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Atlantic charter - another scrap of paper, 1944.

WRHS
ATLANTIC CHARTER - ANOTHER SCRAP OF PAPER



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Is Our World Heading Toward Another Era of Power Politics?

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, December 24, 1944

In the war, my friends, on the military plane, the Allies seem to have suffered very serious reverses in the last week or so. The enemy has succeeded in gaining victories on the Western Front. Its armies are pouring into Luxembourg and Belgium. Their advance has not yet been stopped. Military experts regard that as ^avery serious reversal for our side, though not a fatal one. However, the whole time table of the war has probably been prolonged as a result of the reverses we have suffered. We are all confident that when it gets into its counter-offensive will succeed in stopping the offensive, will recapture the initiative again in pressing on to ultimate victory. It is clear that these reversals will entail additional sacrifice on the part of the Allied nations and particularly on the part of our own fighting men. As the war is prolonged our sacrifices will mount there will be a great strain on the morale of the fighting men on the home front.

We had built ourselves up to a speedy victory and now many of us have begun to feel ourselves emotionally let-down. That sense of emotional let-down is ^{to}likely/spread. Only the recapture of the ideals which moved us into the war, only by re-learning the great objectives which we ~~xx~~ sought to attain in the second global war will help us to rebuild our morale and to strengthen us for the long hard pull ahead. It was a wise man who said: "If a man is to strive with all his heart, the significance of his striving must be unmistakable." If our armies are to strive with all their hearts and make such terrific sacrifices from here on through the dark days to come, if the home front is to be sustained, then the significance of what we are striving for must be unmistakably clear as in the beginning of the war.... Our ideals ought to be crystal clear at the moment, and unfortunately we have suffered on the political diplomatic plane in recent weeks reverses which in my judgment are far more serious than the reverses suffered on the battle-fronts. From all sides evidences begin to pour in that all the united nations are actually fighting for is not a new world, but the old world under this guise -- the old power politics, the old set-up which twice in our lifetime has led us to two disastrous world wars.

The revelation of what has taken place in Italy, Belgium, Greece, Poland, the raw, crude, ugly struggle for imperial gain has disillusioned many of our people, which in my judgment is very ominous, very dangerous.

Recently the President of the United States, made some observations on the Atlantic Charter which still further serve to disquiet and disillusion many of our people. You may recall in in August, 1941, before we entered the World War, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain met somewhere in the Atlantic and drafted what has come to be known as the Atlantic Charter. It may be of value to refresh our minds of what this Atlantic Charter was. I quote it:

"The President of the United States and the Prime Ministers, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea.

"They have been accompanied by officials of their two governments, including high ranking officers of their military, naval and air services.

"The whole problem of the supply of munitions of war, as provided by the Lease-Lend Act, for the armed forces of the United States and for those countries actively engaged in resisting aggression has been further examined.

"Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of Supply of the British Government, has joined in these conferences. He is going to proceed to Washington to discuss further details with appropriate officials of the United States Government. These conferences will also cover the supply problems of the Soviet Union.

"The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked, and have made clear the steps which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in the face of these dangers.

"They have agreed upon the following joint declaration:

"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 people 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 adjustment 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

will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

"Franklin D. Roosevelt
"Winston S. Churchill."

When a few days ago the President of the United States discredited the Atlantic Charter, declared that there was not and never had been a formal, complete, "Atlantic Charter" signed by him and Churchill, that there wasn't any copy of the Atlantic Charter, no formal document, that there were some scribbled notes on many pieces of paper, and the contents radioed to Washington and London to be mimeographed for publication, it rather shocked our people and the world. It seemed to make light of this document which mankind had come to look on as the inspiring motif which made them enter the world.

Since that time the President of the United States has explained his remarks at a press conference at which he stated that "There are certain, you might call them documents, that have been made throughout history, the President said, some of them ~~xxxxxx~~ of great importance, some of them having an effect on the thinking of the public towards objectives for a better world.

"The Atlantic Charter, he continued, stands for these objectives. Many previous pronouncements go back for centuries, yet the objectives are just as good as they were in the beginning, adding that he believed the objectives of the Atlantic Charter were sound.

"Some people believe in that kind of purpose, some do not. Some laugh at it, and there are a lot of people who say you cannot attain an objective like that for humanity, wherefore, why talk about it? he went on. Those people say, Well, we do not live up to the Ten Commandments.

