, to accommodate the population boom. There was increasing evidence that with the increased cost of personnel they would no longer be able to keep pace with the population explosion and with the increasingly expensive demands of more developed training necessary in the psychological age unless large scale Federal aid was made available to them. Medical science was increasingly making it a statistical probability that many of our people would reach old age, but as yet there was no broad program for medical and geriatric care for these people, many of whom were living on radically reduced retirement income! Delinquency was on the rise. Alcoholism was on the rise. Addiction was on the rise. Crime was on the rise. There were less social agencies and social workers to care for the population per capita in 1960 than in 1950. All these problems were well known, but except in certain dramatic local instances there was no broad overall plan to develop the preventative and the therapeutic and the care and the correctional institutions and measures required to keep the American people as a people healthy, strong, and sound.

Both parties, in June of this year, recognized the importance and the necessity of new social welfare legislation. Both parties wrote into their plank important social welfare platforms. But in July and August of this year, in the hastily and perhaps unwisely convened session of Congress, each of these issues became in its turn a political football, and nothing was



accomplished. In November of this year the American people voted for such programs, but by the end of the year it was increasingly clear that the traditional enemies of such legislation were massing their counterattack, that the budgetary and fiscal problems and the domestic and military needs of the country would take priority in the new session of Congress, and unless there was strong executive leadership each of these issues would again be swept out of sight and out of mind, without thought to the human agony, the human equation involved.

But surely, if Robert Kennedy during the height of the campaign could go to Atlanta to secure the release of Martin Luther King, as surely John Kennedy, as President of the United States, could compel in his way directly or indirectly the officials of the state of Louisiana to release the necessary school monies. And surely, if John Kennedy the campaigner could enthusiastically endorse his plank of social welfare, John Kennedy the President has a moral obligation to himself, to his words, and to his people to secure the enactment of these programs into law.

During 1960 domestic indecision, fiscal suspicion and danger and weakness combined with a grim and menacing international situation. Who of us will forget the Tokyo photograph of Press Secretary Haggerty being lifted up bodily through the roof of his car by a helicopter, much as we might lift a sardine from a can with a fork, to save him from a "Yankee, go home" chanting mob of Japanese demonstrators. From Seoul to Tokyo, from Cairo to Leopoldville, and from Havana to Caracas demonstrating mobs, wild mobs, violent mobs cried out hatred of America. "Yankee no." If America did not deserve this opprobrium, and certainly we did not in most cases, surely it was evident that we had succeeded in the last decade in projecting abroad a caricature, a vicious, unfortunate caricature of ourself, and equally certain that we would need to



rectify that picture in the eyes of the world. The trip of President Eisenhower to the Far East was indicative of the sinking state of our national prestige. Conceived as a good will tour, it became a personal ordeal carried out only to save the country's honor.

But if Americans could dismiss these semi-literate and highly volatile Asian and African mobs as hardly cause for concern, they could not dismiss the sobering fact that in 1960 for the first time the Cold War washed up against our own shore. In 1960 Panama, Guatemala, Venezuela, Ecuador and Cuba became cockpits of the East-West controversy as surely as Berlin, Egypt, Indo-China. A half-century of American incompetence and economic selfishness, two and a half years of American indignation, Cuban irresponsibility, and Russian meddling had raised the Castro revolution into something far more menacing than the overthrow of a local dictator. Castro has come to play in the Caribbean the same revolution-peddling role that Nasser plays throughout the Near East, in Africa. The wine that he seeks to pour for the underprivileged, undernourished and semi-literate peoples of this area is a heady wine indeed; bottled in Cuba, made of a witch's brew of public education, land reform, trade unionism, equal law, social democracy. And if America had reason to fear the Castro brand of revolution as radical, neutralist, as endangering perhaps the security of the western hemisphere, as led by volatile men whose ambition sometimes took precedence over their principles, America could not escape this salient fact, that these revolutions were the certain future south of our border. And if we were not to find ourselves isolated in our own back yard, then surely we would have to find a way to seek again, through the revolutionists, to make them understand that we empathize with their grievances, that we understand their ambitions, and that we are one with them in their ultimate aims. America must learn to export enthusiasm for its



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Constitution as eagerly as we have exported enthusiasm for the fiscal profits of our giant corporation.

The Cold War which washed up during 1960 against the North American shores was an embittered war, a war of new ascerbity and violence. And this was in many ways surprising, because 1960 began in high hope and expectancy. The spirit of Camp David was in the air, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev had spoken long and had reached apparent understanding in September of 1959 during Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States, and the world looked forward to the warming sun of a Parisian May, to write chapter and verse of new international understanding. But on May 1st, fifteen days before the opening of that conference, when Francis Powers in a U-2 plummeted out of a Russian sky, all hope for any arrangement in Paris went up in a puff of smoke. Mr. Khrushchev, who had staked his political future on the necessity of co-existence with the West, who had at ideological conferences with the Communist nations fought Chu and Lie to a theoretical standstill on the necessity of reinterpreting Marxian doctrine, this same Mr. Khrushchev reacted with all the anger and all the truculence of a wounded Russian bear. The old-line Marxists and Stalinists in the Kremlin must have rubbed salt into his wounds. He came to Paris in a bitter mood, and he showed in Paris all the peasant cruelty and boorishness of which he was capable. In Paris Khrushchev, by his anger and his angry, unforgivable words, trampled into the dust any hope of international arrangement. But Mr. Khrushchev's personal actions, however reprehensible they were, do not utterly excuse American policy. A serious question must be raised as to the legitimacy of ordering this U-2 flight at such a fragile moment in international relationships. And Mr. Eisenhower's apparent ignorance of this flight raised a serious question as to the unanimity of agreement within our own government as to the advisability of high level understanding. Our original denial of the U-2 incident was tactless and was thoughtless. Our



subsequent about face was done in bad grace. Our subsequent attempt to justify the mission was needlessly provocative. And finally, our attempt to impugn the loyalty and the honor and the courage of Powers was utterly contemptible. Our hands are not clean of blame for the debacle of Paris.

Far more than any incident of the past decade, the failure of the Paris conference plunged the world into a more menacing international situation than it had known since the close of the Second World War. And after Paris, Laos, Algeria, The Congo, threats to the United Nations were almost inevitable. There would be no communication between Washington and Moscow. There was to be only angry words, backing angry, often ill conceived deeds. It was inevitable, after Paris, that the East-West would arrive at no agreement to isolate the newly liberated nations of Central Africa from the Cold War. There had been hope, to this point, that Russia and the United States might agree to an arms embargo in this area, to give this area time to develop, to grow, to educate its people, to come alive to the eighteenth century even, much less to the twentieth. The Congo crisis began not in Leopoldville but in Paris. Mobutu and Kasavubu and Lumumba would have remained unknown, unheard-of, squabbling Congolese officials if after Paris it had not been necessary for the two great powers to find pawns for their ulterior purposes. Paris made it certain that the nineteen new nations of Central Africa would find themselves brought to the forefront of the Cold War. The prizes were worth the gamble. Here was a mineral-rich, population-poor, fertile area. Here was a vacuum area open to exploitation from East and from West.

