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The Danger of Hiding Our Heads [Prepared by Munro Leaf for the Committee on the Present Danger]

Munro Leaf

Committee on the Present Danger

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THE DANGER



**OF HIDING
OUR HEADS**

The Committee on the Present Danger is founded in the American tradition by private citizens acting on a nonpartisan basis.

Its purpose is to support and encourage the moves and measures necessary to the rapid building of our national strength and that of our allies to the point that will make it impossible for an aggressor to challenge the united power of the free world.

Prepared by
MUNRO LEAF

for the
Committee on the PRESENT DANGER

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"We are living not merely in one State but in a system of States; and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end."

V. I. Lenin



When Joseph Stalin repeated these words of Lenin not many years ago, very few people in the free world thought it was anything to get excited about.



But at the end of World War II, when other nations cut down their armed forces and started the long, hard job of helping to rebuild a shattered world in hopes of peace, Communist Russia did neither.

Ruled by Stalin and a small, hard gang of ruthless and determined men, the Communists worked only too well at one thing—the undermining of the governments of the nations on the borders of their own enormous country.

One by one, the Communist threat within their own countries and the might of the Red Army just beyond their borders ended free government in:

Czechoslovakia

Northern Iran

Eastern Germany

Eastern Austria

North Korea

Poland

Rumania

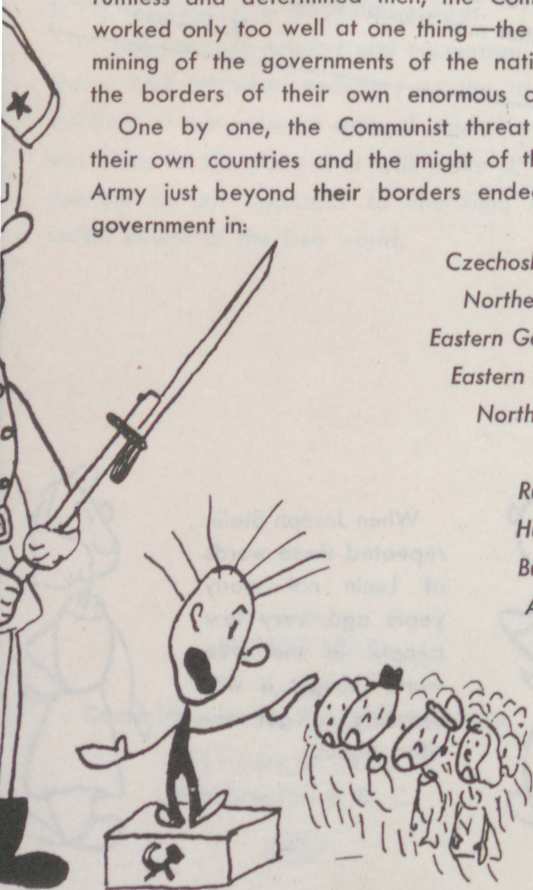
Hungary

Bulgaria

Albania

and

China

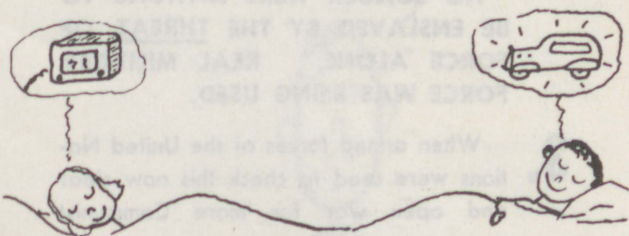


The people of those lands are now, like the Russian people themselves, under a control that threatens destruction to anyone who dares question or oppose it.

Today, when nearly one-third of the people of the world already are being forced to live under the slavery of Communist dictatorship, it is all too clear WHO the Kremlin meant in its warning that "imperialist states" *must* be conquered if the Soviet Republic is to live.

