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Tasks which lie ahead in 1947, 1947.

683
TASKS WHICH LIE AHEAD IN 1947

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, January 13, 1947

WRHS



Time, my dear friends, must be likened to a river. That is a good simile. One year flows into the next imperceptibly, uninterruptedly. The events of one year move into and merge into the events of the next year, just as cause moves into effect. History knows no new years. It doesn't stop at any new year and change trains as it were, move off into another direction. It is only human convenience to mark off history into twelve month periods, just as the lines of longitude and latitude which we superimpose upon the globe are in reality arbitrary and non-existing lines which serve our convenience and which are helpful to us in many ways. In reality they do not exist.

And so we talk of 1946 and 1947 as units, as though they possess some inherent identity, or character of their own. In reality they do not. They are just trends of times and events. At best when we mark off certain periods of time, it can only refer to certain trends, certain river currents, as it were which may help us, though not accurately to estimate or to anticipate future trends in the next period of time.

1946 was the first full post-war year. But it was not a year of peace by any means. It was a rather unhappy year, a year of great strains, severe conflicts in many parts of the world, a year which witnessed very slow and desperately slow recovery in some parts of the world, a year which revealed serious cracks and fissures in the unity of its allies which fought and won the Second World War, a year in which the world began to take stock of the price paid for the Second World War in terms of its shattered economy, ruined cities, hunger, poverty, disease, in terms of disorganized and chaotic social life.

It was the first year of dangerous convalescence, if you will, after the patient was removed from the operating table, to use the expression which Secretary of State Byrnes, used last evening in his address.

We could have been more disillusioned about 1946 than we were if we had not had our full measure of disillusionment after the first World War, and we had learned not to expect much. We did not expect much from the armistice and from the first

year of peace, and we got even less than we expected, but we did not feel as baffled and frustrated and defeated as we did after the First World War. We have come to understand, many of us, that war may be a necessity, that war may have to be resorted to in order to check an imminent danger to our security, our way of life. We have also come to understand that war does not create peace, that only peace can fashion enduring peaceful institutions and give us the compensations of peace.

A keen political student thus characterizes the year 1946 and some of the years which preceded it. Anne O'Hare McCormick writes: "This is strikingly true as 1946 merges into 1947. The Forties have been long and brutal years; in no comparable period of time have so many precious things been smashed, so many values destroyed, so many lives broken. Of all these stormy years, it is not too much to say, the last year was the hardest to endure. This was a year of anti-climax, when the high tide ebbed and cracks appeared in the fighting coalition and wreckage was strewn on the paths of victory.

"Not without irony could 1946 be called the first year of peace. Peace is what a war-weary world unreasonably expected when the bombing ceased and the victors gathered, in their unquestioned might and authority, to restore order and tranquillity. Instead there have been turmoil, tension, misery and fear. The war blackout is only partly lifted, the war terror only slightly allayed. In China, Korea, India, Indonesia, Palestine, Spain, Greece and in many parts of eastern Europe war conditions still exist and latent wars flare or smolder. Western Europe is in a state of unrest, political ague and alarm, caused partly by dread of further strikes and economic crisis in the United States. Germany is a vast pool of unmanageable poverty -- not enclosed enough to prevent the plague from spreading to neighboring countries."

That is not a pretty picture of 1946. But we would have been fond foolish to expect that the terrible ultimate of war would have painted a pretty picture.

After a year of very fierce wrangling among the Big Four, five peace treaties were finally agreed on. The most important, and yet to be written, are those of Austria and Germany. It is agreed by all, and confessed by all that these five peace

treaties are not the achievement of great and sinpired statesmanship, ^{rather} the patchwork of compromise. Now the inherent difficulty was not with the countries involved in these treaties, but the inherent difficulty which has plagued all diplomatic negotiations in the past year, and which will be likely to continue during the coming year has been the sparring between the two blocs for position, for advantage -- the so-called Western bloc and the so-called Slavic, or Russian bloc.

