



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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Peace after war, League of Nations, 1941.

Lupton

- 1) Constellation - Singapore - Munster -  
Darkest Hour - defeat in Lybia adds to -  
lose war - ask - Few short weeks -  
Impossible - Unprofitable - Just Possible -  
Br. Empire torn to shreds -  
China isolated - India + Australia  
invaded - Vichy & Turkey - Suez & G. Hatz  
England defeated - without intervention -  
U.S. " " "  
Berlin + Tokyo - rule the world -  
A Negotiated Peace -

2) Easy to slide into panic order panic.

To-morrow - Lucerne - Dark Hours

Bull Run<sup>(2)</sup> Peninsula Campaign -

Fredericksburg - Chancellorsville

Invasion of Washington - Gettysburg

"Suffered" - 8 Speedy Victories -

Hung on - like a Bull dog -

We shall have to Burn - British

Easy-going - cavaliers - Real Harsh - "hard"

Get Tough -

No Victories won by Evacuation. Y.M.



Until we fight as Russians fight -  
unto death - yielding not an inch -  
scorched earth - with Desperation -

3/ If we do that - the long - well win  
through -

• A Billion Men.

• An incomparable industrial set-up

• ~~Resource - Resource~~ <sup>Resource</sup> ~~Invincibility~~ - Russia - 11%

• An ideal - ~~dream~~ <sup>dream</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~future~~ <sup>future</sup>

4/ To win = ① <sup>life is not the</sup> ~~Sacrifice~~ <sup>what would not the</sup> ② ~~Patience~~ <sup>Patience</sup> ~~Build up~~ <sup>Build up</sup>

③ Unity - Discunion is Nazi's high hope

France - Nazis - Party split -

- The Whisper The Nazis - have begun to fall ap

- Labor - most at Stale - Fascism  
financed by labor - smoking undermines  
comb

- Business Management - Profit

- Nazis - Brutal - work -

- Antisem - Trump Card - Those who  
resort - disrupt -



5). Peace ? Too early ? Peace Conf -  
World Reconstruction - blue-print -  
Not enough -

4 Freedoms - (1) Expression (2) Worship (3) Want (4) Fear -

League - avoiding mistakes

(1) Succession (2) Veto (3) Face .

(4) Nat. Sovereignty - utterly immoral

- do whatever it likes - as if as Providence  
discourages it -

- will make peace impossible - inter. order

- Concept of an important State - modified

- Free, autonomous - subject

- World interdependence - Pol. union

- Keep pace with economic - 1929

Thunderbolt - Have Banking Union

- cannot remain - unintegrated  
Parasitism

6/ Not possible Unification - Nazi -

- Vol. int. coordination - of free people  
federation, world -



7/ Colonial Open Room

8/ Indi. Rel. of Rights - Turk power  
of State

① Protection of minorities

9/ Sp. Awakening - ~~dash~~ <sup>fresh</sup>

① Better world is possible - typical

② Ideals are worth dying for the ready world

10/ We as nations - need time to accept  
new resp. of war - must

- After last war - isolationism

- By so doing - prepared way

- Must intervene in any major

- Either cooperate for in world peace  
or intervene in world wars

11/ A noble heritage - Declan. to follow  
Address -



1) am. finally entered - Indecision - Will win - ① Right ② Bill. 1941  
③ Inevitable - IM deal - Libya - Atlantic  
Assuming that the war is won - by allies. What then?  
We won the last war - and lost - lost the Peace - and in 20 Yrs.  
found ourselves at war again - with same foe. { Break-down  
Blackout  
Will this war, too, end in a 20 yr. Armistice? A Truce -  
fearful, dang. poised, irresistibly slithering down to another  
catastrophe?

2) What are our Peace Aims? Too early - First win the war!  
Not too early! After victory it is too late to plan for  
peace. Days which follow armistice and period of peace conf-  
are too short - too hectic and confused - to plan. Revenge,  
reparation, lost and indignity on them the order, the day.  
Now is the time to lay basis for world reconstruction - to  
work out, at least in broad outline, the blue-print of the  
world-structure to follow this war.

