



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

Reel
160

Box
57

Folder
701

On the Eve of Invasion, 1944.

636

ON THE EVE OF INVASION

Thought as Our Nation Enters the Final Phase of the
War in Europe

WRHS

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver



At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, February 27, 1944

In the Book of Deuteronomy, Chapter 20, we read the following: "When thou goes forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, and a people more than thou, thou shalt not be afraid of them; for the Lord thy God is with thee, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And it shall be when ye draw nigh unto battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, and shall say unto them: "Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies; let not your heart faint; fear not, nor be alarmed, neither be ye affrighted at them: for the Lord your God is He that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you."

Here on the eve of the invasion of Western Europe -- the time and place of course will be decided by the military authorities -- but it is generally agreed and so announced that the invasion of Western Europe will take place this year, perhaps this Spring, perhaps next week or next month. All preparation, we are told, all this preparation on a large scale unprecedented invasion of the continent of Europe will go forward and has been going forward for some time. Vast, involved, intricate, amazingly detailed plans have been perfected for the invasion. An army the like of which mankind has not seen, equipt as no army has ever been equipt before is today poised for the final crushing assault upon Western Europe. The Nazi citadel will be attacked we are told possibly from many sides, from the West, the East, the South, by land and sea and air. This will be the hour of decision. The Nazis will be destroyed. The United Nations are confident of victory.

But our military leaders admonish us, however, that it will not be an easy victory. It will be, in fact, a terribly costly victory, they will be as costly as some of the victories amazing achieved by the Russians in this war. We are admonished time and again of the German military might -- that it is not yet broken, that it is still very powerful. The Nazis will have had time to prepare against the coming invasion. The enemy is cunning, ruthless, desperate and is likely to fight with fury, gambling on its last one chance for victory. This

is definitely beyond its grasp, but a stale-mate is what they wish to achieve, to make invasion so costly in human lives for the Allies that they will be prepared to consider a negotiated peace.

We we have been told to prepare ourselves spiritually for severe losses and many casualties and our experiences on Salerno, Italy, and on the beach-head at Anzio only re-enforce this admonition which has been given to the American people.

1944 is to be a very hard and trying year for our people and for all Allied people. The war will come much closer to the home and hearts of our people than ever before.

In ancient Israel the priest was summoned to address the people at such a time on the eve of an invasion, on the eve of an attack. This priest was designated as the "annointed of war", the war annointed priest. And he addressed the people, say the Rabbis, in the holy tongue because of the solemnity of the occasion and because of the essentially spiritual message which he brought to his soldiers on the eve of great battle. The message I read to you this morning consists of two parts:

(1) This war annointed priest counselled the people not to be intimidated by the superior forces of the enemy. "When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots and a people more than thou, thou shalt not be afraid of them." Superior forces do not of necessity insure final victory. That has been proved time and again in the experiences of many nations. In the early days of this war, which is now entering its fifth year, the Nazis counted upon their superior forces and their remarkable preparation for the war to score them final victory. In their early blitzkriegs, you will recall they were better prepared. Their weapons were mightier and more modern. Their tanks and dive-bombers and new tactics of war-fare surprised and overwhelmed one country after another.

They won one battle after another and they conquered one country after another. But they failed to win the war! Why? Because there is always something else upon which a foe who depends exclusively upon might and superiority of armed forces does not calculate on. There is always something else which that foe does not take into account, an imponderable factor against which planes, tanks and guns, are in the last analysis, helpless. That some thing imponderable, spiritual made itself manifest at Dunquerque, Stalingrad, in our own country after Pearl Harbor, a certain spiritual obstinacy and indomitability, a hard granite-like moral sense, courage which invincible, against which panzer divisions hurled themselves in vain.

