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*Charge for the Minutes when
I informed the President to
see at his convenience.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1952.

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Secretary of Defense
FROM: The President

Memo
MAY 29 1952

The communists have been using the conferences on the Korean armistice as propaganda sounding boards.

I believe we should consider replying in kind, especially as we have so much better story to tell.

These are some of the things we might use:

The conferences on the Korean Armistice are propaganda sounding boards for the commies.

Charge them with murdering our soldiers and civilians who are prisoners of war against every rule of the Geneva Convention. Charge them with kidnaping children in south Korea just as they are doing in Berlin and as they did in Greece. Thousands of German children have been deported in the last seven years and have never been heard from. Fifteen thousand Greek children were taken from their homes and their parents while the commies occupied northern Greece. Where are these Korean, German and Greek children? Have they been murdered? We believe they have.

What has happened to the one million German prisoners the Soviet holds or have they also been murdered as the Poles were murdered at Katyn?

Where are the million Japs who surrendered to the Russians? Are they murdered or are they in slave labor camps?

How many South Korean and Allied prisoners have you shot without cause? You claim you hold

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Date 240377 Reviewer

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only twelve thousand prisoners. Where are the other thousands of civilians and soldiers you carried off from South Korea?

You've broken every agreement you made at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. You have no morals, no honor. Your whole program at this conference has been based on lies and propaganda.

Read Confucius on morals to them. Read Buddah's code to them. Read the Declaration of Independence to them. Read the French declaration Liberty and Fraternity. Read the Bill of Rights to them. Read the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew to them. Read St. Johns prophecy on Anti-Christ and have your own interpreter do it.

There's enough real truth here to last you a month, and I'm sure you can think of much more.

The world press should be briefed on every meeting of the armistice negotiations when there is one.

I would like for you to see if we can get this started promptly.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1952.

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Charles S. Murphy

I return herewith your memorandum concerning the use of the Korean armistice negotiations for propaganda purposes, and Admiral Dennison's comments thereon.

It appears to me that you should initiate action along the lines indicated in your memorandum.

For your consideration, I have had it typed up, with some changes, in the form of a memorandum from you to the Secretary of Defense.

The changes I recommend include only two of substance. These are:

1. Omission of the statement that an agreement signed by the communists wouldn't be worth the paper it was written on.

This seems to be inconsistent with the fact that we are trying to get them to sign an agreement.

2. Omission of the statement that the enemy must accept our proposal or be destroyed.

It seems to me that this is going a little too strong.

CHRISTIANITY'S ANSWER TO COMMUNISM

A Sermon

Delivered at "The Church of the Presidents"

St. John's Church

Lafayette Square

Washington, D. C.

By

Reverend Charles W. Lowry, Ph.D.

Rector of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Chevy Chase, Maryland

and

Author of Communism and Christ

May 18, 1952

CHRISTIANITY'S ANSWER TO COMMUNISM

"Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision."

-- Joel 3:14

"He that is not with me is against me."

-- St. Luke 11:23

Mankind has entered a new valley of the most radical decision. Our race in its onward march from primitive and brutish beginnings has reached a great turning point. The unmistakable symptom of this condition is the world civil war in which we are all at this minute engulfed and from which escape is shut off. The chief protagonists in this planetary conflict are Russia and the United States. Both were described with brilliant acumen by the French observer De Tocqueville in 1835:

"There are, at the present time, two great nations in the world which seem to tend toward the same end, although they started from different points: I allude to the Russians and the Americans...

"All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and only to be charged with the maintenance of their power; but these are still in the act of growth... The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided exertions and common sense of the citizens; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm: the principal instrument of the former is freedom; the latter servitude. Their starting point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems to be marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

Beside that I am tempted to give you an amazing prediction written in 1903 by the brilliant if melancholy Henry Adams:

"My statesmanship is still all in China, where the last struggle for power is to come. China is bound to go to pieces, and every year is a long step to the bad. The only country now on the spot is Russia, and if Russia organizes China as an economical power the little drama of history will end in the overthrow of our clumsy Western civilization. We never can compete with Asia... In that event I allow until 1950 to run our race out."

