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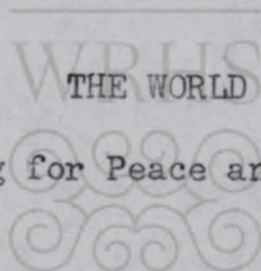
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The world tomorrow, 1941.



THE WORLD TOMORROW



Planning for Peace and for a Reconstructed World

At
The Temple

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

On
Sunday morning, November 2, 1941

Last week, dear friends, I spoke on the theme - how to unite for victory, how to prepare to win with unity and through a readiness to sacrifice.

Assuming that this war will be won, as we all hope and pray that it will be won -- what then? We won the last war in 1918 against the same enemy. Then we lost it. We lost the peace. So that twenty years later we found ourselves again at war, against the same foe. The question which reoccurs to every thinking man and woman is will this same war today again end in a twenty year armistice? In a truce fearful, full of apprehension and irresistible slithering down to another catastrophe?

What shall be our peace aims to insure that this will not reoccur? In a sense it is too early to speak of peace aims when the war is not yet won. Our first job is to win. In another sense it is not too early to speak of peace aims. For after victory it is too late to begin to plan for peace. The days which follow an armistice, the days during the peace conference are too short and too full of feverish activities to plan deliberately and justly for peace. Unless there has been previously considerable thinking about the structure for enduring peace, revenge, reparation, loot and intrigue are the order of the day.

Therefore, now is the time to lay the basis for a real world reconstruction. Now is the time to work out in broad outline, in blueprint the kind of a world we should like to see follow the second World War.

It is clear, is it not, that it will not be enough to defeat Hitler. We defeated a Kaiser twenty-three years ago. We must eradicate those conditions which make the recrudescence of Kaiserism and Hitlerism possible in the world. It will not be enough to disarm Germany. We disarmed Germany after the last World War. We must not only insure the disarmament

of Germany after this war but we must create those conditions and those arrangements in Europe and in the world which will make the rearmament in Germany not only impossible but unnecessary. That is to say, Germany when defeated, will not have to resort to rearmament, for a longer or shorter time after this war in order to obtain justice, provided it is justice which she wants and not conquest and hegemony and world domination -- that insatiable and so far unsatiated hunger which inflicted that people for more than a decade.

The President of the United States, some time ago projected in a broad way the peace aims when he spoke of the four freedoms as a basis for the new world order. He spoke of Freedom of Expression, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear, the four freedoms for which we are fighting and which we would like to have permanently established in the world. These four freedoms are excellent slogans, excellent battlecries by which to rally for peace.

Concretely what are those four freedoms? How are we to serve them? How are we to preserve them? One of these four freedoms -- Freedom from Fear -- the eminent Italian historian, Guglielmo Ferraro in his recently published book "The Reconstruction of Europe", speaks about. He calls attention to the universal mood of fear which pervaded Europe during the Napoleonic Era as a result of the conquests and the wars of Napoleon. Europe was afraid, was in a panic of fear. Legitimate governments ceased to exist then as now. Small and large states were destroyed and their legitimate rulers were replaced by hand-picked flunkies and "gawleiders", then as now. Counterfeit Republics and Monarchies were struck up and established, each headed by some Quisling. Then as now. In his effort to create a new order in Europe,

to organized Europe, to help him fight England, Napoleon unseated long established governments and placed revolutionary governments in their place, to serve not the interests of the people and of the respective countries, but to serve the interests of Napoleon and his empire.

These governments in every instance were founded on force, just as are the present governments of Norwar, Holland Greece, Rumania are founded not on the consent of the people, but on force. So that Europe lived in those years of the Napoleonic Era in a state of constitutional chaos. There was no law of nations which anyone was committed to respect. Forcible annexations, improvised protectorates and what amounted to a state of permanent siege was the order of the day -- then as now. And as a result, Europe found itself in panic and fear -- panic which is the result and symbol of universal disorder.

And it was the task of the Congress of Vienna after Waterloo, and the task of the great intellectual leader Talleyrand to put an end to this state of fear by restoring legitimate governments in place of revolutionary governments -- that is, governments founded on principles which are sincerely accepted by the peoples and faithfully respected by the rulers.

Now exactly the same conditions exist in Europe today caused by another would be conqueror. This time his name is Hitler. Hitler like Napoleon disrupted the political balance of Europe. He, too, uprooted legitimate governments. Europe today is the scene of political anarchy and fear pervades the whole afflicted warring continent of Europe.

