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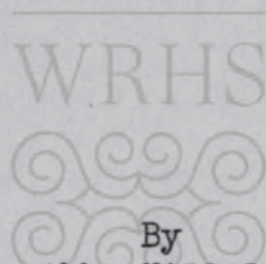
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Mr. Wendell Willkie's "One World", 1943.

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MR. WENDELL WILLKIE'S "ONE WORLD"



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver



At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, May 9, 1943

Last August Mr. Wendell Willkie took an airplane trip around the world.

It was not a pleasure trip, nor an official trip, though our government took friendly cognizance of it, and put the converted bomber "Gulliver" at his disposal and in every way facilitated the journey. All other governments whose countries he visited welcomed him as a sort of unofficial ambassador of our people. A foremost American citizen in whom both his own people and all the free people of the world had great confidence, both because of his foresight, judgment and courage, he went on a mission of observation, interpretation and friendship. His mission became a historic one.

He saw what he saw through the eyes of an American and he spoke when he spoke with the true voice of America. What he saw he saw clearly and what he spoke he spoke frankly, sincerely, and he therefore found a quick response in the hearts of men everywhere.

On his 49 day journey he visited many countries. He met the great, the near great and the humble -- leaders, rulers, generals, statesmen, writers and the common folk. He visited battle-fields, armies. He saw at first hand the terrific exertion and sacrifice people were making everywhere to serve this war. He probed deep in an effort to understand what these peoples were fighting for and what were the high hopes for which they were shedding their blood.

What he saw and heard registered quickly on his alert and receptive mind, and were quickly arranged and fitted into patterns of thought. They crystallized into certain convictions. They confirmed certain views long held as a result of reading and study. They corrected other views.

Recently he has recorded his impressions in a book which bears the inspired title, "One World", and which is being most avidly read by the American people today.

The first impression one gets from reading this book is that here is an honest man talking to you with complete candor and great earnestness, a wise man and a trustworthy man who treats you as an adult, who feeds you no propaganda, who rides no political

or economic hobbies, who shares with you his hopes and fears, a man who feels very keenly for suffering and confused mankind, and one who believes most heartily that a new and courageous approach to the problem of our world could really bring about a happier day for all. Mr. Willkie does not speak here in his book the language of diplomacy, pompous, or cautious or circumlocutory. On the other hand he does not speak with the recklessness of an irresponsible free lance. Here is sincerity, forthrightness, maturity and responsibility. Here is truth spoken with kindness. There is no hate anywhere in this book except for wrong and cruelty, and no passion /but for justice and freedom and a better world.

And in this hot, stuffy, propaganda world in which we live today, in which we are surrounded on all sides by clamorous opinions and pronouncements full of bias and special pleading, each having his own ax to grind or his own party to serve, or his own government to serve -- here in this book is a breath of clean, fresh air, and this book should be made required reading for every man, especially for men in public life, in public service who are close to those activities which will determine this war and what follows this war.

The name of the book, "One World" is in a sense the theme of the book and the theme of Mr. Willkie's entire philosophy. In 160 hours he flew clear around the world. That impressed him as he ~~it~~ had never been impressed before -- the fact that world is a small world and a rapidly shrinking world. In 160 hours he circumnavigated the globe. "There are no distant parts in the world any longer," he writes. He promised the President of a great central Siberian Republic to fly back some week-end in 1945 for a few days' hunting. "And I expect to keep the engagement." He writes, "Our thinking in the future must be world-wide." What the common people of the Far East or the Middle East think is as much concern to us as is what the people in California are thinking, or what the people on the Atlantic Seaboard of our country are thinking. Political and economic parochialism, isolationism was really never possible. It would be disastrous today. It would help to wreck the world as after the last war by shutting ourselves away", says Mr. Willkie, "by turning our back on active international cooperation."

We must learn to work together, to think together, to understand one another, for our own good as well as for the good of countries all over the world. For this is one world.

Just as the thought of the smallness of the world impressed itself on his mind so also did this fact impress itself on him -- that this small world of ours is changing rapidly to a revolutionary tempo. In our generation now peoples can and do transform "their habits of life, ancient customs, ways of thinking, like Russia, Turkey and China. " There is a vast ferment, a stirring and an awakening going on among peoples heretofore treated as colonials, as natives, as pawns in the imperial game of Western European powers. Many of these peoples are by our standards still backward but they will no longer tolerate exploitation or political tutelage. They have lost faith in Western imperialism, in the superiority of the white man. They desire freedom.