It is not enough to defeat Hitler. We defeated the Kaiser 24  
Yrs. ago. We must eradicate the conditions which made the  
recrudescence of Kaiserism & Hitlerism in the world - It is  
not enough to disarm Germany. G. was disarmed after  
the last war - we must not only insure its disarmament  
but must create those conditions and arrangement in which  
which will make its rearmament not only impossible  
but unnecessary. It will not have to resort to  
arms to obtain justice - if justice is what she will  
want - and not conquest and hegemony - the unsatisfactory  
& unsatisfiable <sup>of her Prussian masters</sup> craving, these many decades.

3. Pres. - 4 Freedoms as bases for new world order ① Expression  
in all ② Welfare ③ From Want ④ From Fear  
Excellent battle-cries - Concretely - how are we to obtain - Keep them?



4/ Freedom from Fear! Prof. Ferrero - "The Reconstruction of Europe" calls attention to the persuading work of Fear which swept over Europe as a result of the war, conquest of Napoleon - Legitimate govt. ceased to exist, then as now. Small and large states were despoiled, and their leg. rulers were replaced by hand-picked plunkers and "Gonleuters", then as now. - Counterfeit Republics + Monarchies were established, each headed by some knishing - In his effort to force all the nations, Europe into his new order in order to fight England - he unseated long estab. govt. + placed revol. govt. in their place - to serve not the interest of their countries, but of Nap. + the Fr. Empire - These govt. were founded on force + not on the consent of the govt. - as are the present govt. - of Norway - Holland - Greece - Rumania - Yugoslavia - + France. Europe lived, in the years before the Congress of Vienna, in a state of constitutional chaos. There was no law, nations which anyone was accounted to respect - Feeble annexations, improvised protectorates and what amounted to a state of permanent siege was the order of the day - then as now! As a result Europe found itself in a state of Lawlessness - Lawlessness which is the result + symbol of universal disorder.

Congress of Vienna - Talleyrand - set itself the task of putting an end to this Fear - by restoring leg. in place of revol. govt. - "govts. founded on principles - monarchies or republicans, as to create a democracy - which are sincerely accepted by the people + faithfully respected by the govt.



4/ Same condition today - caused by another world-war, Europe, Europe - Disrupted balance, Europe - Uprooted by 5 wars - 4/5 of Europe. Pol. anarchy and Fear!

Solution? Restoration of leg. govts! Definition: "A leg. govt. is one which recognizes the right of opposition" - one which is not a dictatorship - grants right to vote (Just P. 310)  
No permanent Peace - on basis of one-party govts. ←

5/ Internal Affairs! Certain types of govts. & pol. regimes - it has been found, cannot fit in any peaceful internat. order. They cannot be tolerated! They are a menace. They disrupt any peaceful order! Cannot cooperate. Keep no law which they must respect, & no rights which their people are entitled to - and no treaties which protect the rights of other nations. Dictatorships are revol. anarchy. Govts - which create fear & thrive on fear, & seek to conquer thru fear.

Freedom from Fear - is possible only in a free soc. secure in law! The 4 Freedoms derive from this freedom. Presupposes a new League! (Failures of League of Nations)

6/ Abandon concept of absolute Nat. Sovereignty. (Coexist) notion utterly immoral, that a state can do whatever it likes - either in relation to its citizens or to other states, except as prudence discourages it - will make future impossible an internat. order of justice & peace. The idea of the indep. & omnipotent sov. state must be unshaken by the idea of internat. obligations which



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which all states must assume for mutual protection.  
Nations should be free and autonomous but subject to  
a rapidly developing inter. law which shall now more  
define their inter-relationships + their duties towards each  
other — and limit their whimsicalities

- The orthodox Sov. state idea wrecked the League —
1. Unanimity & resolution was required —
  2. Any country could secede at will — April War!
  3. Refused to submit to or to create organs of  
coercion — without which no order was possible.  
They preferred each to "do his own job" instead of  
a law-enforcing body — a police force.