The serious diplomatic battles waged at these peace conferences or at the United Nations meetings either openly or covertly were on the assumption that there are two worlds arrayed one against the other and in conflict with ^{one} another.... (one or other of the two worlds would be advantaged or disadvantaged by any decisions) This was the political constellation of 1946. Every election in Europe was held under this sign of the political zodiac. Will it go left? Will it go right? And will it swing into the orbit of Western powers, or Soviet power or its ssatelite states? At times it looked as though the world was moving towards another disaster. At times it looked as though the very tenuous fabric of the United Nations was about to be torn to threads and people began to talk about the possibility of a third world war. International conferences were stalled because of the seemingly irreconcilability between these two opposing world forces.

Fortunately this conflict did not come to a head. Wiser and cooler heads prevailed. But the conflict is far from being resolved. And the year 1947 will have to decide whether we shall move towards one world which will make for peace and for the peaceful adjustment of all international difficulties within the framework of one united nation, or whether the world will shape itself into two conflicting, bitterly opposed irreconcilable areas of power and tension. And I believe that the framing of the German peace treaty will be the test as to which of these two conceptions of world organization or disorganization will prevail for years and years to come. If the guiding principle in the framing of the German treaty will be how to bring Germany into the sphere of a united, federated Europe, and into a united

world, one result will follow. If on the other hand an effort will be made to integrate Germany into one or two conflicting spheres, another disastrous, catastrophic result will ensue. These two world groupings will begin to play for the favor of Germany, to re-arm Germany and work towards the inevitable third world war until Germany becomes strong and powerful again as after the first world war and again set out to conquer the world.

Fortunately the new year begins with something of a lessening of the sharp oppositeness, contrariety of these two groupings. At the beginning of '46 it looked very bad. It was the time, you will recall, when the United States was persuaded, in my judgment through very successful propaganda, spearheaded by one of the most skillful diplomats in the world, Mr. Churchill himself.. Our country had been maneuvered into a position of spearheading a movement against communism in the world, against the Soviet bloc. Mr. Churchill in his Fulton speech of March, 1944, asked for an alliance of the English-speaking world against the Soviet Union. And this sort of poisoned the relationship of the United States and the Soviet Government all through the year. It was a very clever move on the part of Great Britain because if it succeeds in pitting these two great countries one against the other, it puts itself in the position of being the mediator, as it were, and of regaining that diplomatic authority which she lost as a result of her weakened position in the world. And having succeeded up to a point in pitting the United States against the Soviet Union, Great Britain, towards the end of 1946, began to make advances to the Soviet Union. And only during this last week Field Marshall Montgomery was sent to Moscow. This was the second of such missions sent to the Soviet Union to create better understanding between the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

Mr. Cruikshank of the London News Chronicler, said the other day that "the instinctive feeling of the average Briton is that his country has to take a course true to its own nature between the two great fields of power and activity -- the United States and the Soviet Union."

Now this position which was assigned to the United States by British diplomacy which meant in so many words we were to "get tough" with the Soviet Union is I believe a role which the people of the United States do not approve of.. And towards the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947 there seems to be evidence accumulating that our country will adopt a much more independent American line towards the Soviet Union, that it will not accept the principle of bi-lateral world in which America must forever be pitted against the Slavic program. If this tendency is advanced under the leadership of the new Secretary of State, General Marshall, and it is the line followed, then the near year 1947 will see a lessening of suspicions and a drawing together rather than the drawing apart of the nations of the world.

An encouraging sign of 1946 which passed over into 1947 is that the United Nations survived in spite of frictions and tensions which developed among the big powers. World organization seems to be gaining in spite of intense nationalism and imperialism which are still rampant in the world. And if the great powers will permit the United Nations to function and to gain prestige, gain authority in the world, it might prove to be the agency which will achieve and maintain peace in the world.

One of the most hopeful signs of activity of the United Nations is the forthright approach of the United Nations ~~States~~ to the problem of disarmament, the control of ~~the~~ Atomic energy. This is, after all, no simple problem. The League of Nations failed to wrestle successfully with that problem and was destroyed. It will take years not months before the nations will agree to some form of substantial disarmament. Nevertheless the discussion which took place in the Assembly of the United Nations, the forthrightness, the freedom of expression, the desire evidenced by nearly every nation to come to grips with this problem is an encouraging sign. Ultimately atomic energy will have to come under international control, and the formula which the United States evolved, namely the continuous international inspection, and the limitation of the use of the veto will have to be accepted, and I believe, will be accepted by the world. When the question of the control of the atomic energy is solved, or the question of the atomic bomb will be solved, then the

question of disarmament in other fields will follow as a matter of course.

