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Great Britain and the United States, 1942.

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GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The fifth lecture in the series on "Where Brave Men Are
Fighting" and "What Brave Men Are Fighting For"

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, November 8, 1942

It is very pleasant, friends, at this time, at this moment to speak of what the men of Great Britain, the men of the United States are doing in this war. In Egypt in the last few days the soldiers of Great Britain aided by American soldiers have given superb evidence of how brave men are fighting when they have weapons with which to fight. This morning we had the amazingly gratifying news that the troops of the United States have landed on the shores of North Africa and West Africa in what promises to be a major campaign of coordination with the troops now fighting in Egypt to drive the Axis forces to active combat. In Egypt the armies of Great Britain have been smiting the Axis -- they who are near the gates of Alexandria, who were gloating over the prospect of conquest of the whole Nile Valley and the whole of Egypt, the Suez Canal are now fleeing in what amounts to a rout out of Egypt discomfited, broken and scattered.

The final outcome of the campaign in Egypt is of course as yet unknown. It is clear that the enemy has suffered a major defeat, that it lost vast numbers of men, many were killed, wounded and have lost vast material. More especially it has lost initiative. It has cleared the way for a major campaign. Outlines have begun to be revealed this morning. We may be at a decisive stage in the second world war and this victory in Egypt, this offensive taken by our forces in North and West Africa come on the heel of the second major set-back which the armies of Hitler have suffered to the Soviet Union. Perhaps victory in Africa is directly traceable to the fact that Hitler is bogged down, is not able to spare enough soldiers, tanks, everything for a major campaign in Egypt. Hitler's miscalculation shall probably cost him the war. By invading Russia Hitler lost his last chance to invade England. He lost his last chance to invade the Mediterranean and North Africa. For Hitler knew that he could fight successfully on only one front.

It seems that the dawn of a brighter day ^{which} for the United Nations have been prayerfully hoping has come to be. The war is far from being over. But unless

there is unforeseen disaster in the offing, the road to victory lies more open, more clearly defined today than at any time in the past.

This remarkable victory of Great Britain in Egypt naturally raises the question why has England suffered so many defeats heretofore, an almost unbroken series of military disasters at Dunquirk, in Lybia, HongKong, Singapore? What was wrong. It also raises the question why the United States has suffered such a series of military set-backs at Pearl Harbor, Wake Island, the Philippines, Java, etc.? Surely the fighting forces of the United Nations, Britain and the United States lack neither the courage or the willingness to suffer or sacrifice for victory. Surely soldier for soldier ours are equal to any soldiers the Axis put in the field. What was the reason?

The answer is a very simple one. It has been given over and over again. Great Britain and the United States were unprepared for this war. The question arises - why? The answer is of tremendous importance. Both of the nations were beguiled.

In 1939 when the war broke out, neither England nor the United States nor France, all three of them put together, it was said, were a match for Germany. In 1939 we had practically no army and an inferior air force. There were not enough munitions in her arsenals to supply her Navy for even one large major engagement.

How did it come about? In 1935, France and England together spent on their army, navy and air force 255,000,000 lbs; Germany spent 800,000,000 lbs. The following year, England and France spent 350,000,000 lbs; Germany 900,000,000 lbs. In 1937, England and France spent 437,000,000 lbs; and Germany 1000 million lbs. Our own country in 1937 spent on their military forces 890,000,000 dollars -- less than one-fifth of what Germany spent that year.