World is fast becoming indivisibly, commercially even  
culturally interdependent. ~~1929~~ Our Depression 1929  
struck Europe like a thunderbolt. It played havoc with their  
nat. money systems. The American + German banking  
systems collapsed. Trade commerce <sup>disrupted</sup> ~~disrupted~~. ~~Unemployment~~  
unemployment spread like a plague. Wisey +  
discontent set in — and the Europ became ripe for Hitler.  
The world is being drawn <sup>even</sup> against its will into econ. inter-  
dependence + politics must keep pace! World cannot  
forever remain pol. broken up + unintegrated in un-  
reasonable, sov. units, uncoordinated + uncoordinated.  
Not forcible pol. unification (Nazi) — under threat <sup>new politics</sup> ~~disruption~~ but  
not voluntary pol. coordination — Pol. solidarity / maintenance  
— Federation / union —



- 7/ League - not failed - ~~Force - no Success~~ Am. American Policy -  
That alone will Japan way for Disarmament (burden)
- 8/ Colonial Open Door - Access to Raw Material
- 9/ Income preservation & Wealth by not exacting too high a price  
in security - unemployment - social conflict - suffering  
Security 7 Job - Home - Education - Health - Old Age - Dignity
- ✓ "The Citizen's Charter" Geoffrey Crowther - Ed. "London Evening"  
(Note)
- ✓ Minority Group Charter - Race Prejudice - Catalyst = Dictatorship
- 10/ Sp. Awakening { ① Better World - Can be had - ~~just~~ -  
                                  ② To give for Victory - Sacrifice -  
America - Assume Responsibility - Full weight -  
                                  ③ After War -  
- Ready to accept dread resp. War - 1917  
But not Peace - 1920  
By becoming Isolationist after War - ~~help~~ League - helped  
to bring on this War - + our intervention!
- ✓ For we must intervene in any major Eur. War!  
We again proved it in 1941  
We will either cooperate in World Peace or  
intervene in world wars! That is our choice!
- 11/ A noble hunt for - a great challenge.



AMERICA'S MINORITY GROUPS IN WAR AND PEACE

Abba Hillel Silver

The Temple -- Cleveland, Ohio

*It is a sad commentary on our time that we, in the United States, have come to talk and think so much about minorities.*  
~~There is far too much emphasis placed today in our thought and speech on~~

X ~~minorities in the United States.~~ Unconsciously we are helping to re-create here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard America always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we were concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. ~~Here we spoke of the inalienable rights of all men, regardless of race, creed and color.~~ Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his worth, character and achievement and not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. Those we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

X America was able to absorb immigrants from ~~a hundred~~ <sup>many</sup> races and nationalities and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. ~~Read the names of the boys who are inducted into the armed services of our country which appear daily in our newspapers, as well as the names of those killed and wounded. These names speak of a hundred minority groups from which these brave young Americans hail, but they also speak of the~~ *They submerged all their* ~~complete submergence of these local, parochial minority interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming love and devotion to America.~~

X We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from minority discrimination as the minority itself.

X I wish to speak to you this morning about anti-Semitism which may be creating another of these terribly difficult minority problems in America unless we are



fore-warned and fore-armed. Why did the tide of racism and anti-Semitism rise in our country and in the world in recent years? What happened? The answer is not far to seek. The tide rose because there were powerful agencies which were intent upon making it rise. Of these, the most powerful agency in the world today is the Nazi regime in Germany. It has fed race hatred throughout the world ever since it came into power. Nazism is a political creed out to conquer the world. It is missionary. It is not content to stay confined within the limits of the land of its origin. It regards itself as a crusading movement for a new order to supplant the present order of society. It seeks to destroy the present culture of the Western World. The Nazis have not been reticent about defining the nature of their crusade. The order of things which has prevailed in the Western World ever since the American and French Revolutions is decadent. It must be destroyed. They are out to destroy it. Racial inequality is one of the chief characteristics of the new social order which they hope to establish on the ruins of the old whose foundations were liberty, fraternity and equality.