One of the fine activities of the United Nations which escaped the attention of many people is the UNESCO, the United States Scientific and Cultural Organizations which met in 1946 in Paris. The purpose of this group is to foster and promote all aspects of education, science and culture, to serve the highest interests of humanity." UNESCO is made^{up} of educators, writers, men of religion, molders of opinion in the world who serve as the intellectual undergirding of the United Nations. It is to work for the cultural unity of mankind and to implement the political unity of mankind. You should know more about this organization which I believe in the course of time will take on more and more significance. Its Constitution defines its aims more fully. The Preamble begins with these words: "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed"; it continues by stressing the dangers of ignorance - "ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war". It then proceeds to point out that the late war was made possible by the denial of certain basic principles - "the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men" -- and by the substitution for ~~x~~ them of "the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."

"From these premises it proceeds to point out that 'the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace, are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern'; and draws the notable conclusion never before embodied in an official document, that a peace "based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments" would be inadequate, since it could not "secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world," and that "the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.'"

There is something fresh about this approach to the problem of world peace. It is not merely a matter of diplomatic maneuvers between governments, of boundaries, etc, but the drawing together of men and nations into loyalty, into basic human principles of freedom, justice, tolerance, good will. It is the education of the mind and soul of man which will lead ultimately to political and economic arrangements for ensuing peace.

One of the gratifying achievements of 1946 were the trials of the Nazi criminals at Nuremburg. In October of last year, ten of the top men of the Nazi cabal, the arch-conspirators against peace of the world, were legally sentenced to death for their crimes and one other committed suicide rather than await the death penalty. This is the first time in the history of mankind that a legal precedent was established which states that those who make war are to be treated as criminals and are subject to the severest penalty which mankind can impose upon them. It is gratifying to know, or there is great consolation in that fact that one of the indictments which weighed most heavily upon these criminals and which brought the death sentence was their conspiracy to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

There were many unsolved problems in 1946 which will pass over into 1947. The problem of India remains unsolved. The problem of China remains unsolved. The Problem of Greece remains unsolved. The problem of Palestine remains unsolved. It is my hope that 1947 may see the solution of these problems, particularly the solution of the Palestine problem.

Domestically, '46 marked a series of acts designed to restore American life to a peace-time basis, a quick return to peace, ~~the~~ demobilization, the removal of war-time restrictions of rationing and controls. It was a year of great economic activity and a large measure of prosperity. It was also a year which witnessed some of the bitterest industrial conflicts in the history of our country.

A few days ago, the President of the United States, in his Economic report to the Congress of the United States, stated: "As the year 1947 opens America has

never been so strong or so prosperous. Nor have our prospects ever been brighter.

"Yet in the minds of a great many of us there is a fear of another depression, the loss of our jobs, our farms, our businesses.

"But America was not built on fear. America was built on courage, on imagination and an unbeatable determination to do the job at hand.

"The job at hand today is to see to it that America is not ravaged by recurring depressions and long periods of unemployment, but that instead we build an economy so fruitful, so dynamic, so progressive that each citizen can count upon opportunity and security for himself and his family.

"Nor is prosperity in the United States important to the American people alone. It is the foundation of world prosperity and worldpeace. And the world is looking to us.

"I know the American people reject the notion that we must have another depression. I am not referring to minor detours and bumps in the road ahead -- these we know we shall have. I am referring to economic collapse and stagnation such as started in 1929. This need not happen again, and must not happen again."

In other words the President of the United States is very hopeful but at the same time apprehensive. And that is the mood we ended 1946 and entered 1947.