During the decade preceding 1939, more especially five years preceding, Germany, Italy, Japan were straining every nerve to arm themselves for a war of conquest which they had set as their definite objective and for which they were laying cool and deliberate plans. The very brutal dictatorship which those countries imposed upon their people was in order to facilitate the rapid rearming of those countries in preparation for total war. Those countries proceeded deliberately to lower the standard of living of their people, to reduce wages, increase hours of work. They proceeded deliberately to re-organize their total national economy and set it to production for war. What we are doing today, planned in 1942, they did in 1934, five, six, seven, eight, nine years ago. They proceeded to develop and perfect the newest techniques of warfare -- plans, tanks, panzer divisions. They also proceeded to indoctrinate their people, the young people particularly, with the idea of war, conquest, national destiny. If one spoke up for peace, he was sent to a concentration camp. All the while this vast preparation going through ~~the~~ channels political, intellectual, economic, directed toward one objective -- military preparedness for conquest--in Italy, Germany and Japan, the free democracies, England, France, the United States were thinking in terms of peace, talking of peace, talking of disarmament, were being lulled into a false sense of security. So that when the year 1935 rolled along, '36 and '37, when the Axis powers began to challenge the world order, making demands for a reshuffling of the boundaries of the world, these free nations awoke to a realization that they were practically helpless, that they could not challenge the Nazis and Fascists because they were unprepared. They could not risk war. Whatever else may have been responsible for the disastrous and immoral practices pursued singly and collectively in the case of Munich, Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, whatever else may have been responsible, surely it is true that much was due to lack of preparedness on part of the Free nations. They had to do it because they could not go to war. The proof of it that not ~~merely~~ merely men of the type of Daladier and Chamberlain, but a man like Leon Blum, spokesman of the Popular

Front in France -- surely not a Fascist nor a reactionary -- Blum had to conform in the first instance to the non-interventionist policy of Spain. At the time of Munich he said: "I am divided between a feeling of shame and cowardly relief". He was relieved because he knew, too, that France was unprepared. Of course it is doubtful if they were more prepared the following year when they declared war on Germany..

One recalls a very remarkable statement made a long long time ago by an American patriot, at a time when his country faced a situation where it felt itself to be unprepared. He addressed himself to the American people and said:

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak -- unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year?...Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemy shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those forces which the God of nature hath placed in our power...we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to return from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged..." This was spoken in 1775 by Patrick Henry.

The Allies waited because they were unprepared. Now, why were they so unprepared? There were various factors which contributed. In the first instance there was a system of collective security -- a League of Nations which was to

lead to disarmament rather than to increased armament. But the League had no military forces to enforce it. The democratic peoples wanted peace very much but not enough to support it unreservedly and give up old time international power politics and advantage seeking. So that the instrument for peace on which the free peoples relied was left altogether too weak to defend them in time of crisis...The fact was overlooked that when one nation disarmed or failed to arm adequately and their neighbor was not disarming that you are not making for peace but that you are making for war.... In the second place these democratic nations themselves helped to rearm Germany, Italy, Japan. Some citizens of those countries wanted war and sold munitions to Germany. They knew that a country that was spending five billion dollars on armament was an excellent customer. They knew full well that as soon as Germany re-armed on a large scale, all the other countries would follow suit sooner or later. So they helped to rearm.

Again in each of the democratic countries there were elements in the population who looked with disfavor upon Hitler but who had been terribly frightened by Bolshevism and Communism, ~~but~~ by the tidal wave of Communism in Russia, and were not at all averse to building up Hitler in the hope that he would turn against Russia leaving the Western Hemisphere secure both as against himself and Communism. There were people in Paris, London and New York who hated socialism, communism or the New Deal far more than they hated Hitler.

There was a third factor which contributed to the lack of armament on the part of the three nations. They did not grasp the true nature of the gangster nations. They were unprepared for the kind of new order which the Fascist nations wanted to start. They thought that all they wanted was a little more land and that they could be easily appeased by throwing them a piece of

territory here and there. They failed to see that they wanted to set up a new order, that they were out to conquer the world in a literal sense. And failing to understand the true nature of the gangster nations they failed to prepare amply.