x In the hands of the Nazis, racism has also become a major technique of imperial expansionism. By means of it they hope to create a mood of crisis, and conflict within those countries which they have marked out for conquest, and so to undermine their powers of resistance. By disrupting the internal spiritual unity of a nation they prepare it for easier subjugation. Anti-Semitism has thus become part of the strategy of Total War.

Until recent years, the problem of anti-Semitism was not a serious one in the United States. Some religious or racial prejudice always existed and it was characterized by local fluctuations of varied intensity, but it was never serious enough to disturb the life of the nation, and to arouse national apprehensions. That it has become serious in recent years is due not to the fact that the people of the United States have suddenly come to a realization that the Jews of America constitute a menace. It is due solely to the fact that the ever-widening circles of politically-motivated anti-Jewish propaganda, originating in Nazi Germany, have finally reached our shores.



The Nazi government stimulated and directed it here as it did in other parts of the world. Nazi agents before the War were actively disseminating it here and native Americans of Nazi sympathies were their eager co-workers. Thus, what had been, up to recently, only a sporadic phenomenon has been fanned into a movement, which is directed from abroad and supported by reactionaries at home. The War has put the brakes on it. Its active agents are in jail or under cover.

Reactionaries are everywhere eager to associate the Jew with all the political and economic measures which they dislike, whether it be the New Deal, labor legislation, social security, the C.I.O., Socialism or Communism. The equation Jew == Communism, or Communism == Jew, served the purposes of the Nazis in Germany most admirably. By means of it they destroyed the German Republic. After the Stalin-Hitler pact, they abandoned it, for it was no longer good policy to attack Communism. Hitler accordingly ceased to denounce Jewish Bolshevism. He found it expedient to denounce democratic plutocracy. And in democratic plutocracy Hitler again found the ever-present and accommodating Jew. After Hitler broke his pact with Stalin he resurrected the Jew == Communism line, and his propaganda since has again been frothing about Jewish Bolshevism.

Why did the Nazis in the earlier stages identify Communism with the Jew? To be sure there were Jews among the Communists in Germany and in Russia. Some of them were in prominent positions. They were not nearly as numerous as the Nazi propagandists would have one believe, and one must not forget that there were Jews in large numbers and in prominent positions in all the anti-Bolshevist parties in Germany and in Russia. Why then did the Nazis identify all Jews with Communism, and all Communism with the Jew? For the same reason that sixty years prior to their time, Bismarck had identified all the liberal movements of his day with the Jews. For the same reason that the Dominicans and the defenders of the crumbling scholasticism attempted to discredit Humanism and the New Learning in pre-Reformation Germany by branding them as Jewish, and by inaugurating bitter attacks upon the Jews and their



literature. This conspiracy the brilliant authors of "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum" cunningly exposed.

The guiding principle is always the same: -- inordinate a cause by tagging on to it an unattractive label! It is very serviceable to pin an existing historic prejudice on your opponent. By branding your opponent's cause as Jewish, you give it an unpopular and suspect origin. It looms up as something alien. You are saved the trouble of refuting your opponent's position logically. You score an initial victory of great moment. Bismarck, after he turned reactionary, attacked liberalism by identifying it with the Jews and stimulated a powerful anti-Semitic movement in Germany which produced a voluminous anti-Semitic literature from which the later Nazis borrowed extensively. The same tactics were employed by the Nazis years later to discredit the liberal and radical movements in post-war Germany.