Will this prosperity last? What about these recurrent industrial conflicts, these strikes which so frequently disrupt our national economy. 1946 witnessed coal strikes, steel strikes, automobile ~~xxx~~ strikes, shipping strikes, packing-hous strikes. Our people have become increasingly more impatient with these strikers. There is bitter resentment against many of these strikes. The President urged drafting strikers into the army. Anti-strike bills were passed, but were vetoed. Where is all this leading to? It can only lead to two things -- either the increased interference of government in industry which is the way of state dictatorship -- of the right or of the left, it makes no difference. And if the government steps in and takes over industry -- that is the first step of state dictatorship of industrial ~~lx~~ rights. The other way is the

emergence of new labor statesmanship on the part of labor and management, but which labor and management will have to evolve for themselves by new procedures which will avert economic disruption and danger to the whole economy of the American people. One of these two methods will have to be ultimately resorted to, I am afraid.

Now American industry wants a minimum of government for itself. It certainly ought not to ask for a maximum of control in the case of labor. American labor wants a minimum of labor interference. It seems that they all agree that collective bargaining for settling differences between labor and management. is still the best method. But collective bargaining heretofore has not given the desired results in many instances for a free labor and management policy in these United States. Collective bargaining, in my judgment, is the best solution, and minimum government interference must be supplemented by new tactical procedures agreed upon by labor and management which will check these precipitant, head-on rushing to strikes, stoppage of work which endangers not only our own country but the world.

The Netherland delegate to the World Affairs Meeting in Cleveland made this statement in his address: "When the recent coal strike began, the lights were dimmed in many a European country and ill-heated houses were still colder.

"Far be it from me to say what your labor situation should or should not be. But what the stricken countries of Europe would and do ask is that your leaders both of capital and of labor, show some consideration for the effect of labor disputes on people who, after grievous suffering as a result of war and occupation, are now passing through a painful period of slow recovery and readjustment, and buy coal and other things out of their scarce dollar holdings. How quick or how slow that recovery will be, depends to some considerable part on the American labor situation."

When industrial disputes take on such global significance they can not be left to the arbitrary whim or will of two or three individuals.

1946 witnessed a great victory for one of two major political parties in the United States. Something very much like a political revolution took place in November when the Republicans took control of the Congress of the United States. I

interpret this victory as a result of ... desire of American people for change. Enough of dissatisfaction accumulated during the war and during the first year after the war. For many reasons it called for change. This change which took place ought not to be interpreted as a signal for the new party in power to indulge in labor-baiting, to favor one class of American people as against the other. It should not be interpreted as an excuse for the reduction of taxes for those who are most able to pay them. It should not be interpreted as a sign to increase profits and costs without a corresponding increase in the real purchasing power of the American working man.

The Republican Party has a heavy responsibility in the critical years ahead. It should not repeat the ruinous mistakes which it made after the first world war which culminated in the disastrous panic of 1929.

And so we face a new year, a year of many grave and unsolved problems on the national and international scene. The problems are not beyond solution... The world has come to lean very heavily on our country rightly or wrongly... We have the strength. We have the resources. We have not been ravaged by war. The world has come to lean upon us. We cannot shirk that moral responsibility. We can best serve the world by remaining most loyal to the basic traditions of American life. We can best serve mankind at this desperate stage in its evolution by clinging firmly to those few American ideals of fair play, of the square deal, giving the other man a chance, of working together, of sharing what we have with those who have less, of working for freedom and democracy and peace in the world -- not for the division and disruption of mankind. If we remain true to these moral principles we shall best serve ourselves and the world.

If we and when I say we, I mean you and me and all the 140 million people who go to make up America, if we think and act as Americans -- for what we do in Cleveland, in our sphere affects the total scene -- if we make our moral will felt in the different complexities which go to make up American life, if we make our wills heard in Washington, Washington will reflect what we think, what we say. Let no one

under-estimate, regardless of his position in life, his possessions in life, his calling in life -- let no one under-estimate his importance in the scheme of American enterprize in American action in these critical days.

And so if we all resolve to do our best in 1947, our intellectual and spiritual best -- we may succeed in energizing the total life of America in such a way as it will be a blessing to itself and a blessing to mankind.



