



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

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

Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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Reel  
49

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15

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883

Taking Stock of 1967, 1967.

Taking Stock of 1971  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
December 31, 1967

On the 20th of November the great census plaque in Washington indicated that this country now numbered some 200 million citizens. Mr. Johnson presided at the celebration and when the computer indicated that eight zeros were now preceded by a 2 that the measure of our size had been passed, the speech was interrupted with wild applause. At least those who were present believed that a significant hopeful landmark had been met and passed. Fortunately, all that this applause and this celebration indicated was that we had not yet psychologically oriented ourselves to the new problems or radically new age. When the strength of the nation was measured by its sinews, by brute force, when men were looked upon still largely as work horses, as pack animals, when men believed that the mass of men could not be given dignity and the graceful life, then, indeed, the numbers of a nation were a measure of its strength. Today the strength of a nation lies in its skills, in its trained people, when we firmly believe that all have a right to dignity, to grace in their lives, today sheer numbers are a drain on our economy, represent a threat to our ability to provide quality in education, decency in housing, adequate employment, unlimited opportunity. It took until 1950 for this nation to reach 100 million people. It required another 35 years for us to reach the 150 million mark. It required only 17 years for the 200 million mark to be passed. And many experts tell us that by the end of this century, just 33 years from now, there will be 340 or 345 millions of us. Five thousand more Americans live in this country every day than the day before and they clog our schools; they overcrowd our housing; they inundate our cities and limit their ability to respond with adequate services. They overwhelm our landscape, threaten to destroy our remaining beauty there is naturally, openly on this continent. And, of course, we are the richest and most blessed nation on the face of this earth. This human flood, for that is



what it is, this population explosion which, like all explosions, is destructive, is not only straining our ability to provide quality, opportunity to sustain democracy, to make the city something more than a jungle, but in other parts of the world it is absolutely destroying the capacity to survive. There are 3.3 billion people on the face of this earth today. There are 180,000 more people on this earth every day. By the end of this century there will be 7.3 billion. Who will feed them? What will they be fed? Who will clothe them? How will they be housed? Who will educate them? In this country of ours we have one of the finest educational systems extant, we require one out of every two college graduates for the next ten years simply to staff our public school classrooms. Where will we find teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, and the bureaucrats and the politicians and the industrialists? Where will it find the ability to dam up this human flood, to control it, to return the river of population to its banks? This is the problem and already in 1967 we were beginning to pay the price for the population explosion.

In Egypt, in Syria, in Venezuela, Brazil, other such countries, the standard of living is slipping. Population is outracing and outdistancing the ability of the economy to provide. Nobody knows how many die every day of starvation in India, but during this year it became clear that sheer numbers were destroying India's ability to survive as a nation. In November the ruling Congress Party through the Parliament abrogated most of the constitutional laws of India. Why? Because population and the population explosion had brought such misery and such poverty that in many of the outlying states radical voices were heard, demanding immediate solutions and there were no solutions, so the Indians voted that they could arbitrarily depose from office Parliament's elected officials who spoke the language which the government was not prepared to hear.

In Greece? For a long time people had strained the food supply. In



which had a measure of advancement, to be sure far more than India, but a measure of royal oppression from a foolish boy king who refused to allow the elected parliament to vote land reform and tax reform which would have taken away the feudal privileges of his friends. In Greece democracy was destroyed early in 1967 and strong man rule remained the rule of large parts of our globe because poverty and misery are bred by too many people. Poverty and misery lead to radicalism, lead to the mob, and lead those who are privileged and in control to use to the utmost authority to control the mob, to maintain their prerogatives. People, sheer numbers, threatened our world.

The Chinese Indian, the Chinese Russian, the Sino-Soviet dispute was heated up in 1967. Not only were councilar delegates and student visitors attacked in both countries and councilar offices and embassies sacked, but troops were massed along that long Mongolian Siberian border where it is well to remember that the Russian Chinese dispute is not only an argument over control of the Communist Party apparatus, but is an argument for control of the empty, the near empty, steplands of inner Asia which the Chinese see as a place to solve their agricultural problems.

In the Middle East, have-not nations desperately near bankruptcy, precipitated a war with Israel.

In Greece, a military junta come to power, precipitated near war with Turkey over Cyprus because it could not solve the domestic problems and, like the Arab states, turned the concern of the people away from anger at the government to anger at some foreign enemy.

There is only one problem in our world today. In human development, the economy, social service, education, agriculture, housing, catch up with the human flood and, unfortunately, in most of our world, in most of the chanceries of the globe, it was business as usual, old border disputes. Mr. De Gaul was meddling with French Canadian nationalism. He was spending France's gold reserve to develop nuclear arms.