In post-war Germany there were millions of men whose conditions were intolerable, and who were turning to Socialism and Communism. In the last free elections in Germany there were over seven million votes cast for the Socialist ticket, and some six million for the Communist ticket. The problem which confronted the frightened industrial, military and Junker classes of Germany was how to check this stampede toward radicalism, and how to deflect the resentment of the masses away from themselves. The problem, too, was how to assuage the sense of national hurt and humiliation induced by the defeat in the war. Where could they find a visible scapegoat upon whose back all the sins, failures and miseries of the German nation could be put? Such a scapegoat was not difficult to find. A small, defenseless minority, the Jews, against whom there already existed a none-too-latent historic prejudice was fortunately available. From there on it was simple. It was the Jews who stabbed Germany in the back! The German army was never really defeated! Why did the Jews stab Germany in the back? Because the Jews wish to dominate the world, to destroy the Christian nations, and upon their ruins to raise themselves to world dominion. But where is the proof? Why, it is here, in a book -- "The Elders of Zion!"



This book reveals the whole plot. That the book is an acknowledged forgery does not matter. If a lie serves a useful purpose, it must be regarded as truth. This book was circulated by the millions of copies in Germany in the years following the World War. How does the Jew go about destroying one Christian country after another? He very has a/cunning way of doing it. He adopts two seemingly contradictory devices. One is capitalism and the other is Communism. These are the converging pincers in the Jew's grand strategy. The capitalism against which you, Christian workingmen and middle-class folk of Germany justly complain, is not the true capitalism. There are two kinds of capitalism: the good, creative, Christian capitalism, and the bad, destructive Jewish capitalism. What you should attack, is not the good Christian capitalism, but the bad Jewish capitalism. Also, there is a good socialism and a bad socialism. When you vote for the Social Democrats you are voting for the bad, international, Jewish Socialism which is anti-German and unpatriotic. So are your labor unions bad, because they are dominated by Jews, and so is your liberal press which is controlled by Jews. The only good Socialism is National Socialism. In this wise was the economic struggle deftly transferred to another terrain. The struggle was no longer one between progress and reaction, between liberalism and feudalism. The struggle was now between the embattled Aryan and the menacing Jew, between patriotism and alienism, between Berlin and Jerusalem....

This propaganda, intense and skillful, and heavily financed by great industrialists -- some of whom have since been disillusioned -- went on for years, and it succeeded in undermining the peoples' faith in democracy and liberalism. Anti-Semitism was thus exploited, in a political and economic struggle, to defeat progress and to save reaction.

Minorities have been used for such purposes throughout the ages. The great Church Father Tertullian, recalls the experiences of the Christian minority in ancient Rome: "If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an



earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded:  
'Throw the Christians to the lions!'

Unless these classic tactics are firmly grasped, Americans will not appreciate what is behind the anti-Semitic movement in the United States, which, at least up to the time of our entry into the war, had made grave inroads in our national life.

Anti-Semitism today is a powerful, perhaps the most powerful weapon in the hands of economic reaction. It has been and will be increasingly used by all its unscrupulous lackies and henchmen. It has become an accepted technique.

Anti-Semitism before the War was stimulated in the United States in order to confound our national life, and disrupt its unity. It was to pave the way for an ultimate Facist triumph in the United States. The propaganda device was quite simple: Proclaim from the housetops -- "'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!' You are being betrayed! The American people is being sold down the river! The international bankers -- (and by now, of course, this term has been made synonymous with Jewish bankers, for Christian international bankers have somehow disappeared) -- are driving Americans into war, hoping to profit from the sale of armaments and munitions, and hoping also to avenge themselves on their enemies, the Nazis. The Jews are betraying the United States. The Jews were responsible for the last depression and for all past and present economic ills. You, the American people, are not being told the truth, because your press is controlled by the Jews. So are your movies and your radio. Your government cannot help you because your government, too, is in the hands of Jews, from the President down....The machinery of democracy is no longer capable of saving the American people. If you wish to be saved you must yield all power, temporarily, of course, to us, your saviors, who will rescue you from this dire plot. When the job is done, all your liberties will, of course, be restored to you, and you will live happily ever after..." The same tactics which put the Nazis into power in Germany was being employed in this country on an increasingly large scale. And there are Thyssens here in the United States, as there ~~xxx~~ were in Germany who, rather than see their economic privileges



undermined, would welcome the destruction of our free democratic institutions. Some of these American Thyssens and Fascist fellow-travelers had already been decorated by the Nazis....

