

*Our Big Spring Conference*  
 Clausen, you know; MacGregor, a distinguished professor  
 of religion, a widely known leader in the British peace  
 movement, is now lecturing at Hartford Seminary, Conn.  
*is your Big Opportunity*  
 HELP US TO MAKE IT A BIG SUCCESS

THE PRESIDENT  
 SPEAKS

May 17, 1944: "In the name of the people of the United States of America I present this scroll to the people of Stalingrad to commemorate our admiration for its gallant defenders, whose courage, fortitude and devotion during the siege of September 13, 1942, to January 31, 1943, will inspire forever the hearts of all free people.

"Their glorious victory stemmed the tide of the invasion and marked the turning point in the war of the Allied Nations against the forces of aggression."

March 18, 1948: "the situation in the world today...is chiefly due to the fact that one nation has not only refused to cooperate in the establishment of a just and honorable peace, but...has actively sought to prevent it."

U S S R - U S A - and U S !

'Forever' is a very short time. The confusions in the American mind are very great; they are reflected in the following series of editorial paragraphs quoted from The Post-Standard. It should be instructive to read them together.

"What shall the United States do about Russia?"

"The American people are doubtful on the point. The one starting point on which all can agree, however, is that our own best interests should get first consideration.

"Is an alliance with Russia useful to us? Judging by experience in both world wars, it is helpful. Russia is in a geographical position placing potential enemies between her and America.....

"Most of our doubt about Russia comes from its political ideas that differ so radically from ours. But economic conditions normally take precedence over political factors and there is, so far, no reason for clashes in the economic field between the two lands.

"They can, in fact, complement each other. Russia will need many things from us and we can use much raw material from Russia. We are not competitors. There is a definite prospect of good economic relations between the two countries.

"Other factors worth considering are that Russia was a staunch advocate of the league of nations and peace before the war, in several respects taking a more realistic position than we did. It also, as its standard of living improved, was tending towards greater liberalism in politics." -- 9-12-43.

"The largest single item on the president's \$40,000,000,000 budget for the fiscal year 1949 is defense--all branches of the armed forces.....

"We should expect that the greatest expense should go for the greatest need. If national defense must answer the call, two years after world war 2, then we must admit that peace is an utter failure, the UN a sham, and the little orbits of our lives finally sucked down in the whirlpool of force, violence and suspicion.

"Men and organizations talk glibly of plans for this and that invasion, mass training and preparation, immense production of war machines--with one mouth they hail the returned war dead, with another they let out a frightened and frenzied cry, 'Prepare! Arm!'

"It must be noted that the majority of those who hawk this program will never straggle thru another one except in the madding of high places.

"What cannot be gained thru reason and charity and love, is not worth gaining at all.

"War has not yet gained us peace, and it cannot again, nor will it ever.

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"What cannot be gained thru reason and charity and love, is not worth gaining at all.

"War has not yet gained us peace, and it cannot again, nor will it ever. What can be realized by strength and force, when the seed of evil which stimulates it grows unhindered, even fertilized?

"Whoever shall survive the next world conflict, will be unlucky indeed.

"Even we have barked up the wrong tree, which is a feeble way of saying that we pay homage to false gods." -- 1-15-48.

"The troubles of the world are due exclusively to Russia. It has emasculated the United Nations, refused to co-operate in world recovery, persisted in Communist infiltration into and domination of other nations, maintained huge military forces and divided the world into two hostile camps.....

"We can no longer deceive ourselves about Russia, hoping that it will forego its coercion, intimidation and brutalizing of small nations or its underground activities in all lands. Nor should we deceive ourselves into believing that it is not a slave state, exterminating all who disagree with its policies, but offers some new and finer form of life.

"We are finding, unhappily, that it is a black scourge upon the earth, worse than Hitler's, denying every spiritual truth, keeping men in peonage and making a mockery of individual freedom and dignity and decency.

"Russia is making its bid now to control all of Europe. Our program is to maintain freedom in as much of Europe as possible. How shall we do it?

"These are the questions now before us, the question for which Mr. Truman and Mr. Marshall are seeking the answers. What can they ask but power to meet power?  
-- 3-17-48.

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"WHAT THEN SHALL WE DO? Shall we fight--meet the challenge of the Soviet Union by force of arms? Shall we ignore Russia--meet the issue by blinding ourselves to world problems until a new tragedy awakens us? Shall we adopt a positive policy--compete with Russia by taking seriously our responsibility of world leadership as an exponent of democracy? And shall we, while we can still choose our risks, make a great gamble on building through the United Nations a pattern of international cooperation into which both the U.S. and the Soviet Union can fit?

"We must, first of all and immediately, make our escape from negative policy (arms or appeasement) and from emergency policy (fear-inspired or last-minute half-measures). Let us look at Greece, which is worse off today than a year ago, and learn a lesson. In cases where emergencies catch up with us and we cannot escape, whatever we do will be costly and unsuccessful.

"Those who believe that a constructive policy is the wisest way to meet the problems of Russo-American relations will agree that the action by the U.S. should follow these channels. 1. Support the United Nations wholeheartedly, even at some risk of not having our own views prevail. 2. Strengthen our economy. 3. Strengthen our democracy. 4. Help to strengthen the economies and democratic institutions of other nations. It is wise not to be impatient or cynical with such generalizations as these. They are the standards against which we must prove every political or legislative proposal."

-40. I. Reddick, Professor of Economics at Hood College.

Vera Micheles Dean, Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, perhaps the best known interpreter of USA-USSR relations in this country, says (1) that our need is to convince people outside Russia, not by mere denunciation but by our actions that we are determined to help other peoples improve their lot; (2) that the U S must not be identified with reaction; (3) that faith (in American ideas)--not fear of Russia (which is purely negative) must be our motivation.

The London Peace News quotes its Washington correspondent as saying, "The western armies would suffer initial reverses and loss of territories but these countries (western bloc) will be defended in spite of themselves, if necessary." The British paper then goes on to observe: "On no conceivable supposition could European democracy be saved by an American-Russian war.

"If Europe became the international cockpit, its civilisation would perish completely.....

"If it is democracy we want to defend, and not merely Communism we want to defeat, there is only one possible policy for the western powers. They must stake their all upon filling the two voids into which Communism infiltrates: the void in the body and the void in the soul of their own citizens.....

"To forestall the attraction of Communism, therefore, it is necessary to proclaim, in equally forthright terms, that not any means is justified by the end: that tolerance and respect for the person rank higher than all partisan considerations. But this is simply the ethic of democracy itself. It is necessary, therefore, to proclaim democracy for what it is--the heir to western Christendom, the political consummation of two thousand years of struggle, on the part of Catholic and Protestant Christianity, to realise the meaning of history in the approximation of man's kingdom to God's.

"Such a proclamation, however, would mean nothing at all, as long as the democracies continued their preparations for war--which is, by definition, the use of any means. This policy therefore, would imply that the democracies scrapped their armaments altogether, and devoted their resources henceforth to the material betterment and moral education of their own peoples, regardless

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"They might be occupied just the same; but the examples of Norway and Denmark go to prove that the one kind of Resistance to totalitarianism that does not corrupt a democracy is the resistance of unarmed men....."

BOOK END      Listen to The American Crisis over WFBL every Saturday night at nine; a re-enactment of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 prepared by the Radio Workshop of Syracuse University.

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