

# The Search for Peace

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Knowing each person's deep concern for peace, the author of this article attempts to strike a current balance sheet in the cold war.

He also stresses our need for a new declaration of moral purposes.

WE ALL want to know the chances for peace. Nobody can be sure of the answer. My own conclusion, based on the concrete points I shall discuss, is that we have a very real chance to prevent war, but that we face a protracted period of uncertainty, calling for the utmost national and international alertness, calm, common sense, mutual tolerance, sacrifice, and an awakening to the basic spiritual values upon which survival depends. The worst mistake of all is to assume fatalistically that war is inevitable. Our destiny can be in our hands, under God, and we are not the helpless prisoners of events.

## Recent Successes for the West

Let us first ask whether time is now working for us, or for the communists. And to answer that question, let us try to strike a current balance sheet of the cold war. What, during the last five years, have the communists most vigorously tried to prevent? I submit the following list:

1. *Rearmament of the West.* This is the most direct reply to Moscow and its satellites. It is steadily and effectively coming into being. It is the strongest

possible physical answer to communism's world purposes. It is the barricade, albeit temporary, behind which the true foundations of peace can be laid. Rearmament is the greatest single defeat suffered by Moscow.

2. *The North Atlantic Alliance.* This firm defensive alliance is the outward expression and commitment of the west against communism's aggressive threats. It is a continuing fact, and offers machinery through which the nation's determination to resist communism can be implemented. It is of the utmost potential importance.

3. *The Pacific Alliance and the Restoration of Japan.* We have partly equalled in the Pacific the achievement of the North Atlantic Alliance. More important, we have kept Japan out of the arms of communism, and have helped it to reach the point where it can become a powerful ally against communism and a peaceful, progressive force. These results are not yet certain, but we are on our way.

4. *West German Republic.* We have kept part of Germany out of communist hands, and have brought into being a pro-democratic state which can progress toward self-defense and economic restoration just as fast as these steps can be safeguarded against resurgent militarism. (Germany and Japan are the two greatest prizes communism could have hoped to win, by

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virtue of their great industrial and technological power. We have prevented these victories.)

5. *Defense of Berlin.* The heroic and effective Berlin air lift, plus more recent firmness in the face of Russian pressure, have prevented the fall of Berlin, which is a deep entry point in communism's flank and a bastion of freedom. Its significance as a show-window of democracy in the midst of tyranny is very great.

6. *Economic Recovery.* The Marshall Plan may not have made sure and positive the economic strength of the west, but it has certainly done a great deal. At the very least, it has prevented collapse of the west, and thus has been an effective barricade against communism. It has prevented what the men in the Kremlin confidently expected: prostration and chaos in western Europe.

7. *Independent Yugoslavia.* Tito's breach in the united front of world communism probably distresses Moscow as much as any other factor. We cannot claim credit for it, although we are effectively helping Tito remain independent. We need not overlook nor excuse the fact that he and his country are communist to welcome this break between allies, for where there has been one break there could be others.

8. *Pro-Allied Greece and Turkey.* One of Russia's first post-war objectives was to capture Greece, intimidate Turkey, and thus dominate the western Mediterranean and Europe's highway to the east. The defense of Greece and Turkey was one of our first great successes in the cold war, and it remains of importance.

9. *Weakening of Communist Parties*

*Throughout Europe.* All the evidence is that communism is substantially weaker nearly everywhere than it was in 1946. There are still major dangers—big minority parties—in France and Italy, but serious dangers have been averted and the tide is running in the right direction.

10. *Resistance in Korea.* At the very least, we prevented communism from achieving an easy victory in Korea. At the most, we took the stand which may have altered all post-war history and established the effective possibility of collective security. But much depends on future events in Korea before we add up the score. The warning we have had, the experience we have gained, are of greatest value.

11. *Revision of UN Procedures Virtually Eliminating the Veto.* Strengthening of the UN Assembly so as to get around the Big Power veto in the Security Council may make the UN a valuable, powerful piece of machinery.

12. *Stiffening Resistance to Communism in Indochina, Indonesia, Malaya, Philippines.* Southeast Asia is a very rich prize, in some ways more valuable than Korea. We are far more able to hold it today than a year ago. It was obviously on the communist timetable for early conquest. Now the chances for successful defense are great.

13. *Economic Strength of the United States.* The Kremlin always insisted our economy would collapse. It has not—though our inflationary problems are great—and we are producing more today than ever before in peace-time. The American economy remains the principal anchor of anti-communist power.

14. *Unrest in Communist States.* There is much evidence that only the most rigid and merciless of police controls and repression hold the satellite states in line, and keep the Russian people disciplined. Evidently this incipient unrest is growing steadily, and is a powerful deterrent to war by the Soviet Union.

### **Failures, Too, Must Be Acknowledged**

Against these successes of the west, must be listed one gigantic and tragic failure: the loss of China. The fall of Chiang Kai-shek on the Asiatic mainland and the riveting of communist shackles on the people of China is a great historic set-back. It is our principal post-war defeat.

And there should also be listed a number of serious troubles which are largely brought on by our own confusion, inaction, or ineffectiveness. I refer to:

1. *U.S. Inflation.* We have made our rearmament task infinitely more difficult and costly, and have put our economy under grave strain, by not curbing inflation. Bernard M. Baruch and others who are hardly to be described as New Dealers or socialists, warned us that only firm and extensive controls—however much we may deplore them—could prevent the tragedy of inflation. We were unwilling to go far enough in the direction of control, largely because—with much reason—we distrusted a too-powerful federal government. It was, of course, not possible to avoid inflation by greater freedom, since the task of building armaments took too many goods out of consumer-supply while adding to purchasing power. The

situation could only be met by steps we were unwilling to take, and now we are paying the price. The dangers of too great control would also have entailed a tragically high price.