It was only after Paris also that the Russians and the Chinese began to interfere actively in the Algerian problem, to support by arms the F. L. M. insurgence, to make it impossible for Mr. DeGaulle to win independence for Algeria consonant with honor and with economic stability for France. Before



Paris the United Nations had looked hopefully towards establishing a United Nations order in Central Africa. They had hoped that all economic aid would be channeled through some central pool. Dag Hammerskold was prepared to send United Nations officials at all levels of government, engineers and teachers and public officials, into these areas until the people were sufficiently educated to govern themselves. There were high hope and great plans. The failure of the Paris conference destroyed all of these.

The Congo was inevitable. And The Congo is only one of a thousand tinder boxes in Central Africa, each of which has enough inflammable material in it to plunge the world into holocaust. Paris made it inevitable that the whole structure of the United Nations would come up for attack. Mr. Hammerskold had made it clear that the United Nations was to be the central power in this new African situation, that through the United Nations stability and order could be brought to this area. He had so conceived his administration as to have developed programs and officials consonant with the need. And Mr. <sup>KHRUSHCHEV</sup> ~~Khrushchev~~, angered and embittered, came to New York in November of this year, and at the General Assembly meeting, in a fist-pounding declaration of impudence and arrogance, personally attacked Mr. Hammerskold in a way which is utterly indefensible, proposed the dissolution of the office of the Secretary General, to strip the United Nations of all powers to develop and initiate programs of action, sought to replace this by a three-man Prisdium in which the Russians would have the power of veto, refused to pay the Russian share of the expeditionary force, plunging the United Nations into a serious financial crisis, and all in all posed a threat to the existence of the United Nations, to its effectiveness, which remains with us at this hour, and a threat which, if unanswered, will destroy the one government in the world which has as its sole purpose the establishment of world order and the easing of international tension. In New York Mr. <sup>KHRUSHCHEV</sup> ~~Khrushchev~~ overstepped the bounds of propriety. He



angered many nations. He was unsuccessful in passing a single one of his pet resolutions. But as the year closes, the threat remains. Russian obstinacy and intransigence have been embittered, Mr. Hammarskjöld is fighting for his very political life, and the United Nations is in danger of being emasculated till it becomes, like the old League, nothing more than an ineffectual political propaganda sounding board.

After the debacle of Paris it was inevitable that trouble break out in many parts of the world, and one of the most likely areas for such trouble is the old unsettled area of Indo-China. Indo-China, bound by difficult cease-fire agreements in 1954. Indo-China, with small, arbitrarily devised nations, none of which is large enough to be <sup>VIABLE</sup> violable, each of which represents an ideological point of view at variance with its neighbors. Laos, too, like The Congo, became a crisis in Paris in May. The Laos crisis is much in our minds and in our headlines at this hour. There is the position of our own government. There is danger that the Laotian situation will become another Korea. The analogy here is not exact. In Korea there was a direct invasion of a United Nations demarcation line by one government into the territory of another. Laos is a country in which the power political situation is not clear. It is a country of small feudal princelings, each of which has his own army, each of which army has never been demobilized, and each army is continuously at battle one with the next. Moreover, the moral of the situation is not clear. The right wing government of Prince Boun Oum, whom we support, is not a popularly elected government. It came to power by force of arms, by revolution against a neutralist government, and it decided in September and October of this year to welcome aid from both East and West. Whether tacitly or overtly, our own government has interfered by its espousal of the right wing group of Prince Boun Oum in the internal affairs of Laos and was as guilty of such intervention as the North Vietnamese and the Red Chinese and the Russians whom they represent.



It is at this hour still unclear who is fighting whom. This much, however, is clear, that we have here a struggle between competing mercenary armies, one in the pay of the West, one in the pay of the Communist bloc. And it is also clear that America is ignorant of the internal political tensions of Laos, that it need not be a keystone of Western policy to maintain Prince Boun Oum in power. He does not represent, as far as anyone knows, the elected will of the Laotian people. Certainly, as our Allies have been telling us, every attempt to settle and to accomodate this issue within the United Nations if possible, without if necessary, should be attempted before large scale, helter skelter military commitments are made by our nation to the present government of Laos, commitments which can not only create another Korea but which can create the holocaust we all fear.

What of the future? What of 1961? I have painted a picture which is one of concern, and I feel great concern. The lines of communication have almost all been ruptured between East and West. The United States and the Soviet Union lack the most elementary trust. Each seems to be concerned with the number of atomic submarines it can slip into the waters, the number of atomic missiles it can raise on a pad. Certainly all of us know now that atomic missiles and atomic submarines do not make for peace. The voice on which 1960 closes is the voice of Khrushchev, an angry voice, speaking at the United Nations two months ago:

"You want to compete with us in the arms race? We will beat you in that. Production of rockets is now a matter of mass delivery like sausages that come out of an automatic machine. Of course, you are going to complain all over the place, Khrushchev is threatening! Well, he is not threatening. He is really predicting the future. . .the arms race will go on, and this will bring about war, and that war you will lose, and many of those sitting here today will not be found any longer. . .and not many but perhaps all. You are accustomed to words that lull you. But as for Khrushchev, I do not wish a pat on your head when the world is on the verge of catastrophe. You want to listen to pleasant words. Well, if these words are unpleasant, that means I have achieved my purpose. That is exactly what I intended."



1960 was a year of unpleasant words and unpleasant actions. Will 1961 be more of the same? There is reason to believe that 1961 need not be. As the year closed there was some evidence that Mr. Khrushchev recognized that he had pushed the West a little bit too far, that he had not made headway with the neutralist nations in his attack on the United Nations, and that his personal attack on Mr. Hammerskold had redounded and given new status and new dignity to this brilliant hero of the last year. You will recall that in November, at the Communist Ideological Conference, he hewed to his old line, the necessity of co-existence. There was no longer to be an inevitable war between capitalism and communism, now only inevitable economic competition between these two competing systems. And he not only stalemated, but defeated the Red Chinese and Chu and Lie on this issue. And as the year closed there was evidence he was seeking a way out, a way of re-establishing communication between Washington and Moscow, for he had his minions, in Washington and others, speak out in this vein, that he would not hold the new administration guilty of the failings of the last, that the Soviet Union looked forward hopefully to the Kennedy administration, hopeful that arrangements could be made with it for international peace. And on our side there was evidence that Mr. Kennedy, like all the Presidents before him was willing to meet with the Soviets whatever the aggravation, if there was any serious hope of establishing programs of arms control, of disarmament, or any political arrangement which would relieve international tension. Mr. Kennedy has spoken more than most men before him of the necessity of such arrangements. It is to be hoped that when he comes before Congress and the people in January of this year he will speak not only of the military budget but of programs and plans for peace.

But there is a new urgency to our search for peace, an urgency which is apparent to the East as to the West. Every political problem which we face in



our world will never be free of political tension and is immediately raised to an atomic multiplier, to an atomic level. Every political tension involves Armageddon, the Apocalypse, and the final end. And within the next decade it is certain that the now exclusive atomic club will be an open-ended social organization, political organization if you will. Imagine a world in which not only Mr. Khrushchev, the United States, Great Britain and France control atomic weapons, but when they are in the hands of Chu and Lie, Nasser, Lumumba, Castro.