Mr. Willkie does not dwell long on the past. He does not catalogue the abuses of the past. He does not, for that matter, moralize about it. He just reads the signs of the times with clear eyes. He does not over-simplify the problem. He is convinced, however, that the Colonial system as operated for many centuries can no longer be maintained in this small and rapidly changing world, whether in the Middle East, or in China or in India. And he calls for a substitution of the principle of the "British Commonwealth of nations", for a principle of self-government for states and nations voluntarily grouping themselves for a common end and common good into federations of commonwealths, each member of which is possessed of full autonomy in self-government. He calls for a substitution as rapidly as possible of this principle for the old not alone weighty colonial system. This applies to the French, the British Empire, the Dutch, the Belgians or the Portuguese. This is not enough. "It is not enough to promise ultimate freedom. They all want some date to work toward, some assurance that date will be kept." "In Africa, in the Middle East," Willkie says, "throughout the Arab world, as well as in China and the whole Far East, freedom means the orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system whether we like it or not, this is true."

And he is therefore disturbed. And he remarks, for example, that Winston Churchill made certain reservations about the Atlantic Charter, reservations which seem to suggest that the principles of that Charter are to apply only to Western Europe and not to the British Empire. "We mean to hold our own. I did not become His Majesty's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." That may be so, but this war is supposed to be a war for the liberation of all peoples.

The author of "One World" is generally disturbed over the failure to achieve basic agreements about the post-war world. He maintains that this agreement must be reached now, while we are ^{at} war. The developing of a mechanism for working together after the war must be created now "under the cementing force of common danger." We must unite now for the future. After the war it will be too late. Nothing of importance can be won in peace which has not already been ~~won~~ won in the war itself, and not in details, but in principle. We need substantial agreement now! Slogans are not enough and defeating the Nazis will not be enough. There has been no clarification of war aims, and certainly no agreement on them.

Willkie cautions over and over again against the dangers of expediency. "We as in North Africa and in the East, all say," he writes, "that this a war for men's minds, a political war. But too often/ we perform in terms of old power politics and purely military operations, in terms of expediency and apparent practicalities. We too frequently forget what the war is about and too easily abandon our ideals."

And he speaks with particular bitterness about our performance in North Africa, with Darlan and Peyroutin and of other Fascists. This seemed to him a tragedy. "Peoples of Russia," Willkie said, "Great Britain and the conquered countries felt betrayed and baffled."

There is a vast reservoir of good-will for the United States everywhere. He found everywhere a deep friendship for America. The people of the world know that ^{we} are not interested in political aggression, that we have no sinister designs on other people. "And that reservoir of good will", Mr. Willkie says, "is the biggest political fact of

our time." "It can be used to unify the people of the earth in the human quest for freedom and justice."

But "neither Hitler nor Mussolini nor Hirohito, with their propaganda or by their arms, can take from us the unifying force of this good will - and there is no other such unifying force in the world - or divide us among ourselves or from our allies, as long as we do not make a mockery of our protestations of the ideals for which we have proclaimed we fight. A policy of expediency will prove inexpedient. For it will lose us the invaluable spiritual and practical assets that come from the faith of the people of the world in both our ideals and our methods.

"If we permit ourselves to become involved in the machinations of Old World intrigue and religious, nationalistic and racial blocs, we will find ourselves amateurs indeed. If we stand true to our basic principles, then we shall find ourselves professionals of the kind of world toward which men in every part of it are aspiring."

True to Basic Principles! That is the challenge which Mr. Willkie brings to the American people today. Some of his most significant observations concern Russia, still the great enigma. He points to three decisive facts which should determine our attitude to Russia. We do not have to accept its economic or political philosophy. We do not have to condone its past or underwrite all its present acts. It is no longer a matter of praise or blame, approval or denunciation.....

"Some of these answers", writes Willkie, I believe I found at least to my own satisfaction. I can sum up the three most important in a few sentences.

"First, Russia is an effective society. It works. It has survival value. The record of Hitler has been proof enough of this to most of us, but I must admit in all frankness that I was not prepared to believe before I went to Russia what I now know about its strength as a going organization of men and women.

"Second, Russia is our ally in this war. The Russians, more sorely tested by Hitler's might even than the British, have met the test magnificently. Their hatred of Fascism and the Nazi system is real and deep and bitter. And this hatred makes them determined to eliminate Hitler and exterminate the Nazi blight from Europe and the world.

"Third, we must work with Russia after the war. At least it seems to me that there can be no continued peace unless we learn to do so."