He was finding new markets for his industrialists in the Middle East by turning off France's traditional friendship with Israel. Germany wanted markets and Germany wanted reunification. Spain wanted Gibraltar. Portugal wanted to hold on to her remaining colonies. Wherever you turned on our globe it was business as usual except in England. England seemed determined to take stock, to pull back from military and economic commitments she could no longer manage, to provide new forms of social service, new economic opportunity with development in the homeland. And the cost? The cost was frightening, symbolized by devaluation of the pound, symbolized by an austerity budget, symbolized by the pullback of her troops east of Suez<sup>and</sup>, the other nations of the world looking upon England's troubles shook their heads and wanted no part of it. The world wanted its fat where there was fat, its privilege where there was privilege. Our own country wanted it. Our national budget requires 75 billion dollars for military defense. Our national budget provides 4.8 billion dollars for health, 4.6 billion dollars for education, 2.9 billion dollars for housing, model cities, air and water pollution control and the like. Now, of course, this is not the whole story. There are state and there are local programs, but when we translate down this domestic budget, this human budget, into Cleveland what do we find? Welfare clients receive 8.4 percent of minimal subsistence, not enough to keep body and soul together. There was not a single low cost family apartment unit completed under Federal auspices in Cleveland in 1967. 7500 four and five-year olds qualify for Head Start classes. We could provide a place for only 2200 of them, and on and on and on. No one was prepared to accept austerity, to accept higher taxes, to pay the price of human reform, social development. We talked about it, but we did not vote it. Yearlong the Congress brought to even maintain the war on poverty at its present level and there were weeks in November when the Office of Economic Opportunity did not have money with which to



carry on. For six months the Congress made bad humor over a simple rat control bill. We talked of a great society. We built schools and we built roads and we rebuilt the center of some cities, but, you know, for all of it, because of the human flood it was like running in place. We're not getting ahead of the problem. And just two days ago the presidential commission appointed to investigate the cause of summer riots which turned the centers of Newark and Detroit into flaming torches, reported that they would not release, they would simply not release their proposals because they would require an annual expenditure of 25 billion dollars a year and it was patently evident that neither the President nor the Congress nor the people were prepared to assume such a burden. The world in 1967 was not yet ready to admit that it lived in 1967 and not in the early 19th or 20th century. And it was not to bandaid our problems, to find palliative solutions that we could enjoy affluence unbounded or have domestic peace, provide quality education and decent housing. We couldn't and weren't, we whose gross national product is 20 percent, one-fifth of the total economic power of the world, we could not meet our problems. Imagine the magnitude of these problems world-wide. People, the sheer mass of human birth, is destructive today, destructive of economic development, destructive of social cohesion, destructive of human values, destructive of peace. The have-not's fell further away from the have's. Partially it was their fault. Partially their leaders continued to bank their profits in Switzerland rather than to reinvest them in their own nations. This was particularly true in Latin America. Partially they began to have the ambitions of all diplomats for power and for glory, Peru, Chile, countries in sub-Sahara Africa which could not afford sophisticated arms were buying them in quantities. There were small border disputes they wanted to adjust in their favor. And the great countries of the world, the great countries which understood the folly of



the arms race because we were spending our gold for it. They stimulated Nigeria and Sierra Leone and the Congo and Chile and Peru. Fifteen billion dollars worth of arms were sent by the rich nations to the underdeveloped nations, sold or lent, <sup>or</sup> sold on long term easy credits. We were in the arms sale business. During 1967 it was revealed that the Pentagon sold a billion dollars of used arms a year, peddled them around the world. We talked of economic aid, but this military sales outnumbered our military aid by the factor of two. And the Soviet Union, the military peddling of arms by the Soviet Union outdistanced its economic aid for dams and for irrigation and for fertilizer and for new cities and new plants by a figure of 50 to 1.

Our nation, our nation continued in 1967 to do business as it had done in the past century. We continued to expect the problems of our cities, the problems of our people, the problems of our economy to be solved by easy, pragmatic solutions which would not cause us to tighten our belts to make dramatic new departures, radical revolutions in our social thinking. This was not to be. And our cities went up in flames and more cities will go up in flames because there has been no marked advance. 22.2 percent of the negro youth of the United States is unemployed. Thirty million Americans still have incomes of less than three thousand dollars a year, less than bare subsistence. And there, of course, was inflation during 1967. Inflation ate away six percent of the value of the purchasing power of the dollar in the last eighteen months, four cents of every dollar in the last twelve months. Who was hurt? The elderly on small fixed incomes, the poor on welfare. Every dollar they earn is a dollar they must spend. Every dollar that is given to them is a dollar they must spend. Every dollar that they had was worth 96¢ by December. There was inflation. There were higher taxes. Services were costing more. A construction worker who earned eight thousand dollars at the beginning of this year <sup>and who</sup> by virtue of strikes or negotiations



managed a six percent wage increase during 1967, found that at the end of the year, taking inflation and the new taxes and new social security measures into consideration, that he actually was able to pocket thirty additional dollars. The nation was balking at new taxes, balking at new welfare legislation, but the cost of delay, the hidden cost, is far higher and this no one in America was talking about and no one in America was demanding.