War itself is defeat. The spread of atomic weapons into hands other than those that now possess it makes it infinitely more difficult to arrive at any arrangement to limit these arms and control them, to keep them in responsible hands. Sir Charles P. Snow, speaking this past week at the New York meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Science, said the simple truth which we have all been trying to escape, that within ten years, unless there are definite arrangements for peace and disarmament, through malice or madness or folly or mistake, the bomb will fall. And with it our civilization will fall.

Mr. Khrushchev apparently is beginning to recognize this, as are thinking men in our own country. There is hope -- some hope -- that there will be in 1961 at least one, hopefully not the last, opportunity for high level arrangement of arms control, disarmament, to reduce international tension. I have spoken in the past weeks of my own feelings in this matter. I would wish that the United States might take the lead. Oh, we have gone to disarmament tables readily enough in the past five years, over and over again at Geneva and New York and elsewhere, but largely we have brought to these tables a portfolio of propaganda and a mission of mistrust. We have insisted on foolproof inspection systems, when our scientists tell us there are no such systems, and when those who propound it know that such insistence is only a dilatory tactic designed to prevent any arrangement. I have called and I call now for a reversal of this policy. Germany is increasingly the dominant force in NATO. To equip Germany



with atomic weapons is to plunge all of Central Europe into turmoil, to assure that the whole Iron Curtain line will bristle with incidents and weapons, and surely, as certainly as we are here, that war will come out of this witch's brew.

I have called for a continuation of our present moratorium on atomic weapons testing. We were backed into this moratorium by the unilateral discussed decision of the Russians, but it is the only, single arrangement for peace that the great powers of the world have been able to effect, and to destroy this one arrangement is to take a giant step backward toward the danger that we fear. I know that there are experts -- military experts -- within the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Pentagon will tell us that we need to test our new weapons. I say that we do not. I say that it is far more important to keep our air clean, keep our hands clean, and keep our policies clean in the eyes of the world than it is to develop what is euphemistically called a clean bomb.

Finally, I called for a dramatic action on the part of our government, an action which would vouchsafe our sincerity, an action which would say to the world, America is a nation dedicated to peace, determined for peace. The caricature of Uncle Sam bestride an atomic cannon -- a caricature which has become more and more prevalent throughout the world -- is false. Uncle Sam is what he has always proclaimed himself to be -- a nation of free men, of peace loving men. I called for a moratorium on the construction of all atomic weapons, unilateral, to last as long as the Russians sit down with us face to face, in serious and substantial and achieving conversation.

I read recently, as I am sure that you did, that we now have a stockpile of thirty thousand atomic weapons. The Russian stockpile is equal to ours. Knowing the potential of each of these weapons, remembering that the two primitive bombs that we dropped on Japan destroyed a hundred and twenty-five thousand people, well, multiply our new efficiency by thirty thousand bombs and



you can destroy the world's population many times over.

Why do we need a greater arsenal of weapons? Why not seize this opportunity to tell the world that we earnestly and with urgency desire peace, feel it imperative, and are willing to risk for peace. For only if the great powers of the world are willing to risk for peace will there be peace.

In 1960, Americans went to the polls in a great national election. The closeness of that election, some hundred and twelve thousand vote majority out of almost seventy million cast, makes it difficult to assess the mandate which President-elect Kennedy has received. This much is certain, that Americans of both political parties, of all shades of political views, were determined and are determined that the executive branch of the government reflect the will of the people, their will that sleeves be rolled up and that the American people, united, get down to work to solve the many real, vital, urgent, pressing problems which confront us. We can no longer golf our way into the future. We can no longer expect that by the purity of our words peace is assured, principle is assured, power is assured. The challenges facing America in 1961 are serious, but there is a new mood of anxious concern, a new willingness to sacrifice apparent throughout the length and breadth of our nation, and the new executive branch of our government reflects that mood. Hopefully, with skill, with understanding, and with leadership, it will guide us through the dangerous days that confront us and give to us that economy of abundance, that society of wellbeing, and that world of peace for which we all pray.



You want to compete with us in the arms race? We will beat you in that. Production of rockets is now a matter of mass delivery like sausages that come out of an automatic machine. Of course, you are going to complain all over the place, Krushev is threatening! Well, he is not threatening. He is really predicting the future...the arms race will go on, and this will bring about war, and that war you will lose, and many of those sitting here today will not be found any longer ... and not many, but perhaps all. You are accustomed to ~~listen to~~ words that lull you. But as for Krushev, I do not with a pat on your head when the world is on the verge of catastrophe. You want to listen to pleasant words. Well if these words are unpleasant, that means I have achieved my purpose. That is exactly what I intended.









the country is so badly & uneven - but most difficult, as much of the  
income of local & natl. leaders to give a successful conclusion. New Orleans  
became a symbol of the many social ills which require leadership to  
be done. ~~There is a serious threat to the security of the nation~~  
~~downside~~ ~~available for all children. The increasing age of our population is a threat for~~  
~~of medical & psychiatric care~~

While there have been many things to be done, medical research has been  
and problems under the way. But with our social system have expanded  
rapidly but have not been able to keep up with the growing population and the  
increasing of high standard of living, required. Medical science has made a large  
a distorted probability for most, but there is no set so provision for the  
medical & psychiatric care of the retarded & reduced serious demand on the population -  
mental illness, delinquency, crime, addiction and on the increase and prevention  
and conventional agencies have not kept pace.

During 1960 many aspects of the need - but little was accomplished. For  
~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~community~~ ~~will~~ ~~put~~ ~~it~~ ~~out~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~platform~~ ~~will~~ ~~concern~~ ~~social~~  
welfare program - but hunger & unemployment concerned reduction Congressional  
action made of the political football and no major program was adopted.  
In New Orleans voted for such program, but by 1961 - with the Walden action  
of such law - considered it became clear that they could be achieved only by far-reaching  
executive leadership.

Feb. and to ed. found the continued opposition of political & social interest  
& Sullivan segregationist. Medical care for the aged found the opposition of the  
political medical leaders. All new social service departments found the attack  
of the financial interest and disregard applied to any new in law. Let the  
New Orleans city and state would require for any type of care at all. Mr. Kennedy  
who is said will be difficult on, but if Robert Kennedy in the body  
the country could go to all the needs of Mr. King, Dr. King.  
As President can use pressure 2.1 million - large sum to release the  
released by money and of John Kennedy the company and for years for  
such programs, but can not expect of JFK, the President, responsible  
leadership in these areas.