- 1) Time the River - One yr. flows into the next uninterruptedly!!
~~And~~ the events of the past yr - move into and merge with
those of the new year - uninterruptedly as cause & effect
- History does not ~~stop~~ ^{pause} on new years - & change trains,
~~and~~ a boat & move off in another direction or along
a diff. channel.
- It is only a human convenience to mark
off history in periods of 12 months - just
as the lines of large trade flak, are conveniences,
arbitrary & non-existent, but helpful in many ways.

2/ And so we talk of the year 1946, as a unit - as
if it ~~had~~ possessed some inherent identity and
character - ^{as ours} ~~and~~ ~~7~~ 1947.

~~It~~ It can only reveal certain trends - certain
river currents - which may help us to estimate
possible trends in the next period - 1947.

3/ 1946 was first full post-war year! - but it was
not a year of Peace. It was a year of great strains,
friction ~~and~~ ^{painfully slow recovery} conflicts in many parts of the world, ~~and~~ widening
cracks & pressures in the unity of the Allied Nations
where was united, & peace ^{seemingly} separated. World
emerged from the humane war - to take stock
of its disaster - its hunger & poverty - its ruined
economy - its shattered cities, its disorganized & chaotic
life.

- ⑤. We would have been even more sharply disillusioned if²
- we did not expect much - got even less - but we were not as frustrated - baffled -
 - War does not create peace. It only checks a threatening danger to ones ~~for~~ security
 - Only in peace can peace ~~be~~ and the compensation & peace be required.

⑥ Arms O'Hare M.C. Connick - (Emth)

4) After nearly a year of peace wrangling bet. Big 4
5 peace treaties - not the most important - were finally
agreed too. Patch-work - compromise =

① Not the inherent difficulties - but the sparring
bet. 2 blocs - for position - to gain advantage

② Diplomatic battles of '46 - at peace conferences
at UN - waged openly or covertly - under on
the assumption of 2 worlds - arrayed against each other
- That was the pol. constellation of '46 - Electoral in Europe
split of left

③ At times it looked as if - disrupt the
United Nations fabric of the UN - and
plunging world into chaos - 3rd world war!

④ Fortunately = German peace treaty -
real Test

⑤ If - guiding that - win for. over into one sphere. ③.
as against the other - instead, integrating her into a
united Europe - to a united world - nothing but disaster!
= will begin to play for her ~~favor~~ - Rebuild her -
~~with~~ until next war!

5/ The new year begins with a somewhat lessening of
the sharp oppositions - contradictions -

① Churchill + Fulton + March + poisoned
relationships. Still at it. - ~~His~~ His Quit =

Montgomery = diplomatic initiative ^{"Cruik should"}
^{London News}
^{Chronicle}
^{has to take a course}
^{in which a}
^{policy}
the ^{is that his country} ^{power and activity} ^{with the U.S. and} ^{Europe}
the ^{is the average British} ^{is that his country} ^{power and activity} ^{with the U.S. and} ^{Europe}
time ^{is the average British} ^{is that his country} ^{power and activity} ^{with the U.S. and} ^{Europe}
= Warner is unwilling to be placed in such a position.
Wallace - bi-lateral unity - "Getting tough" =

② Marshall - a more indep. Amer. line -
which will lessen suspicions - one world.

③ Bi-partisans =

6/ - That U.N. survived - is hopeful ^{world org. vs. Nationalism}
- If great powers will permit it - desperately > Big 3
- Taken up - Iran - Greece - Spain - interrelated not easy
- Disarmament - Control & Atomic Club - League
- A valuable discussion - General Assembly - inter inspection
- Ultimately - International Control - Supervision

Veto - Barnet Commission did valuable.

- UNESCO - Paris - "foster & promote all aspects
of education, science & culture, to serve the highest
interests of humanity"

UNESCO is the intell. & spirit. underpinning, cr⁽⁴⁾
(Quote) cultural unity

7) Linensky - Oct - 10 Nov - Goemig - "a aim
against Humanity -

8) Unresolved Problem - India, China
Pakistan - 1947.

May. Anglo Amer. Com. 100.000

9) Domestically - Swift return to peace -
Demobilization - Removal / war-time restrictions,
rationing & controls.

Pres. Truman (Quote).

"I believe that the Amer. people have the

② Stakes - Steel, Coal, Railroads, the Automobiles, Shipping
packing house
hospitals

= Bitter resentment - Pres. drafted the railroad units.

