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How the world is preparing for the next war, 1928.

"HOW THE WORLD IS PREPARING FOR THE NEXT WAR."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,

NOVEMBER 11, 1928, CLEVELAND.



Ten years after the signing of the armistice which ended the World War, if one were an optimist one could take a very hopeful view of the conditions existing in the world today. If one were a pessimist one could take a very discouraging view of these conditions. I, for one, rather believe that the truth is somewhere between these two points of view. It is assuredly evident to everyone that, economically, the nations of Europe have recovered in remarkable fashion, to an amazing degree. When one considers the high universal upheaval and the terrible destructiveness of the great War, one marvels at the rapidity which the nations of Europe, beaten and drained in the most costly and exhaustive wars of all times, succeeded in regaining their economic stability.

This is particularly true of a country like Germany. One cannot but pay tribute to the invincible moral reserve of the nation and its powerful intelligence, capacity for work, and indefeasible optimism, when one views its present status compared to what it was in 1918. That is true in a large measure of almost all the countries of Europe. Those, of course, which were territorially denuded and depleted, deprived of their natural resources or of their commercial opportunities, those nations have not yet regained their equilibrium. But by and large, Europe today, ten years after that terrible cataclysm,

presents, at least on the surface, the appearance of a normalized, quieted, stabilized world.

That confirms one's faith in the strength and in the recuperative power of modern civilization. A war such as the last one, if it had taken place in the Middle Ages, would have retarded the progress of Europe for a hundred years. If it had taken place today, say, in Central Asia, it probably would have so disorganized and so disrupted the world there that generations would be required before that part of the world could re-establish itself. Civilized Europe was able to reassert itself in the brief spell of one decade. That ought to give the pessimists in our midst food for thought. There is much that is wanting in our present day civilization, to be sure, but seemingly there is inherent in it a marvelous strength, a recuperative power that is able to meet disaster and quickly to overcome it.

The nations of the world today seem to be pacifists. The amenities of international life have been restored; international relations have been resumed in most instances. There is no prospect of any immediate war, and no black, threatening clouds are hovering at the present moment on the international horizon.

The last ten years have given mankind four distinct and important guarantees for peace: the League of Nations, the Permanent Court for International Justice, the Locarno pacts, and the last, the most recent, and, to my

mind, the most important--the Briand-Kellogg treaty for the outlawry of war.

The first of these, the League of Nations, organized the nations of the world into a society for mutual protection against aggression, and established machinery for the amicable adjustment of international differences. The League of Nations made the contracting parties agree not to go to war until they had first submitted their differences to an international tribunal, and to go to war only after a three months period had elapsed, after decision had been given by such a tribunal. And the League also promised to undertake the limitation and reduction of armaments.

The second of these agencies, the World Court, was the machinery which the League called into being to enable nations which have disagreements or disputes to submit them to this Court of Justice for adjudication. The third, the Locarno pacts or treaties, bound the contracting parties to respect the inviolability of their territorial status quo, to accept the present boundaries as binding, lasting, for all time. Germany and France and Germany and Belgium undertook to respect their frontiers and not to go to war for any cause whatsoever, but to seek arbitration of all differences.

And the last of these four major guarantees for the permanent peace was this Kellogg treaty, this idea of the outlawry of war, which was evolved by an American Jew

and which was carried through by the American Government under the leadership of Secretary Kellogg. In this treaty the high contracting parties solemnly declare in the name of their respective people that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. Furthermore, they agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

All these four acts or measures are epoch making, each in its own way, particularly the last one. War used to be a moral fact. It has now been declared immoral; it has been outlawed, just as private warfare between individual men was declared outlawed and a crime a few centuries ago.

Now the optimists viewing these facts, these conditions, they have been inclined to take a very hopeful, a very happy view of conditions in the world. We might be inclined to say, "Well, the nations of the world have pledged one another not to fight any more, but they are going to settle all their differences amicably, pacifically, and therefore all is well and fine in the world." And here only the romanticist, the naive romanticist, would take such a view of conditions in the world today. Certainly, those who are close to government and to international politics,

and who know what is going on in the world,--certainly those who know are far from being optimistic about conditions in the world today.