The "war annointed" priests told their people about this unique imponderable spiritual reality which will stand by them in their hour of great tribulation. He used religious terminology. The meaning was clear. He told his people that there was someone fighting alongside of them who was never defeated. "Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto Battle against your enemies, let not your heart faint, fear not, nor be alarmed, neither be ye afraid of them, for the Lord, your God is ^{He} that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you." The high priest did not call the attention of the soldiers about to march into battle to the strength of the enemy, the weapons, swords, chariots. Not at all! He called attention to a spiritual reality which abided in their midst which would fight with them and for them and which would save them. to battle

What is it that goes with our fighting forces/today? What will go with them after they invade the Continent of Europe. I think there will go along with them the memories of Lexington and Concord, Valley Forge, the Spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States — "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." There will go with them the inspiring presence of a Washington, a Jefferson, a Franklin, the gracious spirit

of Father Abraham who spoke of a "government for the people, of the people and by the people," - the stern, impassioned tread of pilgrims, pioneers who sought freedom and dignity in the wilderness and carved a highway for a free people. Accompanying them will be that invincible and unfailing and unconquerable graciously beloved spirit of America -- tolerance, good will, fair play, square deal, the outreaching for human brotherhood and the spirit of humanity. These will be the things which will go with them, fight for them against their enemies and to save them.

The "war annointed priest" reminded the soldiers facing danger: "For the Lord thy God is with thee who brot thee out of the land of Egypt." Why did he remind them of that particular episode in Jewish history, why of all the stirring moments in history of our people did he select that one, why did he remind the men going into battle that "their God is the God who brought them out of the land of Egypt?" What he wished to remind them of is that ~~their~~ God was a God who abhors human slavery, who wants men to be free and to strike out for freedom. Israel on the eve of war was to be reminded of the most glorious chapter in its history, when it knocked off the shackles of Egyptian slavery and went forth a free people, in quest of a new land of hope and promise. That was an inspiring message given to men going forth in battle. What nobler reminder can be given to our troops, soldiers and civilians on the eve of a decisive battle, than the recollection of ^{our} most glorious chapter in American history when our people knocked off the foreign yoke at the very door of our national life and again when our people knocked off the shackles of the black man's slavery.

Our battle cry, like the battle cry of old must still be "Freedom"... We do not covet a foot of territory in Europe. We seek no wealth on the continent. Our battle cry, that which we must seek is freedom, for us, for all men, for the

weak as well as the strong, for the individual, for the individual child of God, regardless of race, creed, color -- freedom! -- freedom to live, to earn a living, freedom for a man to fulfil his destiny, freedom from oppression, from exploitation, freedom from aggression. If this is not our battle cry, we shall invade Europe this year only to pour out the precious blood of our sons. We shall achieve nothing but ruin, and bitter disillusionment in the end.

What are we invading Europe ^{for} for? What are we sending millions of sons over there, and the wealth of our nation? To defeat the Nazis, to be sure. That is the first step. That is a great end in itself. If there are not defeated, then everything is lost for us and for mankind. That is not enough. We defeated these same Nazis under another name twenty-five years ago. We spoke of them then at that time as the Prussian Junkers. It is the same animal, the same unbridled despotism, the same ruthlessness, the same disregard for human life, the same contempt for everyone but himself...It is the same brute we licked twenty-five years ago. We have to do the job over again today.

We are invading Europe to destroy a root evil, surgically to cut away a cancerous growth which has kept Europe and the rest of the world from settling down to those peaceful pursuits which alone can give mankind a better and juster world order -- industry, trade, cultural activities.

We are invading Europe to destroy the spirit of militarism once and for all, the spirit of national aggression, the lust for domination. We are invading Europe to create permanent forms and instrumentalities and opportunities for international cooperation in our every field which will render recurrences to war and violence every twenty to twenty-five years unnecessary and impossible. We are invading Europe to build unity in a shattered, scattered and chaotic world.

And we ought to ask ourselves at this moment: Are we actually tending in that direction? From all indications about us, is that direction in which mankind is moving towards unity, towards the creation of permanent international

forms of cooperation, towards the uprooting of the spirit of militarism and aggression in the world? It is hard to say. It is very difficult to say. We are not at all sure that this actually the direction in which we are moving.

On the one hand there is every indication that we are moving in that direction.

A few months ago, in the city of Moscow, representatives of four great nations, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and China met and issued a famous declaration which if adhered to, will be one of the few decisive turning points in human history. They agreed that "United action which they pledged for

war will be continued after the war for the organization and maintenance of peace and security." "They recognized the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." They agreed that "pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations."