And in Vietnam, of course, which precluded a real attack on poverty, it was Vietnam which preoccupied our intentions; it was Vietnam forced that ultimate anomaly of our national policy, 32 billion dollars to be involved in a civil war in south-east Asia; 1.9 billion dollars for the war on poverty in the United States. And many opposed the war not only because it seemed to be the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time, opposed it because it represented all that was askew, all that was absolute folly in our national policy, turned us into world-wide policemen though we couldn't police our own streets in safety. Typically, those who opposed the war, Martin Luther King in April of this year had this to say. In saying it he reflected the feelings of many Americans.

In truth, the hopes of the Great Society have been overcome by the fears and frustrations of Vietnam. The pursuit of this widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

The antipoverty program is cautiously initiated, zealously supervised and evaluated for immediate results, while billions are liberally expended for this ill-considered war. The recently revealed mis-estimate of the war budget amounts to \$10-billion for a single year. This error alone is more than five times the amount committed to antipoverty programs. The security we profess to seek in foreign adventures we will lose in our decaying cities. The bombs in Vietnam explode at home: they destroy the dream and possibility for a decent America.



If we reversed investments and gave the armed forces the anti-poverty budget, the generals could be forgiven if they walked off the battlefield in disgust.

Poverty, urban problems and social progress generally are ignored when the guns of war become a national obsession. When it is not our security that is at stake, but questionable and vague commitments to reactionary regimes, values disintegrate into foolish and adolescent slogans.

It is estimated that we spend \$322,000 for each enemy we kill, while we spend in the so-called war on poverty in America only about \$53 for each person classified as "poor," and much of that \$53 goes for salaries of people who are not poor. We have escalated the war in Vietnam and de-escalated the skirmish against poverty. It challenges the imagination to contemplate what lives we could transform if we were to cease killing. . .

And we did not cease killing during 1967 nor did we cease having our young men killed. The cost of the war in Vietnam this year was driven home with a vengeance. By the end of 1965 we had lost 1,360 men in Vietnam, killed. A year later in December of 1966 that number had risen to 5,006. By December 31 of this year, by today, we had lost over 15,500 dead. Forty-five thousand Allied troops have been killed; 100,000 Vietnamese casualties have fallen in this war. They said that 187,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong bodies had been counted in that macabre process of ours, by which we assess victory. The war was beginning to come home to roost and its cost? Its cost was rising every day. By December of 1965 we had 125,000 men in Southeast Asia. By December of 1966 we had 300,000; by December of 1967, today, we have 525,000, over half a million men. And the cost? And the end? Not in sight.

About a month ago we had a rash of optimistic prophecies about the end of the war. General Westmoreland was here and he told us optimistically that the rate of infiltration had been reduced from some 14,000 a month from the north in December of last year to 6 thousand a month in December of this year, so the rate of recruitment into the Viet Cong had been reduced from 7500 a month last year to 3600 a month this year, that the number of South Vietnamese living under Viet Cong control



had been reduced from four million last year to two million this year, but most of us were skeptical. The credibility gap had come home to roost. We too often in December and as election years began had been told optimistically of the results of the war and there were conflicting stories coming out of southeast Asia. Not only had we not won, not only was the kill ratio diminishing. Three years ago the government was claiming that we were killing 15 Viet Cong for every one Allied soldier. This year the ratio was down to three to one. Not only was it clear from the reports in southeast Asia that the north Vietnamese and the Viet Cong were better armed today than they had been two years ago; that the air defenses of North Vietnam were among the most sophisticated that the world had ever seen; not only was it clear that the North Vietnamese had not yet lost their desire to fight, that Secretary McNamara had been correct in April of this year when he had said that there is no clear evidence that our bombing has or will destroy the ability or the will of the North Vietnamese to respond. And then, of course, there was the futility of the pacification program, our inability to force the junta in Saigon to bring reforms to the nation, to reform the tax system, to reform the land, to get out of Saigon and to work with the people. It was not clear that the shadow of government of the Viet Cong had not, in fact, still major control during the night hours of that benighted land. And benighted it was, napalm, foliants, more tonnage of bombs were dropped on that godforsaken part of the world than in all of Europe by all Allied and Axis forces in the second World War. The war went on. Its end is not in sight. 1967 had begun with the Pope and Prime Minister Wilson of England and others speaking hopefully of some kind of understanding with Hanoi, only let the United States cease its bombing. The bombing had not ceased. There was no understanding. The President throughout the year had spoken hopefully of negotiations, of his willingness to negotiate with anyone at any time in any place, and he had twice had to fly to the distant places,



to Guam and to Australia, to convince the "freely elected" leaders of South Vietnam that this is what they in fact had said. But there were no negotiations and it was not clear at all what the United States was intending by this tender of negotiations. Did we mean that there would be compromise? That issues could be adjusted? That the Viet Cong who are far more South Vietnamese, many of them, than the generals in Saigon who are by and large North Vietnamese, that the Viet Cong would have a rightful place in some postwar coalition?