The monetary difficulties to long continued and Mr. Kennedy's fund  
roughly was less than 12,000 out of more to 70 million. need cost is



[illegible][illegible]

of ortho - conversion from  
the indicated. ~~many~~ ~~also~~ ~~a~~ ~~combination~~ of good ~~method~~ ~~method~~  
conversion in 1960 had more to know about than the ~~case~~ of malathion  
conversion of cytosine nucleosides. ~~about~~ ~~year~~ ~~the~~ ~~case~~ ~~was~~ ~~found~~ ~~method~~ ~~was~~ ~~applied~~  
over some years. ~~Earlier~~ ~~of~~ ~~benzodiazole~~ ~~and~~ ~~purine~~ ~~fluorescence~~ ~~in~~ ~~many~~ ~~cases~~ ~~of~~  
~~the~~ ~~case~~ ~~was~~ ~~found~~ ~~no~~ ~~fluorescence~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~case~~ ~~of~~ ~~Quinacrine~~ ~~in~~ ~~Egypt~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~case~~ ~~of~~ ~~2 1/2~~ ~~years~~.

[illegible]



the Council & if we are not to be defeated we can see to it that we  
must be to represent <sup>most of them</sup> our constituents as largely as we have  
represented our great corporation and to make the State feel our  
sympathies <sup>included - the</sup> with the producers, <sup>sympathies with the</sup> the people, <sup>the people</sup> the people, <sup>the people</sup> the people.

~~1960-1961~~

The Case was then removed up to see what in 1960 had happened  
 10 years on even more positive aspect. 1960 began in high expectations  
 of a proposed survey of world tensions. The spirit of Camp David was all  
 about. Mr. K. visit of the previous Sept. had made many feel that both  
 great world powers were at least required to be in pleasant memory of peaceful  
 relations. It was hoped that the warm spirit of a Peace may permit  
 would see the spirit translated into reality.

would see the spirit of the document. But the <sup>officially</sup> political committee which reported in early 1960 was not at all <sup>the U-2 reconnaissance plane</sup> happy with the 1st Pygmy which France Power was thinking of. The U-2 was unforgotten because that was the only one that believed the great power. Mr. K. wanted to the U-2 included with all the translators and a manner of a moderate power been. He had told the political future on the possibility of cooperation and had even fought the Chinese to an advanced standard in the very sense - how the old Stalinist & ultra marxists must have ruled - but in his secret the strength to Paris an array & a personal horrible secret repaired old accusations board of proprietors, needed all hope for the future, & predicted by justice meeting between himself & Mr. Castro - which he had personally over for the meeting.

If Mr. K.'s action can be called under & covered - we can  
 hardly say U-2 incident can be called airs parallel.  
 Our device to use such a flight at all at all a delicate matter  
 in world history is gone to answer question, our device of the device  
 was straightforward, our straightforward & deliberate against to the,  
 our bad-guy attempt to justify our action of provocative provocations, and  
 our personal attack of France from unimpaired.  
 1. U-2 device was unimpaired.

Whereas one place the blame for the U-2 debacle and the callous  
of the <sup>Big Y</sup> communist - and one even capable of it emerged - The Cold War











Will 1961 be only year of unpleasant word & increased crisis - even one  
changes no closer to the dreaded annihilation?

It is not just that there is more for totalitarian - though there is any cause for  
revelation comes. In 1960 the world finds new hero - D.H. - the secret had  
killed & escaped 3.6 of U.N. which almost single handedly has kept the large house  
of cards from toppling. D.H. is a highly intelligent man. Part of his success is his careful  
explanation background & careful distinctions - he must have given a new  
new left 7 of new found strength to U.N. & have made it a strong report using  
9 pages

In 1960 world has more than ever before been engaged in danger of  
passing to West too far. K. Kennedy to his colleagues has at the most  
ideological conference small Red China & the Soviets. He has been convinced  
has spoken often of being fully that an agreement can be made with the new  
administration in Washington & Mr. Kennedy has admitted to intelligence, if the  
Russians are serious, to make such progress as one free political union to  
are contingent.

In the year ahead it will be long seen that a 1961 the world  
now to come out - we have met the end - there is no peace. And we need no  
world needed peace to move.

In 1960 closed Africa was troubled with new found independence

~~There is a danger about the new independence~~

~~always about to be interrupted with the subversion of~~

~~French civil strife -~~

~~Belgium is the center of instability in Europe~~

~~Europe is far from the reality of a united and peaceful~~

~~being~~

~~L.A. & the New East~~

~~in L.A. & the New East Europe & Northern Europe are the~~

~~kind of change of ideas~~

For alone & beyond all the political plans & counter-plans by the  
species of atomic holocaust. Speaking at the United Nations and to the Committee for  
the Abolition of Atomic Weapons in Paris, he noted British ambassador  
& physicist stated clearly the world from which no more of us have been lost  
nuclear "wells" by eyes, under effective disarmament program has  
been achieved, though accident, in fact or not, the bomb will have been detonated.



Under our new system there was never the annihilation of individualism, even  
the fact - & the result - the rapidly enlarging monetary power - the  
challenges to civil and political progress of our country & our civilization is  
removed the immediate threat.

It can, I suppose, be said that we shall not <sup>intrude</sup> ~~have~~ ~~these~~ ~~times~~ - but the ~~times~~ have become beastly + mangled if we do not ~~immediately~~ ~~enlarge~~ ~~into~~ ~~abundant~~ ~~proportions~~.

So I hope the new administration will use published energy & intention in making the issues referred to you, the Gay, & Allen - so I hope that it will approach the importance of new control with a new & improving but no present commitment to as far as the 1960s. I am sure that it will have no large potential to deliver members and will also need to have new stand requirements, each informed of Arthur C. Benson's contribution to the process.

I have also the impression that another rule or the rule, and also in  
 your current measures is needed - wanting a defect - also next  
 to making a rule largely for power. I think my position should be clear. I  
 feel that we ought to establish an institution on a full proof system  
 system - but it is a delay due to the fact that no agreement - for the  
 present test as in full proof system - in the United States. I feel that we  
 must refuse to accept the same measure to NATO, because it is contrary to  
 domestic law - NATO & O. because any agreement with such measure -  
 kind of reinforcement made with for the same. I called on me - no for a  
 continuation of the present measure but included maintenance of same test -  
 the only arrangement so far effected in the all right field - O for the  
 repudiation of those in our joint. But who would receive such test -  
 funds, to get the 6 year old regulation agreed then test. I feel of  
 purpose. I called for a continued maintenance or further work  
 construction - in proof of beyond intention - to further lay us out  
 satisfied and those similarly want to reach agreement. Each  
 of these proper measures - and to see with security - but I feel in  
 regard to language of the matter - that we not see should be done.



were no dissenting votes as there had been to the earlier but agrarious Russian resolution calling an end to all colonialism control; but for reasons known only to our State Department, the United States abstained -- an abstention which our own Cleveland delegate, Zelma George, found reason to ~~not~~ oppose, an abstention which ~~cost us~~ cost us prestige among many nations. ~~In 1960~~ the need for vigorous leadership <sup>was everywhere</sup> is evident. It is difficult to sum the very close national election just held but if it has any meaning, it is this: The American people are tired of policies arrived at by hind-sight, words which are not backed by deeds. They want to feel the firm hand at the helm, that vigorous thinking, sensible people ~~are at war~~ in Washington. 1961 begins in tension. The French are sure soon to loose Algeria and with it to be plunged into domestic crises. Belgian is in the throes of a civil war. In Laos there is a confused situation between American mercenaries and Russian mercenaries, which threaten another Korea. The world itself has not solved the basic problems of the population <sup>explosion</sup> and of turning an under-developed world into the industrial age of the twentieth century. The United Nations is threatened from within and without. No agreement has been reached on disarmament and there are many forces at work ~~ever~~ to cancel the one single accomplishment in this <sup>area</sup> ~~body~~ -- the present ban on nuclear weapons testing. The future is not a bright one - none of these problems permit easy solvment but there is this chance -- the new administration is un-encumbered <sup>the Soviet Govt. has not talked over anything</sup> with the past. Mr. Gromyko said just last week the Soviet Government has ~~not~~ <sup>not completely</sup> banned certain hopes on Mr. Kennedy's taking office, hopes of the relations between the United States and the USSR. Mr. Kennedy has pledged an open mind, an willingness to ~~meet the Russians half-way,~~ honesty of purpose and good intentions. The <sup>the</sup> world can only pray that both sides will give support to their pieties.