2. *Dangers in Iran.* Through ineffectiveness, communist action, and the heritage of selfish imperialism, we have reached a major crisis in the heart of the world's richest petroleum reserves. Whether we can rectify the mistakes of the past, and restore a good position in Iran—as well as other mid-eastern countries—remains to be seen. This is a big job of unfinished business.

3. *Unrest Throughout the Arab World.* Part of this same picture is the chaos which threatens to become greater at any time throughout the Arab world. From Cairo to Iran these ancient lands are in danger of governmental collapse. Many of the mid-eastern peoples desperately need the advantages of modern technology. Many of them are among the most needy havenots of the globe. They are bitterly resentful. The establishment of Israel enhanced the bitterness. The Arab grievances are many, and must somehow be healed if they are to go forward in the orbit of the free, democratic world.

These are a few of the items which can be listed in a balance sheet of the cold war. They add up to the conclusion that communism has failed on a score of fronts, has succeeded only on a few. I believe there is every reason to feel that time is now working on our side, and will increasingly do so in the future unless we make foolish mistakes. Had the Russians been willing or determined to make total war on the west, surely they would have done so long

before now. At least, that seems a reasonable deduction from the evidence. But none of us can confidently estimate the factors which might run through the thinking of the men in the Kremlin.

Consider, however, the alternative for them: on the one hand is a very problematical war, possibly a suicidal risk. On the other hand is a type of coexistence and consolidation within their own territories which might lead to great stability and strength, though not to aggression and conquest. They have rich areas under their control, and if they concentrated on peaceful internal development they might count on a rich and profitable future. Indeed, they might calculate that their world purposes are better to be achieved through internal development, and disarming soft words, than through the obvious failures of their past truculence.

In sum, this balance-sheet summary reveals that in a very exact sense it may be said that the anti-communist forces have won the cold war, but that this is far from enough to ensure peace. As our armament grows stronger, as the western alliance becomes more organic and effective, the need is to turn the emphasis to more fundamental guarantees of peace. These rest, first and foremost, on a better understanding of America's role in the world, by Americans and by citizens of other lands alike. The massive misunderstanding of the United States in the Arab world and in much of Asia is a danger signal.

### **We Need a New Declaration of Moral Purposes**

Americans must make clearer to other nations and peoples the fact that

our significance does not rest on militarism or materialism, but upon a better concept of man in his relationship to the state and to the spiritual values on which true stability rests. We need a declaration of moral purposes. I have urged that President Truman should call together a commission of the ten most representative and respected Americans. These men and women, it seems to me, should draft a declaration of moral purposes directed—at this particular time—to the people of the Middle East but applicable to all people. Our commitment to the principle of self-government and free government of all mankind should be emphasized. Our freedom from imperialist ambitions should be affirmed. Our genuine and deep-seated good-will toward the aspirations and hopes of others should be declared. Our willingness to help them help themselves should be made plain.

The intent and purpose of the world alliance against communism is freedom for all. This is a moral purpose, rising out of the long history of man's struggle toward higher things. It is liberating and revolutionary in the high and traditional sense of that word. This is America's commitment and meaning to mankind, but we must proclaim it clearly and concretely, and we must prove it in action, if we are not to lose the crucial battle for the minds of men. Supported by the physical fact of rearmament, we need to wage this war on the new-old front. We can win it, but we have scarcely begun to fight.

For the long-range future, the United States and its friends in the world must achieve still greater suc-

cesses. All that has come about in the past five years is on a rather temporary basis. It is shored up by armaments and by physical power alone. These are needful in a troubled world, but they are not the basis of true and lasting peace. That can only be achieved in the hearts and minds of men.

And so we must set ourselves toward the ever new, ever old task of spiritual awakening and more adequate living of the truths we know. This is a very practical and concrete policy. For communism's chief weapon is its insidious penetration into the thinking of mankind, and its promises of better things expressed to the hungry and homeless of the world. We must prove to mankind not simply that communism's promises are specious, but that the free system offers an effective and potent way for all peoples to go forward.

We must remember, likewise, that much which we cherish is an inheritance we have had from other peoples and other cultures, and set ourselves anew to the humble task of learning from others as well as teaching them. We must avoid the vice of national egotism. It is difficult to measure our material achievements against the cultural or subjective achievements of some other outwardly backward peoples. Each has his part to contribute.

### *We Need Awakening*

Our main task, however, is to live and to project to others the spiritual values which are the true heritage and glory of the free way. We need a purification of our own ethical standards, an awakening to earlier and sterner obligations, a reaffirmation of man's individual responsibilities to

himself and to the community. He it is who owes the community, the community does not owe him.

Possibly a great voice, akin to that of Abraham Lincoln, may come to say these true things so that all may hear and think through for themselves their duty to society. But I doubt it. I believe the awakening must come from within, and that the crisis of our time is not a crisis of leadership but of individual thinking. The truth is here, and has been here for a long time: the truth as found in our religious teachings and their application in daily living.

Awakening is what we need. Let us seek, each for himself, to come alive and then to share with our brother man the dynamic power of conscious service. This kind of awakening could sweep away all the cobwebs of communism with the clean, fresh air of our historic experience, our heritage, and our future potential. If enough of us see and act on these principles, there need be no war, and we can find our way through the uncertainties and earthquakes of our time with the compass of ancient truth in our hand. This is the practical program which can supplement the steps we have taken in these latter years to contain and to defeat communism. Those steps are important: the outlook need not discourage us.

But armaments are not enough, material well-being is not enough. An understanding of the significance of individual man, living in a free community, accepting his responsibilities under God, can save the world. This is a precise and tangible program for each one of us.

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