

OF LOCAL INTEREST      A non-violent revolution is going on in South Africa. (See Cry, the Beloved Country in our November News-Letter.) WHY? More than 6,000 men and women have been imprisoned. WHAT FOR? Charles A. Wells, editor of Between the Lines says that the extreme racist program of the Nationalist Government has united the politically conscious Africans and warns: "The racial struggles in South Africa with their inevitable international repercussions are rapidly approaching new heights of tension." All this has immediate importance for Americans, and on January 14 DR. Z. K. MATTHEWS will interpret the CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA for guests of the Syracuse Peace Council at its Seventeenth Birthday Dinner in First Presbyterian Church. Tickets are \$1.25 and reservations must be made by Monday the 12th.

Professor Matthews is a graduate of Yale University and at present lecturing at Union Seminary in New York City under a Luce Foundation grant. His course there deals with "Modern Africa's Challenge to Christianity." He is President of the African National Congress in Cape Province and one of the leaders of the Gandhian movement in South Africa. This will be an evening of unusual interest to all who can attend.

STATE GRANGE      On Wednesday evening, December 10, at Bibbins Hall in Ithaca your State Peace Council had the privilege of presenting a speaker before the 100 Deputies of the N. Y. State Grange. Nearly every county in the state was represented. The speaker, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, Vice-Consul for India in New York City, spoke to the question, Are Asia's Problems America's Concern? After a brief but challenging presentation there was a vigorous discussion from the floor. A spokesman for the Peace Council introduced the speaker and invited cooperation of Grangers in the educational program of the Council. He called attention to a number of parallels in the printed announcements of the two state-wide organizations, particularly in two of the objectives common to both: (1) To strengthen the United Nations; (2) to oppose UMT in any form.

OWEN LATTIMORE      Thoughtful people are rightly deeply concerned about what is happening to Owen Lattimore. Says Prof. George B. Cressey of Syracuse University, writing "In Defense of Lattimore" (Post-Standard 12/21/52), "These are days when we need to distinguish between treason and heresy. The former is a crime, the latter is a constitutional right. The safety of the nation depends quite as much on the preservation of freedom as upon safeguards against sabotage. .... The greatest allies of Soviet design in America may turn out to be those who shout most loudly against communism. .... I have known (Professor Lattimore) for two decades... he is a scholar of major standing; of great value to this country. I agree with him at points, and disagree at others. I have not the slightest question as to his integrity or patriotism. To term him a Soviet sympathizer is fantastic."

Well and bravely said, Dr. Cressey.

TO DEFEND THESE FREEDOMS: By Suppression or Liberty, Carey McWilliams; By Competition or Cooperation, Ashley Montagu; By Re-Armament or Disarmament; Norman Thomas; By Faith and Works, William Clark.

These will be the timely topics of our thirteenth annual state-wide, mid-winter conference on world affairs at the Onondaga Hotel, February 20-22.

A panel on Saturday morning under the chairmanship of Dr. Byron L. Fox of the Maxwell School of Citizenship, will discuss THE WAYS OF: Collective Security, Containment by Force, "Point Four" Plans, and Non-Violence.

There will be special sessions for high school and college students. Detailed programs for distribution in your own community on request.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS      from The Society of Brothers of the Primavera Communities:

What is the answer to this misery  
The answer to our days' mortality?  
Where lawless rottenness consumes  
Men who are no longer men?  
What is it men are needing, then  
Where ashes, wreckage, reeking fumes  
Speak of nothing now but death and dying  
And of tortured souls outcrying?  
What shall we say, with hunger everywhere,  
With men caught up in torment and despair,  
Where the great in luxury are fed  
And the small die without a crust of  
bread?  
What is the answer to this misery

Can it be the oneness of all men  
Showing them the way to Him again  
Whose name means life, in all eternity?  
Is it not his Word, his summons, and  
his call,  
When he hung on cross, despised by all,  
The word of life, eternal and divine  
Inviting all men in to bread and wine?  
Is he himself the answer which we need,  
He who was son of Man and son of God?  
His word went out creating good  
In pentecostal brotherhood.  
He came to bring a fire to birth  
Let us proclaim his name in all the earth

U N and YOU "The United Nations is fighting for its life," says the Christian Century and the London Peace News raises seriously the question: "Can UNO survive?" adding, "If the UN seventh assembly breaks up without having found a solution of the Korean problem there is little doubt that this will mark the end of the United Nations as an organization." Most of us will remember that in the summer of 1950 ardent supporters of collective security and the UN were enthusiastic in their belief that a "firm stand" and "police action" were going to demonstrate the effectiveness of UN and establish it securely as the agent of peace and order in the world.

How different the picture is at the beginning of 1953! Now the UN is not only bogged down in Korea and in New York, it is under serious attack in the U.S. The Secretary-General has resigned and the General Counsel has committed suicide. Morale at UN Headquarters is reported at an all-time low. Dr. Ralph Bunche has pointed out that most of the pressures against UN are brought by people unable to understand that an international organization cannot serve the "exclusively national interests" of a single member state. This classification would appear to include some U.S. Senators and a great many educators. Because of the urgent importance of this whole matter we quote a few contemporary comments:

Friends Committee on National Legislation:

"We condemn treason and spying, or any delinquency in loyalty or duty. However, we believe that the members of the UN secretariat are supposed to be an international civil service and to give their loyalty and service to the international organization for the welfare of all humanity and ought to be judged on their ability and faithfulness by the UN authorities themselves. If any one country can interfere with UN operations by hampering Congressional (or other) investigations designed to embarrass the UN, then it is an invitation for every country to try to interfere with the UN because of narrow self-interest."

Saturday Review of Literature:

"If UNESCO is attacked on the grounds that it is helping to prepare the world's people for world government, then it is an error to burst forth with apologetic statements and denials. Let us face it: the job of UNESCO is to help create and promote the elements of world citizenship. When faced with such a 'charge', let us by all means affirm it from the housetops. Let us say that we are moving heaven and earth to create a human community on this planet, that world citizenship is the ultimate goal and no one need apologize for it."

Plainfield (N.J.) Council for World Friendship:

"To make the United Nations a more effective peacemaker,  
WE ADVOCATE:

- "1. The fullest possible financial, political and moral support of the U.N. and its agencies by American foreign policy, without exerting pressure on other countries to accept the position being taken by the United State government.
- "2. The expansion of the U.N. program to reduce illiteracy, poverty and disease.
- "3. The further development of the U.N. as a Peacemaker, promoting mediation and conciliation, especially in East-West tensions, and continuing the effort to find a mutually satisfactory plan leading to universal disarmament.
- "4. U.S. ratification of the Declaration of Human Rights.
- "5. Admission into the U.N. of all nations willing to accept the responsibilities of membership."

FACTS, from the New York Times (12/7/52):

FIGURES "For the U.S. the Korean war has lasted longer than World War I and nearly three-fourths as long as World War II. The United States alone has suffered 126,000 casualties--more than the combined total of casualties in all U.S. history except for the Civil War and two World Wars. The conflict has laid waste the peninsula of Korea and killed an estimated one million Korean civilians. Each day it continues is a threat to the survival of the United Nations Organization. Each day raises anew the possibility that the Korean conflict may touch off World War III."

YOU SEE! We are happy to call to the attention of our readers in Onondaga County the opportunities for world understanding offered by courses at University College.

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WE ARE BEING HURRIED

When the President of the United States reports to Congress on the "State of the Nation," he speaks neither carelessly nor in a corner. In his recent address to the new Congress, Mr. Truman said:

"The progress of scientific experiment has outrun our expectations....in the thermonuclear tests at Eniwetok, we have entered another stage in a world-shaking development of atomic energy. From now on, man moves into a new era of destructive power, capable of creating explosions of a new order of magnitude, dwarfing the mushroom clouds of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

".....Indeed, the speed of our scientific and technical progress over the last seven years shows no signs of abating. WE ARE BEING HURRIED FORWARD, IN OUR MASTERY OF THE ATOM, FROM ONE DISCOVERY TO ANOTHER, TOWARD YET UNFORESEEABLE PEAKS OF DESTRUCTIVE POWER. The war of the future would be one in which man could extinguish millions of lives at one blow, demolish the great cities of the world, wipe out the cultural achievements of the past--and destroy the very structure of a civilization that has been slowly and painfully built up through hundreds of generations."

The capitals are ours. So also is the question, "Are you being hurried in your efforts for peace?"

FOCUS ON KOREA

"Public sentiment and concern now centers on what the new Eisenhower Administration can do about the Korean war. And there were those campaign promises. But the fact is that little or nothing can be done to bring prompt visible results. We are operating thousands of miles from home, in a vast maelstrom of political, economic and racial transition, which is beyond our understanding and power to control, while the Communists are operating at their front doorstep and out of the very core of Asia's life of which they are an integral part.

"Think this over and you can see that the more guns and generals we have sent out the greater our difficulties have become. It is a problem in social philosophy, beyond the grasp of most generals. Our dilemma centers in the fact that the atheistic Communists are much more concerned with social philosophy than with guns, while we, a Christian nation, operate chiefly with guns." -B.T.L., Charles A. Wells, 1-15-53.

KOREA:

A Marine's View

"We are the most fortunate of men. There was a time when a professional soldier had to wait twenty-five years or so before he ever got into a war. We only had to wait five years for this one.

For all that time we have been sitting on our fat behinds drawing our pay. Now we are going to earn it. We are going to work at our trade. We have chosen to live by the sword. If necessary, we will die by the sword."-- Excerpt from a speech made in Korea by Brig. Gen. Lewis B. Filler of the Marine Corps.

KOREA:

A Munitions View

Mr. John Small, Chairman of the Munitions Board in the USA, as quoted in London, December 1952:

"Retention of our present positions in Korea is not only important from a military point of view but it is vital to our defence programme. Ninety per cent. of the tungsten reserves outside China are located in the area now held by U.S. forces north of the 38th parallel. It is of the utmost importance that we retain control of this sector in order to obtain the rich tungsten supplies that abound there."

KOREA:

A Friend's View

Failure of recent negotiations to end the war in Korea is usually charged exclusively to the Soviet Union. It is well to remember that:

1. The Russians' proposal to stop fighting on the basis of agreements reached and to defer, until after such an armistice, discussion of repatriation of prisoners, coincides with the proposal submitted by British Friends to their Government last summer.
2. The Geneva Convention is an international agreement which our Government signed as recently as 1949. It requires the repatriation of prisoners of war. Now three years later our country appears to demand that its provisions be disobeyed.
3. The overall lesson of the episode seems to show up the self-defeating character of the current American policy of "negotiating from positions of strength." The "stronger" each side becomes, the less able either is, psychologically, to negotiate.

KOREA:

A Sergeant's View

The following news-item came to us from London where it had been reprinted from the Belfast Telegraph of Nov. 16, 1952.

An army sergeant in Korea, embittered by the 'up and down' battle for a hill, losing it, taking it and losing it again, asked: "What is it all about?"

In a letter to the Syracuse (New York) 'Herald-Journal,' Sergeant Bill Smyth said: "They tell us to take a hill--we take the hill;--they tell us to retreat--we retreat; they tell us to take it again--the poor kids in this division don't know what it is all about. Why doesn't someone tell them? We have no leadership--up and down, up and down. Can't the newspapers do something--someone has got to."

The 'Herald-Journal' sent the letter to President-Elect Eisenhower, thinking he might have the answer. But Sergeant Smyth will never know it. He is dead.