Finally they were retarded in their preparation by subtle and skillful propaganda which the Nazis and Fascists had spread throughout the free nations. While Hitler was feverishly preparing for war in Germany, his agents were preaching peace in Holland, Belgium, in the United States and elsewhere, inciting campaigns for disarmament in all the countries while he himself was arming. The German propaganda office spent annually one hundred million dollars and sent 25,000 paid agents into these countries to keep them from re-arming, to lull them into a sense of security, to keep them from seeing the true nature of that foe. And they succeeded amazingly.

I recall what our own senators did before Pearl Harbor when our own country was aflame, when France, Poland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark. We recall how many Congressmen and Senators some wittingly and some unwittingly voted consistently against every measure to rearm the United States and to send money and help to our Allies. Read a book like "Sabotage" by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn and you will learn how the Nazis and secret spies work in the United States to poison public opinion, to confound and confuse the American people, so as to keep our nation from preparing for a war which was sure to come and how they themselves, these Nazi agents created in the United States peace groups, No-Foreign War committees, patriotic organizations by the dozens -- America First groups, Christian Frontist groups -- all created for the sole purpose of keeping America disarmed and keeping America from sending the Nazis home; how many books pamphlets published were either financed by Nazi agents or ~~x~~ stimulated by Nazi agents, how anti-Semitism was exploited for the same purpose;

how franking privileges of Congressmen were used to send out reams of pamphlets stating that Hitler was no enemy of America, that nothing would happen if England would lose the war, that we had nothing to fear from Japan. And everyone who spoke up and warned the American people was denounced, you will recall, as a warmonger. What happened here, happened also in England.: the same Nazi agents, the same kind of campaigning. It paralyzed the will of England, France and was in danger of paralyzing the will of our own country.

You will recall that the President of the United States, in October 1937 when clouds had already gathered said in that famous speech in Chicago: "The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago. It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened..."

"The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality..."

When the President spoke these words he sought to rally other free nations denounced as war-mongers. It took nearly four bitter years to educate the American people, to counteract the propaganda disseminated here, to prepare them for Pearl Harbor and what followed. We refused to enter the League of Nations and by so doing practically destroyed the American people. While not joining the League, we entered every disarmament pact. We enacted the neutrality act prohibiting American vessels from entering combat zones in an effort to keep us from becoming embroiled in war.

But we finally realized. We went down to business in earnest. We began to speed up the manufacture of weapons. We began to build up a two ocean navy. We began to re-organize our entire economic life for war purposes.

On January 6, 1942 President Roosevelt in his state of the Union Message to Congress said that "he had just ordered the production of 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks, 20,000 anti-aircraft guns, and 8,000,000 dreadnaught tons of ships in 1942; and 125,000 planes, 75,000 tanks, 35,000 anti-aircraft guns, 10,000,000 tons of shipping, and similar increases in other implements of war in 1943 as part of the all-out victory program that will cost \$56,000,000,000 during the coming fiscal year."

We were slow in getting started, but we are now advancing irresistibly as an avalanche. In 1940 at Dunkirk England was standing alone against the foe but invincible in spirit. Today in 1942 on that same line there stands the United States and Russia and the Free French and the Free Poles, and the Free Belgians and the Free Czechs and the Free Dutch not to speak of the brave Chinese.

The power of the United States is ~~xxxx~~ waxing. We now have weapons, and having weapons are puncturing the myth of Nazi invincibility. England has demonstrated the moral strength of its people, civilian and soldiers alike. The United States has demonstrated the invincibility of its people, civilian and soldiers. They have a common tradition -- England and America. They speak one language in more than once sense. They have a common concept of government and of life -- of liberty, of the rights of man, of the decency of living and letting live, of sportsmanship. They have led the world in the ways of freedom now for generations. Frequently there have been sharp differences between them. But not enough at any time to break unity which binds these people together.