Anti-Semitism is today no longer the slightly embarrassing thing that it was in the past -- something to be counteracted by easy-going, good-will movements. It is a far more sinister thing. It is a powerful and dangerously imminent threat to American democracy. It is the same sinister force which destroyed one free country after another in Europe. Wherever Fascism is on the march, -- anti-Semitism is its vanguard. The shock troops of Fascism are always anti-Semites. By that sign ye shall know them!

Believe me, when I speak of anti-Semitism to you, I do so not only because I am a Rabbi and wish to defend my people. This would be quite natural, especially in this most tragic hour for my people in Europe when they are being subjected to wholesale butchery and ruthless annihilation. After all we are an old people and we have experienced persecution from the days of Pharaoh in Egypt, four thousand years ago, to the present. We have survived. Somehow we have a strategy for survival, and our faith in God Who was with our fathers through the long weary centuries and Who sleepeth not nor slumbereth today sustains us in this dark hour with the hope that we will come through the vast tribulations of the present. I speak of anti-Semitism because it is a threat to all human liberties. It is the most successful weapon in the hands of all the privileged classes of the world who seek to destroy the freedom of men and check for all time their progress to a fuller enjoyment and a fairer sharing of the social goods.

The answer to the question: "Can the rising tide of race prejudice be stemmed?", depends, therefore, upon how long the Nazi regime will last. There will be little abatement in race prejudices until the Nazis are defeated. With their defeat, political anti-Semitism, that is to say, the exploitation of anti-Semitism as an imperialistic propaganda weapon, will be completely discredited, although anti-Semitism, as a social phenomenon, will not quickly disappear. In the unsettled reconstruction period following the war, it is likely to be very active, and exploited by economic



interest.

What can be done to counteract it? There still remains, of course, the old-fashioned but very dependable method of democratic education. Education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. Courses in the detection of, and the prophylaxis against false propaganda of all kinds, and particularly race propaganda, should be introduced into the curricula of all of our high schools and colleges. Our people should be made aware of the methods which are being employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonisms are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to aggression. We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of the democratic way of life.

Propaganda, ever since the last World War, has developed into a new science, a Voodoo science, if you will, but still a science. It is no longer left to chance. It has been very carefully elaborated, and those who wish to employ it for their special interests know exactly how to compound the ingredients of that intoxicating cup by which the masses are made drunk and inflamed so as to be the more easily pushed in the direction in which the interested parties want them to move. "The driving power of great social change," declared Hitler, "is not insight but hysteria." If you wish to bring about a social revolution, do not rely upon the slow processes of education and evolution. Rely upon hysteria! Inflame the passions of people, arouse them to a high pitch of passion, fear, or anger, and then you can do with them whatever you wish. By the time they recover from the fumes of your propaganda, they will be faced by your machine guns, if you are clever.....



Illiteracy and ignorance used to be the greatest foes of human progress. They are no longer. Mankind has found ways of stamping out illiteracy in very quick order. The real foe of human progress today is the far more subtle and insidious one called propaganda, which employs a bastard literacy, and a venal and corrupt educational process as an important part of its technique. The mind of man is not kept uninformed but misinformed.

Democracy, generally, should cease to be naive, trusting and doctrinaire. The forces hostile to our way of life and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very apparatus of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native-born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance.

Laws should be enacted -- if they do not already exist -- against the public vilification of any race or religion, and against the incitement of people against any race or religion. The most virile and business-like democracy of all -- Switzerland -- has had such laws for some time. France found it necessary to enact them, but, unfortunately, too late!