General Wheeler, our Chief-of-Staff, speaking at a Detroit Economic Club just three weeks ago said this. This is his definition, and perhaps ours, of negotiation.

Negotiation is not a face-saving device for abandoning the objectives we have been fighting for. It is a method for achieving our objectives. We have always been, and are still willing to negotiate, but we are not ready to negotiate our defeat or a face-saving withdrawal which would invalidate the sacrifice we and our allies have made.

Now, this is not negotiation, this is a demand for capitulation. This is a statement that after the war there will be a pro-Western independent South Vietnam just as there was not before the war began.

The war drags on, abrasive to our economy, destructive to that sense of common weal which once upon a time joined most of us in America, precipitating the most violent, vitriolic national debate in most of our lifetimes. There are many who had simply opted out from the American society. They looked on the Vietnamese war not only as morally wrong, not only as politically naive, but as a statement of a continuing preoccupation with those things which avail not, little patterns of geopolitical policy which in an age which requires homes, food, clothing and education and jobs is simply irrelevant. We had that image throughout 1967, bitterness, demonstration, demonstration which was close to civil disobedience. We saw the extremists of both sides become more and more visible, uglier and uglier in their speech. Stokely



Carmichael made a world-wide triumphant tour, condemning America to those who hated America around the world. They brought George Wallace out into the political hustlings. The right and the left, the extreme right and the extreme left, were shrill during 1967. The voices of reason, the voices that were responsible, warily could make themselves heard. People were acting by December of this year far more emotionally with far less discrimination and far less judgment than they had been a year ago. A year ago you could still talk about the possible tactics for ending the war. A year ago you could still talk about the necessary tactics and strategy for combatting poverty in the city. Today people sneer at one group or another, condemn one demonstration or another, and will have nothing of the issue. That's tragic and part of the cost of this war that this country is bearing.

There is more violence in our streets and, to a large degree, it is attributable to the war. There is more disruption in our home life and, to a large degree, this is attributable to the war. There is uncertainty in our economy and, to a large degree, this is attributable to the war. There was the greatest gold outflow in our history. What did it mean? Simply that banks and men around the world were gambling against the soundness of American policy. There were solutions to the gold problem, but more significant than the removal of the cover on our gold supply, or simply removal of the gold supply as the guarantee of our economy, was the statement that these people were gambling against the ability of our war-swollen economy to survive, to remain stable and firm. The economy grew by a smaller percentage in 1967 than any year in the decade. The output of our factories, despite the war, dropped from 91 percent of the past to 84 percent. The stock market reminded one of 1928-29. Furtive speculation combined with corporate pyramiding - one wondered and one looked and one spoke openly of the possibility of recession and the poor and the struggling and the aged struggled with the realities of inflation. 1967 was not a good year and



1968 dawns without a great deal of indication that we're rounding a corner. There will be an election, but what will be the choice? American politics are obviously coming into focus. The traditional power blocks which sustain both of the major parties are crumbling and disintegrating. And into what? What shape are they taking? Is Wallace the thrust of the future? Is the radicalism of the left the thrust of the future? Where was the leadership, the political leadership, the statesmanship which would say to the American people, this is the time when a new start must be taken, no new deal and not a fair deal and not the great society, but a radical new departure in social engineering and social democracy. This is the time when you must tighten your belt and we must give up this gluttoned society of abundance. They want to pour billions of dollars into our cities before they become devastating to us psychologically and economically and otherwise. We must clear our air and clear our water and clear our minds of the myths of the past. Ben Amirdo, the great Swedish economist, estimates it will cost us a trillion dollars a decade simply to fight the war on poverty. Educators tell us it will cost us several trillion dollars a decade simply to provide adequate education for the many. We can't vote minimal domestic budgets and sigh of the social problems of the day. And if you <sup>don't</sup> sigh of the social problem, you have violence and you have the chaos of the city and you have the riots of Hough and you have the riots of Newark and the riots of Detroit and you have the continued anger of those young minds, those core minds, who recognize the stupidity of the folly of an unreconstructed social order.