Fear and suspicion and mutual distrust still hold the nations of Europe in their grip as hopelessly as they did ten, fifteen and twenty years ago. The nations of the world are still suspicious of one another, and would still like to destroy one another if it would serve their ends. As a result of the war to end war fifteen of the great nations of Europe today have compulsory military training of all of its citizens, and those that have not, with the exception of one or two countries, are prohibited from having it by the treaties that were signed after the war. They belong to the group of defeated nations, and were therefore prohibited from introducing compulsory military training.

There are more men in the standing armies of Europe today than in 1914. Three million men, to be exact, are under arms at this moment in Europe, and that does not include the numberless millions who belong to the organized reserves of the respective nations, and the unorganized reserves of these nations. The five great naval powers of the world--Great Britain, United States, France, Italy, Japan, are this year building some 250 new war craft,--battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and are planning to build as many more in 1929. Every nation has built up since the war--and mind you, at a time of economic

distress, with crushing war debts upon them,--every nation in Europe has built up since the war tremendous air fleets for war purposes. France has some 1400 hundred fighting units in the air; Russia has some 1250 such units; Italy as a thousand of such units ready to be launched into the air for military purposes. I do not know the exact number of our war air ships, or of England, but proportionately we have our share of them.

Every nation of the world of any consequence has, since the war, been secretly building up chemical works, poison gas factories, in preparation for the next conflict,--chemicals and poisons of such horrible destructiveness as to stagger the imagination of human beings. The military budgets of every nation of the earth are today far greater than their respective budgets in 1914; in many instances they are double and triple in size. In 1913 Great Britain spent on its military establishments some 75 million pounds. In 1926, after the League of Nations, after the World Court, after the Locarno pacts, Great Britain spent 117 million pounds. In 1914 the United States spent on its army and navy 313 millions of dollars. In 1927, after the Washington conferences and after these numerous pledges of peace, the United States spent 670 millions of dollars.

In the four years between 1922--mind you, this is after the war--in the four years between 1922 and 1926, the budget of the French navy mounted from 797 millions

of francs to one billion, four hundred millions of francs. There was also an increase of one thousand millions of francs in its budget for its army.

Now, there can be but one interpretation placed upon these facts--only one--to anyone who is a loyalist and not a foolish romanticist. The nations of the world today are engaged in the self-same tragic game of competitive armaments in which they were engaged before 1914, and which was the chief cause for the catastrophe of 1914. They are afraid of one another, and they are trying to outplay one another and out-distance one another in armaments, and competitive armament is a prelude to war. There is no escaping this fact: all competitive armament leads inevitably to war. Preparedness is an insurance against peace, not against war.

Now this is fact and all else is fiction and propaganda, and it is about time that we exploded in our minds the analogy that people sometimes draw between insurance against fire and insurance against war. Some clever apologists for our military establishments will say "While it is true we spend 670 millions of dollars a year for our army and navy, why that is our insurance bill, just the same as this country spends millions of dollars to insure the property of its citizens against fire." And people are fascinated by this analogy and accept it as a fact. In reality it is a stupid bit of fraud and nothing more. How do you insure yourself against fire? Why in two

ways: we either build a fireproof building, or we take out a fire insurance policy which will pay your loss, if you sustain loss by fire. Now war never pays for the losses which a nation sustains, and the armies and the battleships do not pay for the heavy losses sustained in war, even by the victorious nations. We were victors in the last war and yet we were left with a bill of fourteen thousand millions of dollars which we ourselves have to pay; and the army and the navy are never a protection against war. In fact, those nations which had the largest armies and the largest navies have had the largest number of wars on their hands. Nor does a large navy and a large army insure victory in war. Germany had the largest army in Europe and Germany was licked by a combination of nations. No nation can arm itself against the whole world, and the more you arm yourself the more you provoke distrust, the more you provoke the combination of nations against you, the more you underwrite your own ultimate defeat.

Now these are facts and all else is stupid, misleading and deceptive propaganda. Seemingly the nations of Europe are still playing the old game of competitive armaments, each one hoping it will be able to outwit the other in some way. I read, for one,--and I am not given to pessimism,--I read in this increasing armament in the nations of Europe, and more especially in their unwillingness to reduce armament, the footprints of the next conflict.