Increased opportunities for contact between all racial and religious groups in America for the discussion of their common problems, and for a survey of all areas of friction are highly desirable. It is a sure way to "plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America" -- Walt Whitman's dream.

The times call for frank and honest self-criticism on the part of all, Jews and non-Jews alike, and particularly on the part of those who constitute the majority; for after all, the solution of anti-Semitism lies with them. It would be very helpful if each group would begin to beat its own breast instead of beating its neighbor's breast



and would confess "mea culpa"...

There was a race problem in the United States long before the Nazis kindled the Jewish race problem. There was a negro problem, and there is a negro problem in this country, American-made -- not imported. To this day millions of citizens of the United States live and are tolerated only as members of an inferior race. They are segregated in many parts of this country, as to schools, churches, residential districts, hospitals, travel, and places of amusement. Millions of those fellow citizens are economically handicapped because of race. They find it hard to get employment in skilled trades. By and large, they are restricted to the lower strata of our industrial life, to jobs which the white man does not want. In many instances they are denied the right to equal wages for equal work. In some parts of the country, and not merely in the South, they are denied the right to join labor unions. They are curbed in the exercise of their franchise as regards voting and holding office. They are denied equal opportunities in education. There are few recreational facilities available for their young people. Many of them are herded into miserable slums, and these slums are not restricted to the South. Since 1915, over one million negroes migrated to the North and their living conditions, are up to at least 50%, below the minimum standard of decent human habitations. They are subjected sporadically to mob violence, to lynching, and a Federal law intended to curb mob violence, was filibustered in the Senate of the United States as recently as two years ago, for forty-seven days, and a similar filibuster was recently successfully employed against repeal of the Poll Tax. As a result, this race which, given opportunities, has evidenced remarkable gifts in many fields, is disproportionately subjected to poverty, ignorance, disease and vice.

Here is a native American race problem, the kind of problem which the Nazis have only recently begun to create in Germany, and this problem is allowed to exist within the framework of democracy. Here is a test of our sincerity. We all recognize that this problem is a hard, indurate, and time-encrusted one. But it is not an insoluble



one. With the right kind of attitudes on the part of the white man, -- the majority group -- a solution can be approximated, -- given patience, courage and vision on both sides. What the problem calls for above all else is a resolute will to be fair and just, and a determination to attempt to solve it not in the gross but in the detail, not in the abstract, but in the concrete.

The Oriental Exclusion Act is another instance of race discrimination allowed to exist within the framework of our democratic America. The Chinese are our gallant Allies in this war for human liberty, and yet no Chinese can become a citizen of the United States.

What is needed most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice which will disfigure our common life, is to discipline ourselves to treat men as individuals. It is not an easy thing to do, but we are not concerned here with easy problems or with easy solutions. ~~The chief characteristic of the democratic dogma is the concept of the free human being and his inalienable private rights.~~ 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 frame-work of an associated life, in relation to the group to which they belonged -- nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchic, a feudal arrangement of social life. It was from a long experience with social organization that we have inherited over the

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1/ Horror - ~~spare~~ ~~unimagined~~ - ~~Cost~~ <sup>taken for granted - & expostulating on then</sup> 1944  
will not deter. Cannot frighten nations  
out of war - or victims who seek adv. & excitement - who were fear that they  
will be victims of horror. Blinded, gassed, mangled,  
- wars have been progressively more horrific, & also more frequent more  
extensive, & air-raids - how long; for as long - for any war at all - when, Refugees -  
- liberalization of war & sacrifices on battle-field. With trained in a  
- longing for the glories & popularity & heroics, war -  
- it is forbidding to prevent war in any other by at - defections, and  
sabotage, invasion and concordia.

2/ Pacifism - Religious Voluntary a Secular  
Rel. Connection  
Elite - World at large 2000 years - "Resist not Evil" is not controlling principle.  
Secular Compulsion - Refuse to fight - don't want to - in life of average man -  
treat them - Slaves - just - Odium of public opinion too great  
for average man to resist for long.  
Even in lands where pro-sentiment is strong - Pacifism is anathema  
Just at this moment.