"But on the whole, the President said, it is a pretty good thing to shoot for. It is just Christian living, and most of the people with whom he was talking at the moment think it is a good thing, but we have not attained it.

"He did not mean to compare the Atlantic Charter with the Ten Commandments,

Mr. Roosevelt explained, or to Christian living, But, he said, it was a step, something we would all like to see come to the world. A step toward the better living of the population of the world. President Wilson's Fourteen Points was a step, he added.

"Every now and then, Mr. Roosevelt said, some one comes along with something better. He predicted that some one will come forward with something better than the Charter. The world goes a little bit by peaks and valleys, but on the whole, he added, the curve was upward.

"Human life is, on the whole, on a better scale than it was centuries ago. We have come a long way, but we have a long way to go, the President declared but things are better and they will get better, though there are some people who are just congenitally against that sort of thing. That's part of the peaks and valleys, he concluded."

But I am afraid that this explanation is not a sufficiently satisfactory explanation. I am sure that the President when on the High seas in August of 1941 didn't meet to repeat the Ten Commandments or to proclaim a set of ideal goals for mankind at the end of days. The world was in the midst of war...It was a meeting/ which envisaged "No vision of a distant millenium, but a definite basis for a kind of a world attainable in our own time and generation." It was to meet the urgent practical problems that were tearing our world apart -- the end of imperialism, militarism, the whole era of power politics, world union, that the rights of all people should be secured by national organizations.

The military situation today is not good. The political and diplomatic situation is far worse and it may lead, unless we are careful, to psychological collapse among the people of the world who will become tired of this purposeless, motiveless objectiveless war even it means a negotiated peace. That is the danger...

The world has been at war for five years, Britain for eight years. The world has been drained of much blood, much spiritual emotion. The world is tired..

People are ~~fixed~~ tired of being dragged under, of the terrific deprivations which war

imposes on them. There is a limit to endurance. How long can our people continue to shed their blood for the same kind of a world, the same balance of power, the same international intrigues which existed before this war? This war began as a war of human liberation, a liberation from dictatorship, from those evils which led the world to Nazism.

The conquered peoples of Europe were told to wait for the coming of the Allies as liberators. Unfortunately some disillusionment has come to some of them. Long before we invaded Africa we were supporting the Vichy Government and indirectly playing into the hands of Japan. When we did invade North Africa we made a deal with the Vichyites which shocked the world. We resisted strenuously for a long period of time the real forces of liberation -- the Free French, DeGaulle. Only under pressure of events did we later recognize the Free French under De Gaulle. We made a deal with Bodolio, before we invaded Italy which has since done much to check the true revolutionary elan of the Italian people who expected with the coming of our armies a real & violent outburst of Fascism and all that symbolizes Fascism in Italy. The British seem to have become the body-guard of reaction in Europe today, in Belgium, Italy and Greece... Churchill not interested in the ideologies which certain people seemed to be fighting this war for. In Belgium when the people were clamoring for the resignation of Premier Pierlot's government who honeycombed with former collaborationists and refused to bring to trial and punishment pro-Nazis and Fascists, the Belgium underground resistant forces were being shot down by Allied troops. The forces of resistance were disarmed because they wanted to destroy Fascism once and for all.

In Italy the attempt of the Italian people to set up a truly democratic government was frustrated by the British who resisted Count Sforza, the foremost liberal because he was anti-Monarchist. The British favored the restoration of monarchy in Italy....

Athens is a battlefield. British troops, tanks, machine guns, airplanes are shooting down former Greek patriots whom Churchill now calls gangsters...The Greeks want a truly democratic government, not the restoration of King George II. They are being

thwarted in their desire. They are being riven apart. Party strife is encouraged by the peoples who want the restoration of the monarchy. Everywhere the liberated areas of Europe are being check^{ed} in their demands to have Nazis, under whom these people have so long suffered, purged from their country. So great has been the bause and so unseemly the power politics in recent months, that the better elements in Great Britain have become sharply critical of their own government and of their own country. Our own government, we ourselves are not coming into the picture with clean hands.