Russia is an ally in this world war, a determined ally. We must work with Russia after the war, Russia as an effective nation, as an ally, one with whom we will have to work after the war.

Wendell Willkie is not afraid of Communism. He is not possessed of that fatal fear which wrecked Europe after the last war and which may, if we are not careful, wreck the United Nations and any sane program for European reconstruction after the war.

He writes: "Many among the democracies fear and mistrust Soviet Russia. They dread the inroads of an economic order that would be destructive of their own. Such fear is weakness. Russia is neither going to eat us nor seduce us. That is -- and this is something for us to think about - that is, unless our democratic institutions and our free economy become so afraid through abuse and failure in practice as to make us soft and vulnerable. The best answer to Communism is a living, vibrant, fearless democracy - economic, social, and political. All we need to do is to stand up and perform according to our professed ideals. Then those ideals will be safe."

"No, we do not need to fear Russia. We need to learn to work with her against our common enemy, Hitler. We need to learn to work with her in the world after the war. For Russia is a dynamic country, a vital new society, a force that cannot be bypassed in any future world."

This is mature thought. This is political sagacity of the first order. This is wisdom in statesmanship.

On returning from his world tour, Mr. Willkie is able to see his own country with fresh eyes. And here, too, he is disturbed about what he calls our imperialisms at home. "We have not made all who live in America free", writes Mr. Willkie. We practiced something that amounts to race imperialism within our own boundaries." He calls attention to our attitudes toward the negroes, that smug racial superiority - all that is a mocking paradox to our talk of freedom and our lecturing other peoples about their lack of freedom.

In a great passage in his book he writes: "The threat to racial and religious, even to political, minority groups springs in wartime from two things -- an overzealous mass insistence upon general conformity to majority standards, and the revival under emotional strains of age-old racial and religious distrusts. Minorities then are apt to be charged with responsibility for the war itself, and all the dislocations and discomforts arising from it. They are jealously subjected to scrutiny to determine if they are the recipients of special advantage.

"We are all familiar with the process by which, in a war psychology, the unusual is distrusted and anything unorthodox is associated by some people with enemy intrigue. Chauvinists are likely to spring up in any community....When affairs go wrong the public, by ancient custom, demands a scapegoat, and the first place to seek one is from a minority.

"All this would appear ridiculous in our modern age were it not for the examples of bigotry and persecution we see in countries once presumed to be enlightened, and even more seriously, were it not for the fact that we are already witnessing a crawling, insidious anti-Semitism in our own country. It will be well to bear in mind continuously that we are fighting today against intolerance and oppression, and that we shall get them in abundance if we lose. If we allow them to develop at home while we are engaging the enemy abroad, we shall have immeasurably weakened our fighting arm.

"Our nation is composed of no one race, faith, or cultural heritage. It is a grouping of some thirty peoples possessing varying religious concepts, philosophies, and historical backgrounds. They are linked together by their confidence in our democratic institutions as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Constitution for themselves and for their children.

"The Keystone of our union of states is freedom -- freedom for the individual to worship as he chooses, to work as he chooses, and to live and rear his children as he chooses. Liberty, if it is to be for all, must be protected by basic safeguards intended to give it the most general diffusion attainable, and none can expect privileges which encroach upon the rights of others. Despite the functionings of our mischievous bureaucracies, and our sometimes excessively enterprising legislatures, and - in deplorable but

fortunately isolated instances - the flaring of mob law, we have obtained here in America, in the course of little more than a century and a half of experience and adjustment, the most reasonable expression of freedom upon which all our material development has depended, and have tolerated, and learned to use, our diversities....

"If we want to see the opposite of this American system, we have merely to look at the military despotism of Hitler and the autocracy of Japan, and the fading dictatorship of Fascist Italy. The story of Germany for the last ten years has been one of racial and religious intolerance that provided a mask behind which a peace-professing dictator lured the people first to minority persecution, then to war. This intolerance gave the German nation the momentary strength of complete regimentation. Actually, it has undermined and weakened the social structure so that when the tide of war turns, collapse is likely to be sudden and complete.

"It has always impressed me that, quite apart from any reasons of humanitarianism or justice or any sentiment regarding the protection of the weak by the strong, it is only common sense to safeguard jealously the rights of minorities. For minorities are rich assets of a democracy, assets which no totalitarian government can afford. Dictatorships must, of necessity, fear and suppress them. But within the tolerance of a democracy, minorities are the constant spring of new ideas, stimulating new thought and action, the constant source of new vigor.