= Anti-Strike Bills passed - Retained -

= new State ownership - Labor Management =

= management wants a min. of govt control

= should not ask for max of govt. control over labor

= labor ought not to face issues - when govt
intervention - inevitable - Sees RRs - things

= collective bargaining is still best - labor
labor management - Build up their
own procedures - by agreement -

10/ Netherland's delegate to the U. Nations - Van Kleeffers

(5)

(Just)

11/ Republic Victory =

- no signal for laboring banking.

- Reduction of Taxes for those most able to pay them

- Increase profits - costs - confounding new inventions.

- real purchasing power -

Avoid the numerous mistakes made by Rep. Party after

first world war - 1929.

12/ America's moral leadership - We stand for Freedom.
Democracy - Peace.



"Straining forever to the light that flows from regions out of sight."

1947: The Year of Climactic P

ROME (By Wireless).

THE year always opens on a note of expectancy. Time is a freighted river which carries yesterday into tomorrow, and the flow doesn't stop or change direction when the clock strikes. Yet in that instant when the old year passes there is no tolling, but only a ringing, of the bells. People in all parts of the world turn toward the new year with a throb of excitement and anticipation. They know too well that history is a serial story in which each chapter develops out of the one preceding, but their instinct is to reject this grim logic and persuade themselves that the fresh page is a page on which anything can be written.

If Christmas with its orgy of giving proves that modern man continues to believe in Santa Claus, the perennial hope with which he greets the new year proves he does not believe in the inevitable. He is not taught by experience, but neither is he defeated by it. Even when the earth is a kind of groping shadowland like a sun in semi-eclipse, its inhabitants retain some bright shreds of belief in the future. On New Year's you catch glimpses, dim

'The world approaches its new tests with less confusion, more realism and more fortitude.'

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

or shining, according to circumstances, of this tarnished but ineffaceable faith.

This is strikingly true as 1946 merges into 1947. The Forties have been long and brutal years; in no comparable period of time have so many precious things been smashed, so many values destroyed, so many lives broken. Of all these stormy years, it is not too much to say, the last was the hardest to endure. This was a year of anti-climax, when the high tide ebbed and cracks appeared in the fighting coalition and wreckage was strewn on the paths of victory.

Not without irony could 1946 be called the first year of peace. Peace is what a war-weary world unreasonably expected when the bombing ceased and the victors gathered, in their unquestioned might and authority, to restore order and tranquillity. Instead there have been turmoil, tension,

misery and fear. The war blackout is only partly lifted, the war terror only slightly allayed. In China, Korea, India, Indonesia, Palestine, Spain, Greece and in many parts of eastern Europe war conditions still exist and latent wars flare or smolder. Western Europe is in a state of unrest, political ague and alarm, caused partly by dread of further strikes and economic crisis in the United States. Germany is a vast pool of unmanageable poverty — not enclosed enough to prevent the plague from spreading to neighboring countries.

It was a year of international peace conferences. At the end, five treaties were agreed upon and will be signed and put into effect in the early months of 1947. But these treaties are as unsatisfactory to the makers as to the states concerned. They represent poor compromises made to achieve agreement among the Big Four

Van Kleffens Pleads

Five Institute Speakers Report on Needs of Western Europe

The third session of the international institute at Public Music Hall last night presented Alcide de Gasperi, prime minister of Italy; Gen. Omar N. Bradley, chief of the Veterans' Administration; Maurice Schumann, head of France's Popular Republican Movement; E. N. van Kleffens, Netherlands delegate to United Nations, and R. J. Cruikshank, director of the London "Star" and "News Chronicle."

Here are excerpts from their talks:

E. N. van Kleffens

A plea for labor-management harmony in the United States for the sake of the stricken people of Europe was made by van Kleffens.

"When the recent coal strike began," he said, "the lights were dimmed in many a European country and ill-heated houses were still colder.

"Far be it from me to say what your labor situation should or should not be. 'But what the stricken countries of Europe would and do ask is that your leaders both of capital and of labor, show some consideration for the effect of labor disputes on people who, after grievous suffering as a result of war and occupation, are now passing through a painful period of slow recovery and readjustment, and buy coal and other things out of their scarce dollar holdings. How quick or how slow that recovery will be, depends to some considerable part on the American labor situation."