Now the next war is not coming tomorrow. The

nations of Europe are too exhausted for another war in the immediate future. They are afraid,--afraid of their own people, afraid of internal revolution, afraid of homemade bolshevism in their midst. That is why they are not fighting today; but it is clear that ultimately and inevitably this race for armament will lead to another world war. They all express pious wishes for disarmament, but in the last ten years,--mind you, with mankind still smarting under the wounds of the war and knowing vividly the horrors of war,--within the last ten years there has not taken place one act of real disarmament anywhere in the world. Oh, I know at the Washington conference in 1922 the four great naval powers of the world agreed to limit naval armament, but it was a futile gesture in reality. What was limited was only the size and the number of the large battleships, which the nations of the world, the naval powers of the earth decided were no longer really serviceable in war; but no restriction was placed upon the number or the size of all other war crafts,--destroyers and cruisers and submarines and airplanes, with the result that after the Washington conference these nations went about building recklessly, heedlessly, as many of these war vessels as they wanted.

The United States was magnanimous in 1922. It could, if it had wanted then, with the European peoples impoverished by the war and the United States excessively rich,--it could have, if it wished to, built there and then

enough battleships and cruisers to have permanently insured its naval supremacy in the world, and there was nobody to stop it. But it was magnanimous, and instead of seeking supremacy it was content to have equality, parity, with the next greatest naval power, Great Britain. And so it invited Great Britain and France and Japan to come to Washington and to work out a plan of naval disarmament based on a parity between Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain gladly accepted the offer, but it outwitted Uncle Sam; it outplayed him. It sought to, under the Washington conference, establish a parity between battleships, in which Uncle Sam was superior, and said nothing about establishing a parity in cruisers and other vessels in which Great Britain was superior. No wonder that Lord Balfour was made an earl when he returned to England after the Washington conference.

It took the United States a few years to realize this fact, and when it did, Calvin Coolidge decided to summon another naval conference in Geneva, where the same parity would be applied to cruisers and other war vessels. Well, this invitation was sent to France, to England, to Italy and Japan. France immediately refused. France, too, had burnt its fingers at the Washington conference; France, too, had been outplayed by England. France is too poor to build many large battleships or many cruisers, but it has enough money to build a large number of submarines, and the submarine is a thorn in the side of

British navy, especially with France being so near to the British coast. The submarine is the wasp of the sea. Great Britain made a proposition at the Washington conference in a humanitarian and idealistic vein, to eliminate this terror of the sea, the submarine. France at once saw if it were to limit its number of submarines its navy is done for. So it balked and refused to agree to that plan; whereupon the skillful propaganda machinery which Great Britain always brings to an international conference got busy, and in all the newspapers of the world France was damned high and low for thwarting this idealistic and humanitarian project which Great Britain proposed.

So that when the second invitation for a similar naval conference was extended to be held in Geneva in 1927, France quickly refused, and so did Italy, and Japan came on and England came on. England at first did not recall that any such parity plan had been agreed upon in Washington. After a while it did recall the fact, and it said, "Oh, well, perhaps we can come to some understanding as to parity establishing equality between the United States and Great Britain on the subject of cruisers. We will have an equality of cruisers on the basis of types of vessels. In other words, we will build only a small number of large cruisers (which England really does not require because it has many naval bases all over the world) and we will build a very large number of small cruisers,"-- which the United States does not want, because the naval

bases of the United States are far apart, and it requires large cruisers and large cruising area. The United States said, "Why, let us agree to build, say, only 200,000 or 300,000 tonnage and leave it to the respective nations to decide the type of ships it wants to build." But England said "No." There was a deadlock and the conference came to an end.

England again attempted to put the United States in the wrong, but this time the United States was on the alert; and so this effort towards disarmament broke down. But England was not content with that. Soon thereafter it entered into a secret pact with France, in which England promised France to take its side in any future international conference for disarmament in the matter of trained reserves. The French position is this: that a trained reserve is not a soldier. France happens to have some three or four million of such trained men in reserve. Now France does not want to have these people looked upon as soldiers, so that when the question of land armament comes up France will say, "Of course we will reduce our standing army by 25% or 50%," while actually it will be reducing its army not at all, because these trained reserves are not to be looked upon as part of the army, which of course makes a joke of the whole subject of land disarmament. England promised to back the French position on this subject if France would back the English position on the subject of these cruisers of which I have just spoken.

In other words, they both agree to knife Uncle Sam at the next conference. France would be supreme on land; England would be supreme on the seas, and they would both be the idealistic spokesmen of disarmament. But here again the trick did not work. Someone got hold of the secret papers and published them, and all the diplomats of England and all the diplomats of France have been spending the last three or four months calling themselves liars.