That is vision. That is promise and hope. That is heartening prophecy FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. That makes sacrifice worth while. We are resolved, first of all, to wage war together to the end. They have agreed to destroy to the Nazism, Fascism in the world, not to return ~~the~~ sword/~~the~~ scabbard until that is done. They also agreed to bring to punishment those unspeakable human beasts and appalling who have been responsible for these abhorrent/atrocities. They also agreed, these four great powers, to collaborate after the war for peace, to work together in the transition period, in the interim period, to work together for the creation of a permanent international world-wide organization. This opens up new and wonderful vistas for human life.

On the other hand, one has heard rather disconcerting talk in recent

months, one has observed rather disconcerting acts which do not deeply reflect the spirit of this Moscow Declaration which open up rather discouraging vistas of the whole world, rather than the promising vistas of the new. We have seen, for example, unilateral action on the part of the Soviet Union with reference to Poland -- I am not in a position to enter into the merits of the question or to declare that the Soviet Union is not right and that Poland, or that the Polish Government in Exile is not right -- what is disconcerting about this is the fact that it runs contrary to the agreement that "pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations." Unless there is this joint consultation and joint action there cannot be the kind of a world which this Moscow Declaration envisages. If powerful nations are to be permitted to act unilaterally without consultation of others, the world will fast move back to bitter rivalry and competition...

One hears talk about the absorption of this small state, that small state of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union. One hears talk about dividing Europe into two large spheres of influence -- Eastern Europe, Southeastern and Central Europe into the Soviet Union and Western Europe as the sphere of British influence, one sphere communistically dominated and the other sphere capitalistically governed. Such a division of Europe into two rival ideologies, competitive systems, is simply the prelude to a third world war.

One hears talk about a regional organization of the world, the organization of the world through the creation of units, federations of peoples, the Soviet Union as one and the rest of the world as another linked with democratic Great Britain.

One hears talk of an Anglo-American ~~alliance~~ alliance for mutual self-

defense.

All of which have in them the seeds of future war, civil war and of revolution. The organization of mankind after the war can be either a world-wide, over all organization, or it can be nothing. It can be either a system of collective security for all ^{or} it will be the old system again of groups of nations which will possess real or fancied interests trying to make themselves secure by means of costly and never quite adequate armament against other groups of nations, and that system has always led in the past and must always lead in the future to war.

The four great nations which are now working together to win the war are likely to run the danger after the war to reshape the political map to suit their own particular interests, each thinking of its own security in terms of military self-sufficiency. Now self-sufficiency is a reasonable attitude to take. These four nations are bearing the brunt of the war and are making most of the sacrifices and after the war, it is reasonable they will look out for their own interests primarily to make themselves secure against any future war. I say this is superficially reasonable.

But history has told us that it is a narrow point of view. No nation can every be militarily self-sufficient any more than any nation can be economically self-sufficient. For it is only a world organization ^{that} can make any nation, however great, however powerful, secure against war.

The slogan, therefore, as we invade Europe for the final show-down of the war should be in a very realistic way: "Unity, equality and freedom", for all men, for all people -- "unity, equality and freedom" are still the glowing torches in this dark world of ours, and our American ideals, our religious ideals, they are the only ideals worth fighting for. They are the only ideals which will make fighting unnecessary for our children and their children to come after them.

We must think in terms inspiringly phrased by Wendell Willkie, "One World", an organized "one world" organized and self-governed by laws and conventions of its

own making, one world equipped to defend these laws and these conventions by its own collective power. We must think in terms of law and order imposed for one by three or four great powers, or precariously maintained by balanced power of counter-poised regions.

We must think in terms of equality for all nations as to rights and obligations, perhaps with greater emphasis on national sovereignty for all nations within distinct limitations of international law and the responsibilities imposed by needs of world community.

We must think in terms of freedom, first of all for men within their respective countries in which they live. No nation should be granted national sovereignty, no nation should be allowed to embrace the privileges of organized society, of membership in the community of nations which discriminates against sections of its own population, on the ground of race, creed or color.