Then came the announcement of Poland and the new plan for the paritition of Poland. One is not in any position at the moment to decide the right or wrong of boundary disputes whether Poland should be restored to original boundaries or not. No one of us is in a position to decide at this moment. But there was an understanding as between Churchill and the United States, defined in the Atlantic Charter that no territory changes should be made without the consent of the people involved. The people of Poland have not given their consent to any territorial change. It was also contemplated that no territory change should be made before the end of the war.

So it appears that there has been an agreement made ~~x~~ between the Soviet Union and England to divide Europe and other parts of the world into two great spheres of influence, a Soviet sphere, the East, Finland, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria -- a lot of sattelite states under the aegis of the Soviet Union. And another great sphere of influence, a British influence in the Mediterranean and in WesternEurope -- Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Holland. Originally it was also contemplated to have France -- another block of states under the aegis of Great Britain. A new balance of power was to emerge!

Germany, of course, remains unaccounted for in this new balance of power. Germany therefore remains a focus of intrigue between these two masters of Europe - in which sphere Germany will finally find its placement. Germany has so far played one against the other as she played off France against England, and England against France after the last war, and ^{England and the Soviet Union} ~~contemplates~~ confronting the Peace Conference with a fair accomplis.

All these political arrangements are to be made during the war, now, so that when the new world organization is contemplated, that organization will face a situation already fixed, and its purpose will simply be to freeze that status quo into a permanent arrangement.

Most of the people today are asking: Is this what we are fighting for? Is this what we are asking our young men and women to die for, to protect the British in the Mediterranean, and the Soviet Union in the East and in Balkans? Are we fighting for a democratic world, a world free of Fascism, of imperialism, a world which will ~~in~~ will be organized as a unit to protect every people, large or small, strong or weak. Is this a war, the victory of which will redoeen to the benefit of all, or is this a war which will bolster up the imperialism of a few great powers?

In the light of all that happened in the world today, the decisions, permanent or tentative, taken at Dumbarton Oaks take on a rather sinister significance, and not a hopeful significance. It becomes apparent that what was planned there was the sanction of military alliances of a few great powers which will dominate the many. In the light of that, it is crystal clear why the great powers will reserve for themselves the veto power against the many, and why they cannot be declared an aggressor. They have consented to the creation of a world force which may be used by the security council of world organization to enforce its decisions, but they have at the same time made sure that a single one of the big powers can veto a decision without itself being declared an aggressor and that force cannot be employed against it. It is also clear that under the contemplated arrangement each one of the great powers will have military power far greater than that made available to the world organization.

It is not too late to reverse this fatal trend which may lead to world disillusionment which may lead to a clamor for a speedy termination of this war regardless of the terms, and which may lead our people into a mood of isolationism the like of which our people did not experience after the last war.

It is high time that America should begin to assert its moral authority in the situation -- publicly refuse to sanction or condone by silence any deals made at this

time at the expense of the smaller nations which are helpless to make their true wishes effective. We must begin to return to the fundamentals of the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the ideals for which we entered this war: no territorial changes while the war goes on; people must truly be permitted to choose their own governments, a real world organization created not to freeze a status quo; ~~x~~ not permit French imperialism, Dutch, English, Russian imperialism; a world organization created to protect every people within its sovereign rights regardless of size or strength, and a ~~s~~statement on the part of our government that we are not in favor of a new balance of power, that we are opposed to new military alliances. I think this is all greatly needed, is very imperative at this particular moment in the world. I am not so sure that ^{if} we will make such an assertion, ~~and~~ that we will make the effort to live up to these assertions. But they should be made or we shall lose the peace before we have won the war.

Some years ago, Herbert Agar wrote a very fine book which was called "The Hour for Greatness". At the end of his book was this sentence which I should like to read:

"Everything is unknown about the future save this alone: if the American idea prevails the future will offer man some dignity and some chance for self-improvement. If the American idea is presently extinguished, the future will be dark for unaccountable years. And the American idea cannot be saved by the sword alone; it can only exist if we live it. "The occasion," said Lincoln, "is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion...Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history."

We may invade Germany successfully and break the back of Germany, but the war will not yet be won.....The momentous sacrifices made will not have been justified unless we build on the ruins of the old a new and more kindlier world in which men will be truly free and nations will be truly secure in their live. It is only then that victory will be won for mankind. This is a critical hour -- and more so in the spiritual realm.