Christian Century  
Jan. 21, '53, p. 70 f

Between the Lines  
Jan. 15, '53

Conscription  
News  
12-16-53  
p. 3

London Peace News  
12/19/52  
p. 2

The Friend  
First months, 1953  
p. 226

London Peace News  
12-5-52  
p. 5

Set. E. Post  
3/22/52

INSIDE  
MOSCOW

Mr. Kenneth Ingram, a British lawyer and Vice-chairman of the highly respected National Peace Council, who visited the Soviet Union last summer, offers some of his "more important general conclusions" with a frank caution to remember the limitations of a brief visit:

1. "...The Russian people are as ardently desirous of peace as the British or any other people. They would regard the outbreak of a third world war with horror. All the reconstruction work which we saw suggests that the Soviet Government is neither planning an aggressive war nor assuming that war is imminent,....
2. "The ardent desire for peace which we encountered is accompanied by an oversimplified attitude towards the causes of the present tension. The view of every Soviet man and woman I met is that the threat to peace is due solely to a group of Western warmongers whose motives are wholly evil. There seems to be no conception in the Soviet mind that those who are supporting Western rearmament are doing so because they genuinely suppose--however mistakenly--that unless this policy is pursued the Soviet Union will use armed force against Western democracy.
3. "This tendency to attribute the entire blame for the cold war to Western Governments, this inability to think objectively, this assumption that the Soviet Government is completely innocent, is obviously the fruit of persistent propaganda. It produces an absolute uniformity of outlook. I do not recall a single occasion on which answers to our questions on any major political issue revealed the slightest variety or divergence of opinion. This mass-conformity may be necessary to provide the incentive for the work of building up a new civilisation in a hitherto backward country, but it pays the penalty of betraying a certain mental immaturity.
4. "To a great extent this characteristic is the consequence of the intensive indoctrinisation to which every Soviet citizen is subject from his earliest years. It would be a mistake, however, not to recognize that this characteristic has also been produced by a popular appreciation of the benefits which the system has bestowed on the vast majority of Soviet men and women. ....

"I would be guilty of a serious omission if I did not pay tribute to the invariable willingness of our Soviet hosts to assist us in our investigations. I appreciate particularly the readiness of Ministers and other officials to give time for interviews and to answer patiently what must often have seemed to them irrelevant questions.

5. "Nor do I forget that the criticisms I have offered are also applicable in the main to us in the West. The fears and unfavourable interpretations of Western motives which they entertain do not differ greatly in kind from the prejudices and suspicions which are prevalent in our own society. That, indeed, is the problem, and I believe it to be ultimately a psychological problem. My own conclusion is that this problem will not be solved by a policy of 'going tough' with Soviet Union and negotiating from strength. Psychologically, I suggest, that policy only accentuates the irritations. I should be more confident if an attempt were made to explore a policy which was neither appeasement nor surrender, which was firm and determined, but which was designed, however painful and slow the process, to follow a course of action which might eventually assure the Soviet Union that its suspicions of Western aims were unfounded."

OIL and PEACE "Will the Federal Government drop its monopoly suit against the great oil cartel (five American and two British companies), or push the Federal action, inaugurated during the Truman Administration, to its legal conclusion? The Department of Justice is presenting evidence that the corporations have conspired to restrict production, strangle competition, fix world prices, irrespective of the national or public welfare. The Government has also entered a direct suit to reclaim over \$60 million overcharged the U.S. Treasury in filling oil contracts for the Marshall Aid countries. The Government is prepared to show that by this conspiracy, and by a system of interlacing directorships, these corporations control over 82 per cent of the oil reserves held in the U.S. and about 92 per cent of all world oil reserves outside the Russian orbit and Mexico. They also control more than 77 per cent of the refining capacity outside the U.S.; 50 per cent or more of the world's tanker fleet.

"There has been no denial of the charges that the monopoly has exercised great influence upon international affairs, engaging in secret intrigues that involved huge financial "pay-offs" in deals with the feudalistic monarchies of the Near East and elsewhere. (See PTL, Oct. 15, '52, also Washington Post, Aug. 20, '52). Will the Eisenhower Administration continue its effort to regulate and control the all-powerful oil combines which have in the past put profits before peace and the public welfare--or surrender to the international oil cartel? If the case is dropped, then watch for a quiet build-up to get U.S. arms and U.S. manpower into the Near East and deeper into Asia."

--Charles A. Wells in Between the Lines, 1-1-53.

*How do you like the Institute program? Coming?*

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*One World*  
*Oct. - Nov. '53*  
*pp. 179-182*

*Between the Lines*  
*Jan. 1, 1953*  
*p. 1*

*NPC, London*

**ANNUAL MEETING** Forty members and friends of the NYSPC met at the Onondaga Hotel in Syracuse on Saturday afternoon, February 21, 1953 for the third annual business meeting of the Council. Chairman Lewis Curtis of Oneonta presided.

After a brief statement on finance and membership by the treasurer, there was a quick review of the 1952 activities. These included: the Executive Committee meeting in Oneonta in May; the distribution of a packet of program materials in September, the very successful "Round-up" of Campus and Community peace workers in October; providing a speaker for the Deputies' Conference of the State Grange in December; a marked increase in the circulation of the monthly News-Letter; focusing of efforts against UMT across the state early in the year; the promotion and scheduling of 40 showings of the AFSC film, "A Time for Greatness", in twelve different communities; the preparation of a speakers' list (to be published soon); promotion of the Mid-Winter Institute of International Relations; and, of course, much more routine correspondence and activity on specific issues like the India proposals for Korean truce.

Plans for 1953 discussed were: (1) An effort to reactivate our traveling library through the State Library Association; (2) continued circulation of the News-Letter through local Granges; (3) a cooperative survey of Public Opinion on world issues in several communities; (4) a mailing to alert workers on the possibility of new UMT legislation; (5) another program conference in October centering around the theme of "Security through Disarmament."

The proposal to hold a work-shop or conference for community leaders this spring was considered but not adopted, since not enough communities felt able to cooperate.

Prof. E. Lewis B. Curtis of the State Teachers College at Oneonta was re-elected chairman; Lloyd R. Somers of Rochester was named vice-chairman; and Ruth Eldridge of Rensselaerville, secretary. Lena M. Gray of Syracuse was re-elected treasurer.

**NEW PEACE CENTER** On March 1, 1953 a "House of Peace" was dedicated in Rochester with these words: "For the cultivation of all human virtues and noble arts, we shall meet here to work together in sincere cooperation, for the spiritual training of our children, to help plan peace programs, for the affirmation and defense of freedom of conscience and for the protection of civil rights and social justice." At this house we know no barriers, no distinction of class or color. We meet to re-affirm our common origin, to teach, to practice, to promote brotherly affection with respect and reverence for every person."

The international, interfaith character of the undertaking was emphasized by the presence of Sheik Abraham Kael, a Moslem missionary to America, who offered a prayer of invocation and dedication in the name of "our holy prophet, Jesus". A representative of the New York State Peace Council spoke on "The Church that Is in This House," emphasizing the need for religiously motivated peace centers. On the following evening A. J. Muste of the National Fellowship of Reconciliation spoke on "The Present Outlook for World Peace."

**BOOK END** After Seven Years, an account of the 10,000,000 World War II Refugees in Germany and Austria today, American Friends Service Committee. "What was once a fairly well known story of one of the world's great human problems has become dim, distorted, and at times, forgotten." Yet, ten million or more flüchtlinge, homeless and helpless human beings are an open sore on the body politic of any state. There is not only the almost unbearable economic burden of their support; there is the grave political threat potential in their mounting discontent which makes them susceptible to any kind of "leadership" if it only promises enough. Worst of all there is the morass of human misery and the shocking social waste of human deterioration resulting from bitter years of idleness and frustration. 25¢ postpaid.

Non-Violent Revolution in South Africa, by George Houser. Africa, the only remaining largely colonial area on earth is stirring with the beginnings of nationalism and revolt. Few Westerners any more believe that they can stop the tide. When men have got the appetite for freedom, anything less is tasteless in their mouths. The question is: Will the change be effected by non-violent peaceful means or by bloody revolution which would throw the whole world into war? This study is important. 25¢ postpaid.

Peace, War and YOU, by Jerome Davis. Says Stanley Jones, "He offers a ringing challenge to get rid of war. Whether we agree with him or not, he should have our earnest attention; for the world is sick, nigh unto death, of war." \$3 postpaid. Only three copies left. Get one now for your church or library.

Quaker Approach, ed. by Jack Kavanaugh. "For thoughtful Americans, members of the Society of Friends or not, this book is an almost startlingly direct contact with living ideals," writes Dorothy Canfield Fisher. If you are interested to know the Quaker approach to contemporary problems of Economic Life, Education, Race Relations, Peace and War, Civil Liberties and as many others,- \$4.00, postpaid.

**IN OUR BARGAIN BASEMENT:**

America, Russia and the Bomb, by John Swomley, recommended for study by the editor of the Journal of the National Education Association; Charles F. Boss of the Methodist Commission on World Peace; Albert Einstein; Episcopal Bishop Lawrence, and other distinguished Americans, is a very factual history of Russian and American disarmament efforts since 1900. Because of one change (America is now willing to have both atomic and 'conventional' weapons considered by one commission instead of two) this important pamphlet is now available at absurdly low rates--order 5 for 25¢, etc.- for wide distribution. You can't do effective peace education for less!

Dedication Service House of Peace, Rochester 3/1/53 see 19w appointment

Sept. '52 Spec.

Because KOREA has first priority among issues before the current sessions of the UN Assembly, PNL is glad to have permission to quote fully from Morris Rubin's analysis of THE ISSUE IN KOREA. (Rubin is editor of The Progressive and will be on the faculty of the AFSC Institute at Cornell July 10 - 19 this summer.)

"If the Soviets have refused to budge in the interest of settlement, so have we. In violation of the true spirit of negotiation, we, much like the Russians, have coldly turned our backs on virtually every compromise proposed to the UN. We had become so accustomed to matching the Kremlin's 'Nyet' with our 'No' that we first rejected, automatically, the recent Indian proposal to settle what is popularly regarded as the one remaining roadblock to a truce--the prisoner-of-war (POW) issue. It was not until Britain and Canada and some of our other allies shamed us into taking a longer look at it and warned us that we were kicking away a chance to put the onus for rejection on the Russians that we reversed ourselves--only to have the Soviet Union pulverize the last hope by rejecting the plan.

"We know of no simple formula for resolving the POW issue. It isn't so black-or-white as either we or the Russians pretend. Our officials and our press have sought to create the impression that we are legally and morally on unassailable ground when we refuse to send back to their homes Chinese and North Korean prisoners who say they do not want to return. But what are the facts?

"On Aug. 12, 1949, almost a year before war broke out in Korea, 59 nations signed the Geneva Convention which provided, in Article 118, that 'prisoners-of-war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities.'

"It was the Western Powers, not the Russians, who insisted on this provision because we were determined to prevent a recurrence of the situation which developed after World War II when the Communists detained many prisoners on the specious claim they preferred to live in the Soviet paradise.

"As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, 'There is not a word in the Treaty about voluntary repatriation'--the principle on which we now insist in Korea. Although we were bound to exactly the opposite course by an agreement we had negotiated, our commanders in the field invited North Koreans and Chinese to desert to our side with the promise that we would take care of them.

"How," asks Lippmann, 'could a State Department which negotiated the Geneva convention have failed to explain to the Pentagon the legal trap in which these deserting Chinese and North Koreans were caught? Once the legal situation was realized, the remedy was obvious: it was to open the trap and to let the prisoners out by treating them as refugees. For there is nothing in the convention which expressly forbids such a humane and sensible way of dealing (with the problem.).... But we proceeded to send their names to the enemy as POWs, not stopping to think what this might mean to their families when the fighting ended. ....An enormous blunder has been committed by our own officials. It is not the first of their great and critical blunders in the conduct of the war.'.....