The French, too, saw this. Clemenceau understood it. He said that the destiny of his people was linked up with that of England. "The Englishman

is not intelligent", he said, as quoted by General Mordacq. "He does not grasp things quickly. He realizes his danger only in the moment of extreme peril. History eternally repeats itself. We havenot finished with Germany.... Any understanding with her is impossible, and England, whether she likes it or not, will be compelled to march with us as the moment of danger in order to defend herself. Despite the misunderstandings and the dissensions that may separate us now, England will be forced to come to France's side exactly as in 1914, at the moment of real danger. We must guard ourselves from rejoicing over anything that weakens England, for it weakens us too, on the day of peril."

If that holds true as between France and England, it holds even truer as between England and the United States. We are marching into the future together to free the nations of the earth, to build a better world. Fortunately for us and fortunately for England, the unscrupulous propaganda did not split and disunite these peoples.

Goebbels said about our country: "Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody revolution in North America...No other country has so many social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many strings there." He thought America would be easy to disrupt, break up. If you listened to the loud-mouthing of the Nazis before Pearl Harbor, or read the pamphlets which they published themselves, you got the impression or were in danger of getting the impression that the United States was hopelessly disunited, that it would never be able to unite. Here, again they made their fatal blunder. In a real sense, Germany hardly ever loses the war on the battlefield. She loses on the spiritual, psychological and metaphysical battlefield which in the long run will defeat her militarily.

They failed to understand the basic goodness, the common sense loyalty

of the American people. They fail to understand that after one hundred fifty years of living together under democracy, of working together -- all races and all creeds -- that when the soul of America is endangered, all the people rally as one man and America becomes united as no dictator-dominated country can ever unite. In a dictatorship unity is self-imposed, comes from without, enforced. In a democracy if unity does come about it comes about voluntarily, from within, as an act of will. So the American people and the English people fight as one in this war.

In a few days there will be an Armistice day reminding us of the last war and of the peace following it... ought to We think of the next armistice and what it will do to the world. If we bear in mind a few simple lessons which we have learned in the last war -- our lack of preparedness, the failure for collective security in the world; it ~~is~~ may well be that the next armistice may usher in a period of enduring peace. Let us remember not to talk peace of unilateral peace. Let us be on guard in the future against propaganda from foreign sources -- propaganda here at home. Let us have the courage which we lacked after the last war to assume our own burden of responsibility for creating and maintaining a new world order after the war. If we keep these facts in mind, the peoples of Great Britain and the United States, if we remain united in peacetime as now in war together, and plan ~~our~~ and work for a new society to build upon freedom justice it may well be that this war will be the last of the great wars which ravaged our people.

1) Very tragic and fortunate moment in which - In Egypt ^{in N. Afr.} evidence of Axis high and thigh they who were at very gates - Final outcome ^{of E. Campaign} Suffered major defeat - lost vast - initiative cleaned way - in lower Campaigns - on heel of 2nd set-back - For it may be a decisive stage. One cause of other - His colossal miscalculation about R. cost him ① lost chance to invade England. ② Possibility of large scale Campaign in Med. & N. Africa - Bottled down - Can fight successfully only as on Front - and not decisively elsewhere!

2) This victory raises questions - Why England suffered - Why U.S.? Smash Fighting Forces left neither courage nor willingness to suffer & sacrifice for Victory? Soldier for Soldier - Answer simpler one - Unprepared! - Why? Very important!

3) When War broke out in 1939 - no match for Germany. E. had practically no Army - inferior Air-force Not enough Munitions in her Arsenal to supply her Navy for even one large engagement.

{	1935	Fr. + Eng together	255 M. - 800 M.
	1936	"	350 M. - 900 M.
	1937	"	437 M. - 1000 M.

U.S. - 1937 - 890 M. dollars - less 7%

Decade - 5 yrs - streaming every nerve - Brutal Dictatorships facilitate - Reduced standard, living - Converted - New Techniques Indoctrination - Peace-Voices silenced!