R.D. - Sun 7/3/60



Blake  
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The four are:  
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the "catholic"  
and "reformed"

on Page 11-A

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er quite made it...  
...ism between paydays and on the  
illusionment upon the discovery that econ-  
omists could be less than accurate in predicting  
that two could live as cheaply as one. Remem-  
bered now with bemusement are those early  
months of readjusting two selfishly independent  
spirits to a new concept of recognition for the  
inalienable rights of an associate, and of accept-  
ing a corporate responsibility for a new and  
prosaic establishment as a replacement for airy  
castles built on moonlit waters made the more  
enchanting by the soft beat of the pavilion  
orchestra.

The years have raced by but never to be  
forgotten is the shock that accompanies the  
gaining of custody of a first-born child. The  
normal existence of a man and a woman is  
transformed into a totally different stewardship  
the moment that first cry of life is heard in a  
delivery room. A brand new being that is  
physically, morally and mentally helpless is  
committed to their care to be molded into  
wholesome and effective citizenship by two  
overseers completely inexperienced for the as-  
signment thrust upon them. And the demand  
for accountability is peremptory.

Ended then was the carefree cycle of ex-  
uberant youth and gone was the live-for-today  
philosophy because now the important tomorrow  
of a third party had entered the picture, and  
planning for its future had begun to dominate

that a procreator, granted the great gift of  
custody of a child, must be prepared to sur-  
render that custody at the will of the donor.  
Burned deeply into the memory with the savage  
branding iron of personal disaster is a May  
afternoon when tragedy struck with the impact  
of a thunderclap from a cloudless sky. No facet  
of living was ever to be quite the same again.  
No treasure had quite the same value, no  
aspirations the same importance, no ambition  
the same compulsion. In acquiescence to an  
overwhelming decision, smugness perished and  
arrogance was destroyed. The journey went on,  
with the destinations somewhat changed and  
the atmosphere radically altered.

The Christmas Day living room scene is a  
custom-built backdrop for the silver wedding  
anniversary. The surprises have been exhausted,  
most of the gifts have been enjoyed, the ex-  
citement of acquisition has tapered off. Amid  
the litter are some fragments of remorse, some  
bits of shattered dreams, the torn wrappings  
of honest intentions, maybe a disappointment or  
two; perhaps even a proud garment that had  
proved too large for the stature of the receiver,  
or a pedestal that was just a mite too high for  
the image it was intended to hold. And with it  
all, that silver bead reminding the beholders of  
the distance they had traveled and of the mixed  
panorama of joy and sorrow they had witnessed  
on the way.

## Quotable Quotes

### Tranquil Christmas

MRS. ROBERT W. GUNN of  
Bedford Village, N.Y., when she  
heard that her mother, Mrs.  
Elizabeth Rudel Smith, had been  
appointed by President-elect  
John F. Kennedy as Treasurer  
of the United States: "Why,  
mother, you could never keep a  
checkbook straight."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAV-  
DA, Soviet youth newspaper,  
complaining that Moscow, with  
a population of more than five  
million, had been allotted only  
160,000 holiday trees under a  
forestry conservation program:  
"You can put Father Frost  
(Santa Claus) and Snow Maiden  
on the television set, and you  
can hang other decorations on  
the lamp shade, but how can  
you celebrate New Year's with-  
out a tree?"

WALTER ULBRICHT, East  
German Communist chief, criti-  
cizing "some comrades" who  
gloss over the terrible result  
of a nuclear war: "It is a  
wrong and harmful standpoint  
to say one does not need to  
fear a world war because it  
will speed up the final down-  
fall of capitalism. ... Without  
doubt, we want the downfall

MEDICAL PRESS of Lon-  
don, asserting that Christmas  
is "the finest tranquilizer on  
the market": "Common expe-  
rience teaches us that the  
health of the community  
takes a remarkable turn for  
the better shortly before  
Christmas and, however flip-  
pantly we may record the  
fact, it is not without impor-  
tance. How can we explain  
the empty waiting rooms in  
the doctor's surgery as the  
remaining shopping days  
gradually lessen? We may  
suggest with some measure of  
confidence that Christmas, in  
adequate dosage, is more ef-  
fective, and with fewer side  
effects, than phenobarbitone  
as a therapeutic regime."

of capitalism, but not through  
war. For a war would put in  
jeopardy the life of the work-  
ing class and the farmers. We  
must do all we can in order  
to save the majority of human-  
ity from annihilation in an  
atomic war."

RABBI DANIEL JEREMY  
SILVER, speaking at the  
Temple on "War and the Alter-

natives to War": "It has been  
estimated that a nuclear war  
would claim 800 million casual-  
ties. Sane men cannot admit the  
inevitability of such a war by  
failing to exert every possible  
effort to stop it."

UNNAMED EX-CONVICT,  
telling arresting officers at  
Dallas, after he had been cap-  
tured at the Sears, Roebuck &  
Co. store and charged with a  
felony — theft involving more  
than \$50—that inflation had  
made Texas law unfair: "With  
inflation the way it is, they  
ought to change that law and  
make the felony amount higher.  
It just isn't fair."

SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER,  
R-Ariz., criticizing this coun-  
try's well-intentioned refusal to  
play the role of a great power:  
"In theme, thrust and motive,  
American foreign policy has  
been primarily an exercise in  
self-ingratiation. This sluggish  
sentimentality, this obsession  
for pleasing people, has become  
a matter of grand strategy ...  
no less than a guiding principle  
of American policy. It is lead-  
ing us ... to national and in-  
ternational disaster."

From the  
Week's News

R.D. - Sun. 12/25/60



# SANE ACTION

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY, INC.

17 EAST 45th STREET, ROOM 401 NEW YORK 17, N. Y. OXford 7 2265

## SENATOR KENNEDY UNDER PRESSURE TO AVOID GOAL OF TOTAL DISARMAMENT

We have learned that President-Elect Kennedy is under pressure from some of his close scientific advisers not to endorse the goal of total world disarmament. Those who are putting pressure on Senator Kennedy are supporters of a "stablized deterrent." This approach is based on the assumption that a retaliatory force can be developed which cannot be knocked out in a surprise attack. This would require setting up a network of hidden missile bases, Polaris submarines, and missile launchers mounted on moving railway flatcars. Since an enemy nation could not locate these retaliatory weapons -- so the theory goes -- it would be deterred from striking.