I mention these facts to illustrate just how eager the nations of the world are to disarm, how frank they are about it, and how fervently they hope for the future peace of the world. There has not yet appeared on the international horizon one honest movement for real disarmament, and until that takes place the world may be looked upon as being in a status of an armistice, not of peace.

Now, what can we do about it? Why, there are two things that we can do. The beginnings have been made. It is much easier to work for peace today than it was ten or fifteen years ago, when the peace maker, the peace lover was sneered at as an impractical visionary. Peace has become a respectable theme for discussion among intelligent, practical people today. We can do two things. We can organize for peace. Nothing can be accomplished in the world today without organization, and unorganized peace sentiment is futile. We must focus the peace will and sentiment of the world today through a highly organized

agency, and direct it wherever and whenever it is necessary. We must bring pressure to bear upon our officials and representatives, here and abroad, to demand more international conferences for disarmament and to insist that disarmament be real and not deceptive. We must clamor for it!

In the second place, we must proceed with a patient program of education. Peace, my friends, will not be established tomorrow, or the next day, or the next decade. It will perhaps take the whole of the twentieth century, our century, permanently to secure peace for mankind. We must build up a strong peace loyalty through education, through molding the lives and the character of our children from the very cradle up, if you will. We must surround them with a peace atmosphere; we must give them peace ideals upon which to center their devotion and their enthusiasm. We must train them to think of loyalty to one's country and patriotism in terms of service and not in terms of war. We must train our youth systematically and consistently in school and college to think of the highest service which a man can render to his country is not to die for it but to live for it,--ethically, morally, beautifully, splendidly.

We must train our youth to think internationally, to believe that no nation can realize its highest destiny and its highest capacity except through pacific, good will and cooperation with all the other nations of

the world; just as no individual can realize his destiny in isolation but only through living and working with other men, does a man achieve his own fullest expression and greatest growth. Education for peace! That should take place in the next few decades. It may yet come to pass that the multitudinous sacrifices of the last war, in which ten millions of God's beautiful children were slain, and in which millions more were mutilated and butchered,-- it may yet be that the tears which were shed by the womanhood of the world in the tragic war may yet not have been altogether in vain.

Ten years after the war, I recall the war very vividly. I saw part of it with my own eyes, and what I saw are scars upon my mind and heart, and will remain there. As I stand today and think back ten years ago, I cannot help but pray that some kind fate may yet build out of the ruins of those countless lives, those beautiful lives of young men, may build out of their ruined lives, their careers cut short, something beautiful for mankind. Out of the unknown graves in Flanders in France, and all the other numberless battlefields of the earth, there arise today prayers for peace. It is they who speak to us. It is we who must hearken to them.

Nothing is impossible, my friends, if we wish it strongly enough and heartfeltly enough; the world is ready for a new start, and it is you and your children who must make this new start. Please remember that peace will

not come easily, gracefully, like a radiant maiden bearing gifts. No blessing to mankind has ever come that way. Peace will come like a man of sorrows, mocked, spat upon, despised. You will be misunderstood, your motives will be misinterpreted. In hours of emergency and crises you will be accused of double allegiance and lack of patriotism. So be it. If you are earnest and consecrated you will persist, and in a world of misunderstanding you will carry on; in a world of darkness you will hold aloft that torch which they who died placed in your hands.

Make a religion of peace, my friends; make a ritual of peace preachment and peace will come to pass. It has been almost three thousand years since one of your race spoke of the time when nation will not lift up sword against nation or learn war any more. Three thousand years! Think of the numberless wars which have been waged all during those long, dreary centuries, and of the multitudinous lives which have been sacrificed, of the cities destroyed and the homes rendered desolate! Three thousand years and that dream has not yet come to pass!

But we are on the threshold. The first appearance of the new dawn is here. Let us pray and work that the dawn will not be a false dawn; that the light may brighten into a full noonday of international comity and peace, when nations will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

That is the message of Armistice Day.

sermon 282

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The **TEMPLE BULLETIN**

THE TEMPLE

*East 105th St. and Ansel Rd.
CLEVELAND, OHIO*

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.
RABBI

*Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
Minister of Religious Education*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1928

10:30 A. M.