All the while - Allied Nations - lost race - When: 1935 hepten - Could not risk War - Where else - China Spain

~~total unpreparedness~~
was a decisive factor. They had to yield, bc. they could
not go to war. (2)

De laurier - Chamberlain - (Blum) - Spang -

"I am divided between a feeling of shame and curiosity why
it is doubtful whether, relatively, they were any better prepared
a few days when they declared war on us. But -

(Patrick Henry) (Joubert). But surely they were not prepared!
Wahle! Poeschl -

4. Why - so unprepared?

① Collective security - which would result lead to disarmament
rather to increased armament. But failed to back up
League - + League, on its own, had no police force.

They wanted peace very much. But not enough to trust
League completely + support it unreservedly. + set off
old time international power politics + advantage seeking.

Peace advocates in Eng. + opponents of disarmament overlooked
peace is unilateral - one way - unilateral League

② Helped to re-arm Germany - Italy - Japan

Mention manufacturers -

• Fear of Communism - Hitler > Lincoln & Roosevelt
Hitler > New Deal

③ Did not grasp real nature of fascists - utterly unprepared
- gave in a little
- New Order -

④ Skilled propaganda - while H. prepared for war - lies.
agents • Eng - Holland - Poland - France - even by way

Peace! Campaigned against disarmament! propaganda agents
100 M. spent annually for conflict, division - not 200

their real foe.

(3)

Recall our own Congressmen - who before Pearl Harbor - would already aplaude - France, Poland etc already conquered - voted against Read "Schlotzky". Michael Sayers + Albert E. Kahn - how these were used by Nazis agents - in most instances unwillingly - to weaken us - to withhold help - Franking privileges - + speeches supplied -

= How many Peace puffs - No Foreign War Cues - Fake Patriotic ops - Am. Front. created -

- How many permeants - books - newspapers -

- How much American. war exploited -

- "Nothing threatens Amer! - just don't keep hand loose. Eng. - War mongers -

7. Saw in Eng. Paralyzed its hell -

Eng. finally awoke - almost too late! Sweat, Blood, Tears -

So here! Where Pres. Roosevelt - Oct. '37 - Chicago (Jab)

Denounced - long hard road 4 yrs.

Isolationist - Amer. absence from Europe - Its fatal weakness

wanted Peace - Disarmament Corps - Killing - Brand Pact

Neutrality Act - 1939 - Amer. vessels out / ~~ships~~ gone

8. We finally realized - Went down to Business in earnest

Speed up warf. & weapons -

Two Ocean Navy - Naval Bases -

Great Armaments of Democracy -

Repealed harshly def. Lend-Lease bill
Conscription - (war) - + just defeat - for ^{unstable} long war
Reorg. an entire econ. life.

on Jan. 6-42 (Just)
Slow to get going - ^{was} like an avalanche.

7/ Rationing. Taxes - all out for victory. ^{will go on -} ~~not to be~~!

8/ Late, but thank God, not too late!

When Eng. stood alone in 1940. - then stand ^{to day} also U.S.
+ Soviet ^{Front} - ^{China}, + Free Peoples etc.

- Power waxing +

- Now they have weapons! Not invincible!

- Moral strength they have - ^{Both} The Eng. + The Amer. ^(as much as when they were)

- Civilian + soldiers alike! ^{Brinkings} / Eng. allies.

- Should ^{not} be ^{used} in ^{crucible}, less + sacrifice will
not be found wanting.

9/ Common Tradition - ~~shared~~ ^{we} ^{share} ^{same} ^{language}
not only culturally but ^{spiritually}, ^{shared} ^{values} ^{faith} ^{etc.}
live that ^{are} ^{Tolerance} - ^{Rel. freedom} - ^{Humanity} ^{of spirit}
^{we are not united}, ^{cannot} ^{live} ⁱⁿ ^{same} ^{world}!
We often disagree - ^{fight} - but Clemenceau (Jews)

10/ Found new Unity! - Salvage Am. unity.

Goebbels: "Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody
revolution in North America... No other country has so many
social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many
things there."