This was our challenge as 1967 ended. We could not survive only on what we are doing today. The United Appeal was not enough. Public welfare was not enough. Minimal school budgets were not enough. The national housing programs were minimal. Aid to dependent children was being cut back. Social security was not totally adequate. There were a thousand human needs. Every day ten thousand Americans came to our



cities and our cities lacked the amenities and the conveniences to provide services. Our cities were still the cities of the nineteenth century and it's going to require billions and billions of dollars to refashion so that one can live with some dignity in them in the twentieth. And this is our choice, to continue as we have in the past banking our small profits, or to begin as we must do for the future, to invest the largest measure of what we earn in the society which makes life possible. It's going to mean the end of Shaker Heights and Pepper Pike as we know it. It's going to mean the end of the great American fortunes as they once were. There's going to be a desperate struggle in these days of governmental planning, to preserve the freedoms which must be preserved, but the longer we delay the more desperate that struggle will be. The longer Americans continue to be unwilling to devote the major share of their national prosperity to the preservation of their land in beauty and in opportunity, as long as we delay, so long will the future be bleak.

Nineteen sixty-eight will see an election. I'm afraid that in the terms of the problems I see, the election will again be an election which does not offer a choice. The first responsibility for this nation is to disembarrass itself on the Vietnamese War. That's the negative and it . And I wonder, as Vice-President Humphrey wondered during 1967, if the war once ended, the American people would be willing to invest, 13-14 million dollars a year for social reconstruction. We have never shown that we were willing so to invest ourselves in the national destiny. Perhaps we may. Perhaps the leaders will come along who will make this urgency clear to us, but until they do, until they do I'm afraid the headlines are going to be black and our cities sometimes red with the fires of violence and hate will continue to smolder in the hearts of those who live in the cold flats without enough in their stomachs.

And so the year ends uniquely during the Chanukkah season. Our lights



burn and they remind us not about Judah, brothers lived in an age much as ours. Greece represented affluence, cultivation, abundance. Greece represented a slave-owning society which was careless of those who could not be seen and the other Greece, the other America which sought political, which sought world-wide military undertaking, victory, which prided itself on cultivation and culture, which was sick at heart. And there were a few men who lit these lights, who saw through the sham of that civilization, who saw to the heart of the matter, that God must be served, that God is not served by seeking the ways that are convenient, the paths which are easy. He must be served with the total commitment of one's self, with a dedication to one's dignity, to one's family, the community, the well-being of one's community and the well-being of all who share this earth with us. And that is our challenge as we light these Chanukkah lights on this, the last day of , that each of us be torch bearers for 1968.

*Last part of tape was bad*

WRHS



## Kaddish

Friday *Dec 29*  
Sunday *31*

Those who passed away this week

FRANCES DIAMOND

RUTH GREEN CARL  
JOSEPH COLBERT  
DR. M.D. FRIEDMAN  
CARRIE FELBER  
SAMUEL SCHULIST  
SIEGMUND JOSEPH  
WILLIAM B. COHEN  
JEANNE B. FEDER  
JOEL M. KOBLITZ  
ELAINE MAE SCHOCK  
ANNIE R. BRATBURD  
CELIA W. SELMAN  
SADIE D. GARSON  
WALTER A. GUDIN  
EDYTHE H. BLOOMBERG  
MOSES DAVIS  
ELIZABETH STONE  
DAVID JANKAU  
BELLA GOLDWASSER  
MAX BERNSTEIN  
YETTA GROSSMAN WOLLASTON  
BEATRICE MYERS GOLDSTEIN  
RAE KRONHEIM  
ABRAM BUKA  
ADDIE R. FEDER

## Yahrzeit

NELLIE KRAMER  
EUGENE E. WOLF  
LOUIS G. COLE  
ELEANOR GREENBERG  
ROSE G. BARON  
MINNA ROHRHEIMER  
ALICE C. WEIDENTHAL  
JULIUS W. ~~DESSON~~ *Deutsch*  
DAVID SCHARTEBERG  
CLARA HALPER  
JOSEPH LEHMAN  
EUGENE STERN  
ROSE BELBER

READ ON SUN. DEC. 31 ONLY \*

\* SAMUEL PHILIP SCHOENBERGER







will come from a student would be able to see a  
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~~European~~ students  
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corruption.

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400M more able to do the work of 100M ago; introduce political  
ideas into new countries; and change the new into

the holocaust.

The new level - Israel was brought to open the new level -  
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assisted the new level in particular  
areas - people in new areas in particular  
of the E. party appears to be the new level to be the new level  
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and it should have just now, for many years, and











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 September & Friday in 10 m. 5 for some time and 8  
 marked with it. Brown talked of other things for the 1st of Oct.  
 long & interesting. Brown played labeled people to the  
 table about for nothing, but Brown was already looking at  
 the 1st of Oct. played them into the house and was  
 laying on the table public of all children - in order,

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 people to now see labeled people, because the  
 people to now see labeled people, because the  
 people to now see labeled people, because the



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4.10 for lunch

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budget - but a figure for the lunch redevelopment

Deficit

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 by public lunch redevelopment in October in 1967

of 7,500

4.50 - for lunch redevelopment for 1967



These also show many signs of 2,200.