"Our official policy has been to ignore the fact that we are caught in a trap that is partly of our own making. Climbing to higher moral ground, we have argued that it would be an act of barbarism to return unwilling POW's whose names the Communists have. And so it would be. But it would seem to be just as indefensible to take so intransigent a position in negotiating the issue in view of our own costly blunders--or, by prolonging the war, to take an even greater toll in death and suffering than would be involved in sending reluctant POW's home.....

"We might discover, too, that the Chinese Communists are convinced that no armistice is possible so long as we are committed to Chiang Kai-shek, who is pledged to wage war to the death against the Peiping government, and so long as we refuse to allow Red China into the United Nations.

"Sooner or later, and perhaps sooner than it realizes, the Eisenhower Administration will have to face up to the question that goes to the heart of the conflict in Korea: Are we prepared to sit down and negotiate an over-all settlement in the Far East that recognizes the realities of Communist control of China? Events may soon force us to decide whether we prefer to widen the area of warfare or widen the area of negotiation.

"American public opinion is far less hostile to negotiation than the politicians suspect. Gallup Polls have repeatedly registered majority sentiment for broader and more intensive talks with the Communists....."

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**CINEMA, COFFEE  
CAKE and CONVERSATION** In an effort to make a new approach to peace education, The Syracuse Council will present a trio of distinguished foreign films at the Museum of Fine Arts on three successive evenings, April 29, 30 and May 1. Films have been selected both for high artistic merit and compelling interpretation of the waste and futility of war. The two French films, *GRAND ILLUSION* and *CARNIVAL in FLANDERS* will be featured; the third title is to be announced. Each showing will be opened by a "prologue" by Dr. Horace A. Eaton of the Syracuse Friends Meeting and followed by coffee and conversation in the reception room of the Museum. A donation of 75¢ (\$2.00 for the series) is requested to cover costs.

**GUEST** Special to PNL.

**EDITORIAL** The importance of the President's reversal of the attitude of "No compromise," as expressed in his Inaugural Address, to readiness to go "not less than half-way" and accepting "at its face value" every Communist peace overture until proven insincere, can hardly be exaggerated, for it makes negotiation possible. The simultaneous reversal of the obduracy of the Communist governments of China and Russia is of course equally auspicious.

While the deadlocks that exist in almost every country between revolutionary and reactionary elements constitute tough problems for the negotiators, we can now at least begin the long upward climb to peace, starting with Korea.

The world is sick of war and its futile and costly demands. The peace forces are now to have their turn. We must be wise, patient and persevering. Oriental bargaining is very tough and prolonged. We must hold the President to his pledge to work for peace and we must each open a determined correspondence with our Congressmen and Senators and get our friends to do the same, to prevent them if possible from confusing constructive compromise with conscienceless appeasement.

The road will be hard, but it is the only way out of the mess war has created.

Frederick J. Libby,

Washington, D. C.

National Council for Prevention of War

**NIGHT LETTER** April 4, To President Eisenhower:

IN THE NAME OF 1000 SUBSCRIBERS WE URGE YOU TO MAKE THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS FULL USE OF PRESENT OPPORTUNITY TO END WAR IN KOREA AND TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT IN ASIA. BELIEVE THIS REAL SENTIMENT OF PEOPLE AND YOU WILL HAVE LOYAL SUPPORT.

Signed E.L.B. Curtis, Chairman, New York State Peace Council. Interested individuals may wish to express their encouragement and support similarly.

**US and UN** A few weeks ago a letter appeared in "Morning Mail" from a concerned citizen who urged that we "get the UN out of US and US out of UN."

A little later the following letter of endorsement appeared in the same columns:

"To the Editor of the Post-Standard:

"Lest I forget let me set down my complete categorical, unconditional and absolute approval of the strictures on the so-called or mis-called United Nations; get that 'maddog' thing out of here and get us out of it. It is bad enough that we are called upon to dole out billions to support all the worthless mendicants on the face of this planet; but getting and obeying orders from them-- a million times NO!"

Because of the tremendous importance of this question, the Peace Council in cooperation with the Syracuse Association for UN, is glad to furnish the enclosed reprint for the information of its readers.

**AS OTHERS  
SEE US** Unless the United States is prepared to "go it alone", it is important for citizens to realize how our foreign policy appears to responsible leaders and spokesmen of democratic states outside our own borders.

A crowded meeting in Kingsway Hall in London last month unanimously passed the following resolution:

"This meeting strongly disapproves the American decision in respect to Formosa and expresses its resolute opposition to the extension of the Korean conflict to China." Other expressions at the same meeting:

Lord Stansgate, the chairman: "It must be made clear to the new government of the U.S. that under no circumstances would we be involved in any venture of this kind, and that any attempt to widen the war in Korea would meet with the fiercest opposition in this country."

R. H. S. Crossman, M.P.: "We have the majority of the inhabitants of the world on our side, and possibly the majority of the inhabitants of America if they had the courage to say so. All peoples are on our side."

Emrys Hughes, M.P.: "China is something more to me than a place on the map. I think of the millions of people I saw there last autumn, at Peking, Shanghai and Canton, and of the people in the miserable little villages. War to them would be an infinite horror and disaster. For they have freed themselves from the chains and shackles of feudalism and are looking forward to the building of a new civilisation."

Mr. Fareed Jafri of Pakistan: "If a policy of blockading China, which was being pressed in some quarters, was adopted then eighty million people in Pakistan would starve."

Sir Compton Mackenzie: "America had backed the wrong horse in recognising Chiang Kai-shek, and we must continue to press that 500 million people should not be denied representation on the great council of nations and that there should be no war with China."

Dr. Shelvankar of India: "China has been through revolution, and civil war, but she has still remained a friendly neighbor to India, Burma and other countries of the East. We will not allow ourselves to be deflected from our purpose of making links with China. War with China is abhorrent to us. This resolution would be accepted with equal unanimity in all the countries of the East."

Kingsley Martin, editor of the New Statesman: "We should recognise the great revolutionary movement of Asia and strive to become a partner in this new kind of revolution which is linked to neither of the two power blocs in the world."

Dr. Donald Soper, President of the Methodist Federation, who spoke on our program here last fall, concluded: "Unless we can overthrow this whole violent mentality that has got America by the throat and is trying to strangle us as well, we shall inevitably succumb to it."

SPECIAL (from a German student recently returned from a year in the  
CORRESPONDENCE United States) Muenchen, Germany, March 13, 1953.

"..... Communism is a fact and so is the Atom. Using one against the other possibly would destroy both - and everything else.

"No intelligent person will pretend to believe that armies offer a solution....

"The only other possibility besides war is the change to responsible behavior.

"Western Europe is barren. It has nothing to offer whatever. It does not live in the present and it does not live toward a future. It tries to revive dead forms, customs and believes. Therefore, it is weak and frightened. Not so the East: The East has something to offer, clearly it lives in the present, and it is visualizing a future too. There can be no doubt that the East offers Socialism. It is Marxistic-Materialistic-Socialism. (I shall call it Eastern Socialism.)

"That is what we really have to meet.....

"To be sure there is no freedom in the communistic countries. There is freedom in the western world. Yet western freedom has largely been misused: It became freedom to be irresponsible. The fact that Communism exists proves that Democracy largely has failed. ....

"The true enemy is our own apathy.....

"The decision we have to make is between West and East, between Democracy and Dictatorship, between Freedom to Be Irresponsible Socially and Eastern Socialism. Then we have to choose between bad and worse? Exactly! .....

"No, it is not a choice between bad and worse. Because we have to choose between Russia and the United States the decision could amount to one between Eastern Socialism and Social Responsibility. But this entirely depends on the United States. To my knowledge the United States is the only country that has developed a form of society that is carried by social responsibility.....

"Our time calls for Socialism. But it is offered from the East only. That is the East's terrifying strength. If you badly need bread you take it from him who offers it to you even if you do not like him or the quality of the bread. The West is acting destructively as long as western countries simply try to defend themselves with rearmament. We should face our barrenness. We cannot defend it because we have no right to be sterile. Behind Socialism, even the eastern one, are the tremendous powers of evolution (our time "calls" for it!) therefore it cannot be conquered by weapons but we could defeat it by a higher form of Socialism: Social Responsibility. Let's be creative!.....

"Capitalism, as Marx described it 100 years ago, does not exist in the United States any more. Marx was wrong in saying that Capitalism must transform itself into Communism in due time: Capitalism can lead either to Social Responsibility in a Democracy or to enforced responsibility (Eastern Socialism) in a Dictatorship.....

".....I am not trying to defend Communism. But I cannot see how any change can be affected as long as we try to be worse. For heavens sake let's stop defending ourselves. Let's build up something better.

"We think much too much we need your money and your weapons. Badly do we need your experience with Social Responsibility, your example for how to use freedom. Can you give this to us? If you cannot and if you do not try, then you have failed. Then war does become unavoidable....."

HEARTY THANKS To all those who, in response to our reminder, have renewed their subscriptions and sent in new names. There are still others for whose renewal we would be equally grateful!

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G.F.S.C.  
 Newsletter  
 for Boys and Girls  
 April-May, 1953

**IN THE GOOD OLD SUMMERTIME** Often, as the long vacation seems to grow too long for restless youngsters, parents and group leaders in camp and vacation schools, look for new ideas for constructive, energy-consuming activities. The story of Kasperle, a puppet from Cologne; soap making, a project of Cub-Scouts in Oneida; or the "Cokes for Korea" scheme of giving up cokes to buy milk for babies, are all more than "busy work"; they help children grow in ways of friendliness and good will. Last year American children sent 2432 pairs of shoe laces. One child wrote in reply: "Shoelaces arn't so spashel but when you havnt got any monny to by them theyseme more impornt." Instructions and other information on request.

**WHAT DO YOU THINK?** The Christian Century in recent editorials is raising the question: Are We Ready for Peace? Even if Russia should respond favorably to President Eisenhower's address, would the American public support the president in making the necessary concessions on our side? We ask you to help us find out in our area.

At least six communities across the state are cooperating in the Opinion Poll being taken this month. If you live in New York two copies are enclosed. Fill out one yourself and ask a neighbor to do the other. Return both to PNL before June 1.

**STATE COMMITTEE MEETS** A very successful all-day work-shop of the State Committee was held in Syracuse on April 25th under the leadership of Dr. Byron L. Fox, professor of Intercultural Relations among nations in the Maxwell School of Citizenship. The morning was spent in a stimulating exchange of reports of activities in various parts of the state; the afternoon session was devoted to discussion of plans for next fall and of ways in which the State Council can serve the needs of its members more fully. These specific recommendations were made: (1) explore the possibility of holding a state-wide conference on "World Disarmament and World Reconstruction"; (2) prepare "Guide Sheets" for a series of discussion groups on World Peace Problems for use in "Schools of Peace"; (3) add to the small collection of films and recordings available from the Central Office.

The new list of speakers was distributed and the current "Opinion Poll" was encouraged. If you have not seen either of these, write for a copy.

Representatives were present from Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Oneonta, Glens Falls, the Capitol District and Poughkeepsie. The twelve men and women who attended went away with new ideas from the exchange of experiences, and with new courage from the knowledge that others share their concern and effort for creating a climate of peace-mindedness in New York State.

**BETWEEN THE LINES** Because of its timeliness and importance to the current international situation, here is a long quote from the well-known and highly-reputed newsletter edited by Charles A. Wells. The date line is May 1.

"Military and political pressures are preventing the American public from getting an accurate picture of present highly significant developments in Russia. All authorities on Russian affairs believe that something big is going on in the Kremlin.