An "imperialist state" to the Soviet Communists is ANY STATE THAT IS WEAK ENOUGH TO BE DEFEATED OR TERRORIZED INTO THEIR EMPIRE.

What had happened still didn't bother most Americans. We didn't lose much sleep over any threat to us much greater than the threat that we might not be able to get delivery on a new car or a television set.



BUT **3** THINGS HAPPENED—

Three events that have made it necessary for every American citizen to think and act carefully in regard to the future of himself and his family.

- 1.** In September of 1949 the President announced that an atomic explosion had taken place somewhere inside Soviet Russia. This meant a Russian atom bomb.

THE CONTROL OF ATOMIC DESTRUCTION WAS NO LONGER OURS ALONE

- 2.** In June of 1950 the armies of Communist-ruled North Korea, trained and armed by the Soviets, smashed across the border of the Republic of South Korea to spread Communist control to another weak country.

NO LONGER WERE NATIONS TO BE ENSLAVED BY THE THREAT OF FORCE ALONE. REAL MILITARY FORCE WAS BEING USED.

- 3.** When armed forces of the United Nations were used to check this now clear and open war for more Communist power,

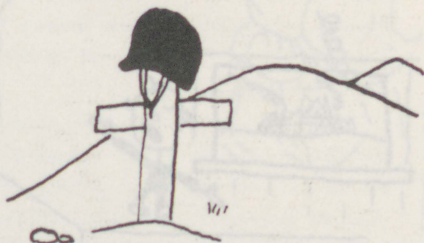
THE MASS ARMIES OF RED CHINA WERE THROWN INTO THE CONFLICT.

The "right" of Communists to grab all Asia, piece by piece, with its hundreds of millions in manpower, was defended sneeringly and defiantly by the Soviet representatives in the Councils of the United Nations.

THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD CAN NO LONGER BE HIDDEN BEHIND A CURTAIN OF LIES AND BETRAYED PROMISES.

The men who have died in Korea have made OUR WARNING TRAGICALLY CLEAR. They have bought for all free men a little time.

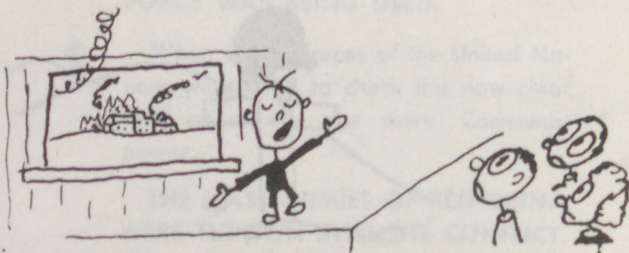
It is a TIME OF DANGER, but if we use it well in unity and unselfishness of purpose, throwing off the deadly weights of fear, disunity or blind indifference, WE, AT LEAST, SHALL NOT BETRAY THEM. THANKS TO THEM, WE MAY STILL BE ABLE TO BRING A LASTING PEACE TO THE WORLD.



WHAT CAN WE DO?

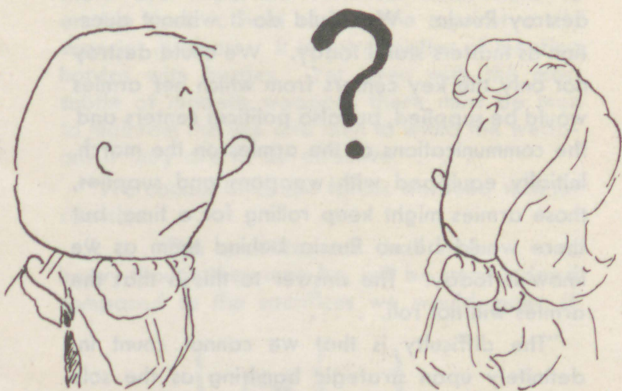
Many loyal and courageous Americans have become confused by differences of opinions, by sincere expressions of doubt and conflicting interest and special pleading for certain ways and methods of guarding our security.