Failed - Behind bars - All united! - Keep it to End, War -

and in peace! - Remember ① Not to talk peace, ^{until} ^{the} ^{war} ^{is} ^{over}
② On guard ag. ^{peace} ^{propag.}
③ Courage to ^{hold} ^{our} ^{new} ^{way}.

"The Englishman is not intelligent", General Mordacq quotes Clemenceau as saying, "he does not grasp things quickly. He realizes his danger only in the moment of extreme peril. History eternally repeats itself. We have not finished with Germany Any understanding with her is impossible, and England, whether she likes it or not, will be compelled to march with us at the moment of danger in order to defend herself. Despite the misunderstandings and the dissensions that may separate us now, England will be forced to come to France's side exactly as in 1914, at the moment of real danger. We must guard ourselves from rejoicing over anything that weakens England, for it weakens us too, on the day of peril."

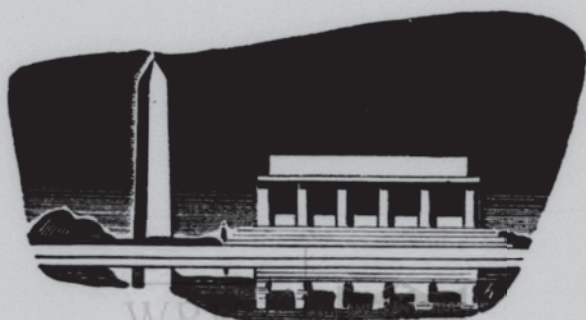
Pres. Roosevelt - Chicago

"The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago. It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened.....

"The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.....

On January 6¹⁹⁴² President Roosevelt in his State of the Union Message to Congress said that he had just ordered the production of 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks, 20,000 anti-aircraft guns, and 8,000,000 dreadnaught tons of ships in 1942; and 125,000 planes, 75,000 tanks, 35,000 anti-aircraft guns, 10,000,000 tons of shipping, and similar increases in other implements of war in 1943 as part of the all-out victory program that will cost \$56,000,000,000 during the coming fiscal year.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR





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WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

The voices of daring men, living and dead, speak from these pages. The sharp tools of speech forged by determined leaders are among the weapons in the arsenal of free men. The spirit of men who love liberty breathes through the passages which follow one another here. Some are familiar words learned in schoolroom and by fireside; others have been spoken by men in the forefront of the present struggle for survival being waged today from pole to pole.

In a war involving hundreds of millions of living men and women it becomes our urgent duty to draw our charts and take our directions clearly. This is not a war of fire and steel alone, but also of courageous words, firm declarations, Orders of the Day, and broadcasts to the people. It is in truth a war of weapons and of words and ideas. All men who cherish the dream of human brotherhood need these stout allies—the words of freedom, of justice, of confidence in the people.



THE FOUR FREEDOMS

IN the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

We are fighting with Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union. We are fighting also on the same side as all the other governments in exile, whom Hitler and all his armies and all his Gestapo have not been able to conquer.

But we, the United Nations, are not making all this sacrifice of human effort and human lives to return to the kind of world we had after the last war.

We are fighting today for security, for progress, and peace, not only for ourselves but for all men, not only for one generation, but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "God created man in his own image."

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting as our fathers have fought to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image—a world of tyranny and cruelty and serfdom.

That is the conflict that day and night pervades our lives. No compromise can end that conflict. There never has been—there never can be—successful compromise between good and evil. Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance and decency and freedom and faith.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT—
January 6, 1942

The better world for which you fight—and for which some of you give your lives—will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning, and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future. . . .

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term, "Western civilization," no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization..

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT—
September 3, 1942

A faint-hearted, self-indulgent people, cowering under menace, shrinking from peril, and willing to buy repose by tribute or servile concession, deserves the chains which it cannot escape.