"Power shifted and divided: There is no longer any doubt that a great shift of power has taken place. Malenkov is not just another tyrant replacing Stalin the tyrant. The power that Stalin held has been divided into several different hands which in turn represent varied Communist party committees under separate leadership. And there is plenty of evidence that these various executive bodies do not always function together, are not coordinated as they would be if they were moving under a strict tyrannical supervision.

"The second important element of change in the Soviet is the lessening of police pressures on the Russian people, and the amnesty granted to hundreds of thousands of political prisoners--both facts of tremendous significance. American press channels have reported these two important transitions--the dividing of power and a dramatic lessening of police pressure, (Washington Post, April 4; N.Y. Times, March 29) but a veritable black-out seems to exist on all attempts to report or explain what is behind these changes, why they came, what they mean....

"Communist long-range aims not softened: There is little evidence to indicate much change, however, in the ultimate Communist objectives. But the big point is that all this provides additional strong evidence that Russia does not, dares not, contemplate war now or in the measurable future and that communism, for all its outer expansion, is failing so completely in its most vital relationships that it must make drastic alterations to survive! We feel that the harrassed and fear-driven American people should have the right to hear freely such encouraging news and that it is a betrayal of the American character and tradition to withhold such information, distort it or ignore it, as is happening now all over the country. Yet political and military figures in Washington whose professional careers require a continued state of emergency are naturally going all-out to suppress or discredit such information or evidence."

--Between the Lines.

P.1  
 May 1, 1953

HEARKEN UNTO  
THE VOICE

From time to time a lonely Voice is raised to warn us of the <sup>creeping</sup> mili-  
tarization of our country. One of the earliest of these was that of  
John T. Flynn in "As We Go Marching", 1943. More frequently such  
voices are associated with pacifism or opposition to conscription and military train-  
ing. As such they are not widely heard and are pretty generally discounted. But  
here is a new Voice crying in our Wilderness. Colonel William H. Neblett (retired  
after thirty-four years with the military forces) is "a firm believer in the kind of  
military preparedness which will make us secure..." BUT, with equal forthrightness  
declares that the Pentagon has conducted a fear campaign that "has succeeded beyond  
the fondest hopes of the General Staff," and "has converted these fears into military  
control of our nation." "This is not the whole story. Peacetime conscription puts  
every man of military age under the control of the Pentagon. If the Pentagon and  
certain politicians can keep the fear of communistic aggression fresh in the public's  
mind for a few years longer, all our men of military age and many of our women will  
belong to the professional armies. We will then be a military state similar to that  
of Hitler's, with which he terrorized the world."

The Colonel then spells out details and counts money costs, which he quotes  
Anna Rosenberg as being (1952) \$10,000 a year for each of 3,700,000 men in uniform;  
\$4000 per year for each of 1,300,000 civilian employees. Total \$42.2 billions.  
"Congress was so impressed with Mrs. Rosenberg's testimony that it increased the  
annual pay of all service personnel \$800,000,000," making the annual pay-roll \$43  
billion. "There are," he says, "more people in the Defense Department at Washington  
than there are combat troops in Korea."

"All of us should know that the Pentagon's claim, that our government is in  
danger of being overthrown by a communist revolution here at home, is nonsense.  
War with Russia is extremely unlikely... The fear of a Russian attack will pass  
as soon as the public understands that the fear, under which we live, was genera-  
ted by the Pentagon to frighten Congress into authorizing our big professional army.  
...The power of the military caste must be curbed at once."

Colonel Neblett is a lawyer, a former National President of the Reserve Officers  
Association, and served as an air base commander on General MacArthur's staff in the  
Southwest Pacific. His new book, Pentagon Politics, was published this year.

WHAT'S SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE-- We are hearing a great deal these days about the indoctrination of  
American P.O.W.s by the Communists. In the interest of fairness  
all-round it may be well for us to remember that such practise is  
not unique to Communists.

In Koje, for example, "a team of seventeen people, working under the U.S. De-  
partment of the Army were giving to prisoners a six-months course of study, culmin-  
ating in a three-hour examination upon the successful conclusion of which they were  
given certificates, admitted to the rite of baptism, and came out of the ranks of  
the Communists into the ranks of the Christians."

TUNGSTEN, TUNGSTEN; WHO'S GOT IT? Mr. John Small, Chairman of the Munitions Board has been re-  
ported as saying, 1951: "Retention of our present positions  
in Korea is not only important from a military point of view  
but it is vital to our defence programme. Ninety per cent of the tungsten reserves  
outside China are located in the area now held by U.S. forces north of the 38th par-  
allel. It is of the utmost importance that we retain control of this sector in  
order to obtain the rich tungsten supplies that abound there."

The suspicion that tungsten is a 'hidden' factor of grave importance in the  
Korean struggle is strengthened by other and more recent references. It is a con-  
sideration worth remembering as the clamor and the killing continue.

CHALLENGES FROM OTHER COMMUNITIES Ebenezer: "Our F.o.R. has co-sponsored two forums, one on  
'Brotherhood, the Road to Peace' and one on 'Are Our Civil  
Rights Threatened?' Co-sponsors were the N.A.A.C.P. and a  
group from the Jewish Center. We have decided to cooperate in the Opinion Poll by  
giving out copies at our next meeting and by personal interviews. Please send us  
200 copies."

Can you use some?

Corning: "For the third year we have raised money to send a boy or girl to the AFSC  
Seminars in Washington or at the UN."

Oneonta: Otsego County Peace Council reports the conclusion of its third radio se-  
ries which was made up of six Sunday evening broadcasts sponsored by a local bank.  
The station has asked the Council to prepare another series. This is first-rate  
public relations. Why not try it in your home town? The Otsego Council will be  
glad to answer enquiries.

Encs: Stuart Morris announcement (Syracuse area)  
Opinion poll (1 in Syr. area; 2 in rest of N.Y. State)

London  
Peace News  
4-17-53  
P.S.

London  
Peace News  
2-20-53  
P.S.

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Jostlyn  
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Don Brown  
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Cornell folder

**WELCOME TO LAND OF THE FREE** Stuart Morris, Navy Chaplain in World War I, formerly canon of Birmingham Cathedral and now General Secretary of the Peace Fledge Union, spoke at the Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council on June 1 in University Methodist Church. Mr. Morris was brought to the U.S. by the American Friends Service Committee and the War Resisters League on May 15 but was held for two weeks on Ellis Island as an "inadmissible alien" under the McCarran Act. The Civil Liberties Union attorney who represented Mr. Morris declared this to be "a clear-cut free speech question coming under the First Amendment to the Constitution." Mr. Morris is well known and widely travelled in Britain and Europe. There was no question of Communism involved. As a pacifist he frankly admitted his criticism of American foreign policy. The decision of the Special Inquiry Officer was reversed by the Immigration Appeals Board on May 28 just in time for Stuart Morris to pick up his schedule in Boston and Syracuse. We hope to carry a report of his address next month. He will be at the Cornell Institute in July. (See enclosed folder)

**GREAT EXPECTATIONS** Great hopes were roused by the President's speech on foreign policy in April, - and grave doubts have followed. Here are some of the "Signs of the Times."

**From Pravda (Moscow)** Not mere commentaries but the full text of the Eisenhower speech was published in Russia; a change in policy of great significance and importance. Since it has not been much noticed in this country PNL readers may be interested in this excerpt from Pravda's editorial:

"Is it not clear that the solution of the German problem demands consideration of the interests of all her neighbours, of the interest of strengthening peace in Europe and in the first place the consideration of the national aspirations of the German people?"

"President Eisenhower's speech does not contain any basis for the solution of this problem. He has not reckoned with the existence of the Potsdam Agreement of the Four Powers concerned with the German problem."

"The former U.S. Government acted like that. But if one is to assume the necessity to solve positively the German problem is sensible, and to solve it in the spirit of strengthening peace in Europe--for which the Soviet Union has been consistently striving--one must not forget the aforesaid important international agreements which bear the signature of both our countries and also Great Britain and France."

"If the Anglo-American bloc does not take this fact into account and continues in the old road, making national unification of Germany impossible, and converting the western part into a military base in which power will be in the hands of men bent on revenge--then a fateful mistake will have been made, first of all in respect of the German people. At the same time, such a situation would be against the interests of all peace-loving countries in Europe and against entire progressive mankind."

**From EUROPE** Two years ago, returning from Europe, Ernest T. Weir, chairman, National Steel Corporation, was quoted as saying: "In Europe it is felt that if war comes it is much more likely to result from some action of the United States rather than Russia...Europeans believe that Russia is much more disposed than we suspect to arrive at some basis for world Peace."

That this feeling has grown in intensity in Britain and Western Europe is indicated by the following recent quotes:

**From London Peace News** "The greatest danger that we may relapse into cold war is to be found in an excessively suspicious attitude in the West, combined with the manoeuvres of the American war party."

**From the Wall Street Journal** Said the Chairman of Standard Oil of California: "...if this country would suddenly gain confidence in Russia and join in a disarmament programme, the impact on the oil industry and on the whole economy would be terrific....It would be hard for me to believe such a thing could happen."

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**From Business Week (Condensed) (American)** "A truce in Korea will bring staggering problems for the West: The Peking Government will demand a place in the United Nations; the Indo-Chinese situation will become more difficult; Japan will have serious economic trouble to meet because of the cessation of U.S. spending for the Korean war, will insist on trade with China, and will require heavy U.S. subsidies; the entire free world will be in danger of economic collapse; A truce in Europe following a Korean settlement may increase the difficulties in unifying and arming the West; U.S. military and economic aid may have to suffer a bigger cut by Congress, and it is improbable that increasing trade will compensate for declining aid."

**From the Christian Century** Repeatedly the Christian Century has asked, "Are We Ready for Peace?" adding, "both sides in the negotiations have seemed to be more interested in hedging against the probability of disappointment than in furthering the possibility of success...we would be in a stronger position if we were unmistakably seeking peace ourselves."

From the Progressive After emphasizing the hopeful elements in the President's speech, Editor Morris Rubin points out its gravest flaw: Mr. Eisenhower lays down as conditions in advance terms which must themselves be subjects of negotiation. To see how these would look across the table, examine the parallel columns below:

Eisenhower demands:

Free elections in a united Korea.

Halt Communist fighting in Indo-China and Malaya.

Sign an Austrian peace treaty.

Free elections in the satellite nations of Europe.

Free elections in a unified Germany.

Return World War II prisoners of war.

Accept the doctrine of UN inspection of any plan for disarmament.

If Malenkov should ask:

Is the United States ready to recognize Communist China as part of an overall Asian settlement?

Is the U.S. prepared to permit Red China's entry into the United Nations?

Are we in a mood to end our military support of Chiang Kai-shek whose avowed purpose is to destroy the Communist government of China?

Are we prepared to use our influence to urge France to withdraw her colonial domination of Indo-China as part of the settlement there, and to begin a gradual ending of her overlordship in the tension areas of North Africa?

Would we consider scrapping the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a condition of unifying a free Germany?

What would you say? Negotiate or Attack? These are questions the American people must answer; you must answer. Meantime, Senator Taft's speech reflects mounting American impatience. This is not the way to peace.

COME TO CORNELL IN JULY AND HELP FIND THE ANSWERS! A program is enclosed for those in this area. Some scholarship help is available, especially for younger adults.