If the so-called "Great Debates" were only a "Little Debate" being held in a town meeting to decide what we ought to do about a fire that was eating its way through a neighboring town and threatening ours, the answers would not take long. Local orators who kept the town in a state of do-nothing while they argued on and on whether we needed to send men or equipment, to wait and see if the fire really was going to blow our way, and whether the East or West end of town was the best part to start from, or if we thought it wise to help the neighboring towns at all—such orators in an American town meeting would shift talk to action fast, or the town meeting would catch fire from the blast of its own explosion.



This brief little guide book is written in the hope that it will be helpful to you in trying to get the answers to some of the biggest questions that we face today.

Some of the thoughts and words of men who have had experience in the service of our country and who have thought hard and long about our problems, may help all of us to clear our thinking and show us a way through the dangers that we face together.



THE BIG QUESTION ?

MUST THERE BE ANOTHER WORLD WAR?

Answer: The answer to this, the biggest question of all, is only partly ours to make. The men in the Kremlin could start world war tomorrow—but here is the answer given by Dr. Vannevar Bush who was the head of our Scientific Research and Development during World War II:

"The key to the matter, in my opinion, is the A-bomb. . . .

". . . If Russia sent its armies rolling across the German plains tomorrow, we with our A-bombs and the planes to carry them would destroy Russia. We could do it without question as matters stand today. We could destroy not only the key centers from which her armies would be supplied, but also political centers and the communications of the armies on the march. Initially equipped with weapons and supplies, those armies might keep rolling for a time, but there would be no Russia behind them as we know it today. The answer to this is that the armies will not roll. . . .

"The difficulty is that we cannot count indefinitely upon strategic bombing as the sole means of averting war. Today, it gives us a military stalemate. To maintain that stalemate is the real problem.

"Defenses against strategic bombing have been mounting ever since the war. . . . Russia in time can thus protect her key points. Note that I say in time. She cannot do it now. . . . She is also building a stock of A-bombs of her own. The deterrent of our A-bombs is real. But we cannot count on its remaining fully effective forever. I TRUST WE HAVE TIME—TIME TO PREPARE THE DEFENSES THAT WILL CONTINUE THE BALANCE AND AVERT WAR. BUT WE DO NOT HAVE TIME TO WASTE.

"These defenses center in an allied army in Europe capable of holding a defensive line, stopping the Russian hordes if they should ever start, and so dissuading them from starting. That army must be well trained and it must be supplied with the very best of weapons of every sort. It must be created before our present enormous atomic advantage is seriously lessened. . . .

". . . When enough men are mustered, there are important technical innovations to enable them to hold such a line against vastly superior numbers. It is not a matter of meeting hordes with hordes. Yet even with the most subtle of modern weapons there must be men to maintain the line and men to wield the weapons if they are to be effective. . . .

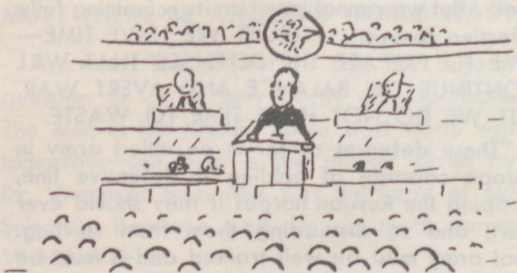
"We cannot build the forces we need without sacrifice. . . .

". . . The sacrifices we shall make . . . , heavy though they may be, will be small indeed compared to the sacrifices we would make if



through weakness or hesitancy we allowed a war to come upon us. . . .

". . . the object of the free world is not to fight a war but to avoid the necessity of fighting. If we are wise I feel sure that we can avoid that necessity."



Question: THEN WHAT ABOUT THE POINTS GENERAL MACARTHUR MAKES?