What is the prospect that faces us? It is not an easy or a pleasant one. The immediate danger I am not in a position to assess. Our ultimate peril, and that of free society everywhere is, I believe, much graver than we have yet realized.

We are up against an adversary that is highly dynamic. I am widely read in the history of the great religious movements of the world. Yet I know of nothing in all history to compare with the advance of Marxist Communism in one hundred years from the garrets of the capitals of Europe to absolute hegemony over two-fifths of the earth's population and a position of entrenched strength and constant menace throughout most of the rest of the world.

Our adversary has many advantages. One is the efficiency and unity which constitute one aspect at least of absolute and permanent dictatorship. Another is the ever-rising discontent and inflammation of the passions of the submerged masses of mankind. This condition, incidentally, is a by-product of the triumphs of science in the field of communications. Another advantage is the overwhelmingly peasant and illiterate background of Russia, China, and other countries behind the Iron Curtain. The people in consequence have nothing by way of civilized experience with which to compare the oppression and degradation of their present existence. Still another advantage enjoyed by our adversary is his instinct for propaganda joined to the most unqualified and the most highly systematized unscrupulousness known to man.

The doctrine of the Big Lie and of all manner of lies was practised in Moscow before it was promulgated and flaunted before the world by Adolph Hitler.

We cannot and will not compete with the Communists in the strategy and tactics of the Lie. We must become more teachable and adept than we have as yet in the field of propaganda and psychological warfare.

This past week I made an address in New York and was kept answering questions till eleven o'clock. A keen and attractive American girl asked me why it is that our American negotiators at Panmunjom simply sit in dumb fury at the truce talks while the Communists constantly exploit them as a rostrum for propaganda. "Why don't we settle down," she asked, "and reply in kind, reading from the Declaration of Independence, the Sermon on the Mount, perhaps even from the sayings of Confucius?" This suggestion impressed me very much and I throw it out, hoping that it may reach the high places in the Pentagon and possibly our Board of Psychological Warfare.

Now I ask, What is the answer to the terrible problem which confronts us and the world? Is there any answer? Does Christianity have anything to say to help us?

I believe that there is an answer. We must, of course, realize that Christianity is an abstraction. Only Christians can answer. But they are obligated most deeply to accept the present challenge and to give forth a clear and certain sound. I propose a Four-Point Program as the Christian and the American answer. If there are questions raised by this joining of the words "Christian" and "American", I would adopt in reply the words of Oliver Cromwell:

"If any whosoever think the interests of Christians and the nation inconsistent, I wish my soul may never enter into their secrets."

First, we must understand Communism better. We must know what it is. We must digest its implications. It is ignorance plus thick-headedness that has landed us in the present simply fantastic situation.

It used to be said whenever Hitler made a move, that after all he had laid his whole program out in MEIN KAMPF. This was only partly true. In MEIN KAMPF Hitler was very favorable to Britain and the British Empire. He took also Communism as Jewish in origin and as the bitterest enemy of Germany. Hitler, in fact, was a great improviser and visionary. He placed emphasis not on realities but on intuition. Stalin by contrast is caution personified and is a very slow mover. But there has never been any question whatever about Stalin's views or the proposals of Communism. The grand blueprint of total world revolution was laid out at the start and published to the world. It has never been withdrawn. I can find no evidence for the apparent belief of the American and British war leaders that Stalin was a changed character and that the post-war Communist Russia could be expected to abandon the trend of twenty-five years in favor of a liberal course. This may seem like flogging a dead horse, but it is not too clear that the American people have even yet learned their lesson. I repeat, we must know and digest the facts about Communism.

Now one or two of the most fundamental of these facts.

Communism is a religion. It is an authoritarian total religious system. Let me illustrate. The other day in a Parish Hall I saw a Rector write up on a blackboard as a basis for a choice of subjects by his people the words:

Theology

Ethics

Evangelism

Social Gospel

Communism is a circle drawn round the lot. It is all four of those things. It is a theology -- that is, an interpretation of the Supreme Real developed in a systematic form. We call this Dialectical Materialism.