TO BREAK  
THE CIRCLE

One way to break through the self-perpetuating circle of mutual fear and suspicion in which we are caught is illustrated by the "miracle" of Chester Bowles in India. At a time when resentment and fear of the US were growing in India, a wealthy American business man, former Governor of Connecticut was appointed Ambassador. "Observers in the Far East, without exception, consider his achievement one of the miracles of the present critical period in international affairs. Mr. Bowles broke almost all precedents in his informal, friendly mingling with the Indian people, ignoring the stiff and formal customs of protocol." For example, he and Mrs. Bowles astonished everyone by sending their three children to the Delhi Public School (which meets in tents!) instead of to one of the smart schools in the hills for foreign children and the wealthy. It is reported that President Eisenhower wanted to keep Bowles in India but that his New Deal associations were too much for partisan politics. What price are we willing to pay for party power?

TO MEET THE  
COMPETITION

Dr. Norris Dodd, Director General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, writes:

"In India, there are some three hundred and sixty million people. Millions of these are perpetually poised on the brink of starvation. Millions more escape starvation but have never really known a decent human minimum. The communists claim their system will produce wealth so that all may live decently. Bowles says, quite simply that democracy must show it can do the job better. The United States must help India to help itself; it must show Asia and the world that a nation can organize industrial production and drastically overhaul its economy without relying on totalitarian methods."

UNICEF The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is not a give-away program. Nearly 60 million children in 75 countries will have been helped by present programs over a six year period. While other poorer nations (India and Pakistan, for example) have been increasing their contributions, we have

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**UNICEF** The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is not a giveaway program. Nearly 60 million children in 75 countries will have been helped by present programs over a six year period. While other poorer nations (India and Pakistan, for example) have been increasing their contributions, we have been decreasing ours. Originally slated to contribute \$9,814,000 under Mutual Security, it now looks as though we should give nothing this year. Is this really the wish of the generous American people; is it your wish? What price are we willing to pay for economy at the expense of children?

**MEN ASK FOR A SIGN** A Moscow-born priest, Father Andrey Ourossoff, S.J., now teaching at Fordham University, told a Syracuse audience recently: "It's not a question of accusing a sick man of being sick but a question of helping him recover." He urged that free men show the Russian people a sign of friendship, a purpose in their existence, as the only antidote for the sickness and its spread.

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**STUART MORRIS SAYS:** Stuart Morris' visit to Syracuse was reported last month. He has since been lecturing at Institutes of International Relations from Carolina to California. He will return to England immediately after his addresses at Cornell this month. Here are brief comments on several timely and controversial issues. Remember that Morris is an experienced traveller and analyst. He has visited the continent of Europe, especially Jugo-Slavia and Germany, each year since the war.

**Neutralism** "Neutralism is the practical alternative to seeking peace through armed strength... This is the moment of crisis at which the fatal step of re-arming Germany must be avoided. The policy of neutralization, if embodied in a peace treaty with Germany, would both restore the rights of the German people and provide for the security of her neighbors... It is to be expected that politicians will try to discredit neutralism. It is the greatest challenge which they have to face and undermines the whole basis of power politics. It would remove from their hands the pawns which at present they use for their own purposes on the tragic chessboard of life."

**Korea** "Even though we may not yet know all the facts about the initial stages of the Korean conflict, what has come to light since and a more careful study of the information available strengthen the conviction that all is not quite so clear as those who put the whole blame on North Korea would have us believe. The verdict of history may be different from that which the West has so far accepted... Whatever may be the truth of the origin of the conflict, there can be no doubt that the U.N. made two grave mistakes if their original purpose was to hold... The one where their forces pushed across the 38th Parallel; the other when the security of the Chinese frontier was threatened by MacArthur on the Yalu River."

**Red China** "The main reason why Britain recognizes Red China is that successive governments have tried to take a realistic rather than an ideological attitude. They have not been prepared to rule that because a government is communist it is necessarily impossible to enter into diplomatic or trade relationships with it. To recognize the Peking government as the de facto government of China was not to express approval of it, but to emphasize the reality of the situation... On the other side it was not even possible to claim that although the Nationalist government had been driven off the mainland, it still commanded the loyalty and respect of a substantial part of the Chinese people. It had forfeited both by the corruption which it had practised and encouraged--responsibility for which must partly be shared by politicians and others who for their own purposes have provided both material resources and encouragement to Chiang Kai-Shek."

**Titoism** "It is one of the paradoxes of this mad world that some who inveigh most loudly against the Soviet Union and talk of the utter untrustworthiness of communism, are prepared to seek the friendship of Tito and to trust the Yugoslavs. There can be no doubt that the government of Yugoslavia is fully committed to communism--and indeed may be said in many ways to be more truly communist than that of the Soviet Union... It all points to the need to distinguish between communism as an order of society and Russian imperialism which seeks world domination."

**Germany** "The reasons why Western Germany resists remilitarization are many and varied. At the core lies the opposition on pacifist grounds, but all resisters are by no means pacifists. Some, having learned the lessons of war in their own homeland, have no faith in armaments. Some believe that to rearm Germany means the rebirth of German militarism and the resurgence of the worst forms of nationalism. Others believe that the rearmament of Western Germany inevitably means the rearmament of Eastern Germany and the creation in Europe of the equivalent of the 38th Parallel in Korea with all the dangers that represents. Others again believe that rearmament would handicap German industries and give them a less favorable position in the competition for world markets... There seems little doubt that if left completely free, the great majority of Germans would not vote in favor of rearmament. But many of them, both within and outside the government and the Bundes-

to discredit neutralism. It is the greatest challenge which they have to face and undermines the whole basis of power politics. It would remove from their hands the pawns which at present they use for their own purposes on the tragic chessboard of life."

Korea "Even though we may not yet know all the facts about the initial stages of the Korean conflict, what has come to light since and a more careful study of the information available strengthen the conviction that all is not quite so clear as those who put the whole blame on North Korea would have us believe. The verdict of history may be different from that which the West has so far accepted... Whatever may be the truth of the origin of the conflict, there can be no doubt that the U.N. made two grave mistakes if their original purpose was to hold... The one where their forces pushed across the 38th Parallel; the other when the security of the Chinese frontier was threatened by MacArthur on the Yalu River."

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ALBERT EINSTEIN SAYS: Freedom of thought and expression is obviously fundamental to the democratic process. Increasing pressures to create an orthodox opinion in this country, which has always thrived on differences, is evident all across the nation. Founding Father Thomas Jefferson believed staunchly in what he called "the illimitable freedom of the human mind", in following truth wherever it may lead, and in tolerating error "so long as reason is left free to combat it". Now another great thinker has spoken to the same theme. To a teacher facing dismissal from a high school in New York City on an intellectual freedom issue, Einstein wrote May 16, 1953: "The problem... very serious. Reactionary politicians have installed suspicion by... dangling danger from without... now proceeding to suppress freedom of teaching."



"What ought minority of intellectuals to do? Frankly, I can see only the revolutionary way of non-cooperation in the sense of Gandhi's.

"Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country.

"This refusal must be based on the assertion that it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition and that this kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the constitution.

"If enough people are ready to take this grave step they will be successful. If not, then the intellectuals of this country deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them."

HENRY FORD SAYS: Trade Not Aid is an increasingly popular slogan under the new Administration. But what does it mean, and do we mean it? Remember the disastrous effects of the Smoot-Hawley Act back in the 1930's and watch the Tariff. One leading American industrialist has spelled out some of the answers to the world's economic problems in bold terms: In Chicago, last February, to the Inland Press Association, Henry Ford II said:

"At the Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow last fall, Stalin predicted that, in time, the free nations of the world will destroy each other through what he called 'inevitable' capitalistic depressions and a naked struggle for markets and economic existence.

"There is just a small grain of truth in what he says. It might happen that way if this nation fails in its responsibilities of leadership....From both the old and new worlds we hear in mounting volume the cry: 'Trade, Not Aid.' These people want to buy from us. They want to sell to us. But they don't want to be bought and sold by us....But, in order for others to buy from us, they must be able to sell to us. Unless, that is, we would rather subsidize our exports by bigger and better give-away programs. That's just another way of saying that the free world can't trade on a one-way street.

"There is really only one satisfactory way to close the dollar gap at the high level of trade which the free world needs.. For a time, at least, the United States must increase its imports at a faster rate than its exports....Among Stalin's predictions was the very grim one that the free world could not absorb the export capacities of Germany and Japan. It is up to us to prove him as wrong in this as in his other predictions....I am convinced that a considerable growth in our foreign trade--imports as well as exports--would be a continuing shot in the arm to our whole economy.

"That may sound strange on the surface, but it makes good business sense. Progressive industries know that one sure result of free trade with a prosperous free world is a greatly expanded market for the goods which American industry wants to sell."

BOOK END "France, Germany and Nato", Our Number One Problem. By James P. Warburg. 37 pp. 50¢.

Many readers will remember Mr. Warburg's address in Syracuse at our Town Meeting two years ago. F. J. Libby, veteran analyst of world peace problems calls this proposal "the most original, coherent, and comprehensive approach to a German settlement yet published on this side of the world."

The present turmoil in Germany makes the understanding of some kind of alternative imperative. Why not order two or three copies from this office immediately?

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Since only a few of the hundreds of readers of this NEWS-LETTER could attend this summer's Institute, this issue is entirely devoted to a brief summary of the addresses at Cornell last month, prepared by William Berges as guest editor.

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MORRIS RUBIN, Editor of "The Progressive," opened the institute with an analysis of the shortcomings of our foreign policy, which he said is attempting to contain Communism to its present limits and to shrink its power, both by means short of war. Pointing out that our stock is at its lowest ebb abroad, he instanced 18 points of criticism and conflict between the USA and her allies. These included our hostility to real negotiations with the USSR, the fear and hysteria in this country, expressed in McCarthyism, our determination to rearm Germany and Japan, our support of colonialism, and our refusal to recognize the "facts of life" in Asia--to recognize the Peking government. Since the USSR is willing to negotiate a settlement of present issues, and since in a public opinion poll nearly 80 per cent of those interviewed hoped for peaceful negotiation, Morris Rubin said that we should grasp the opportunity for high-level talks realistically.

Next to our refusal to negotiate with the USSR, said Rubin, the most important element in our foreign policy is McCarthyism, which in fact produces our neurotic negativism. Terming McCarthyism a "grotesque marriage of national frustration and ruthless demagoguery," he said that it appeals only to hatred and fear and is the result of McCarthy's personal lust for power, not his desire to defeat the enemies of the republic. Despite McCarthy's announced intention to unmask Communists in the government, to date he has secured not one conviction. He has had a demoralizing effect on the State Department, and his "book burning" campaign has been a serious blow to our prestige abroad.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union in England, admitted to this country after having been detained two weeks on Ellis Island, spoke next on how our foreign policy looks to the British. British foreign policy, he said, is similar to ours except in its desire to admit China to the UN and in its broadening attitude toward the USSR. Fear, he stated, is the greatest evil in the world today, because fear leads to violence, as in Korea, where our intervention negated the principles of mediation of the UN charter. He suggested an agenda for a four-power conference to follow the truce in Korea, including the recognition of the Peking government of China and its admission to the UN, the peaceful unification of Korea, resumption of trade with the USSR, and a great world development board, under the UN, which would use the money saved from armaments for a new global war on want.

Speaking on "The Pacifist Alternative," he spoke strongly against the whole concept of force and violence as a means of gaining security, dignity and construction. We cannot fight Communism with bullets, he said, and we cannot stop it unless we can afford the peoples of the world something better. "If we want the right kind of peace," he said, "we must prepare for the right kind of war: a war on hunger, disease and preventable death." Good will is God's will and the CO is following God's way, he continued. The pacifist alternative to war must be absolute. It is not only a renunciation of war, but the positive adventure of building a world from which war has been eliminated.