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to be used for public use a national institution building.

22.5% of the whole year in the case of the  
unemployed people

much has been done - and - much more anticipated -  
8 Employed people were in the field - the full sum  
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in which it was not possible to complete the Commission  
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equal to the year budget. The reason for the amount

"to show" now as many -

The Commission has been with the Commission -  
to the national purpose of unemployed 66% of the whole  
found for the year - a number of 5,000 - 6%



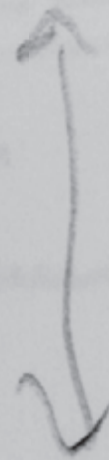
provided and 30 - 200 million to the major of  
 some business & some upside - But small in  
indirectly they go back to the W.W. - U.W. with  
 323 billion a year - Then compared now has been  
extreme business - the body public, 20's and - just

beginning to be brought home 1965 1,361 -  
 61 5,000  
 62 15,500

it has brought infinitesimal, business, the included gap  
 the increasing of policy 323



2 up U.W. it is policy my side is not





V.N. passed 100 years the number of descent in the U.S. =

For all the people, it is the same - for all the people - the same

around can - a (a) note of protest given to the authorities -

[illegible]

Need to find the way in which the system is

surface and — S.C. made a weighted and unweighted

Expenses and -

to record expenses during long of 1000 miles with some's quantity

United States Department of  
Interior Bureau of  
Land Management Washington, D.C.

the world - in the world are stronger ~~to~~ ~~with~~ - ~~with~~ ~~of~~

The world - in the future will be different  
 But myself will be different in the future too  
because of the changes in the world

1. General  
 2. Specific  
 3. Other  
 4. Notes  
 5. References  
 6. Index  
 7. Appendix  
 8. Conclusion  
 9. Summary  
 10. Final

*[Faint handwritten notes and a circular stamp are visible at the bottom of the page.]*

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transmission is the process of information being sent from one person to another person.

U.S. Supreme Court

[illegible]

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Copy of 5/1/68 W. H. Allen  
Dut 10/17

Negotiations is not an end in itself <sup>abandoning</sup>  
" is not a face saving device for ~~abandoning~~ the objectives we have been fighting for  
it is a method for achieving our objectives. We have always been and are still willing  
to negotiate, but we are not ready to negotiate our defeat or a face saving withdrawal  
which would ~~sacrifice~~ invalidate the sacrifice we and our allies have made/

## Another Opinion

### "I Oppose the War in Vietnam"

*The following are excerpts from an address in Chicago last weekend by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.*

In truth, the hopes of the Great Society have been overcome by the fears and frustrations of Vietnam. The pursuit of this widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

The antipoverty program is cautiously initiated, zealously supervised and evaluated for immediate results, while billions are liberally expended for this ill-considered war. The recently revealed mis-estimate of the war budget amounts to \$10-billion for a single year. This error alone is more than five times the amount committed to antipoverty programs. The security we profess to seek in foreign adventures we will lose in our decaying cities. The bombs in Vietnam explode at home: they destroy the dream and possibility for a decent America.

If we reversed investments and gave the armed forces the antipoverty budget, the generals could be forgiven if they walked off the battlefield in disgust.

#### 'A National Obsession'

Poverty, urban problems and social progress generally are ignored when the guns of war become a national obsession. When it is not our security that is at stake, but questionable and vague commitments to reactionary regimes, values disintegrate into foolish and adolescent slogans.

It is estimated that we spend \$322,000 for each enemy we kill, while we spend in the so-called war on poverty in America only about \$53 for each person classified as "poor," and much of that \$53 goes for salaries of people who are not poor. We have escalated the war in Vietnam and de-escalated the skirmish against poverty. It challenges the imagination to contemplate what lives we could transform if we

were to cease killing. . . .

America is a great nation, but in this war she seems bent on her destruction. Through rugged and dazzling achievements, America has become the richest and most powerful nation in the world. We have built machines that think and instruments that peer into the unfathomable ranges of interstellar space.

#### Picture of Power

We have built gargantuan bridges to span the seas and gigantic buildings to kiss the skies. Through our airplanes and spaceships we have dwarfed distance and placed time in chains, and through our subways we have penetrated oceanic depths. This year, our Gross National Product will reach the astounding figure of \$780-billion. All of this is a staggering picture of our great power.