It is an amazing thing that in the 20th century we must again begin to think of freedom from persecutuion, which means equality before the law for all children of God. Yet the story of the last twenty years in many sections of Europe and in the rest of the world has been ^adefiled and degraded story of how human beings were brutally persecuted, denied the elementary rights of human beings, beaten down into humiliation and degradation because they differed in race, religion, color from the majority population of one or another country.

If we are to invade Europe to destroy Nazism and if our soldiers are to come back only to find our own country bespattered with intolerance, made ugly by upsurgings of bitter, racial and religious antagonism, the war will have proved a mockery and sacrifice.

The slogan on the eve of invasion still remains a spiritual one -- unity equality freedom. If therefore, awaredly and consciously and purposefully we move forward to these great objectives as our soldiers are made aware that these are things they are fighting for, if on the eve of invasion we consecrate ourselves to these spiritual objectives and will steel our hearts to sacrifices of this war,

we shall know that our sacrifices were not in vain.



D. 20.1-4

וְכִשְׁתָּבֹחַ אֶת ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל יוֹם וּבְכָל יוֹם וּבְכָל יוֹם וּבְכָל יוֹם

"When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and
shest horses, and chariots, and a people more than thou, thou shalt not
be afraid of them; for the Lord thy God is with thee, who brought thee
up out of the land of Egypt. And it shall be, when ye draw nigh unto
battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, and
shall say unto them: Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto
battle against your enemies; let not your heart faint; for not
we be alarmed, neither be ye affrighted at them: for the Lord
your God is He that goeth with you, to fight for you against your
enemies, to save you"

① On eve of invasion of W. Europe. Military will decide time - place.

This year! This Spring! All preparations are going forward -
vast. involved - unprecedented ^{plans} to last detail.

An army the like ^{which} never before ported for crushing
assault on Western Europe -
Nazi ^{coastal} Germany will be attacked for W-East. South - by British
Sea Force -

~~Attack~~
This will be the final hour of Desires! The Nazis will be
destroyed
The United Nations are confident of victory!

② Their military leaders, however, are not promising an easy victory.
Germany costly! As costly as some, the campaigns in Russia.
The German military might is not yet broken. He is still very
powerful. He has had time to prepare ~~for~~ W. Europe
against an invasion - ~~He is~~ The enemy is cunning, resourceful,
and desperate - and is likely to fight with fierceness, ambition,
only the last chance - to win a stale-mate - to make the
invasion so costly for the Allies - negotiated peace -

3). We have been advised to prepare ourselves for severe
losses - many casualties - and an expensive

in Italy - Salerno - Cassino - and on beach head at Anzio ^{CS}
~~point to~~ only re-emphasize this admonition.

1944 - will be a hard, ^{trying} severely ~~testing~~ year for the two people
and for our allies. The war will come much closer to
home ~~for the people~~ ^{over us} than heretofore.

4) In ancient Israel - the High Priest was summoned to
address the people at such a time - on the eve of invasion
or attack. He was designated ^{נשיא מלחמה} ~~נשיא מלחמה~~ ^{the War Anointed}
He addressed the people, say the Rubins, in the Holy Tongue
because, the solemnity, the occasion - & the essential
spiritual message which he conveyed to them.

- His message consisted of 2 parts.

① Not to be intimidated by ^{the} superior forces, the enemy: "When
you go forth to battle against their enemies, and see horses,
and chariots and a people more than thou, thou shalt not
be afraid, them."

Superior forces do not necessarily insure final victory.

Nazis counted on it - in their early Blitzkrieg battles
they were better prepared. Their weapons were lighter and
more modern. Their tanks and dive-bombers and new tactics
warfare surprised and overwhelmed one country after another.

They won one battle after another. But they failed to
win the war. ~~But~~ there ^{was} more they also - which they did
not take into account - an insuperable factor - against
which tanks & planes & guns ^{proved} ~~are~~ helpless in last analysis.