RABBI SILVER

will speak on

**"How the World is Preparing for
the Next War"**

An Armistice Day Address

The Sabbath Eve Service
5:30 to 6:10

The Sabbath Morning Service
11:00 to 12:00

The Temple Bulletin, published weekly from the middle of September to June, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, E. 106th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. E. E. Wolf, Pres.; Emanuel Einstein, Treas.; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Editor. Subscription price, 50 cents per annum.

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Music for Sunday Morning, November 11th

Organ (10:15 A. M.)

Prelude

Ancient Phoenecian ProcessionStoughton
AstarteMildenberg
DreamsStoughton

Postlude

Festal ProcessionNevin
Paul Allen Beymer

Anthem

RecessionalKipling-DeKoven
Paul F. Kinnison, Baritone

Armistice Day

This Sunday morning marks the eleventh Armistice Day Anniversary of the World War. Rabbi Silver will accordingly devote his address to thoughts suggested by this anniversary. His subject will be, "How the World is Preparing for the Next War."

"The Unknown Sanctuary"

On Sunday morning, Nov. 18th, Rabbi Silver will speak on a profound and beautiful book written by Aimé Pallière a non-Jew who was preparing himself for the Priesthood, but who is now head of the Liberal Synagogue in Paris. The story of his spiritual pilgrimage is told in his book, "The Unknown Sanctuary."

Rabbi Silver and the Community Chest

Rabbi Silver is scheduled to deliver two important addresses in connection with The Community Chest Campaign, which will be held in our city, Nov. 19th to 27th.

On Thursday evening, Nov. 8th, he will address The Metropolitan Division in the new Ball Room of the Public Auditorium. On Wednesday evening, Nov. 14th he will be the principal speaker at the annual dinner tendered by Mr. Samuel Mather to Division "A" and the leaders of the other divisions of the Campaign Organization at the Mid-day Club.

Citizens' Armistice Day Celebration

The Citizens of Cleveland will celebrate the eleventh Armistice Day Anniversary with a great public meeting on Monday, Nov. 12th, from 11:45 to 12:35 P. M. at B. F. Keith's Palace Theatre. This meeting is being arranged by a Citizens' Committee, of which Rabbi Silver is Chairman, representing all of the religious denominations of Cleveland, as well as many civic bodies. The Armistice Day address will be delivered by Ex-Judge John H. Clarke of The United States Supreme Court, whose subject will be "The World War and World Peace." Superintendent R. G. Jones will preside. You are cordially invited to attend.

The Temple Theatre Guild

A large cast is rehearsing for the first presentation of the Temple Theatre Guild for this year. Everything points to another year of continued achievement for the Guild which has already made a fine reputation for itself in the dramatic

"THE ROAD TO HAPPINESS"

TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OPEN MEETING

Wednesday, November 14th, 2 P. M.

The Temple Women's Association will hold its first open lecture meeting of the year on Wednesday afternoon, November 14th, at 2 P. M. in Mahler Hall.

The guest and speaker will be Dr. Edward N. Schoolman of Chicago, noted lecturer, psychiatrist and authority on social problems. He has chosen to speak on the extremely interesting theme, "The Road to Happiness."

An unusually fine meeting is anticipated.

Tea will be served after the meeting and the following women will act as hostesses: Mrs. Melville Liebenthal, Mrs. Meyer Hexter, Mrs. Charles Miller, Mrs. George Hays, Mrs. Adolph Liebenthal, Mrs. Henry Klein, Mrs. Sidney Stern, Mrs. Herbert Lederer, Mrs. Ben Einstein and Mrs. Henry Auerbach.

circles of this community. The first play selected for production by the Guild is "The Cassalis Engagement" by St. John Hankin, and it will be presented on Tuesday evening, Nov. 27th.

Lecture Course

It has been highly gratifying to observe the enthusiastic response with which the Temple Monday Evening Lecture Course has been received in the community. It shows, without doubt, that people are interested in listening to scholarly discussions of important and vital themes. A large and interested audience listened to the two opening lectures. It was an unusual audience with many teachers, university instructors and students present. Many of the listeners took careful notes on the lecture.

This coming Monday night will open the actual discussion of the Great Religions of Mankind with a lecture on "Judaism" by Rabbi Silver.

TEMPLE MONDAY EVENING LECTURE COURSE

on

THE GREAT RELIGIONS OF MANKIND

presents

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

speaking on

"JUDAISM"

Monday Evening

November 12th at 8 P. M.