But honesty impels me to admit that our power has often made us arrogant. We feel that our money can do anything. We arrogantly feel that we have everything to teach other nations and nothing to learn from them. We often arrogantly feel that we have some divine, messianic mission to police the whole world. We are arrogant in not allowing young nations to go through the same growing pains, turbulence and revolution that characterizes our history. . . .

We arm Negro soldiers to kill on foreign battlefields, but offer little protection for their relatives from beatings and killings in our own South. We are willing to make the Negro 100 per cent of a citizen in warfare, but reduce him to 50 per cent of a citizen on American soil. Of all good things in life, the Negro has approximately one-half those of whites; of the bad, he has twice that of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in substandard housing, and he has half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experience of life, the Negro has a double share. There are twice as many Negroes in

combat in Vietnam at the beginning of 1967 and twice as many died in action. (20.6 per cent) in proportion to their number in the population as whites.

#### Perils of Power

All of this reveals that our nation has not yet used its vast resources of power to end the long night of poverty, racism and man's inhumanity to man. Enlarged power means enlarged peril if there is not concomitant growth of the soul. Genuine power is the right use of strength. If our nation's strength is not used responsibly and with restraint, it will be, following Acton's dictum, power that tends to corrupt and absolute power that corrupts absolutely.

Our arrogance can be our doom. It can bring the curtains down on our national drama. Ultimately, a great nation is a compassionate nation. We are challenged in these turbulent days to use our power to speed up the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."

Let me say finally that I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America. I speak out against it not in anger but with anxiety and sorrow in my heart, and above all with a passionate desire to see our beloved country stand as the moral example of the world. I speak out against this war because I am disappointed with America. There can be no great disappointment were there is no great love. I am disappointed with our failure to deal positively and forthrightly with triple evils of racism, extreme materialism and militarism. We are presently moving down a dead-end road which can lead to national disaster. . . .

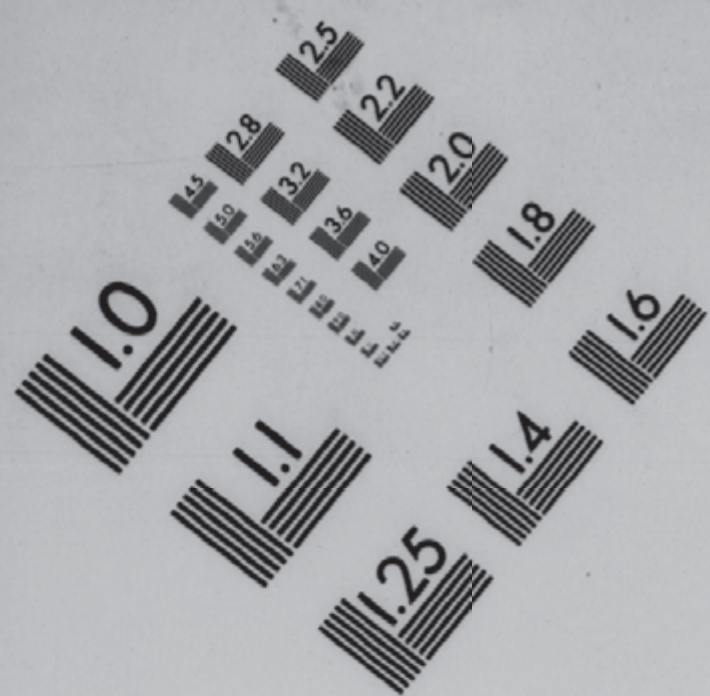
Those of us who love peace must organize as effectively as the war hawks. As they spread the propaganda of war, we must spread the propaganda of peace. We must combine the fervor of the civil rights movement with the peace movement. We must demonstrate, teach and preach, until the very foundations of our nation are shaken. We must work unceasingly to lift this nation that we love to a higher destiny, to a new plateau of compassion, to a more noble expression of humaneness. . . .