That something - Dunkirk - Stalingrad - ^{after} Pearl Harbor
a sp. obstinacy & indomitable - a hard-fought battle

(3)

moral courage which is invincible - against which your heart
your pauper divisions ^{are broken} in vain.

5) The "war mounted" told his people - that there was some one
fighting for them, along side, there, who is never defeated!
"Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your
enemies, but ~~for~~ not your heart faint, fear not, nor be alarmed,
neither be ye appalled at them, for the Lord your God is He
that goeth with you, to fight for you against your
enemies, to save you."

6) Who goes with our fighting forces into battle? The
unnumbered ^{hundreds} of brave ^{valley} men ^{and} the spirit, the see. Israel with
contributions - the unnumbered reparations "He helped" - the
preserver of us, workers and givers - the prayer spirit of
father Abraham = "God of the people" - the stern
unfashioned head of pilgrims - providers - who fight for freedom
of depend - on the old men of the tribe - the tribes - sons, sons of the tribe
- Reaching out for the other tribe - humanity
These go with our fighting men - fight for them against
their enemies - to save them.

7) The "war mounted" priest - "For the Lord thy God is with thee -
who hath the art, the land, Egypt." - why?
- a God who abhors human slavery -
- who wants men to be free - to strive out for freedom
- Israel on eve of war was to be reminded, the most
glorious chapter in its history - knocked off shackles of
Egyptian slavery - to went for the free people, in front of a
new land of hope and promise -

8) ~~Our world~~ What nobler reminder could be given to our race ^{4.}
people, sadder revelation alike, as ever - than ~~the~~ the revelation
the most glorious chapter in Amer. history - when our
people knocked off foreign yoke - set the dawn of a new
life and again - slavery ^{the black man} ~~midway~~ in its wretchedness

9) Our battle cry must still be Freedom! - for us - for all man-
kind - for the small as well as the great - weak - strong
 - for the individual - regardless of race - creed - color -
 - freedom to live - to earn a living - to fight his destiny
 - freedom from oppression - exploitation - aggression.

10) Else we shall invade Europe only to pour out an blood
and achieve ^{no thing but} wreck & ruin & ~~no thing else~~ ^{little disillusionment in the end.}
Cost not an inch of the territory

11) What are we invading Europe for? To defeat the Nazis - to
 save! That must come first - a everything is lost. But
 that is not enough! We defeated those same Nazis under
 a diff. name - Prussian Junkers - 25 yrs ago.
 - a commonwealth

We are invading Europe - to destroy a root evil which keeps Europe & the rest of the world from sitting down to their peaceful pursuits which alone can give mankind a better & juster world order.

- To destroy the spirit of utilitarianism and efficiency - 1 vol.
- unpenalised - 2 hat. aggressiveness - lust of domination.

To create these forms & instruments & facilitate
 internat. ^{in every field} cooperation - which will render ~~it~~ ^{memory}
 to us & others unnecessary - very impossible

- To build Unity in a shattered, scattered, chaotic world.

12/ Are we tending in that direction? It is hard to say.

On the one hand - Nov. 1-1943 - Moscow Declaration - 4 Nations

"United action which they pledged for war - will be continued after the war for the org. + maintenance of Peace + Security"

"They recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a gen. internat. organization, based on the principle, the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large + small, for the maintenance of internat. peace + security"

"Pending the re-establishment of law + order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another + with other members, the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf, the community of nations"

→ Excellent! Vision here + promise hope for the world.

- Resolved to wage war together to the end - no comfort

for Nazis - division in ranks of allies

Agreed to destroy Nazism + Fascism in the world!

- Purpose Being to punishment - atrocities -

- will also collaborate for Peace - Interim - Permanent

internat. world-wide organization for Peace - at long last

- Opens up new vistas

13/ On the other hand - disparaging talks - facts

① Unilaterally Russia - Poland : consult with an anti
- with a view to joint action on behalf of community