On the treatment of Germany,

van Kleffens said:

countries) are not vengeful. But they want to see not only that war criminals are punished, but also that Germany and Japan are made to make some retribution. First of all, we of the Netherlands want certain economic advantages which we absolutely need to restore our ravaged economy and we expect our allies, and in the first place the United States, to help us get them. We also want a rectification of our frontier with Germany. . . .

"American occupation of Germany will continue to be essential. According to all I hear, that nation regrets only one thing—that it lost the war. Let us not delude ourselves with false hopes or wishful thinking, nor fall victim to clever propaganda. Too often already I hear such laments as 'what could the poor Germans do against Hitler?'

President's Eco

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 (AP)—Following are textual excerpts from President Truman's economic report to Congress today:

To the Congress of the United States:

As the year 1947 opens America has never been so strong or so prosperous. Nor have our prospects ever been brighter.

Yet in the minds of a great many of us there is a fear of another depression, the loss of our jobs, our farms, our businesses.

But America was not built on fear. America was built on courage, on imagination and an unbeatable determination to do the job at hand.

The job at hand today is to see to it that America is not ravaged by recurring depressions and long periods of unemployment, but that instead we build an economy so fruitful, so dynamic, so progressive that each citizen can count upon opportunity and security for himself and his family.

Nor is prosperity in the United States important to the American people alone. It is the foundation of world prosperity and world peace. And the world is looking to us.

I believe that the American people have the courage and the will to use our abundant resources so that all may prosper, and I know the American people reject the notion that we must have another depression. I am not referring to minor detours and bumps in the road ahead—these we know we shall have. I am referring to economic collapse and stagnation such as started in 1929. This need not happen again, and must not happen again.

The Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946 by an overwhelming bipartisan vote. This act wisely provided for a council of economic advisers to the President, men who as a result

Billions of
actual dollars

CONSUMERS

GOVERNMENT

BUSINESS &
INTERNATIONAL

This is how the e

CONSUMERS

GOVERNMENT

BUSINESS & INTERNATIONAL

19

19

194

1939

1944

1946

UNESCO: ITS PURPOSE and PHILOSOPHY

by JULIAN S. HUXLEY

Dr. Huxley, world famous biologist and scientific scholar, was Executive Secretary of the UNESCO Preparatory Commission and is acting in the same capacity at the first UNESCO General Conference, now meeting in Paris.

The Aims of UNESCO

UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—is by its title committed to two sets of aims. In the first place, it is international, and must serve the ends and objects of the United Nations, which in the long perspective are world ends, ends for humanity as a whole. And secondly it must foster and promote all aspects of education, science, and culture, in the widest sense of those words.

Its Constitution defines these aims more fully. The preamble begins with Mr. Attlee's noble words—"since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed"; it continues by stressing the dangers of ignorance—"ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war"; and then proceeds to point out that the late war was made possible by the denial of certain basic principles—"the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men"—and by the substitution for them of "the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."

From these premises it proceeds to point out that "the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace, are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern"; and draws the notable conclusion, never before embodied in an official document, that a peace "based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments" would be inadequate, since it could not "secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world," and that "the peace must therefore be founded,

if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

A Philosophy for UNESCO

BUT in order to carry out its work, an organization such as UNESCO needs not only a set of general aims and objects for itself, but also a working philosophy, a working hypothesis concerning human existence and its aims and objects, which will dictate, or at least indicate, a definite line of approach to its problems. Without such a general outlook and single angle of approach, UNESCO will be in danger of undertaking piecemeal and even self-contradictory actions, and will in any case lack the guidance and inspiration which spring from a belief in a body of general principles.

From acceptance of certain principles or philosophies, UNESCO is obviously debarred. Thus it cannot base its outlook on one of the competing religions of the world as against the others, whether Islam, Roman Catholicism, Protestant Christianity, Buddhism, Unitarianism, Judaism, or Hinduism. Neither can it espouse one of the politico-economic doctrines competing in the world today to the exclusion of the others—the present versions of capitalistic free enterprise, Marxian communism, semi-socialist planning, and so on.