Communism is ethics. It is a doctrine and motivation of conduct. All conduct must serve one end -- promoting the class struggle, fomenting social strife, working for world revolution and world dictatorship of the proletariat under the iron discipline of the Communist Party.

Communism is Evangelism. It has only one aim as far as people are concerned -- to make Communists: and remove those who resist conversion. It is the most powerful organized missionary movement in the world today. In China we see most clearly at the present time the evangelistical aspect of Communism. There the enterprise of mind-washing is going on a vast scale. The techniques of confession and repentance are employed as a way of deepening and consolidating conversion.

Then, Communism is a Social Gospel. It proclaims a good time coming -- a perfectly Communist or classless society as the climax of history and the end of evolution. It is to achieve this that the present order of things must be utterly smashed. Actually this part of Communism is pure illusion if not fraud. There is no reason to expect under Communism any withering away of the state or any diminution of dictatorship whatever. Rather tyranny begets tyranny, violence violence, repression repression. But faith in this dream of a perfect world, appropriated by Karl Marx from the Kingdom of God in the New Testament, is what has given Communism much of its appeal and power.

Communism today is revealed beyond any manner of doubt not as progress but as a movement of brutal and black reaction. It threatens to reverse the

main current of world history and to carry mankind back behind the Christian Era and behind even the Caesarism of the late Roman Empire. It represents a throwback under modern industrial conditions, and with the use of the most advanced and devilish psychological techniques, to the slave empires of the Egyptian Pharaohs and the Babylonians. It is revealed as a false religion -- the religion prophesied by the great Russians, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, who with humanism and socialism both in mind predicted that Christianity, the religion of the God-man, would be supplanted by a new demonic religion of the man-god. The Christian symbol for this kind of religion, which in the New Testament is presented as a kind of prophecy, is Antichrist. In the performance of Communism up to this time and in its even more menacing threat for the future, we have the most terrible manifestation to-date of the spirit of Antichrist.

Second, Realism. We must match the impressive realism of the Communist Society with an equally powerful and better balanced realism of our own. This is a matter of urgent importance. Many Americans are confused on the relation between realism and idealism. Many Christians suffer from confusion and inner uncertainty in relation to this problem.

A few weeks ago I got into conversation with a merchant who turned out to be also an active member of one of the largest Protestant Churches in America. Our conversation turned to politics and to the issue of foreign policy. He expressed disagreement with my thought that the question of our foreign policy is momentous in the extreme. He said that he felt all we needed was the Sermon on the Mount -- that he believed that would take care of all our problems.

This kind of confusion is not only ludicrous; it is dangerous. We

must be very clear that Christianity, though it does put before us as the ideal love in all our relations, is not what is known as Pacifism. I defy anybody to extract from the total teachings of Jesus Christ a doctrine of absolute Pacifism. Consider these words written in the Gospel for one of the Sundays in Lent -- I find myself returning to them again and again to get the feel of their tremendous realism:

"And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?... But if I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you. When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace; but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils."

We face in Soviet Communism the toughest and most systematically calculated realism of which history has any record. Beginning with the rejection of idealism, all spirituality, all that is not hard, cold fact, Communism has developed realism in thought and action into a science and an art. This extends even to the idea of perfect control on the part of party members of such feelings as resentment and the desire to have revenge for injury or insult. Here we have a strange parallelism with the Sermon on the Mount and the Christian idea of forgiveness -- only the Russians advocate and demand this not from the motive of love but from the sense of necessity of being objective, and therefore accurate, in all practical judgments.

To me this realism of the Communists is extremely interesting and is a tremendous challenge. We must match it with a realism just as strong on the side of the physical and material, but our realism must be less one-sided, more inclusive, and therefore finally, more powerful. From this it follows that there is one absolute, immediate necessity -- the containment of Communism. This containment can be achieved not by military measures alone, but by a proper coordination of military, political, diplomatic, economic,

and psychological factors and considerations. I put great weight on realism and resolution in applying the doctrine of containment, for this part of the answer we must give is like the situation in a forest fire. The fire must be halted and turned back or the whole woods will be destroyed.