Answer: Of course the exact methods to be used in the Korean war are matters on which not all great military experts agree. We must leave these decisions to the generals now in command. These are military questions, and it is foolish for laymen to try to answer them. But one great point General MacArthur makes is that both Europe and the Far East must be protected. He said;

"The issues are global, and so interlocked that to consider the problems of one sector oblivious to those of another is to court disaster for the whole. While Asia is commonly referred to as the gateway to Europe, it is no less true that Europe is the gateway to Asia, and the broad influence of the one cannot fail to have its impact upon the other. There are those who claim our strength is inadequate to protect on both fronts, that we cannot divide our effort.

I can think of no greater expression of defeatism.

"If a potential enemy can divide his strength on two fronts, it is for us to counter his effort. The Communist threat is a global one. Its successful advance in one sector threatens the destruction of every other sector. . . ."

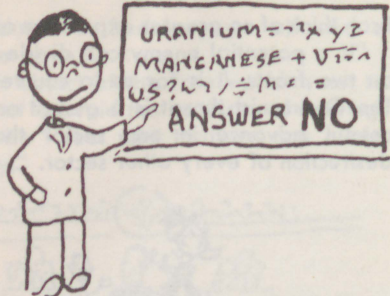


Question: WHY DON'T WE JUST BUILD A STRONG NAVY AND AIR FORCE AND LEAVE EUROPE ALONE?

Answer: This answer comes from the man who is probably better qualified than anyone else by experience to answer it. General Eisenhower, in his report to the U. S.:

". . . the utter hopelessness of the alternative requires our participation in European defense. We can all understand that America must be strong in air and sea power. These elements are vitally essential to the defense of the free world and it is through them that we protect the approaches to our homeland and the routes of commerce necessary to our existence.

"But this alone is not enough. Our ships will not long sail the seas, nor our planes fly the world airways, if we stand aside in fancied security while an aggressive imperialism sweeps over areas of the earth with which our own future is inseparably linked."

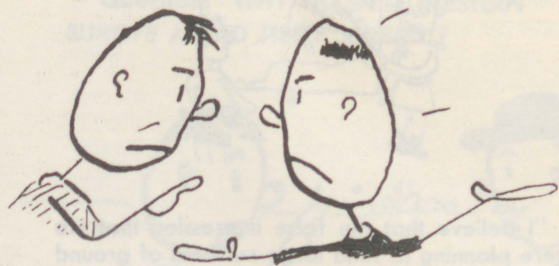


Question: WHY WOULD THAT BOTHER US? DON'T WE HAVE ALL THE RAW MATERIALS WE NEED?

Answer: THE FLAT ANSWER TO THAT IS NO—HERE ARE A FEW FIGURES FROM A REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY BOARD—March, 1951, Chairman—Nelson A. Rockefeller..

"With only 6 per cent of the world's population and 7 per cent of its area, the United States accounts for roughly half of the whole world's industrial output. But virtually all of our natural rubber, manganese (upon which the manufacture of steel depends), chromium, and tin, as well as a quarter of our zinc and copper and a third or more of our lead and aluminum, come from abroad, mostly from the underdeveloped areas. This is also true of the largest part of our uranium ore (used for atomic bombs). Of all the imported items which are of sufficient military importance to be included in our stock piles, 73 per cent in total value are drawn from these areas. Last year these countries supplied 58 per cent of all our imports."

WE NEED TO KEEP THOSE AREAS OUT OF COMMUNIST CONTROL.



Question: WHY DOESN'T EUROPE FURNISH HER OWN ARMIES?

Answer: WESTERN EUROPE IS DOING SO, AS WE GIVE EVIDENCE OF OUR FIRM INTENTION TO STAND BY THEM—AND NOT HOLE UP IN NORTH AMERICA.

General Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in his statement before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees:—

"The morale of Western Europe is one of the most important factors in its defense. Free nations must have the will to fight. By sending additional troops overseas soon, we give reassurance that we intend to help them defend themselves. Their morale and their will to fight will certainly grow with every increase in the armed strength on the frontiers.