Some advocates of a "stablized deterrent" foresee a period stretching into the indefinite future during which a given number of these missiles on both sides would be the final arbiter in international relations. Some would be willing to disarm other weapons systems while keeping the deterrent. Others see a "stablized deterrent" as a step on the way to total disarmament.

SANE believes that total world disarmament under the rule of law is the road to a world without war. We believe a strengthened U.N., a World Court, and some form of international security force must keep the peace and settle disputes in a disarmed world.

We believe that the "stablized deterrent" approach is faulty because:

- 1) It does not stop the arms race. It would permit further research and development of missiles, anti-missile-missiles, submarines, etc. A technological breakthrough in defensive weapons could make it useless. Thus, the system is really unstable.
- 2) It does not meet the threat of the spread of weapons to other countries (especially China) or accidental war, or the spread of a "limited war" into a general war.
- 3) It runs counter to the U.N.'s unanimous vote, in November 1959, in favor of "general and complete disarmament."

## SUGGESTED LOCAL ACTION

The new President will make his first major policy statement in his Inaugural Address on January 20. To date, no U. S. President has clearly endorsed the goal of total world disarmament under the rule of law, although the U.N. resolution in November 1959, and some of our disarmament proposals have mentioned it.

(Turn to Next Page)



## Those who passed away this week

SADIE GARSON  
BEATRICE MYERS GOLDSTEIN  
DR. HARRY A. LIPSON

## Jahrzeits

CARRIE FELBER  
SAMUEL SCHULIST  
SIEGMUND JOSEPH  
JEANNE B. FEDER  
ANNIE R. BRATBURD  
CELIA W. SELMAN  
MOSES DAVIS  
ELIZABETH STONE  
DAVID JANKAU  
BELLA GOLDWASSER  
MAX BERNSTEIN  
YETTA GROSSMAN  
ABRAM BUKA  
ADDIE R. FEDER  
LOUIS HIRSCHHEIMER

NELLIE KRAMER  
EUGENE E. WOLF  
LOUIS G. COLE  
MINNA ROHRHEIMER  
ALICE C. WEIDENTHAL  
JULIUS W. DEUTSCH  
DAVID SCHARTENBERG  
JENNIE R. KOPPERMAN  
AARON ROSENTHAL  
ELEANORE GREENBERG  
CLARA HALPER  
JOSEPH LEHMAN  
EUGENE STERN  
MAX HARTZMARK

JOSEPH E. GLICK  
DR. HENRY M. BIEL  
READ FRI. DEC. 30  
ONLY-WILLIAM B. COHEN

READ JAN 1  
SUNDAY ONLY -  
SAMUEL PHILIP  
SCHOENBERGER



## ivovels and Netto Charles Percy Snow

SIR CHARLES PERCY SNOW is a large, bald Englishman, whose flinty viewpoints have struck many sparks in his London clubs, the Athenaeum and the Savile. They struck some sparks yesterday, too, when he told American scientists that within a decade some atomic bombs would have

Man been exploded through "accident, or folly or madness." Sir Charles

speaks with authority on such matters. He moves with equal facility in the worlds of science, literature and government. Through his writings he has portrayed the struggles, triumphs and disasters of those worlds to an increasingly large number of persons.

A series of eight novels entitled "Strangers and Brothers"—there are three more to come—have established Sir Charles as perhaps the most successful interpreter of those three worlds now writing in Britain or America. He writes under the name C. P. Snow.

### Delves Into Laboratories

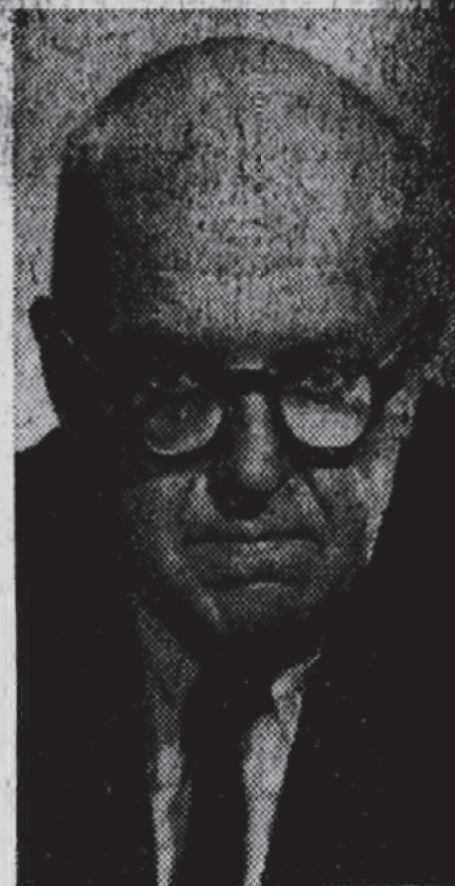
Not since Sinclair Lewis in "Arrowsmith" etched the conflict between men of science and the prosperous, largely anti-intellectual society of the United States in the first thirty years of this century has an author delved so deeply into the world that lives behind laboratory walls or college gates.

"Charles has an advantage," a literary friend said recently. "When Lewis wrote 'Arrowsmith,' science was still largely a mystery. The atom changed all that. Readers want to know what scientists are like, what moves them, and Snow can tell them."

Although he has written largely about events within The Establishment—that complex of ecclesiastical, political, educational and social groups forming the core of British life—he was not born to it.

He was born Oct. 15, 1905, in Leicester, the son of a clerk in a shoe factory. His grandfather he recalls as a "highminded" man who ended his days as foreman of the Leicester Tramway Depot.

He attended Alderman Newton's School in Leicester and University College, Leicester, a "red brick" institution far removed in influence and temper from Cambridge and Oxford. But with the help of scholarships he was able to enter the university world at Cambridge and



Hard-headed, warm-hearted midlander.

Camera Press-Pix

to begin a career as a physicist.

From 1930 to 1950 he was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. While he was there he did what has been described as "some respectable work on molecular physics."

Sir Charles launched his literary career, in 1932, with a detective novel, "Death Under Sail." In 1945 he began a third career in the world of government as a Commissioner of Civil Service. He continued in that position until he resigned this year.

John Raymond, writing in The Sunday Times, seems to have most closely caught the spirit of the man and his work.

"Like so many Englishmen who have come to terms with the century," he wrote, "he believes that our society must seek out its moral and physical salvation through its brainpower."

In 1950 Sir Charles was married to Pamela Hansford Johnson, also a novelist. They live in London. Sir Charles was knighted in 1957.

Perhaps the most surprising thing to persons meeting Sir Charles for the first time, it has been said, is that his erudition, a share in the making of great decisions and continuing popularity as a novelist have never made him arrogant or mean. He is a most invariably described as just a hard-headed, warm-hearted, intelligent midlander who has come up the hard way.