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING—1835

Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S INSCRIPTION ON HIS SEAL¹

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; . . . And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

THOMAS JEFFERSON—

The Declaration of Independence—1776¹

ATLANTIC CHARTER

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST: Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

SECOND: They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD: They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH: They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH: They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object

of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

SIXTH: After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH: Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH: They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

August 15, 1941

Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines and sentiments of religious liberty. Let us hear the danger of thralldom to our consciences from ignorance, extreme poverty, and dependence; in short, from civil and political slavery. Let us see delineated before us the true map of man. Let us hear the dignity of his nature, and the noble rank he holds among the works of God—that consenting to slavery is a sacrilegious breach of trust, as offensive in the sight of God as it is derogatory from our own honor or interest or happiness—and that God Almighty has promulgated from heaven liberty, peace, and goodwill to man!

JOHN ADAMS—1765¹

The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. In this Great Revolution of the people, there were the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German Revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1918. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together.

The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. . . .

[The] Four Freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of the secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained. . . .

It is my belief that every freedom, every right, every privilege has its price, its corresponding duty without which it cannot be enjoyed. The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them today, are these:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.
4. The duty to build a peace—just, charitable, and enduring.

The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

...

Some have spoken of the "American Century." I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come out of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live. Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion. Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. . . . The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin. India, China, and Latin America have a tremendous stake in the people's century. . . .

Yes, and when the time of peace comes, the citizen will again have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interests for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable, and enduring. . . .

HENRY A. WALLACE—1942

The oppressed are not only confined to Asia, they are found also in the heart of Europe. Many persons consider every movement in favor of liberation of the masses a revolt against civilization. The civilization, however, which we desire to defend is that which is hostile to all tyranny.

What we want is the liberation and the gaining of equal rights of all the oppressed of the world.

SUN YAT SEN—1924

These three principles [of Sun Yat Sen] are: First, nationalism; second, the people's rights; third, the people's livelihood.

Nationalism means that there should be equality among all peoples and races and that all people should respect each other and live in peace and harmony.

The people's rights means that the people should have these four rights: election, recall, initiative, and referendum.

The people's livelihood means that people are entitled to proper clothing, food, housing, and communications.

Our Chinese democracy will not be a colorless imitation of your American democracy, although it will undoubtedly be influenced by the Jeffersonian views of equality, of opportunity, and the rights of the individual. It will be redolent of our soil and expressive of the native genius of our people. It must meet China's own needs and be in harmony with our present environment, which is inevitably linked to the best traditions of our past.

The fortune of war has brought China for the first time abreast of the great powers. We have won our place in the front rank by our prolonged and unyielding resistance to violence. We shall keep it by playing a major part in building a better world.

MADAM CHIANG-KAI-SHEK—1942²

We desire peace. But submission to the arrogant pretensions of a "master race," to the enslavement of nations, to the destruction of civil liberties, to the regimentation of conscience and to the suppression of the free Christian witness lead, not to peace, but to paganism, to hatred and to

war. Victory for the Axis powers would bring moral and spiritual disaster for their own people no less than for those of the conquered nations.

As Christians we face these facts and wholeheartedly assume our share of the price which must be paid in effort, sacrifice and suffering to save mankind from such a fate.

Finally, we must make ready now for the fateful period which will follow this war. Now is the time to examine the ends for which we are striving and to lay afresh the foundations of that future for which we pray.

We must prepare for the sacrifices necessary to make industrial production the servant of the common good.

We must prepare to renounce prejudice of color, class and race, both within our own nation and toward other nations.

We must make ready to assume our responsibility as a nation for the ordered life of a community of nations. National pride and self-sufficiency must not longer be allowed to triumph over our Christian belief in such a world community.

We must not fail in our duty to bring out of the present agony a happier and juster world than man as yet has known.

Confidently, therefore, and humbly we seek God's guidance and strength as we dedicate ourselves to the defeat of the aggressors now at large in the world and to the establishment of that world order to which Christians and men of good will in all lands aspire and for which the military victory of the United Nations has now become indispensable.