Next to speak was LEONARD BERTSCH, formerly political advisor to General Hodges in Korea. Posing the question whether the UN should be the determining voice in US foreign policy, he answered it in the negative; we are, he said, the most powerful nation in the world today, and we hold this power as a trust to create a world of freedom. Relating some of his experiences in Korea, he went on to characterize the USSR as having a "monstrous form of government... a travesty of civilization" which threatens every free form of government, and asked how the monster be stopped. Its intransigence has disrupted the UN, so that our only course, he said, was for us to be immensely strong and not be deterred in our purpose of "freeing" the world by the timidity of our allies. He held war inevitable because of Russia's plans for world conquest.

FREDERICK SCHUMAN, professor of political science at Williams College, followed with his analysis of why World War III will never be fought. Wars are products of international anarchy and power politics, he said, and we have most of the prerequisites for war in the present world situation. However, he continued, neither in Moscow or Washington is there a plausible illusion of military superiority and strategic plan for defeating the enemy. Therefore neither side will support by threats of force demands upon the other which are so unacceptable as to lead to war; the present world deadlock or stalemate will continue indefinitely.

He saw the coming end of the cold war, not through a major conflict, which neither the US nor the USSR can win, but through a revival of the "almost lost arts of diplomacy." Arguing on the basis of power politics, he saw no solution possible in Korea save through continued partition disarmament and neutralization; similarly with Austria. Germany can only be unified if her disarmament and neutralization are guaranteed by international accord. The US should also look toward extending the principle of neutralization to other areas; a revival of East-West trade, a reduction of armaments; and a restoration of the original conception of the UN. "If," he concluded, "America refuses to do these things, our allies will be obliged to do them on their own. In either case the cold war will end."

A. C. CHAKRAVARTY, lecturer at Harvard and other universities, advisor to the Indian delegation at the UN, and formerly close to Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, spoke on US foreign policy as seen by an Indian. He said that since our policy appeared to be based upon a pathological fear of the USSR, in effect we had no clear policy. Out of our good fortune in inheriting a broad rich land, we had developed an "inhuman and immoral kind of continental provincialism," he said. We have only comparatively recently been "catapulted" into Asia, but "we are mistaken if we think we can go... against walls of will and do what we want." Having chosen the wrong instrument in Korea, he said, we have become obligated and are going in circles; and we have sent billions down the drain in Indo-China, with no effect "against people who want to be free." As the colonial problem existed long before the first Communist government was born in 1917, we cannot solve it by threatening to use atom bombs; he hoped that as the US saw its weapons boomerang it would return to a more human, democratic outlook.

He then discussed a possible foreign policy based upon Gandhian ideas, involving the "familial concept" of nations, which necessitates the employment of negotiation rather than force and the principle of co-existence. As in a family, so among nations: the richer hold their gifts in trust, to be shared wisely and equitably among the less well endowed. He called for a kind of international super-trustee of the world's food, health resources, to operate within the UN: also for the creation of a UN "police," an unarmed, peaceful, trained group which would intercede and mediate in international disputes, but without force.

WILLIAM BERGES, recently returned from nearly seven years in China with UNRRA, UNICEF and other organizations, described the collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and the first three years of the new People's Government. While UNRRA's purpose was a worthy one and its staff included many conscientious individuals, it was largely a failure because its execution was left in the hands of CNRRA, an agency of the weak, inefficient and corrupt Chiang government. UNRRA and other welfare programs in China all failed for the same reason; and in fact, helped only to bolster up the tottering Kuomintang regime which cared nothing for the improvement of health and living standards of the people. When the new regime was formed in 1949, it took immediate steps to free the peasants--80 per cent of the population--from feudal servitude by dividing the land among them. Within three years, he said, the improvement in living standards, official honesty, education and health, was remarkable. He said the Chinese volunteers went to Korea because the government believed it was threatened by invasion. Noting the desire for constructive activity to build up a country that had been ravaged by 13 years of war, he believed that the new government basically needed and desired peace, and he urged that it be accorded recognition by the US and that it be admitted to the UN.

HOMER JACK, minister of the Unitarian Church, returning from an extensive tour of Africa, stated that the whole continent is aflame; it is another Asia, ten years removed. Colonialism is falling apart and the options are white racism, Negro nationalism, democratic partnership of the races, and communism. He described how the poor Africans--the majority of the people--see our foreign policy as almost indistinguishable in its effects from the policy of other nations. They are aghast at the missionaries' unconcern for increasing discriminations as typified by Malanism. We must change our policy, he said, from humanitarian as well as political motives; we cannot afford to support European colonialism. We must press for universal disarmament, with more funds spent through the UN to raise living standards; take an official stand against colonialism; and make faster progress toward better race relations here at home.

HARROP FREEMAN, of the Cornell Law College, discussed the individual and the state from the legal point of view, especially as regards the problem of changing our social, political and economic institutions. Although Jefferson stated the right of people to change their government when it ceased to serve their needs, Harrop Freeman said that when change threatens to become too rapid, criticism is permitted only within the existing framework of government. Violent change is ruled out, but within the democratic process, non-violent change, by the persuasion of strikes, demonstrations, etc., must be protected. We have a duty to challenge the authority of the state in the matter of conscientious objection in wartime, loyalty oaths, legislative investigations, and limitations of civil liberties and rights.

In a summing-up address Morris Rubin said we have ignored the fact that this is an age of revolution, with the masses of Asia and Africa, many of whom have never heard of Communism, surging toward life, land, jobs, racial equality and personal dignity. We cannot stop this revolution, he said, but we can guide it one way or another; nevertheless, we continue to talk about "ideologies." The failure of our foreign policy in Asia has led to fear, frustration, anger, bitterness and belligerency. While no Soviet soldiers are in Asia, we talk of winning battles, but Russia continues to win peoples. In short, we need a moral regeneration, which will produce a constructive policy at home and abroad.

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**NO SECRET**

**NO TIME** These words are the keynote of a Christian Century editorial this month.  
**NO DEFENSE** Reminding us of the warning of the Atomic Scientists that our fate is joined with that of our fellow men throughout the world and that the alternative to learning to live together is the death of our society, the editors point out that the road to international sanity is international disarmament.

**TWELVE HOURS FOR PEACE**

The New York State Peace Council will open its fall program with a one-day conference on "World Disarmament and World Development" under the leadership of E. Raymond Wilson of the Friends Committee on National Legislation and Haldore Hansen, recent administrator in Point IV Program, Washington. The day begins with registration (\$1.00) at Drumlins Country Club, Syracuse, at 10 a.m. and closes with dinner (\$1.25), a film and a forum at University Methodist Church in the evening. Detailed program on request. Accommodations at Drumlins are limited, so best send in your reservation at once.

**WISE MAN FROM THE EAST**

In June the Saturday Review of Literature called attention to a distinguished guest in this country by publishing an interview and a book review. The visitor was Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakirshnan, one of the greatest of living philosophers, Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford, Vice-President of India and, until recently, Indian Ambassador to Moscow. In the course of the interview this man who uniquely combines wisdom with political experience, observed: "It is not enough for the democracies simply to criticize totalitarian governments for the evils inherent in what they are doing....If the democracies fail to dedicate themselves to wiping out the evils that continue to exist within their own domain, they will cease to be democracies. The Communists, by adopting violent methods in dealing with such problems as hunger and improvement of social conditions--as well as in suppressing the liberty of the individual--are abolishing the very reasons for living, in their so-called effort to create a better life. The principles of Communism must be altered radically if human liberty and happiness are to be safeguarded. If only both systems--Communism and democracy can look at one another in a spirit of humility and understanding, then each will find scope for improvement."

On leaving Moscow last year, he declared: "There is no outstanding problem now dividing the world which could not be settled by discussion and negotiation."

PNL is grateful to a faithful reader for calling attention to this constructive point of view from a significant source.

**BALANCE SHEET ON KOREA**

(from U.S. News and World Report 8-7-53. Sixteen other U.N. nations, China, N. and S. Korea are not included.)

|        |                                     |   |
|--------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Costs: | In American Lives .....             | 25,000 men                                  |
|        | In U.S. Wounded .....               | 103,500 men                                 |
|        | In U.S. Missing, Mostly Dead .....  | 13,200 men                                  |
|        | In Man Power Involved .....         | 1.2 Million Americans                       |
|        | In Guns, Ammunition, Supplies ..... | 52.1 Million Tons                           |
|        | In Gasoline and Oil .....           | 21.6 Million Tons                           |
|        | In Direct Outlays .....             | 15 Billion Dollars                          |
|        | In Increased Arms Cost .....        | 64.9 Billion Dollars                        |
|        | In Interrupted Careers .....        | 1.4 Million Drafted                         |
|        | In Aircraft Lost in Combat .....    | 1,145 U.S. Planes                           |
|        | In Duration of Fighting .....       | 3 Years, 1 Month                            |
|        | In Increased Living Costs .....     | Up 12.5% Since war began                    |
|        | In Increased Taxes Paid .....       | Up from 35 Billions to 65 Billions per year |

**SILENT ARMISTICE**

Of all the comments on the end of the shooting war in Korea, two seem particularly worth space in PNL. The New Yorker wrote: "On Sunday night the country experienced its first quiet armistice--so quiet as to be eerie. War itself seemed to have undergone a profound change and the meaning of the change was not clear. Victory without bells; truce without drunkenness. It was unsettling to the mind. Two noisy armistices in one lifetime had been followed by wars. Was a silent armistice (and the armies intact, the people dazed) a prelude to something different, to No War? One couldn't help wondering."

To a measurable extent the answer will depend on the attitudes and the will of the American people. You are part of that attitude; you can help create that will. How? Join us in exploring this question on October 3.

The other is recalled from remarks by General MacArthur, when peace negotiations first began in Korea in 1951: "Now that the fighting has temporarily abated, the outstanding impression which emerges from the scene is the utter uselessness of the enormous sacrifice in life and limb which has resulted.... A nation has been gutted and we stand today just where we stood before it all started.

"This experience again emphasizes the utter futility of modern war--its complete failure as an arbiter of international dissensions. Its threat must be abolished if the world is to go on... and if it does not go on, it will go under..."

WHAT THEY THINK Early last summer the New York State Peace Council sponsored a sampling of public opinion on issues of current importance. The first five questions were identical with those used in a similar poll taken in Oxford, England, a year earlier. The first figure in Group I in the following report represents the Oxford opinions for comparison. Replies were received from six up-state cities. It should be remembered that the purposes of the enquiry were educational and the results, although interesting and suggestive, are not extensive enough to be definitive.

GROUP I

- |  |           |            |            |
|--|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1. Do you think that the present rearmament programme of the Western Powers makes another war more, or less, likely?                               | 25% / 63% | 54% / 28%  | 21% / 9%   |
|  | MORE      | LESS       | NO OPINION |
| 2. Do you approve or disapprove of airfields in England being lent to America for establishing atom-bomb bases?                                    | 32% / 31% | 52% / 63%  | 16% / 6%   |
|  | APPROVE   | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |
| 3. Do you approve or disapprove of rearming Western Germany?   | 28% / 24% | 56% / 68%  | 16% / 8%   |
|  | APPROVE   | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |
| 4. Would you approve or disapprove of all-German elections under four-power agreement?   | 66% / 71% | 12% / 11%  | 22% / 18%  |
|  | APPROVE   | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |
| 5. Would you approve or disapprove of the admission of the People's Republic of China to UNO in place of Chiang Kai-Shek's Nationalist Government? | 38% / 56% | 23% / 27%  | 39% / 17%  |
|  | APPROVE   | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |

GROUP II

- |  |         |            |            |
|--|---------|------------|------------|
| 6. Do you approve or disapprove of more support for the United Nations on the part of the United States?     | 72%     | 17%        | 11%        |
|  | APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |
| 7. Do you approve or disapprove of the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea?                          | 80%     | 9%         | 11%        |
|  | APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |
| 8. Do you approve or disapprove of sending United States military forces to Indonesia to support the French? | 11%     | 75%        | 14%        |
|  | APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |
| 9. Do you approve or disapprove of the meeting in the near future of Eisenhower, Churchill and Malenkov?     | 87%     | 5%         | 8%         |
|  | APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | NO OPINION |

PASTOR NIEMOLLER SAYS: "When Hitler began to put Communists into concentration camps, I did not protest; I had no use for Communists. When he began to persecute the Jews, I did not interfere; after all, I am not a Jew. Then Hitler closed the Catholic churches; but they were not my churches. And when Hitler got around to the Protestants, it was too late for me to do anything about it; I was in a concentration camp myself."