"If a man is to strive with all his heart, the sign his striving must be ^{unmistakable}
1) War - reverses - sacrifices - morale - ideals -
Shump - Power politics - resources - must stick together

2) Revolution ① Italy ② Belgium ③ Greece ④ Poland

3) Aug. 1941 - "Atlantic Charter" (note) (p. 111)
Jan. 6, 1941 - Address to Congress - "4 Freedoms" (p. 50)

4) B. + Dec. 1944 - Nazis crashing thru ~~Bel~~ Luxembourg & Belgium -
Pres. ~~announced~~ ^{discovered} that there was not and never had been a
formal, complete "Atlantic Charter" signed by him & Churchill.
"That there wasn't any copy of the 'At. Ch.' no formal document!"
There were some scribbled notes on many pieces of paper, and
contents relayed to Wash. & London - to be mimeographed - for
publication.

This shocked the Amer. people - & world. Seemed to make light -

Pres. since explained - (note)

But not sufficiently satisfactory explanation -
Did not want - to cut sea - "Anglo-Am", "Pure, hats" - just
to repeat the 10 Cms - a promise a set of ideal goals for
manifested at the end of days - showing future

"No vision of a distant millennium, but a definite basis
for a kind of a world attainable in our own ^{two or three} generations"

Urgent practical problems - bearing world asunder - End
of imperialism, militarism - World Union - Freedoms
How many world wars - Last one saw as Fascism -

5) Military situation not good - delay -
But situation on political level - far worse - may lead to
psychol. collapse - universal end (war free state) -

8.) To point - above - unsatisfying + unresolvable - better elements in 5/5th

St. Thomas - pointedly - "right of people to choose their own
Govt."

9) Poland - Tehran - Parthians - Circus - E. Russia - Gen. Lane

"No terr. changes without the consent, the peoples
involved"

F.D.R. - did not acquiesce - Did not register objection

U.S. will not interfere - If mutual agreement is reached now

10) It appears - Secret agreement - 2 part spheres

① Soviet Sphere - East - Finland - Poland - Belgium - Rumania
Yugo - Hungary - Greece - Austria
Baltic Republics already annexed

a bloc of
satellite
States in
East

② British - West - Italy - Greece - Portugal - Spain
France - Belgium - Holland

a bloc of
satellite
States in
West & Med

A new Balance, Power!

Germany - a focus of intrigue - Which Sphere?
Play of one against the other

11) It is intended to confront Peace Conf with
fait accompli - with all arrangements now
Welding - Demilitarization talks - will forge the
States group

12/ Is this what we are asked to fight for?
Or are we to fight for a democ world - ag 700 -
Against imperialism - restoring Against Bolshevism, Power -
~~Against~~ For - World org - for all

13/ Dumbarton Oaks - a military alliance of a
few dominating the many.
Can't declare one of Big 4 - aggressor
Force can't be employed against it
Each will have military estab. for peace?
available to world org

14/ It is not too late to revise friend -
America - moral authority - No deals!
Let people choose freely - No sharp fork
A world organ. & not Reg. division among
3 great powers -

Everything is unknown about the future save this alone: if the American idea prevails the future will offer man some dignity and some chance for self-improvement. If the American idea is presently extinguished, the future will be dark for uncountable years. And the American idea cannot be saved by the sword alone; it can only exist if we live it. "The occasion," said Lincoln, "is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion...Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history."

ent was being made, at more manpower could be concentrated in the type of tires, par- tially used on two-ton trucks. The cut in civilian schedules, Mr. Clark said, would make possible the use of the 350,000 additional two-ton Army trucks to meet the Army's

Is Amended

accomplished by the Rubber Order, the consumption of rubber and fabric in the passenger, motor-tires. The amendment that no manufacturer, motorcycle or car shall consume any production of such specifically author-

or not the re- main in force in the winter of 1945, Mr.

of the war will be future passen- ger production will be fur- ther curtailed or con- veyed announced to-

every apparent that must use existing good part of 1945,

whenever needed— is the answer to the essential "A" card

holders Affected

rd holders cannot as many Grade been planned. They, ve existing tire way if they are se their cars in occupations. Car- as recapping, is a pool of four will wear on tires."

that the A-5 tary tires, on t be increased, pes of tires. Of 0x20 eighty-ply the Army has for the first ing year.

re order," Mr. n fact, it is the requirement of

h tires, he said, n the utiliza- he production es used by es- portation on

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War Pro- its com- for 1945, t 245,449 be manu- year, as 1944. Of t 188,883

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ROOSEVELT URGES HOME FRONT DRIVE

Continued From Page 1

about the only person who had not predicted when the war in Europe would end.