MAHLER HALL

Single Admission 35 cents

- My B.W.K.

Temple Religious School Report

Total enrollment, including the High School—1,412.

Number of pupils, Kindergarten to 9th grade, inclusive—1,261.

Average attendance for the week, 93.5%; for the month, 95%. The honor classes for the month were 3A, Miss Markowitz, and 5F, Mr. Dryer.

The following classes had 100% attendance for the week: 1A, Miss Oppen; 2D, Mrs. Coblitz; 3D, Miss Curtis; 4F, Miss Bernstein; 5D, Miss Gimp; 7D, Miss Suit; 9B, Mrs. Reich; 9F, Miss Ruben. The following classes in the High School had 100% attendance: 2B, Miss Friedman; 3B, Dr. Lebowich.

Sunshine Fund

The collection of the Sunshine Fund for the week was \$36.86.

High School Department

The work of the High School Department, with the largest enrollment in its history, is characterized this year by a fine spirit of co-operation between students and

faculty. A number of interesting innovations were made this year by Rabbi Feuer who is personally supervising the work of the High School. Among them was the institution of a chapel service every Sunday morning. The address at the last service was delivered by Mr. Stanley Friedman of the faculty of the Religious School. This coming Sunday morning, being the anniversary of Armistice Day, the High School student body will hold a special peace service, the address to be delivered by Mr. Arthur A. Miller of the faculty.

Acknowledgment

Because of lack of space in last week's Bulletin, we are acknowledging this week the fine work of the following women who contributed materially to the success of the T. W. A. Exhibit: Mrs. Sam Manheim and the group of women in charge of the decoration booth and Mrs. R. C. Norberg, Mrs. H. G. Devay, Mrs. S. M. Bloch and Mrs. N. Silverman in charge of the administrative details of the Exhibit.

The Temple Wishes to Acknowledge with Thanks the Following Contributions:

To the Floral Fund

Mrs. Frances Willner

In memory of husband, Moses Willner

To the Library Fund

Mr. and Mrs. H. S.

Schwartz

In memory of mother, Yetta Schwartz

To the Scholarship Fund

Mrs. Ben R. Kohn

In memory of parents, Bessie and I. L. Fuldheim

Mr. & Mrs. Sidney N. Weitz

In memory of Helen Goodman Altman

Mrs. Lena Fellingner

In memory of I. Rice

In Memoriam

We record with deep sorrow the death of MR. MORTON SEIDMAN during the past week, and extend the condolences of the congregation to his bereaved family.

1 - Ten years - if one were an Optimist
- take hopeful view -

- ① Would recommend Germany -
all others - Except territ. appetites -
- compromise faith in Article 39.
- Pacified - amenable.

2. Last decade - 4 quarters -

- ① League ② Perm. Court of Int. Justice
③ Locarno ④ Kellogg -

① Each m, there - Spoke - Walling

3. The Optimist -

- ① Fear ② armed - no desire
③ 15 nations - compulsory
④ More men - 3 m -
⑤ 5 great naval - 250 battle sh.
⑥ Air Fleet - ⑦ Gas -

① G.B. 1913 - 75m - 1926 - 117 m.
U.S. 1914 313m - 1927 - 670 m.
Fr - 47m - 1927 to 1,400 -

4. There can be but one interpretation -
- Same frozen game - of course -
- Prelude . Will not fight now.
- No escape from logic - Prep.
is war against peace.
- Murman . - Explode. analogy.
9 + is - 670 - m.

5. Lead in increasing armaments -
unacceptable indication of future
war - Also in unsubstantiated
- pious
① In 10 years - not me care;
real disaster - I know
- working in

6. But that we not all - Secret
Part -

7. They have not yet appeared
on Int. horizon - horst
- only armaments

8. What can we do - Beg. karghan mah-
- ushaye pishkarnu - Suer at ^{ear}
① Oyaunge - demand Conf.

② Education - in new patriotism

③ Perhaps the great work will
not have been in vain

ARMISTICE DAY PROCLAMATION

Whereas, during the past ten years the dominant desire of all thoughtful people has been to discover some means whereby permanent peace may be established; and

Whereas, various efforts to democratize justice among the nations have culminated in the Kellogg Multilateral Treaty whereby "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples, ~~that~~ they condemn recourse of war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another," and "agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

We women of Cleveland do beseech that this tenth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice be made a day of thanksgiving in that by the terms of the Kellogg Multilateral Treaty the Will for Peace has been transformed into the Power for Peace. We appeal to you Statesmen, to you citizens, to accept this instrument for Peace. We appeal to you parents, to you teachers, to you ministers of every faith to lead the people to understand the machinery whereby the Power for Peace may be exercised and to an awareness of those interrelations and of that interdependence of modern nations upon which the Power for Peace depends.