". . . eleven friendly nations assure us that they will stand with us.

". . . eleven friendly nations signify that, to the limit of their abilities to resist, no aggressor could count them among his satellites."



* * * * *

"I believe that the false impression that we were planning to send large numbers of ground forces to Western Europe has now been dispelled. . . .

"We have made it clear that the schedule on which we send men to Europe, and the rate at which we send them to reinforce our own garrisons, and their continued participation as part of General Eisenhower's new command, will depend on the effort the Europeans make in their own behalf and in behalf of our joint collective security effort."

Question: WHY WOULD THE SOVIET WANT TO ATTACK WESTERN EUROPE?

Answer: Robert P. Patterson, former Secretary of War, answers this one very briefly and right to the point:—

"For Western Europe is the rich prize in the Soviet view—Western Europe with its 200 million people, its skilled and productive workers, its Ruhr Valley, its great workshops. In industrial strength it is second only to the United States. The industrial machine that serves Russia and the Russian armies is weak. The conquest of Western Europe would make good that weakness. . . ."

Question: WHY HASN'T WESTERN EUROPE ARMED ITSELF ALREADY?



Answer: Well, first let's remember that Europe may ask why the United States itself isn't armed already.

Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium, a representative European and President of the European Consultative Assembly, answers both questions:

"Does it enter the minds of Europeans to blame Americans for having demobilized the most powerful army in the world? They know what high motives the Americans were obeying. . . .

"Thanks to the Marshall Plan . . . the Europe destroyed and ruined five years ago, has recovered a potential of production superior to that of 1939. . . .

"Marshall aid was promised and given to them for economic reconstruction. For that it was employed, in conformity with agreements, and they could not at the same time bind up the wounds of war and prepare to wage another. . . ."

And we should read with this a report just made by an American—Robert E. Sherwood—by radio from Croydon, a residential section near London:

". . . In the summer of 1944, London was attacked by the German weapons known as the V-1, or usually called the buzz bombs. . . . In the eleven weeks that the attack lasted, 58 thousand houses in Croydon were destroyed or damaged by buzz bombs. That was more than the total number of houses in the area. But some houses counted more than once, being damaged, then patched up, then damaged again or utterly destroyed. . . .

"So, when you hear the man who lives in Croydon remark that he's not especially eager for another World War, you're bound to say, I can see what you mean. The next time, Croydon might be located in Chicago or Detroit or Washington. . . .

". . . The amount of time that there is left for us to live in peace depends entirely on the calculations of a very few men—possibly only one man—in the Kremlin in Moscow. We have no control over those calculations, nor even any access to knowledge of the course that they're taking. But we have the power to put into those mysterious minds the firm knowledge that the way of the aggressor is the road to suicide. We can do this if we remain clear in our own minds as to the identity of our real enemies and our real friends.

". . . There is the sure knowledge here that Britain and the United States and all other Western democracies are in the same boat now, to an even greater extent than we were when we crossed the channel together in 1944."

Question: BUT WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN?

Answer: President Conant, speaking for the Committee on the Present Danger:

"I believe there is still a chance, a good chance, of avoiding World War II—a war that can lead only to wholesale destruction without victory on either side . . . but only if Europe is made defensible, and without delay. . . .

"If the United States will show leadership, be both calm and strong, prove that freedom can endure even long periods of partial mobilization, then there is hope for the second half of the twentieth century. I see a radically altered international situation a decade or more hence, a free world secure on its own frontiers, a Soviet Union with vastly diminished ambitions and pretensions, yet itself secure against invasion. Under such conditions, the United Nations might well function as those who founded it first dreamed. Under such conditions steps toward disarmament would no longer be regarded as Utopian; the terror of modern weapons might slowly vanish from the skies."



Question: BUT TODAY ARE THE RUSSIAN ARMIES THE ONLY THING WE HAVE TO FEAR?