- 136) One hears of absorption of Balkan states into Soviet Union
- 14) One hears talk about dividing Europe into 2 spheres of influence. ① Eastern Europe, S.E. & Central = Soviet
② West Europe - Great Britain.
One Communist - the other capitalist - prelude to a 3rd world war
- 15) One hears talk - about regional organizations - the Soviet Union as one - the rest of Europe as another - linked with democ. of W. - or with U.S. - other regional units
- 16) One hears talk - ^{an} Anglo-American alliance - for mutual defence
- 17) All, which have in their seed of future wars - revolutions & civil wars.
- 18) It ~~will~~ ^{can} either be world-org or nothing! -
- It ~~will~~ ^{can} either be a system of collective security for all by all. Or it will be the old system of groups of nations ^{where stronger} ~~fight~~ ^{fighting} ~~for~~ ^{by means} of joint common interests, ~~preparing~~ ^{preparing} ~~for~~ ^{by means} of certainty & more growth adequate armament against other groups of nations - leading inevitably to war
- The 4 great nations - will run danger after the war of trying to reshape the pol. map to suit their own particular interests - each thinking its own security is being military self-sufficiency
- Superficially reasonable! - but burnt ^{as from} war - sacrifices
- Narrow point-of-view. No nation can ever be militarily self-sufficient - any more > econ. self-sufficient
- only a world org. can make any nation, however powerful, secure against war -
- ~~But that~~

19/ The Slogan - as we invade Europe -

- Unity + Equality ^{+ freedom} ~~for all men~~ ^{all} ~~sympathies~~!

- Still the flowering trees in our darkening world.

- These are American ideals - human ideals - religious ideals
worth fighting for.

20/ We must think in terms of one world ^{Waldia} - ~~not a~~ ^{organized} ~~self-governed~~ -
by laws & conventions, its own making - ought to defend
them by their collective power.

Not of law order ^{those} ~~imposed~~ upon rest, held by 3 or 4
great powers - or precariously maintained by balanced
power of counter-poised republics.

21/ We must think in terms of Equality all nations - as to rights
and obligations. Nat. sovereignty within distinct limitations
of internat. law & the responsibilities imposed by needs of a
World Community.

22/ We must think in terms of Freedom - for men within
their resp. countries. No nation shall be allowed
full status - which discriminates against its citizens
on basis of race or religion - Freedom from
Persecution. Equality before the law!
- Rise of interlocking ~~power~~ does not argue well for further!

23/ If ~~unitedly~~ ^{Fighting together} ~~consciously~~ - unconsciously - unwillingly - then are the things
we are really fighting for - then sacrifices not in vain

These are definite gains and definite stepping-stones to promise and achievement in the tasks which lie ahead of us after the war.

127. → Spiritually and ethically the shape of things to come is very blurred.

One cannot forget that the last world war was fought for the very same objectives as this war and against the same foe. The war was won and yet, following it, the world entered one of the most disastrous periods in history, ~~a breakdown and blackout period,~~ culminating in this second world war.

Why did victory lead to defeat? Not because the Versailles Treaty was vicious. It was no better and no worse than similar treaties which are imposed by victors upon vanquished. The recognition of the independence of Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, the acceptance of the principles of the rights of minorities, and the establishment of the League of Nations marked definite forward steps. The failure of the peace was due first to a lack of economic foresight. Political self-determination was confused with economic self-sufficiency. The failure was also due to defects in the structure of the League. The League was not given military power to enforce its decisions. The right of secession was reserved ^{by} the member nations and ~~a unanimous~~ ^{unanimously} vote was required for all important decisions of the Assembly and the Council. The failure of the United States to join the League was a high mortal blow, and the failure of Great Britain, France and the other principal signatories to live up to the letter ~~and~~ ^{and} the spirit of the covenant completed its ruin.

It was this last failure - essentially a moral one - the failure to assume responsibility for world peace or, having assumed it, to live up to it - which was ^{in the main} ~~principally~~ responsible for the wreck of the first important and promising experiment in world pacification. Statesmen called national cowardice non-entanglement, and the successive acts of betrayal of the League appeasement, and so another world war was blunderingly concocted. ^{The} ~~These~~ nations which did not wish to intervene ^{and to take risks} for peace are now intervening in war and the peacemongers turned out to be the real warmongers.

What will come after this war? Will victory again lead to defeat? This will depend largely upon the moral attitude of the victorious Allies towards a revived and revised world union. All the ethical promises of an Allied victory depend entirely upon it.