No longer do we look upon world peace as a distant vision but rather we appreciate that it now may be a present reality on this Armistice Day, let us give thanks that the day approaches in which Peace will be permanently established among the nations, and the "world, under God, will have a new birth of freedom."

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR PROMOTION OF PEACE

1836 Euclid Avenue

1. Ten years after signing, armistice, if we were an
 planet we could take a very hopeful view of conditions
 in the world. If we were a permanent, we could take
 a very depressing view. The truth would probably
 be somewhere in between.

The world has of course recovered in an amazing
 way from the vast catastrophe - not in so short a time.
 The miracle of all nations has been Germany and we
 cannot but pay tribute to the incredible energy
 and capacity, that people, on beholding her present
 state of ruin, well being after the war. But the
 crushed and drained by the war. But the
^{unfortunate} situation of other countries as well France,
 Italy, J. Britain, Yugoslavia is also an object
 of unkindness and commiseration. It is also
 some nations, territorially split and reduced by the war,
 have not yet found their equilibrium. But by far
 the situation is better than the most sanguine
 dared to hope for. This is a common mis faith
 in the ^{strength of the} recuperation power, our modern civilization
 had a war, such magnitude & such destruction
 occurred in the modern age - it would have laid
 Europe ^{in ruins} & absolute for a century.

The world is pacified. The amenities of inter-
 life have been restored. Inter. relationships, with
 one or two exceptions, have been generally restored.
 There is no immediate danger of war. There are
 no black clouds on the internat. horizon.

The last decade has given the world ^{guarantees} of continued peace in the form of ^{institutions and} treaties. (1) The League of Nations (2) The ^{Permanent} Court of International Justice (3) The Locarno Pact (4) The Kellogg Treaty for the outlawing of war. (5) The first attempt to bring the world into a Society for mutual ^{protection against aggression} and ^{amicable} settlement of their differences with machinery for the adjustment of their differences. (6) The second guaranteed the transition states from the warring nations and the instability, the frontiers bet. Germ. & Fran; and Germ. & Belg.; from Belg. and Fran. France mutually undertaking to abstain from war against each other and to settle by peaceful means all questions which might arise bet. them. (7) The second was this machinery - a court of judges to which all disputes may be brought for settlement and the 9 was a pledge solemnly taken by the great nations of the earth that they would henceforth refrain from the outbreak of international controversies, and enounced it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. They agreed "that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, whatever nature or whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by peaceful means".

Good as this steps taken for the insurance of permanent peace is epoch-making, particularly the last one - which was the world by an arm. Few and achieved things the League of Nations, the

Nations were not to resort to war before voluntarily defecting
to settlement, and only ~~3~~ until 3 months after
war. It was to take steps toward reduction
of armaments.



Am. government under Kellogg.

2. The optimist, viewing their adjustment, may feel confident that all is well now with the world. The nations have signed solemn agreements not to fight. They have made at least commitments for adjusting their differences. All is fine, safe and secure. But no one but an unpurified romanticist in the world really believes that. Certainly the people who are close to government in all countries, the facts do not believe it. Internat. fear and suspicion are as great now today as 10 years or 15 years ago - They distrust each other as much as ever - and they would like to underarm one another as much as ever. Every nation is ready to the 13th and they have shown no willingness to disarm. ① The War to End War has left Europe with 15 nations having compulsory military training, its citizens. Those who have not, with 2 or 3 exceptions, belong to groups, nations defeated in last war and prohibited by treaties from having such compulsory military training.
- ② There are more men in the standing armies of Europe today than before the war - 3 million more in fact, and counting the many millions in the organized reserves. ③ The five great naval powers of the Earth - G. B., U.S., France, Italy & U.S., having agreed never to fight are now building ^{these years} a total of 250 battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines.
- ④ In 1929 Eng. plans to build 58; U.S. 19; France 26 new ships. In 1931 Japan plans to build 30 ships

[illegible]

and a large number of small size crum wheels
Eng. can use for its easily accessible bases
but which are little use to U.S. — But
could you run on the wheel this time. 1/2

● Talked. Propaganda. What was. Conference
ended in dead-lock — Such is the experience
of Great Britain to disarm. This was a case followed
by a demand among Am. people to hold ship at sea & beat England
out.