The Moral Un-Neutrality of Science  
Sir Charles P. Snow

The discovery of atomic fission broke up the world of international physics. "This has killed a beautiful subject," said Mark Oliphant, the father-figure of Australian physics, in 1945, after the bombs had dropped. In intellectual terms, he has not turned out right. In spiritual and moral terms, I sometimes think he has.

A good deal of the international community of science remains in other fields -- in great areas of biology, for example. Many biologists are feeling the same liberation, the same joy at taking part in a magnanimous enterprise, as physicists felt in the Twenties. More than likely, the moral and intellectual leadership of science will pass to biologists, and it is among them we shall find the Rutherfords, Bohrs and Francks of the next generation.

Physicists have had a bitterer task. With the discovery of fission, and with some technical breakthroughs in electronics, physicists became, almost overnight, the most important military resource a nation-state could call on. A large number of physicists became soldiers not in uniform. So they have remained, in the advanced societies, ever since.

It is very difficult to see what else they could have done. All this began in the Hitler war. Most scientists thought then that nazism was as near absolute evil as a human society can manage. I myself thought so. I still think so, without qualification. That being so, nazism had to be fought, and since the Nazis might make fission bombs -- which we thought possible until 1944, and which was a continual nightmare if one was remotely in the know -- well then, we had to make them too. Unless one was an unlimited pacifist, there was nothing else to do. And unlimited pacifism is a position which most of us cannot sustain.

Therefore I respect, and to a large extent share, the moral attitudes of



those scientists who devoted themselves to making the bomb. But the trouble is, when you get on to any kind of moral escalator, to know whether you're ever going to be able to get off. When scientists became soldiers they gave up something, so imperceptibly that they didn't realize it, of the full scientific life. Not intellectually. I see no evidence that scientific work on weapons of maximum destruction has been in any intellectual respect different from other scientific work. But there is a moral difference.

It may be -- scientists who are better men than I am often take this attitude, and I have tried to represent it faithfully in one of my books -- that this is a moral price which, in certain circumstances, has to be paid. Nevertheless, it is no good pretending that there is not a moral price. Soldiers have to obey. That is the foundation of their morality. It is not the foundation of the scientific morality. Scientists have to question and if necessary to rebel.

I don't want to be misunderstood. I am no anarchist. I am not suggesting that loyalty is not a prime virtue. I am not saying that all rebellion is good. But I am saying that loyalty can easily turn into conformity, and that conformity can often be a cloak for the timid and self-seeking. So can obedience, carried to the limit.

When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find far more, and far more hideous crimes, have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion. If you doubt that, read William Shirer's "Rise and Fall of the Third Reich". The German officer corps were brought up in the most rigorous code of obedience. To themselves, no more honorable and God-fearing body of men could conceivably exist. Yet in the name of obedience they were party to, and assisted in, the most wicked large-scale actions in the history of the world.

Scientists must not go that way. Yet the duty to question is not much of



a support when you are living in the middle of an organized society. I speak with feeling here. I was an official for twenty years. I went into official life at the beginning of the war, for the reasons my scientific friends began to make weapons. I stayed in that life until a year ago, for the same reason that made my scientific friends turn into civilian soldiers. The official life in England is not quite so disciplined as a soldier's, but it is very nearly so.

I think I know the virtues, which are very great, of the men who live that disciplined life. I also know what for me was the moral trap. I, too, had got on to an escalator. I can put the result in a sentence: I was coming to hide behind the institution, I was losing the power to say "no".

Only a very bold man, when he is a member of an organized society, can keep the power to say "no". I tell you that, not being a very bold man, or one who finds it congenial to stand alone, away from his colleagues. We can't expect many scientists to do it.

Is there any tougher ground for them to stand on? I suggest to you that there is. I believe that there is a spring of moral action in the scientific activity which is at least as strong as the search for truth. The name of this spring is knowledge. Scientists know certain things in a fashion more immediate and more certain than those who don't comprehend what science is. Unless we are abnormally weak or abnormally wicked men, this knowledge is bound to shape our actions. Most of us are timid: but to an extent, knowledge gives us guts. Perhaps it can give us guts strong enough for the jobs in hand.

I had better take the most obvious example. All physical scientists know that it is relatively easy to make plutonium. We know this, not as a journalistic fact at second-hand, but as a fact in our own experience. We can work out the number of scientific and engineering personnel it needs for a nation-state to equip itself with fission and fusion bombs. We know that for a dozen or more



states, it will only take perhaps six years, perhaps less. Even the best-informed of us always exaggerates these periods.

This we know, with the certainty of -- what shall I call it? -- engineering truth. We also most of us are familiar with statistics and the nature of odds. We know, with the certainty of statistical truth, that if enough of these weapons are made -- by enough different states -- some of them are going to blow up. Through accident, or folly, or madness -- but the motives don't matter. What does matter is the nature of the statistical fact.

All this we know. We know it in a more direct sense than any politician because it comes from our direct experience. It is part of our minds. Are we going to let it happen?

All this we know. It throws upon scientists a direct and personal responsibility. It is not enough to say that scientists have a responsibility as citizens. They have a much greater one than that, and one different in kind. For scientists have a moral imperative to say what they know. It is going to make them unpopular in their own nation-states. It may do worse than make them unpopular. That doesn't matter. Or at least, it does matter to you and me, but it must not count in the face of the risks.

For we genuinely know the risks. We are faced with an "either-or", and we haven't much time. Either we accept a restriction of nuclear armaments. This is going to begin, just as a token, with an agreement on the stopping of nuclear tests. The United States is not going to get the 99.9 per cent "security" that it has been asking for. It is unobtainable, though there are other bargains that the United States could probably secure. I am not going to conceal from you that this course involves certain risks. They are quite obvious, and no honest man is going to blink them.

That is the "either". The "or" is not a risk but a certainty. It is this.



There is no agreement on tests. The nuclear arms race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. not only continues, but accelerates. Other countries join in. Within, at the most, six years, China and several other states have a stock of nuclear bombs. Within, at the most, ten years, some of these bombs are going off.

I am saying this as responsibly as I can. That is the certainty. On the one side, therefore, we have a finite risk. On the other side we have a certainty of disaster. Between a risk and a certainty, a sane man does not hesitate.

It is the plain duty of scientists to explain this "either-or". It is a duty which seems to me to come from the moral nature of the scientific activity itself.

The same duty, though in a much more pleasant form, arises about the benevolent powers of science. For scientists know, and again with the certainty of scientific knowledge, that we possess every scientific fact we need to transform the physical life of half the world. And transform it within the span of people now living. I mean, we have all the resources to help half the world live as long as we do, and eat enough. All that is missing is the will. We know that. Just as we know that you in this country, and to a slightly less extent we in ours, have been almost unimaginably lucky. We are sitting like people in a smart and cozy restaurant, and we are eating comfortably, looking out of the window into the streets. Down on the pavement are people who are looking up at us: people who by chance have different colored skins from ours, and are rather hungry. Do you wonder that they don't like us all that much? Do you wonder that we sometimes feel ashamed of ourselves, as we look out through that plateglass?