Answer: Dr. James P. Baxter, President of Williams College, says No. There is a danger "within":—

"Our danger from without is the Russian danger. From *within* we suffer from a *lack of unity* and from the habit of letting our attention wander from basic foreign problems. . . .

"The world today is too unsafe for that.

"When you are playing against the Politburo you can't afford to take your eyes off them."

THEY DON'T TAKE THEIR EYES OFF US. There are no "Great Debates" in the Soviet Union. Stalin sees to that! So, as General Eisenhower has said:

"The United States must meet the fearful unity of totalitarian forces with a higher unity of free men that will not be defeated."

Question: WHAT CAN I, AS ONE CITIZEN, DO?

Answer: As a free citizen you can make your feelings known to your Senators and Congressmen. The decisions are yours to make. You can demand this "higher unity of free men." You can do your part in building our national strength for defense.

Paul G. Hoffman tells us what this unity means:—

" . . . When we Americans address ourselves to the world we must speak as the voice of the nation and not as that of a single party. I do not for a moment imply that we do not have to debate foreign policy and discuss it and be flexible and resourceful enough to revise it to meet new challenges and new needs as they arise. But I do believe that we must rise above partisanship, that the vote of every Senator and Representative of Congress should register his individual conviction as an American. . . . THERE SHOULD BE NO SUCH THING AS A REPUBLICAN FOREIGN POLICY OR A DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY. THERE SHOULD BE ONLY AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, which in turn must be in tune with the foreign policies of all our friends and allies who are sharing with us the hard and difficult task of thrusting back Communist imperialism, whether in Europe, Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East or South America."

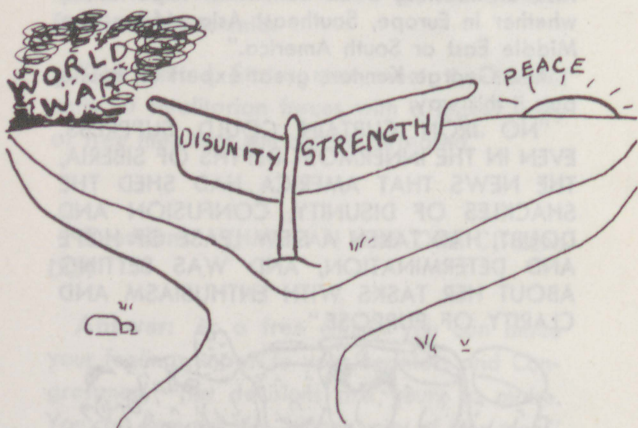
And George Kennan, great expert on Russia, puts it this way:

"NO IRON CURTAIN COULD SUPPRESS, EVEN IN THE INNERMOST DEPTHS OF SIBERIA, THE NEWS THAT AMERICA HAD SHED THE SHACKLES OF DISUNITY, CONFUSION AND DOUBT, HAD TAKEN A NEW LEASE OF HOPE AND DETERMINATION, AND WAS SETTING ABOUT HER TASKS WITH ENTHUSIASM AND CLARITY OF PURPOSE."



THE DANGER WE FACE TOGETHER IS A REAL AND GRAVE ONE. WE CAN'T WISH OR DREAM AWAY THE THREAT TO OUR WAY OF LIFE. WE ARE FACED BY AN ENEMY AGAINST WHOM WE CANNOT LOWER OUR GUARD—A FOE THAT IS ALWAYS ALERT—AND RUTHLESS AND ALWAYS WORKING.

IT IS OUR DUTY TO OURSELVES, AND TO OUR CHILDREN TO GET OUR HEADS OUT OF THE SANDS OF FEAR, ISOLATION AND PARTISAN DISUNITY—TO BUILD THE STRENGTH THAT IS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR ONLY REAL HOPE FOR PEACE.



IT'S UP TO YOU.

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER

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Raymond B. Allen

Frank Altschul

Dillon Anderson

William Douglas Arant

James Phinney Baxter, III

Laird Bell

Barry Bingham

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