FOR somewhat similar reasons it cannot base itself exclusively on any essentially sectarian philosophy or restricted outlook. Nor, with its stress on democracy and the principles of human dignity, equality and mutual respect, can it adopt the view that the State is a higher or more important end than the individual; or any rigid class theory of society. And in the preamble to its Constitution it expressly repudiates racialism and any belief in superior or inferior "races," nations, or ethnic groups.

Now for the positive side. UNESCO's main

concern is with peace and security and with human welfare, in so far as they can be subserved by the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world. Accordingly its outlook must, it seems, be based on some form of humanism. Further, that humanism must clearly be a world humanism, both in the sense of seeking to bring in all the peoples of the world, and of treating all peoples and all individuals within each people as equals in terms of human dignity, mutual respect, and educational opportunity. It must also be a scientific humanism, in the sense that the application of science provides most of the material basis for human culture, and also that the practice and the understanding of science need to be integrated with that of other human activities.

It cannot, however, be materialistic, but must embrace the spiritual and mental as well as the material aspects of existence, and must attempt to do so on a truly monistic, unitary philosophic basis.

Finally it must be an evolutionary as opposed to a static or ideal humanism. It is essential for UNESCO to adopt an evolutionary approach. If it does not do so, its philosophy will be a false one, its humanism at best partial, at worst misleading.

Thus the general philosophy of UNESCO should, it seems, be a scientific world humanism, global in extent and evolutionary in background. What are the further implications, practical as well as theoretical, of such an outlook?

UNESCO and Human Progress

OUR first task must be to clarify the notion of desirable and undesirable directions of evolution, for on this will depend our attitude to human progress—to the possibility of progress in the first place, and then to its definition.

Evolution in the broad sense denotes all the historical processes of change and development at work in the universe. It is divisible into three very different sectors—the inorganic or lifeless, the organic or biological, and the social or human. The inorganic sector is by far the greatest in extent, comprising the overwhelming bulk of the cosmos, both of interstellar space and of the material aggregates we call stars.

The biological sector is very much limited in extent, being confined to the outer surface of the single small planet Earth, and perhaps to a few similar very rare situations in the universe.

Finally there is the human sector. This is

still further restricted in extent, being confined to the single species, man.

Of special importance in man's evaluation of his own position in the cosmic scheme and of his further destiny is the fact that he is the heir, and indeed the sole heir, of evolutionary progress to date. When he asserts that he is the highest type of organism, he is not being guilty of anthropocentric vanity, but is enunciating a biological fact. Furthermore, he is not merely the sole heir of past evolutionary progress, but the sole trustee for any that may be achieved in the future. From the evolutionary point of view, the destiny of man may be summed up very simply: it is to realize the maximum progress in the minimum time. That is why the philosophy of UNESCO must have an evolutionary background, and why the concept of progress cannot but occupy a central position in that philosophy.

The analysis of evolutionary progress gives us certain criteria for judging the rightness or wrongness of our aims and activities, and the desirability or otherwise of the tendencies to be noted in contemporary history—tendencies of which UNESCO must take account.

IN general, UNESCO must constantly be testing its policies against the touchstone of evolutionary progress. A central conflict of our times is that between nationalism and internationalism, between the concept of many national sovereignties and one world sovereignty. Here the evolutionary touchstone gives an unequivocal answer. The key to man's advance, the distinctive method which has made evolutionary progress in the human sector so much more rapid than in the biological and has given it higher and more satisfying goals, is the fact of cumulative tradition, the existence of a common pool of ideas which is self-perpetuating and itself capable of evolving. And this fact has had the immediate consequence of making types of social organization the main factor in human progress or at least its limiting framework.

Two obvious corollaries follow. First, that the more united man's tradition becomes, the more rapid will be the possibility of progress: several separate or competing or even mutually hostile pools of tradition cannot possibly be so efficient as a single pool common to all mankind. And secondly, that the best and only certain way of securing this will be through political unification. As history shows, unifying ideas *can* exert an effect across national boundaries. But, as history makes equally evident, that effect is a partial one and never