Well, it is within our power to get started on that problem. We are morally impelled to. We all know that, if the human species does solve that one, there will be consequences which are themselves problems. For instance, the population of the world will become embarrassingly large. But that is another



challenge. There are going to be challenges to our intelligence and to our moral nature as long as man remains man. After all, a challenge is not, as the word is coming to be used, an excuse for slinking off and doing nothing. A challenge is something to be picked up.





First, it must be emphasized that nonviolent resistance is not a method for cowards; it does resist. If one uses this method because he is afraid or merely because he lacks the instruments of violence, he is not truly nonviolent. This is why Gandhi often said that if cowardice is the only alternative to violence, it is better to fight. He made this statement conscious of the fact that there is always another alternative: no individual or group need submit to any wrong, nor need they use violence to right the wrong; there is the way of nonviolence resistance. This is ultimately the way of the strong man. It is not a method of stagnant passivity. The phrase "passive resistance" often gives the false impression that this is a sort of "do-nothing method" in which the resister quietly and passively accepts evil. But nothing is further from the truth. For while the nonviolent resister is passive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive toward his opponent, his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade his opponent that he is wrong. The method is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually. It is not passive nonresistance to evil, it is active nonviolent resistance to evil.

A second basic fact that characterizes nonviolence is that it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The nonviolent resister must often express his protest through noncooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that these are not ends themselves; they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

A third characteristic of this method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil. It is evil that the nonviolent resister seeks to defeat, not the persons victimized by evil. If he is opposing racial injustice, the nonviolent resister has the vision to see that the basic tension is not between races. As I like to say to



the people in Montgomery: "The tension in this city is not between white people and Negro people. The tension is, at bottom, between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory, it will be a victory not merely for fifty thousand Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of light. We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may be unjust."

A fourth point that characterizes nonviolent resistance is a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, to accept blows from the opponent without striking back. "Rivers of blood may have to flow before we gain our freedom, but it must be our blood," Gandhi said to his countrymen.. The nonviolent resister is willing to accept violence if necessary, but never to inflict it. He does not seek to dodge jail. If going to jail is necessary, he enters it "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber."

One may well ask: "What is the nonviolent resister's justification for this ordeal to which he invites men, for this mass political application of the ancient doctrine of turning the other cheek?" The answer is found in the realization that unearned suffering is redemptive. Suffering, the nonviolent resister realizes, has tremendous educational and transforming possibilities. "Things of fundamental importance to people are not secured by reason alone, but have to be purchased with their suffering", said Gandhi.. He continues: "Suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason."

A fifth point concerning nonviolent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him. At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of love. The nonviolent resister would contend that in the struggle for human dignity, the oppressed



people of the world must not succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter or indulging in hate campaigns. To retaliate in kind would do nothing but intensify the existence of hate in the universe. Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate. This can only be done by projecting the ethic of love to the center of our lives.





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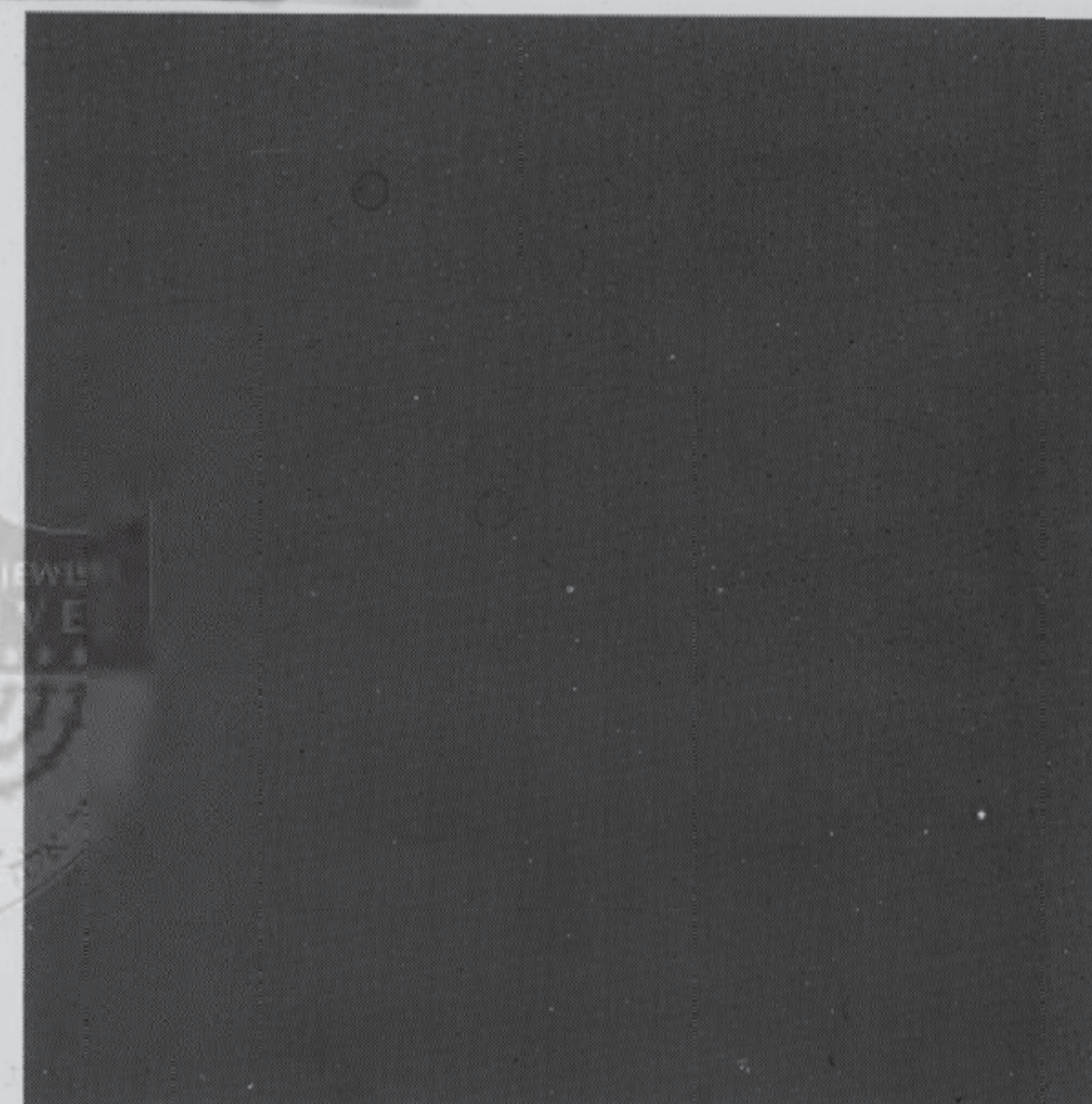




THE WESTERN RESERVE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

10825 East Boulevard

Cleveland, Ohio 44106



0 12x 16x 20x 24x 28x 30x 36x 40x 48x

SHOULD MEASURE .25" AT REDUCTION

REDUCTION RATIO:

**REDUCTION  
RATIO 13X**