Europe and other parts of the globe will be ravaged after the war. Famine, poverty, misery and hate will stalk over the face of the earth. There will be ruined economies, social collapse and revolutions in every defeated country -- just as after the last war. Millions of people will seek new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The youth of half the world which has been indoctrinated with the racial and nationalistic mythologies of dictatorship will be spiritually lost and unsuited to a democratic way of life which they had been taught to hate and despise. There will also be resentments, rivalries and recriminations among the victorious Allies -- just as after the last war. Will the British Empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America share reconcilable views on world reconstruction at the peace table? Will their economic interests be compatible? And will they agree on the basic freedoms which should be guaranteed to men and nations?

Under these conditions the attempt to build a peaceful and stable social order will tax the intellectual and spiritual resources of human statesmanship to the utmost.

It is idle to assume that an era of peace and good will will set in right after the war and as a sure consequence of the peace. The long protracted agony of our epoch wherein capitalism is evolving into new forms, by way of a transition even more violent than that of feudalism at the close of the Middle Ages, will not end with this war; for stable new economic forms, compatible with human freedom and security, have not yet emerged. The most that we can hope for is that this war will put an end to political aggression and imperialistic adventure which are anachronisms in the modern world, breeding war, and fatally interfering with the efforts of peoples to make their difficult adjustments to the requirements of the new technological age. The defeat of Hitlerism will give free nations a chance, ^{but} and only a chance, to continue

their planning and experimenting for a more just social order which will combine safety with civilization.

The peacemakers, in my judgment, will not be able to solve all or ^{even} many of the manifold problems which will confront the world at the time of the armistice - nor should they attempt to. Their primary concern should be to restore freedom to the conquered peoples, within regional economic blocs or federations, to insure to all nations equal access to the raw material of the earth and to create the effective safeguards against future aggression. This means a recreated League of Nations, structurally modified, backed by force and geared for action, whose member nations will consent to a modified sovereignty and forego the right of secession -- a League which will be empowered to review treaties from time to time and to rectify what time will prove necessary.

begin Above all it is important that immediately following this war there be universally re-affirmed and re-established ^{the} Rights of Man, that complex of human rights which our country proclaimed more than a century and a half ago. The revolutionary heart of the Declaration of Independence is the proclamation that there are certain rights ^{which} ~~that~~ belong to the individual by virtue of the fact that he is a child of God, and not merely a member of a society or a citizen of a state, and that therefore these rights are not subject to the veto power of state or society. They are unalienable - the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In the last two decades, dictatorships both of the Right and the Left have repudiated this basically American doctrine which derives directly from the great Judaeo-Christian religious tradition and which is rooted firmly in the rich earth of Biblical doctrine. The cynical repudiation has led to a very cataract of disasters, and finally plunged mankind into ^a ~~the~~ world war which is now raging. There must be a return to those ^{fundamental} ~~great~~ doctrines of the inalienable rights of the individual after this war, for ~~all~~ ^{in the} *East analyzes all* social stability and progress depend upon the acceptance of this prophetic dogma. It must be written into the constitution of every state. It must also be written

stop deep in the hearts of men. It is not an easy thing to do. But we are not dealing here with things that are easy.

Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially and economically not in relation to themselves but within the framework of an associated life, in relation to the group to which they belonged - ^{nobility} ~~noblemen~~, cleric, military, peasant. It was an hierarchy, a feudal arrangement of social life. It was from a long experience with this kind of social organization that we have carried over the practice of judging men collectively within fixed molds. Democracy rediscovered the human being ^{per se}, the individual who derives from his Creator - not from society or ^{on his race} from his class - certain fundamental rights. The individual is not to be handicapped or for that matter, advantaged by the fortuitous circumstances of his class, creed or color. The very genius of democracy is to treat man on the basis of ^{this} ~~that~~ inherent humanity.