Asked whether the new budget had been influenced or changed by the Nazi counter-offensive, the President replied that he had not changed his thought about budget-making.

Mr. Roosevelt declined to discuss, in response to questions, politics, domestic or international, matters which he construed to be of a military nature, or the future services of either Vice President Wallace or Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Again Discusses Atlantic Charter

He spoke further, however, on the Atlantic Charter, which he disclosed last Tuesday to be a joint declaration of principles prepared as a news release by himself and Prime Minister Churchill in August, 1941.

Its principles, he said, "are as valid today as they were in 1941," and he again went "on the record" to permit that statement to be quoted.

There are a number of persons, a reporter recalled, who have been saying that the ideals and objectives of the Charter are slipping and are not being adhered to.

That depends, the President replied, on what newspaper you read. The reporter said that he would like to hear from the President.

Mr. Roosevelt said that he ought to prepare something formal for such a reply, but that he would try without preparation.

There are certain, you might call them documents, that have been made throughout history, the President said, some of them of great importance, some of them having an effect on the thinking of the public towards objectives for a better world.

The Atlantic Charter, he continued, stands for these objectives. Many previous pronouncements go back for centuries, yet the objectives are just as good as they were in the beginning, he said, adding that he believed the objectives of the Atlantic Charter were sound.

Some Laugh At It

Some people believe in that kind of purpose, some do not. Some laugh at it, and there are a lot of people who say you cannot attain an objective like that for humanity, wherefore, why talk about it? he went on. Those people say, Well, we do not live up to the Ten Commandments.

But on the whole, the President said, it is a pretty good thing to shoot for. It is just Christian living, and most of the people with whom he was talking at the moment think it is a good thing, but we have not attained it.

He did not mean to compare the Atlantic Charter with the Ten Commandments, Mr. Roosevelt explained, or to Christian living. But, he said, it was a step, something we would all like to see come to

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The President declared that there had been no further developments for a meeting among himself, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin, and that no details had been decided. As an aside, he said, that when a decision was made, reporters would not be told about it.

Nor, he added, had he heard of a plan for a quarterly meeting of the foreign secretaries of the Big Three governments, though he had seen a story about it in the papers.

Asked about a story in The Chicago Sun, which states that the President and Mr. Hannegan had had a long, "none-too-friendly" conference during Mr. Roosevelt's recent vacation in Georgia, the President turned the question aside by saying he had seen no stories of that kind.

The story said that Mr. Hannegan's apparent desire to be Postmaster General and the President's apparent disinclination to appoint him to succeed Frank C. Walker were at the root of the "none-too-friendly" meeting.

Hannegan Denies Story

Mr. Hannegan, who is in Washington, later today issued a statement which was as follows:

"The statement is patently and totally untrue. Our luncheon conversation and the subsequent conference with the President were most cordial and friendly. There were no controversies and the postmaster generalship was never even mentioned.

"The President knows my views in regard to public office and I understand his position. Without going into details, I may state that our talks, apart from the usual holiday pleasantries, were in relation to purely political matters.

"Another published story is to the effect that I was to open a Washington office in partnership with William M. Boyle Jr., executive assistant to the chairman. That likewise is a fabrication. I have no intention of opening a Washington law office, either in partnership or individually, and never had."

Soldier in Love Gets Extension

LAWRENCEVILLE, Ill., Dec. 22 (P)—A commanding officer at George Field near here received today this telegram from a soldier away on furlough: "Request seven-day extension. Am pursuing one I love. She requires seven days more pursuing. Answer collect." The soldier got his additional seven days.

up youths, mer- benefits to tho- pre-war Civ- Corps.

The War said that the reason for un- ing was nat- sented "the- qualified opin- military lead- day," then i- ments in supp-

"America i- initial objecti- in any next v- gagements of- possibly be- homeland.

"Universal- absolutely es- ticable plan th- adequate to in- curity of our-

"Universal- be our prepa- war."

The altern- would be to r- Army and Na- ficient strong- quirements- total war,



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