STATEMENT OF NINETY-THREE PROTESTANT
CHURCH LEADERS—1942

Here we are together, defending all that to free men is dear. Twice in a single generation the catastrophe of war

has fallen upon us. Do we not owe it to ourselves, to our children, to tormented mankind to make sure that these catastrophes do not engulf us for the third time? Duty and prudence alike demand, first, that the germ centres of hatred and revenge should be constantly and vigilantly served and treated in good time and that an adequate organization should be set up to make sure that the pestilence can be controlled in its earliest beginnings before it spreads and rages throughout the whole earth.

WINSTON CHURCHILL in his message
before the Congress of the United
States—December 26, 1940

Our national life derives its meaning from our Reformation. . . . Our Reformation, like every other Reformation, never was finished. Reformation means constant reform, constant renewal. It means striving for improvement, progress, perfection. . . . Our Reformation led to political revolution. Every logical and honest moral effort leads to reform and from there to political and social revolution. . . .

Our Reformation is based upon the principle of humanity. But the principle of purest humanity does not and cannot forbid resistance. Our very Reformation stated clearly and definitely that self-defense is not the same as violence.

The character and the moral value of every action are determined by its motive. In every conflict, in every war it is important to know who is doing violence and who is defending himself. . . .

Truth must be defended, if needs be with iron.

THOMAS G. MASARYK

I call upon you all without exception, from Left to Right, from the remotest hamlet to this our metropolis—I call upon

all of you who ponder most upon the social problems of this State and upon you who devote your attention most to nationality problems—I call upon all of you without distinction, in the spirit and in the remembrance of our First President [Masaryk], to take up your heritage from him and complete his work, the perfecting of our just, firm, indomitable, evolutionary, humanitarian democracy.

EDVARD BENES—1937

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

ABRAHAM LINCOLN—1858

The liberties of our country, the freedom of our civil constitution, are worth defending at all hazards; and it is our duty to defend them against all attacks. We have received them as a fair inheritance from our worthy ancestors: they purchased them for us with toil and danger and expense of treasure and blood, and transmitted them to us with care and diligence. It will bring an everlasting mark of infamy on the present generation, enlightened as it is, if we should suffer them to be wrested from us by violence without a struggle, or be cheated out of them by the artifices of false and designing men. Of the latter we are in most danger at present; let us therefore be aware of it. Let us contemplate our forefathers and posterity, and resolve to maintain the rights bequeathed to us from the former, for the sake of the latter.—Instead of sitting down satisfied with the efforts we have already made, *which is the wish of our enemies*, the necessity of the times, more than ever, calls for our utmost circumspection, deliberation, fortitude,

and perseverance. Let us remember that "if we suffer tamely a lawless attack upon our liberty, we encourage it, and involve others in our doom." It is a very serious consideration, which should deeply impress our minds, that *millions yet unborn may be the miserable sharers in the event.*

SAMUEL ADAMS—1771¹

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, their democratic liberties. It will be a united front of the people standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's Fascist armies.

. . .

Lenin differentiated between two kinds of war—war of annexation—that is, unjust war—and war of liberation, that is, just war. The Germans are now waging a war of annexation—an unjust war calculated for the seizure of foreign territory and the conquest of other peoples. Therefore all honest people must rise up against these German invaders as against enemies.

As distinct from Hitlerite Germany the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war of liberation—a just war calculated for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the U.S.S.R. from Hitler tyranny. Therefore, all honest people support the armies of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and the other allies as armies of liberation.

JOSEF STALIN—1941

They tell us, sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? . . . Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely

on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemy shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those forces which the God of nature hath placed in our power . . . we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. . . .

Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

PATRICK HENRY—1775¹

¹From *The Democratic Spirit*, edited by Bernard Smith (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941). Reprinted with permission.

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