The dictators in the Old World have used minorities in their dirty game of politics and aggression. They aroused and capitalized upon the historic hatreds and suspicions of groups in order to ride into power. The reactionaries and the Fascist-minded individuals and groups in this country have also attempted to exploit these prejudices against minorities in an effort to destroy the solidarity of our people and to undermine our free institutions. They will become very active again the day after the Armistice. We should be forewarned and forearmed.

Begin There will be great spiritual strain in our country after the war. Eras of reconstruction are dangerous eras. Passions, hopes and fears run high. The demagogues and the political adventurers hope to find in the very fluidity of social forms their great opportunity. Orthodox and ear-marked Fascist and Nazi doctrines and slogans will of course be discredited. Dogmatism generally, both of a political and economic character, is likely to suffer eclipse. But this will not preclude other attacks upon human rights and liberties under other guises and with other catchwords, nor will it prevent the recrudescence of bigotry and intolerance which, for the duration, have

gone under-ground in our land. The Ku Klux Klan was launched on the ebb-tide of the last war, and capitalized on the totalitarian patriotism which the war engendered. In the severe adjustment which will follow the war in our country and which will probably entail periods of inflation, depression and large-scale unemployment every body will be looking for scapegoats. Some ^{have} ~~are~~ theirs already well tethered in their backyards.

stop The hope, of course, is ~~that the very fact~~ that these things happened after the last war ^{and therefore} may put Americans on their guard against their recurrence. *(stop)*

Religion which has so much at stake in this war - ~~in fact the whole classic~~ ^{there is} ~~Judeo-Christian tradition is at stake~~ - is hoping, though ~~it has~~ no assurance, - that this war, coming so soon after the last, will sober the human race so that it will forsake the cynical and brutal materialism which has led it from one Golgotha to another, and will restore to respectability the eternal human ideals and the spiritual values which alone give significance to human life. Religion hopes that this war will mark the end of the persecutions of races and minorities, the exploitation of hates, the total submergence of the individual to the state and the narrow nationalism which have made international life ugly, mean and cruel. Religion is hoping that the hard tasks of peace will evoke at least some of those virtues which fighting free men evidence in war - courage, resoluteness, self-sacrifice and unity. For we shall have need of an even higher order of spiritual fortitude, of faith and vision, after the war, if we are to conserve those values for which our contry is fighting today, and for which brave men will die.

5/ underlying objective - hardly sensed or acknowledged -
re-established discarded concept + mandate of Human Brotherhood
One of princ. causes of War - Rejection of H.B. - as a guiding
princ. in Internat. Relations.
We rejected it ^{by proclaiming} neutrality - Isolation
Nazis - completely repudiation both in Theory & Practice
We said: "Am I my Brother's Keeper?" absolved ourselves
They said: a corrupting doctrine - Slave Morality
A decadent & abhorrent Ind-Ch. ideal

6/ New Order of Nazis - built out - Caste System of Masters
and Slaves.
All people - all nations - assigned fixed places in hierarchical
scheme of Privilege & Power -
At Apex of Pyramid - elite of German Race.
Armed Camp of Rulers in a disarmed world of
the ruled -
Whatevers + Whomever serves - accepts leadership -
tolerated - vermin

7/ To justify + rationalize - this colossal catastrophe
offered world a blown-up Race phylloph -
arbitrary division of mankind - advanced backward
but inferior + superior -
This Race Mythology - a cover for p.H. aggression

and another deep effort - unrepentant Pruss. Militarism
to dominate world.

This blood-cult - very auth thens g Pol's proclamation
of universal free brotherhood of all men - is
intended to give a semblance of justification for a
shamless act of pol. slaughter, thence + ulub.
sole slaughter of innocent civilians -

8/ Free Nations endeavoring to resist - Pop. Pol.
"How we not all are Father"

"He hath made of one blood all nations of men
to dwell on all the face of the earth"
- Adam

9/ Nazi Race ideology - will be completely discredited
as they are finally defeated on battle-field.

A race which claims superiority - invariably will lose
1 German defeat - Stalingrad - at hand / Inf. Race - Beat
" Surrender - Africa

Laughing stock - of itself sets race pretensions.

Japs, too, are having their insistent Race creed knocked
out, then - cumulative victories - heroic resistance
China -