STAMPS in SEPTEMBER Tradition has it that postage stamps are an appropriate greeting to the Peace Council this month, at the opening of our program year. If you have not made a contribution or paid your subscription during 1953 this may be a convenient way and it certainly will be welcome. Our business with the P.O. is on a cash and carry basis!

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**TANKS OR TRACTORS** Our conference on "World Disarmament and World Development" this month was a marked success. Morning and afternoon sessions were attended by 50 representatives of 22 communities from all parts of the state. At the evening session this number was doubled by Syracusans who joined the conference to see the impressive film, "The World Is Rich", and to share the closing discussion. The speakers did an excellent job of presenting the contrasting approaches to world security and left a clear impression not only that America must choose but that we can and must influence that choice.

For readers who could not attend the conference but who would like to share its thinking, two pamphlets are available: SHARING SKILLS, Stories of Technical Assistance, from UN, and TOWARD SECURITY THROUGH DISARMAMENT from AFSC. Send 50¢ for the two.

**OFFICE MEMO** Our bookkeeper says: "Please say thank you to those who sent stamps in September, and adds, smilingly, perhaps others will want to be thanked, too! It is not too late.

**SHOP EARLY** There may be 70 more shopping days before Christmas but if you want Christmas cards that are appropriate and different, see the samples at our office. We have both Fellowship and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund) cards in several designs at 5 and 15 cents each. Boxes of 10 or 20 for \$1.00. Order early to avoid last minute disappointments.

**WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT U S** Otto Leichter, American correspondent for Swiss, German and Austrian publications, has just returned from a four-months lecture trip through Western Europe. In an article in The Progressive, he reports the questions most frequently asked by his varied audiences. They go far to help us understand the mind of Europe today.

(1) "Can this dynamic economic expansion of the past three years be maintained if the Cold War should subside?"

(2) "How will economic developments in America affect us here in Europe?"

(3) "Does the downturn of the stocks in April and May and the caution displayed ever since indicate that American business is afraid of a recession or even a depression if there is peace in Korea?"

(4) "Do you expect a speedier downward trend now that a party standing for complete economic freedom is back in power and the law of the economic jungle is to be restored?"

(5) "Are the business circles in America truly interested in settling all international differences--even if this would mean the slackening of business activities?"

(6) "Why should American diplomacy go all out for Konrad Adenauer who, in order to keep himself and his party in power, tries to perpetuate the division of Germany?"

(7) "For what other but economic reasons should the American attitude towards China be so different from that of the Churchill Government?"

(8) "In the case of an American depression--would McCarthy become an American Hitler?"

(9) "Has McCarthy become the instrument of some influential behind-the-scene people--as Hitler before 1933 was the tool of the German Industrialists?"

(10) "How fearful of McCarthy are the men in the State Department?"

(11) "Of course, we have not the slightest illusion about Russia's intentions. But from what we have seen ourselves and we hear from the East Zone of Germany, the Russians are so poor and beset with the internal difficulties that they could not take the risk of starting or provoking a war. But you Americans are so rich and so frantic about the danger of losing some of it in a depression that we are fearful of a global explosion in the case of an economic crisis in America."

**REPORT FROM JAPAN** (by Father George B. Ford, Vice President of The Church Peace Union, September 1953.)

"There is universal and intense opposition to rearmament. The directive in the Peace Treaty which became operative in April 1952 forever forbade war and the use of force for the settlement of international disputes. There were no exceptions, no provisos. And this stipulation was accepted sincerely and literally by the nation as a strong supporting pillar of the new democratic structure. Within a year the realities of the cold war find the United States bringing pressure for rearmament. A change in basic policy within a year confuses the Japanese and creates a doubt as to the persistence of any major adoption of United States leadership. There is no doubt that women and young men especially are dead set against rearmament. It would be an economic impossibility also with China and Russia closed to Japanese exports, and there is an understandable fear that any efforts towards building up the military machine, would bring the militarists again into power...."

THE "VOICE" OF AMERICA Last summer the NAACP journal and the Negro press carried pictures of a "Coke" machine with spigots on opposite sides labelled "White" and "Colored". Promptly, a foreign correspondent sent a clipping from a New Delhi (India) newspaper in which the picture appeared under the caption "The American Way of Life". Who said, "What you DO speaks so loud I can't hear what you SAY"? The international implications are obvious enough.

CANDY FOR CHILDREN One way to get children to help is to offer a prize. Steelmaster Ernest T. Weir has made five trips to Europe since the end of WW II, the latest in the spring of 1953. He concludes that Europeans can not support the present arms race; that they do not think there is any imminent danger of war; that the time for negotiation is now. A copy of his report, "Notes on the Foreign Situation Based on a Trip Abroad," will be sent free to every reader who sends a new subscription to this News-Letter (and to the new subscriber) before Christmas. You said you wanted to do something for peace. This will help.

A "BRITISHER" VISITS THE U.S.A. Commander Stephen King-Hall is a distinguished British author and publicist, of impeccable anti-Communism, who publishes the well-known National News Letter from 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1. In a recent issue, he has given a fairly typical overseas reaction to the McCarran Act and the American attitude toward foreign visitors, through a mythical conversation between a U.S. immigration officer and a late British visitor to American shores.

American Official: Have you ever been to Russia?

British Visitor: Yes.

AO: For what purpose?

BV: To see Mr. Stalin.

AO: Was it a social or political visit?

BV: Political

AO: Were you then engaged in a joint activity with Stalin?

BV: Yes, I was giving him all the help in my power.

AO: Did he need this help?

BV: Most urgently.

AO: Do you consider that if you had refused to give him assistance his government might have collapsed?

BV: Most probably. Have a cigar?

AO: Not till this enquiry is over. Have you ever been a radical?

BV: Yes, in the early years of the 20th century. Later on, I changed my mind.

AO: Do you support any form of government repugnant to principles of the American way of life?

BV: Yes.

AO: Which form?

BV: I am a strong believer in the Monarchical principle. I believe in Kings and especially Queens.

AO: You seem to be a very dubious character and you will have to go to Ellis Island while we check your file with MI 5 in London. What is your name and address?

BV: Winston Churchill, 10 Downing Street, London.

-- Worldover Press.

Wasn't it Cordell Hull who observed that if goods and men cannot cross national boundaries, armies will? Last month a Canadian representative to meetings of the American Friends Service Committee was delayed at the Canada-New York border!

We suggest that you write Senator Herbert Lehman for a copy of his Immigration Bill intended to replace the McCarran-Walter Act. It will inform you and encourage the senator. Then call it to the attention of your congressman.

PRIMER FOR READERS It is increasingly hard for the average reader to understand the complexities of world politics.

Six basic facts that you should have at your finger tips as you read or listen to the news have been set down by Leonard Kenworthy. They have been in great demand across the country and have been reprinted in the Congressional Record. Attractive, illustrated reprints are available at 10¢ each. Order before November first.

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HOW TO READ THE NEWSPAPERS

(Additional copies this issue 5¢ ea. in lots of 10 or more, 2 for 5¢, postpaid)

By Dr. Alex Comfort, of the Medical Association  
for the Prevention of War (London)

Because of its extraordinary importance and timeliness PNL devotes this entire issue to Dr. Comfort's article in the slightly abridged form in which it appeared in London Peace News on October 2, 1953, with grateful appreciation for the special permission of the editor.

Why should an association of doctors be concerned with the treatment of news? Because, says Dr. Comfort in his introduction, "it is profoundly worried by the resemblance between the effect of propaganda on public thinking and the kind of thought processes which characterise lunatics."

\* \* \* \* \*

There is some difference between believing that the Jews and the Jesuits are hiding bombs under your bed and believing that every third person is a Soviet spy or an agent of American Imperialism--but not much.

The fact that the world is divided today into two halves, and that each half believes that the other possesses horns and tails, is largely due to the use which has been made of news. The fact that within seven years our erstwhile gallant allies have become dirty blackguards, and erstwhile dirty blackguards have become gallant allies, is a result of the same process.

To be impartially informed upon every issue in a world where the facts are constantly obscured by propaganda is perhaps beyond most people's capacity.

Unfortunately, under the stimulus of fear, hysteria, or hatred--all of which are being assiduously whipped up today--nations of sane individuals can come to act like single lunatics. Atom bombs, concentration camps and witch hunts are the outcome of that type of process; yet once you see how it is done, you can do a great deal to prevent your own mind from being got at.

We suggest that you, and your family, learn to play the News Game--cultivate Newsmanship.

The art of propagandemanship is threefold: say it loud, say it often, and attach it to something people care about--preferably something they are scared of.

Loudness presents little difficulty to the press and radio of the world; as to frequency, if every mention of the Enemy has its little dollop of spite on top, then that enemy will become unpopular, even among people who only know his name--just as they have come to associate "Oxo" with beef, or Horlicks with "night starvation."

And fear, which is so effective in scaring people into buying toothpaste and soap to remove bad breath and body odour, works just as well in politics. Unfortunately, fear also makes men cruel, irrational, intolerant and inhuman. But there are some zealots who don't care about this so long as they make their point.

The other feature of propaganda is "double think." George Orwell coined the term for a country where the Ministry of Joy looked after prisons and the Ministry of Peace looked after the maintenance of a chronic state of war.

Most people, in most countries, are decent and in their own way kindly. They dislike, for example, torturing people, or burning children alive. If you want to make them do these things, it is essential to make them think two incompatible thoughts at the same time. This is unfortunately perfectly possible and perfectly easy.

It is done through the use of language--just as bullocks would probably, if they read, troop quite happily into a slaughterhouse labelled "Foodstuffs Preparation Centre."

We don't torture people--we display firmness in putting down terrorists. We don't burn children alive--we only obtain results against military objectives. We don't ever kill people--we kill only bandits, fanatical Reds, diehard Nazis.

The public doesn't like killing people, especially defenceless civilians, who are the main target in modern wars--unless their faces are hidden by some sort of mask. It doesn't like war--but it is prepared to stand for any number of police actions; "police" suggests the London bobby helping children across the road, not napalm and area bombing. It doesn't like bullies, and respects people who stand up to them--but it is quite ready to negotiate from strength.

The double-thinker is exactly like the man who is a shoemaker, but knows he is also Julius Caesar. In an aeroplane, under the orders of the unscrupulous or the half-insane, he is ten times more dangerous. Yet the trick is so simple that an alert child could see through it.

Against plain lies one has little defence except commonsense. Against double-think and double-talk, and against the other chief propaganda weapon, the concerted smear, or the continual depiction of someone as an unmitigated villain, or a particular nation as slobbering, criminal brutes (a favourite film technique) the most useful weapon is an ordinary mirror.