"To suppress minority thinking and minority expression would tend to freeze society and prevent progress. For the majority itself is stimulated by the existence of minority groups. The human mind requires contrary expressions against which to test itself.

"Our way of living together in America is a strong but delicate fabric. It is made up of many threads. It has been woven over many centuries by the patience and sacrifice of countless liberty-loving men and women. It serves as a cloak for the protection of poor and rich, of black and white, of Jew and gentile, of foreign-and-native-born.

"Let us not tear it asunder. For no man knows, once it is destroyed, where or when man will find its protective warmth again.

This is a classic utterance, a timely admonition, the wise counsel of a true believer in America.

Mr. Willkie concludes his book with an outline, the road which America, in his judgment, shall follow in the future. The road ~~for~~ America is not narrow nationalism, or international imperialism, but the creation of a world in which there ~~will~~ shall be an equality of opportunity for every race and every nation. win To the peace we must do three things: (1) plan now for peace on a world basis; (2) the world must be free politically and economically -- the whole world, the one world; (3) and America must play an active and constructive part in freeing it and in keeping its peace. In other words, he summons America to ~~her~~ destiny in a great new world, a partner in a great new combination, neither hesitant, nor incompetent, nor afraid. "Our is the chance to help create a new society in which men and women the world around can live and grow invigorated by independence and freedom."

Here is American speaking, the high mettled heart, the vision, the faith, the idealism held firm in the grip of experience. This is the torch of America which beacons the fortresses of the world for 150 years. Mr. Willkie reminds us that this torch should be held aloft by strong and confident hands as the one hope of a better day. This is the great American tradition. That is why Americans ~~are~~ to eagerly and so avidly read this book.

1) Last Aug. Mr. W.W. took an air-plane trip round the world. It was not a pleasure trip, nor an official trip, tho our govt. took friendly cognizance of it, and put the convenient traveller forward at his disposal and in every way facilitated the journey. All other gentle whom convinced h. visited welcomed him as the unofficial ambassador, the Am. people. A foremost Am. citizen in whom, to th his own people and all the free people, the world had great confidence, both for his fore-sight, judgment and courage, he went as a mission of observation, inter-ference and friendship - and his mission has become his task. He saw with the eyes of an Am. and he spoke with the Am. voice of Am.; and what he saw, he saw clearly and what he spoke he spoke frankly and sincerely - and found a quiet echo in the hearts of men.

2) On his 49-day journey - ^{- a day nation} he met the great the man great (the humble. leaders - rulers - generals - statesmen - writers - & the common folk. He visited battle-fields - saw the armies, - saw the stern exertion and men's people were making to win this war - and he probed deep in an effort to find out why they were fighting this war - and what they were for the high hope for which they were shedding their blood.

What he saw ^{heard} registered quickly on his alert & ^{psychic} receptive mind, and were quickly arranged and fit into patterns of thought. They crystallized into certain conclusions. They confirmed certain views long held as a result of reading history. They corrected other views.

Recently he has recorded his impressions, observations and conclusions in a book, which bears the inspired title, "Our World" and which is being avidly read by the Am. people.

3) First impression - Here is an expert man talking to you - with complete candor and ^{quite} frankness - a wise man and a trust- worthy friend who treats you as an adult, feeds you no prejudices, rides no photisms, shares with you his hopes and fears, feels

being for suffering & confused mankind, and believed ardently that a new & courageous approach to the problem, our world could really bring about a happier day for all. He does not speak the language of diplomacy, pompous, or cautious or circumlocutions. On the other hand, he does not speak with the recklessness of an irresponsible free lance. There is sincerity, forthrightness, maturity, and nobility. There is truth spoken with kindness. There is no hate here, but for worry and enmity and no passion but for freedom and a better world.

In this hot, stuffy, propog. ^{gains - of bias, special pleading} world, here is a breath of clean, fresh air. The book should be made required reading for every Am-exp. for men in public service who are close to the activities which will determine this war & what is to follow.

- 4/ The ^{"One World"} name is the theme, the book - & key to M. W. W. entire philosophy for 160 hrs. he flew around the entire world. This world is small! "There are no distant parts in the world any longer" ^{+ shrinking!}
- He promised Pres. of a great central American Republic to fly back some week-end in 1945 for a day's hunting. and I expect to keep the engagement.
 - "Our thinking in the future must be world-wide."
 - What common people. Far East - or Middle East - concern -
 - No pol. or Econ. parochialism. Isolationism possible
 - We helped to wreck the world after last war by shutting ourselves away - turning our backs on inter. cooperation
 - We must work together - learn to understand one another. In our own good & for all. For this is One World!