What is the solution? The solution is the same now as it was at the Congress of Vienna one hundred and twenty-five years ago. The solution is the restoration of governments, of legitimate governments.

What is a legitimate government? Professor Ferraro gives an exact definition, a sound definition of the true test of whether a government is legitimate or not -- legitimate government, the right of opposition, that is to say, a government which recognizes the right of a loyal opposition of another party, of other parties, a government which recognizes the right of citizens to express themselves affirmatively and negatively on policies of government. I quote from Professor Ferraro's book: "Once more the great panic must be eliminated by tearing out its deepest roots. A new balance must be set up in Europe by a confederation of legitimate states, each of which will be free to govern itself as it wishes -- republic or monarchy, aristocracy or democracy, corporatism or sovietism -- but on condition that it respect two fundamental principles which alone can legitimize it -- the right of opposition and the right to vote, the second of which is only partially separate from the first. Once they have again become legitimate, all the governments can rid themselves of their constant terror of the wretched subjects whom they tyrannize, and of the perpetual dread of an ever-imminent attack, which is wearing them out and weakening them today."

There can be no permanent peace in Europe after the war as long as dictatorships refuse to recognize the right of opposition and refuse to grant their people the right to vote. No permanent peace can be built on dictatorship. And that brings up the question of the eternal rights of people -- the idea that every people has the right to choose his own government and nobody has the right to interfere. But it is clear by now after the world's experience for twenty years with certain types of governments that those types of governments which can not fit into any peaceful international law -- they are a menace not only to the

peoples whose liberties they rob, but are a menace to those people they seek to conquer. They disrupt any peaceful order.. They cannot cooperate. They ~~must~~ recognize no law which they must respect and no rights which protect the rights of other nations. In other words, dictatorships are revolutionary and anarchist governments which create fear and which thrives on fear, which seek to conquer other countries through fear. And if the world is ever to have freedom from fear, as President Roosevelt pronounces, it must be forever freed from illegitimate dictatorships which have placed themselves in power in most of the countries in the world today. All the other freedoms derive from this basic freedom -- Freedom of Fear.

This brings us to the other thought that the world after the war will have to solve -- the concept of the so-called absolute sovereign state, that notion that any state can do whatever it wants to do either in relation to its own country or other countries. That notion of absolute national sovereignty makes forever impossible any international order of justice and peace. The idea of the omnipotent sovereign state must be modified by the idea of international obligation which all states must equally assume for mutual protection. All nations, of course, must be free and autonomous but subject to a rapidly evolving international law which shall define not only rights, but duties, their inter-relatedness, and limit their whimsiness.

It was the old orthodox notion of the sovereign state which wrecked the League of Nations. First of all it was required that there be unanimity of resolution on any major proposal. In the second place every nation had the right of secession. We fought a single war in the United States to make just that thing impossible. But once established

there is no right of secession at will. For at a critical moment secession makes for disunion. Because of this orthodox notion of self-sufficiency and sovereignty, they refused to submit to or to create organs of coercion without which no orderly society is possible. They insisted on each toting his own gun, as it were. But they refused to create what we have created right along in our municipal and federal organizations -- a police force.

Now our world is fast becoming too interdependent, industrially, commercially and even culturally. We had a depression in 1929 and in the years which followed it we thought that it affected the United States only. But in a way that depression brought on Mr. Hitler. It hit Europe like a thunderbolt. It disrupted the national money systems of Europe, particularly in nations like Austria and Germany who never wholly recovered from their defeat in the last war. The result was that Trade and Commerce languished in Europe, unemployment spread like a plague and prepared the way for the coming of Hitler.

This economic interdependence, willing or unwilling of nations, makes necessary inevitably a certain political interrelatedness. The world cannot forever remain broken up, politically unintegrated in unreasonable sovereign units, unfederated units.

What is called for after the war is not forceful unification of Europe, as the Nazis want it. The Nazis want to unify Europe with rubber truncheons and to exploit Europe to their own ends. That is not voluntary political unification. A future political solidarity after the next war -- such as the League of Nations -- would produce such a solidarity. It was this League that nations feared after the last war -- those nations which constituted it -- particularly three or four

nations which brought the League into being and then brought about the failure of the League to their own hurt and to their own sorrow. Only a reconstituted Federation of peoples of Europe will make possible the reconstruction of Europe, will make possible disarmament in Europe and in the world. Following this war there must be established a colonial open door, free access to the raw materials of the earth for all people. Following this war and in an effort to preserve democracy in the future, the nations of the earth must see to it that democratic government does not exact too high a price from its people. Why have democracies collapses after the last war? Because the people living in those democracies were asked to pay too high a price for for it in terms of unemployment, in terms of social conflict, in terms of suffering. No democracy can long survive such a condition. There must be a measure of security given, security of job, security of home, security of education, security of health, security in old age, security in the preservation of the dignity of the individual.