4. But that was not all. England was still determined
to not let U.S. maintain supremacy / sea — while
forcing U.S. into secondary position. is expecting it to
criticism, used. Eng. ^{entering into} made a secret agreement
with France that if ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~both~~ ^{both} came ahead, ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~war~~ ^{war}.
Conference, France would accept Eng. position as the
crucial against U.S.; Eng. would in turn secure
the Fr. position on French reserves. Fr. has been
maintaining — with ridiculous little logic — that French
reserves ^{which she has no idea} should not be counted as soldiers, &c.
when going land to sea. comes up — she ~~by~~ ^{by} could
agree to limit her ~~army~~ ^{land force} without actually limiting
them — This is another evidence of the experience with
which nations are trying to disarm — Eng. & Fr.

● Used their present position from. ~~They~~ ^{They} ~~could~~ ^{could} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~blamed~~ ^{blamed} ~~caused~~ ^{caused} ~~if~~ ^{if} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~refused~~ ^{refused} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~next~~ ^{next}
Conference ^{also} failed. — The trick did not work.
Had ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~called~~ ^{called} the bluff. and the Eng. & Fr. ~~explains~~ ^{explains}
was ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~last~~ ^{last} ~~few~~ ^{few} ~~months~~ ^{months}
calling themselves ~~leaves~~ ^{leaves} —

The thing, a nation waxes through armament, the
more it grows war. Preparation is an insurance
not against war but against losing peace. over

3. I read in the increasing armament, name this plank of
the nations the inexorably indications of future war.
Also in their unwillingness to agree to reduce armament.
They all express the peace wish that arm. may be reduced
but in 10 years - of arm. & crushing debt, -
not one nation has reduced its armament
really. I. yes, but even then a few nations may have
agreed to not to build certain types of battle ships,
and to maintain a ^{contact} ratio, such ship among
thems. U.S., Gt. Br. France & Japan did that
in Washington in 1922. - But that was
a futile gesture. They were all left free to
build as many of the other types of ships -
cruisers, submarines, destroyers, air ship - as they
wished. And they did - and they are doing it.
P The U.S. was ingenuitous then. The other great
powers were impoverished, debt-ridden. Had the U.S.
wished it could have built them except battleships
& cruisers to remain it ^{underpinned} naval supremacy in the
world. But other ratio, would be armament it did
not. It said that it would be satisfied with
a naval parity with England. Engl. agreed
with alacrity - but it outplayed well Japan.
It saw that that with U.S. shall ~~have~~ ^{be} shells
Spanish, but it U.S. in months. But this
when ^{the U.S. was} ~~it~~ ^{was} ~~supreme~~ and say nothing about cruisers

There is need to explode this analogy bet. armament & insurance.
It is said that the 670 m. which we spend annually for
military estab. is our insurance bill against war. Just as
a man insures his property against fire. So a nation
insures itself against war. But this is preposterous.
You insure against fire in one of two ways.
① fire-proof building ② insur. policy - which will pay you
your loss. In war, however, our losses are not
paid - even if we are victors. We were left
with a debt of 12 billions & dollars which war
murders will have to pay. It works insurance
a nation against war. for the best armed nations
are those which fight most. And it does not
mean victory! Germany - the best armed - was
beaten by a coalition - by the world! How
can one nation arm itself against the
world! It is all a fraud and a
deception - this ~~war~~ nat. insurance
agreement for puppets!

5. There has not yet appeared as the interim. Congress an honest, and above-board movement to limit armament. Until that occurs, & the nations cease to attempt to out-distance each other & to combine to out-balance each other - the world may be said to remain in the midst of an armistice. There is not peace.

6. What can we do? Organize for peace. Unorganized public opinion is of little moment - Let your repres. feel fresh & public opinion - Exhorting him on castigating him - Demand conferences for disarmament! Demand the expulsion of military training from our schools & colleges -

7. Patient work - need of persistent work - Time
Test — (1) Education for Peace. — ^{Supreme test of} success is —
Perhaps the most sacrifice will not have proved in vain -