Third, the revitalization of democracy. We all agree that this is a crying and fundamental need. We are in a war for freedom against tyranny and we are not enthusiastic about our cause! We are in a religious war and we do not believe strongly in our religion! Wars are won by a successful offensive and we continue to be very much on the defensive!

Why is this? And what can Christianity and Christians do about it?

The key to this problem lies in the origin and nature of democracy. Democracy in its modern form is not, first, a political method or form of government. It is a faith and a spirit. It arose as the child of a Christian mother. It was animated by faith in God and in man as the child of God. It expected great things of the future because of this faith. It called forth willing sacrifice because men believed so in God and man that they were certain democracy was the wave of the future.

Christianity must prophetically recall our democracy to its real sources of truth and power. It must at the same time summon this nation to meet courageously and sacrificially its rendezvous with historic destiny. Our country has the greatest opportunity ever given a single nation. To it is entrusted the peace of the world and the future of free men everywhere. On it depends a new, open, progressive future or a closed, regimented, frozen, monolithic universal empire. It was Emerson who a century ago spoke of "great, intelligent, sensual, avaricious America". So much has flowed under the bridge since then. In many ways we have given a good account of our-

selves. We have suddenly come of age. We have quickly waked up to find ourselves the most powerful nation in the world. Yet we remain much the same in basic qualities. We are still "great, intelligent, sensual, avaricious America". Can we become "great, intelligent, courageous, unselfish America" -- able and ready with mature purpose to shoulder the burden of a thrilling and glorious cause?

This is the question we all must face. Industry and business must face it. Labor must face it. Leaders in government and politics, in the armed forces, in the professions must face it. We see the vision, we believe in God and in ourselves, we embrace with manly joy the hour of opportunity, we win a new world -- or we meanly lose and cravenly betray the last great hope of earth.

Fourth, a spiritual counter-offensive. Much we have said implies this. It is the final step and it alone can win fully and creatively the present planetary civil war. The foremost immediate task of the Churches and of all Christians, of all believers in truth and freedom, all lovers of man, is to rally to a great spiritual crusade. The purpose of this crusade is to carry the war into the enemy's country -- it is to take the offensive against inhumanity, tyranny, brutality, soulless materialism, the evil and cynical dream of smashing all existing institutions and traditions in order to establish for the greatest good of all a cosmic concentration camp.

This does not mean -- it must not mean -- hatred for the Russian or the Chinese people; or even for that matter for their misguided, demon-possessed leaders. We are being punished now for our hatred of the German people and our flirtation with evil visions such as Vansittartism and the Morgenthau Plan. But we must identify for what it is a much deadlier menace than

Hitlerism and we must resist it absolutely with spiritual weapons. They are even more important than the carnal armaments of war.

What are the weapons which Christians and others must use in the great spiritual counter-offensive that must surely come? They are faith in God and man; a new birth of the conviction verified in actual existence that love is the essence of God's life and man's; a realization that brotherhood belongs with freedom and equality as a watchword of permanent, Christ-inspired revolution. This last emphasis, brotherhood based on a real experience of universal love, is the special contribution of Christianity and is, I believe, our one real hope for a new world.

Finally, there is the weapon of intuitive certainty that a new and better world is coming, that the great Revolutions of the late eighteenth century were not mistaken, that freedom, law, happiness, and abundance for all peoples lie ahead and will yet be realized.

This is the wave of the future. This is the goal of the turn we must take at this present junction of historic forces, thus avoiding the bend that would carry mankind in retrogression back to the edge of the dawn of history.

"Whoever is not with us is against us. People who are independent of history are imaginary. Even if we grant that at some period in the past they did exist, they certainly do not exist now and cannot. They would be useless. Everybody, down to the most unimportant man, is drawn into the vortex of reality tangled as it has never been before."

These words, echoing at the start the sentence of Jesus taken as our text, were uttered by Lenin -- the Messiah of Communism. With very little change we can adopt them as the challenge to us as Christians, as Americans, as free men of this tremendous hour.

"Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision."

"He that is not with me is against me."