Geoffrey Crowther, a London Economist, calls it the Citizen's Charter. He writes: "Just as political democracy gives the citizen his Bill of Rights -- his charter of privileges inherent in him as a human being, enjoyed as of right and without proof of individual merit -- so an economic democracy should assure to every citizen the essential economic substance of a decent life. The citizen of a democracy should be guaranteed, as of right, enough food to maintain him in health. He should be assured of a minimum standard of shelter, clothing, and fuel. He should be given full and equal opportunities of education. He should have leisure and facilities for enjoying it. He should be secured against the risks of unemployment, ill health, and old age. Above all, the presence

children should not be allowed to bring with it misery for the parents, deprivation for the children, and poverty for all. All these things inhere in the individual as his citizen's rights."

A system of economic justice as the basis upon which to build a permanent democratic system, a charter of citizen's rights, a charter of the minority group -- Minorities must be made forever secure in their rights. A system of law must be set up and enforced whereby minorities will not be kicked about at the whim or will of majorities and will not be subject to cunning, calculated, hostile propaganda. The rights of racial and religious minorities must become fundamental to any people after the war. Give them that kind of a peace made secure by international organization, implemented by force and mankind will have the right to look forward after the war to a long era of peace and good will.

All this, my friends, calls for a spiritual awakening among all people. We are in such a condition of spiritual defeatism that most people have come even to despair of this better world for all people. What the world needs today is a strong re-affirmation of the possibility of such a world and the reality of such a world. It can be had. It can be done. It can be secured provided we are prepared to work for it. And the youth of our country must be inspired with the confidence that this better world is desirable and that they can help to bring it about.

It is the pessimism of the last two decades which has sapped the moral strength, the spiritual resourcefulness, the optimism of democratic peoples. As far as our own country is concerned, America, it is our pledge to see this war through. We must also be resolved to see the Peace through.

We entered the last World War assuming all the responsibilities of the war. But we cut and ran and were afraid to assume the responsibilities of peace. We did not join the League of Nations. We helped to bring about the Second World War. (Cannot be an isolated country). We must come to understand that we will be forced to intervene in any major European war in which the world is engaged. The American people must come to understand that it is the part of statesmanship to help construct a world order, to help make peace possible. You will either have to cooperate in a world peace or indefinitely intervene in world war.

That, my dear friends, is the education which our people must acquire while this war is raging. Because I am persuaded that at the conclusion of this war, which is bound to be a long and costly war, there will again set in such a reaction against involvement, so to speak, in foreign war. The American people must steel itself to the greater responsibility which will confront it after the war for all, namely, to put its full weight along with a federation of peoples of the world in building a new international order of peoples. We must educate ourselves into a realization that no amount of clever isolationist dialectics can alter the fact that no nation can live in an ~~ix~~ ivory tower behind Chinese walls heedless of what is happening on the other side. When we become fully integrated to that, we will be able to play our great role of destiny, namely, to be a light to a sick and troubled world.

We led the world 150 years ago along a new road of freedom, liberty and rights of man. We were then only a little people. Yet in those days we had the genius and courage to proclaim a new way of life, and followed it for 150 years. The time is here again to guide men along new ways, into new, strong international peace, international attitudes, international attitudes -- a strength which is not beyond the power and possibilities of men and nations today.

- 1) Armistice 1918 proved prelude
 assuming this we - won - will it? True?
We won the last - and lost. fact of
slithering
- 2) Not enough - defeat Hitler - disarm
create those conditions
Peace aims - Early? Days which follow
hurry - Revenge - Reparations - Justice
- 3/4 Freedom - Expression - Work - Heart - Fear
Prof. Ferren - mood of fear - suspense
Leg. govts. ceased to exist - Replaced - flunk
Counterfeit WELLS AMERICAN BIRTH ARCHIVES never not
Founded on force not law or consent -
committed to respect
Forcible Annexations - unpopular protection
permanent siege - Pain - Vienna
Def. Leg. t. Fort
- 4) Internal Affairs - fit in - disrupt
Dict. are revol - anarchistic - create Fear
Endanger all forms of Vol. orgs
- 5) Abandon Concept of Nat Sovereignty