- 5/ World is changing - rapidly - revol. tempo.
- In no generation now people can ~~do~~ and do "transform" their habits of life, ancient customs, ways, thinking: the Turkey, the Russia, the China.
 - There is a vast ferment, a stirring and an awakening going on among people hitherto treated as colonial, as natives, as pawns in the imperial game of West Europ. powers.
 - Many of these people are by our standards still backward but they will no longer tolerate exploitation, a filial tutelage.
 - They have lost faith in W. imperialism - superiority, White Man.
 - They demand freedom.
 - W.W. does not dwell much on Past - on abuses - He just reads the signs, the times. He calls for no ~~2~~ does not overcomplicate the problem. But the system cannot be maintained, whether in the ^{existing} Middle East which is ruined, or China, India.
 - He calls for the substitution, the principle of the "British Commonwealth of Nations" for the old colonial system - and this applied not only to British Empire - French - Dutch - Bel. or Portugal.
 - It is not enough to promise ultimate freedom. "They all want some date to work toward - you assure that date will be 1961!"
 - "In Africa, in the Middle East, throughout the Arab world, as well as in China and the whole Far East, freedom means the orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system. Whether we like it or not, this is true."
 - Disturbed - Winston Churchill - reservations about Atlantic Charter - was to be applied only to W. Europe

nd to Br. Empire - and his statement: "We mean to hold our own. (4)
I did not become His Majesty's first minister in order to preside
over the liquidation of the Br. Empire"
But this is a war of liberation - for all peoples!
of generally disturbed over failure to achieve ~~common~~ ^{basic} agreements

about post-war world. This must be done now, while we
are at war - the developing of a mechanism for working together
after the war ~~and~~ must be created now "under the
aegis of free & common danger" - unite now for future!
"Nothing of importance can be won in peace which has not
already been won in the war itself" - not details! But
the principles! Substantial agreement now! - slogans
are not enough! Defeating Nazis not enough! What other
fund rules do United Nations envisage?

7. He cautions against dangers / Expediency:

"We all say that this is a 'war for men's minds', a political war.
But too often, as in North Africa and in the East, we perform in terms of
old power politics and purely military operations in terms of expediency
and apparent practicalities. We too frequently forget what the war
is about and too easily abandon our ideals."

Our performance in N. Africa ^{Darlen-Paysan} seemed to him a tragedy - "Peoples
of Russia, G.B. and the conquered countries felt betrayed & baffled".

There is a vast reservoir of good-will for U.S. everywhere.
Deep friendship. No pol. aggressions - no sinister designs -
"It is biggest pol. fact of our time". It can be used to unify
the people, the earth in the human quest for freedom & justice."

But (p. 66)

Time to Basic Principles!

8). Sum, his most significant observation on Russia - still the
great Evil. He points to 3 decisions which should
determine our attitude to R. - We do not have to accept its Econ.
or pol. philos. We do not have to condone its past or underwrite
all its present acts. It is no longer a matter of praise or blame.
Russia is an ally! Without it we cannot hope to win
the war. ~~But the~~ approval or denunciation.

(Juste. p. 23). Effective! Ally! Must work with R. after

It is not afraid of Communism! the fatal fear which wrecked
Europe after the first world war - and which may, if we
are not careful, wreck the United Nations and any sane
program for Europe reconstruction after the war.

(Juste p. 35)

9). Returning from world tour he sees Amer. with fresh eyes
Here, too, he is disturbed abt what he calls "our infernalities
at home".

International interests - world outlook.

We have not made all who live in America free!
"Practiced something that amounts to race infernalities within
our own boundaries"

Attitude of the white citizens towards negroes - strong racial
superiority - willingness to exploit an unprotected people.

A working paradox to talk of freedom

(Juste 79-81)

15. Road for America is not narrow nationalism, a 6
unilateral imperialism - but creation of a world in which there
shall be an equality of opportunity for every one every nation

To win peace -

(1) Plan now for peace on a world basis

(2) World must be free Intl. Econ.

(3) Am. must play an active constructive part in freeing
it and in keeping its peace.

A partner in a great new combination - neither hesitant,
nor unimportant, nor afraid.

{ Am. is the chance "to help create a new society in
which men wherever the world around can live and
grow invigorated by independence and freedom"

Here is real Am. speaking - The high-minded heart,
the vision, the faith, the idealism, the firm in the
ship of experience - the torch which beacons