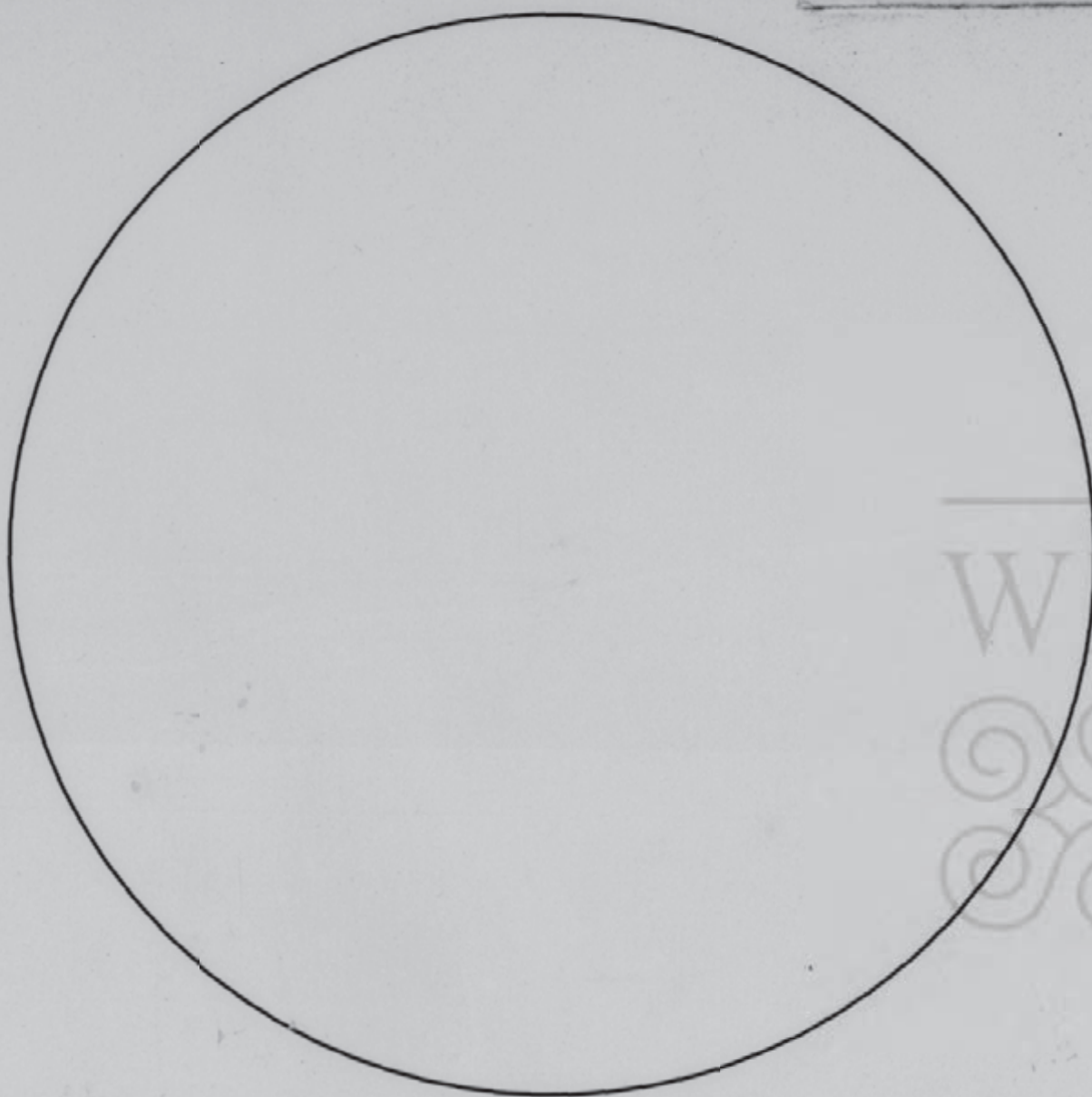
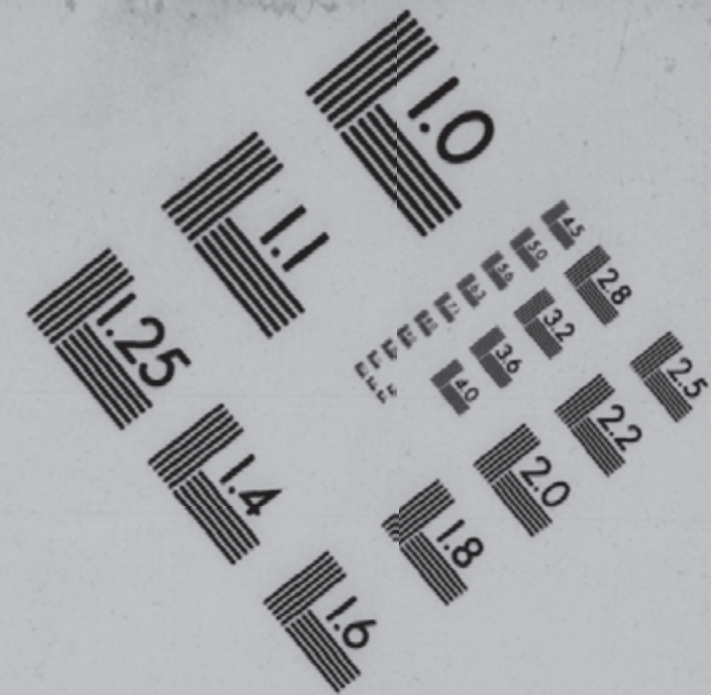
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THE WESTERN RESERVE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
10825 East Boulevard  
Cleveland, Ohio 44106



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REDUCTION RATIO:

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