It is the first requisite of the News Game--on the ability to play which your life (and your capacity to prevent yourself from becoming party to atrocities quite as bad as Hitler's) may depend.

London Peace News, Oct. 2, '53  
P. 445 (PNL Material)

Take any newspaper from almost any country and examine it carefully. You will see that all items in it concern either Our Side or Their Side (if the paper was written for Their Side, the Rules are, of course, reversed).

Select any news item which contains a clear piece of double-think (one containing the words "aggression," "strength," "defence," "terrorism" or "firmness" will do admirably) and hold it up to the mirror--in other words go through it, transposing the two sides.

If Our Side are displaying firmness somewhere, what would Their Side do in the same circumstances? "Campaign of Terrorism Against the Local Population," of course. Our Side "painful necessity"--Their Side "war crime." Our Side--"Resistance hero"; Their Side--"Terrorist bandit." And so on. Quite simple, but very salutary.

With more experience, you can begin to write your own news items. Let us take an example. The "hard news" is that the Taurocoprian Government Police have arrested the trade union leader Mr. Ali Baba, distributing leaflets outside the Taurocoprian Town Hall. Case A--the Taurocoprian Government is on Our Side:

"The authorities here are displaying praiseworthy firmness in dealing with subversive activities. Police yesterday arrested Ali Baba, secretary of the Communist-inspired Boilermakers' Union. The Taurocoprian Home Office states that he was in possession of a large quantity of literature vilifying the Western Powers. His removal from the scene may do much to quiet a tense situation." Headlines: POLICE HOLD RED AGENT. Cheers for firmness, Down with Ali Baba!

Case B: The Taurocoprian Government is on Their Side.

"In spite of the Kremlin's attempts to tighten its grip on Taurocopria, and in spite of savage repression, the Taurocoprian people are fighting back. Local newspapers have recently been forced to admit the arrest of Ali Baba leader of the largest industrial union, on a treason charge; thereby giving the first official hint of the extent of the Resistance movement. His wife and child have also disappeared, and a 'confession' is expected shortly. The gravamen of the charge appears to be the possession of pro-Western literature..." Headline: UNIONS CRUSHED BY RED TERROR Cheers for Ali Baba.

Or, of course,

"The broad masses of the Taurocoprian people are fighting back against the instigators of a new war. On American orders, Taurocoprian police today began to seize prominent workers' leaders..."

The rest you know. Got the idea?

Now any of these versions may be true. The journalist who writes the column probably does not know which; he does know, however, which side is Right and which side is Wrong, and he is paid to see that you are left in no doubt. Hold it up to the mirror. Unlike human beings--who are usually kind and cruel, wise and silly, by turns (or at the same time)--Their Side hasn't a redeeming feature.

If they abolish rationing, it is a measure of their economic difficulties; if they build a hospital, it is a preparation for war; and, of course, any attempt they may make to negotiate or talk peace, however opportune or however clumsy, is sinister beyond belief.

Our side, at least when it means England, is fortunately not yet as perfect in its own eyes as some other parts of the globe, but at least it can bomb military objectives without ever hitting a civilian, make atom bombs that threaten nobody, and so on. Armaments, of course, are wholly and entirely defensive on both sides, and a preparation for aggression on both sides, but not, of course, simultaneously.

In playing the News Game the following are Trump Cards--Free World, Over-riding needs of Defence, Law and Order, Western Way of Life. (These are a signal to the reader to suspend all critical thought for the rest of the sentence.)

Learn to play the News Game. It may save your life and the lives of others. It is, after all, your capacity for clear thought which comes between the bomb-release button and the finger of a small minority of mental patients in many countries who are prepared to risk the extinction of the species. It is you, not they themselves, who are asked to press that button.

You would not burn a total stranger, Chinese, American or Russian, alive individually by hand. Whether or not you do it collectively and at long range will depend on your skill and integrity in warding off the assaults made upon your sanity by the agents of insanity.

BOOK END If you are really interested in knowing how it is done in this country, order from us PRESS AGENTS OF THE PENTAGON, a study of the publicity methods of the Department of Defense, by John M. Swomley, Jr. Thoroughly documented study of the money, men and methods used to create the military mind in America. 35¢ each; 3 for \$1.00. Reprints of Kenworthy's "Primer on World Politics" to give perspective on world news, still available at 10¢ each.

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**CHRISTMAS CHALLENGE:** Markus Barth, distinguished son of the famous European theologian, now teaching and lecturing in this country, speaking of Europe's churches today, reports: "Louder and more distinctly than any Western group, the Reformed Church of Hungary, some churchmen in Czechoslovakia and some congregations groups and individuals of East Germany and Berlin are calling the churches of the world to repentance. They tell us that our Western liberty, morality and way of living may be poisoned by a materialism, a hypocrisy and a callous acceptance of war that are worse than the theories and some of the deeds of the Eastern potentates."

Could be!

**SHOPPING**

(Special to PNL from our Christmas consultant)

**GUIDE**

1. If you do your shopping in Syracuse, there is a "Sock and Mitten Tree" on the second floor of Chappell's Store. Be sure to see it, put something on it,--and tell your friends about it. Cold hands and feet come in all sizes!
2. "Three-in-One Gifts" bless the giver, the receiver and the remembered friend. \$2.00 will keep a physician or nurse in Korea for one day, serving with the Quaker medical team. (This is maintenance cost; they serve without salary.)  
\$2.50 will provide 2,000 8-oz. glasses of milk (powdered) for Korean children through Quaker refugee services.  
\$5.00 will provide a complete winter outfit for TEN Korean refugees--made possible by the AFSC material aid program.  
\$140.00 will provide a complete winter outfit for 300 Korean war victims.

Remember Quaker relief is non-sectarian and non-political; help is given solely on the basis of need; and there is a plus, the personal touch that communicates your love and good will to all who suffer.

Send your gift with the name and address of the person you are remembering in this way. We will send an appropriate card reading: "To make this prophecy (peace on earth) come true, this year my Christmas gift to you is a contribution to the American Friends Service Committee. May it give expression to our common faith that a better way of life is possible for all mankind."

**SIGNS OF THE TIMES**

The World Alliance News Letter sees hopeful signs of a fresh emphasis on flexibility and multilateral diplomacy in U S foreign policy. At the same time it warns of "diverse tendencies which must also be held clearly in mind." These are (a) preoccupation with the military aspects of the cold war and confusions with respect to Point Four operations; (b) the hard core of "moral isolationism" which would undercut the UN in favor of strong-arm unilateral action; (c) the demand for lower taxes at the expense of our responsibilities to UN, technical aid, and the Children's Fund.

What can we do? Encourage negotiation, arouse people to the dangers, "firmly resist moral isolationism," teach citizens the necessity of "personal and national sacrifice" for peace.

**WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF..... ?**

American soldiers were defeated by an act of non-violent resistance when they attempted to requisition German farm land near Heidelberg recently.

The secretary of the Heidelberg War Resisters Group heard that farmers in a neighboring village had decided to turn out with scythes and pitchforks to protect their property. He went to the farmers and succeeded in persuading them to take non-violent action.

When the Americans came to take possession of a field they found the village population had turned out enmasse and the people were standing around the field holding hands, refusing to let anyone pass. The military had to admit defeat and withdraw.

**REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR?**

"...Immediately after the war, the United States made it plain that one of the principal purposes for which it had fought was to demilitarize Japan. In order that Japanese militarism might never again threaten the Far East, General MacArthur induced the Japanese to adopt a new constitutional provision which forbade their nation ever again to maintain any armed forces beyond domestic police requirements. But with the emergence of Communist China as a military power, backed by the forces of the Soviet Union, the United States began to push Japan to rearm as quickly and completely as possible. Japan's premier now announces that he will move to repeal the constitutional prohibition and that the building of a new Japanese army, navy and airforce will start immediately. There is widespread opposition in Japan, where millions have had all the military service they want for a long time to come. But American wishes are not to be denied--even though they are diametrically opposed today to what they were six or seven years ago. In the light of this shift in policy it is hardly to be wondered at that the speaker of Japan's lower house has launched a movement to repeal the other constitutional provision, also adopted in response to American suggestion, which forbids state support of Shinto shrines. If Japan rearms and returns to a state-supported Shinto worship, it will be almost all the way back to where it was in December 1941."

--The Christian Century

PERSPECTIVE "...When we look at the encounter between Russia and the West in the historian's instead of the journalist's perspective, we shall see that, over a period of several centuries ending in 1945, the Russians have had the same reason for looking askance at the West that we Westerners feel that we have for looking askance at Russia today."

"...It (Communism) was a Western criticism of the West's failure to live up to her own Christian principles in the economic and social life of this professedly Christian society; and a creed of Western origin which was at the same time an indictment of Western practice was, of course, just the spiritual weapon that an adversary of the West would like to pick up and turn against its makers.".....

--Arnold J. Toynbee.

THE BIG LIE vs. THE GREAT LOYALTY We point with pride this month to the Presbyterians. On November 2 the General Council of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., issued a statement which the New York Times declared should be read and pondered by every American. To help make that possible, here are some of the key sentences:

"Treason and dissent are being confused. The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has a right to enter, is being invaded. Un-American attitudes toward ideas and books are becoming evident. Attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion which are utterly alien to our democratic tradition. They are particularly alien to the Protestant religious tradition which has been a main source of the freedoms which the people of the United States enjoy.".....

"In this form of warfare, falsehood is frequently preferred to fact if it can be shown to have greater propaganda value. In the interests of propaganda, truth is deliberately distorted or remains unspoken. The demagogue, who lives by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale. According to the new philosophy, if what is true gives 'aid and comfort' to our enemies, it must be suppressed. Truth is thus a captive in the land of the free. At the same time and for the same reason, great words like 'love,' 'peace,' 'justice' and 'mercy,' and the ideas which underlie them, are becoming suspect." ... ..

"A painful illustration of this development is that men and women should be publicly condemned upon the uncorroborated word of former Communists."....."Many of these witnesses have done no more, as we know, than transfer their allegiance from one authoritarian system to another. Nothing is easier for people, as contemporary history has shown, than to make the transition from one totalitarianism to another, carrying their basic attitudes along with them." ... ..

"The lands that have suffered most from communism, or that are most menaced by it today--Russia and Italy, for example--are lands which have been traditionally authoritarian in their political or their religious life. And yet the ex-Communists to whose word congressional committees apparently give unqualified credence are in very many instances people whose basic philosophy authorizes them now, as in the past, to believe that a lie in a good cause is thoroughly justified." ... ..

"In the case of a national crisis, this (attitude of mind) ...could, in the high-sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a fascist tyranny." ... ..

"The present situation demands spiritual calm, historical perspective, religious faith and an adventurous spirit. Loyalty to great principles of truth and justice has made our nation great; such loyalty alone can keep it great and insure its destiny."

#### To the Editor:

It is certainly disturbing that so many state secrets manage to get stolen by the wrong people; that spies are so active in our midst.

I know of nothing more despicable than betraying one's friends and country. But it occurs to me that all the stealing cannot be all on one side.

Indeed, in this evil world in which we live, in which Machiavelli is the prophet of national behavior, not Jesus, I fear that state departments and Pentagons would be considered very remiss if they did not try to organize cleverer spies than the other fellow to snatch HIS secrets.

And since Americans are reputedly smart, we must at the present moment be pretty active in snooping and suborning.

So while we feel bitterly when our ox is gored, I wonder whether we are morally justified in feeling morally wronged. The truth is that this whole business of power politics and war is a very dirty business, indeed.

Only when we end war, cease thinking in terms of war and stop wanting things which can only be gotten by war--only then will Christian morals feel at home in international politics.

HORACE A. EATON, Syracuse.

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