3/ Preparedness - To the Teeth - insurance of war.  
There has never yet been a nation, that was adeq. prepared, that it  
did not have to go to war.  
There has never yet been a nation that thought it adeq. prepared  
that it did not suffer a defeat in war.  
No nation can adequately prepare itself - against every contingency,  
ag. every possible combination of enemies.  
Ger. was adequately prepared - 1914. She did not prepare on the V.S.  
No nation can build up an adequate defense even within the framework  
of alliances with other nations - Greece - 1,500,000 - all gone back down in Greece.  
The Question - has never been answered: When is a nation prepared?  
Our budget mounting - in last 10-15 years - new ships - new planes -  
- army. Yet experts tell us less prepared & for war.



Preparedness is relative. If other nations do same - pari passu -  
we do not improve our position by expend. of mere millions. We in-  
crease volume but not relative strength -

4) Isolation - Oceans - Old world politics are no concern of us -  
Well mind our own business.

Did we in ~~1898~~ - in 1917.

Are we doing it now in China - Latin America -

Can we? Can we become econ. involved in the world and yet  
pol. isolated from it? We may wish for isolation - but all the while the things  
which entangle us go on - trade - commerce, transportation - competition - demand for open doors.  
Assuming that we can keep out of things, will Europe keep  
out, the West Hemisphere, I, it?

Penetration - econ. + idyl + ultimately pol. - of Nazis, Japs. + <sup>Japan</sup> ~~European~~  
in Latin Amer. - Monroe Doctrine -

Shall we abandon it - & turn over Central H. Amer. to European  
imperialism, like Africa - after 100 years in this Hemisphere.

And if we do abandon it - will Europe rival imper. interests,  
close to our doors, insure us greater peace?

5) Actually we have no faith in Isolation, or in neutrality laws, such as  
we enacted. - For we vote for more armaments - Repeal.  
- prob. shipment of armaments to belligerent nations -  
We have realized that neutrality laws <sup>may</sup> tie our hands - ~~might~~ <sup>might</sup> strengthen  
the hands of the aggressor nations, whom we morally detest, but who  
~~unlike~~ <sup>unlike</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> have resources, his own, and is not dependent upon  
our sources of supplies - and cripples the victim nation, the aggressor  
who needs our supplies.

Simply that there is no moral distinction that we, as a nation  
need make, say bet. China & Japan; or Ethiopia & Italy; or Finland  
this abdication <sup>would</sup> simply make - as it has made - for increasing internat. anarchy



And our people will not tolerate it indef. Reverendness.

6/ Peace through Concessions - Appeasement - Classic Example Munich -

There are strong, unsatisfied nations (small, unsatisfied nations don't matter)  
demanding and threatening. Satisfy them! Esp. if it can be done

not at gun expense, but some weaker, trusting ally. You have peace!  
If Germany - If Russia -  
No nation is ever satisfied - esp. if its leaders have imper. dreams

And mess. messes - various - # Appetites as whetted  
- ~~high~~ ~~low~~ ~~low~~  
"Mein Kampf" - is the program - Prang with Oster + Werner

Mussolini - Tunisia, Constantine, Nice

Then an Hane & Hane Nifty nations - Access to sources of raw material should be open to all who wish to pay for it. But ~~not~~ to ~~not~~ arrange for a political rehabilitation of all lands <sup>which will</sup> satisfy all the Territorial Hane not - is quite fantastic.

7/ Disarmament - Effect not Cause - will not disarm unless

all our Disarm. Conf. have failed.

all our Disarm. Conf. have failed.  
Nuclear Limitation Agreements have broken down.

Must be security first!

8. What Kind of Security? Regional Pacts? <sup>has gone</sup> Warrick will go the

way of Stresa & Locarno.

way of stress & Locarno. - Predatory -  
Competition + Exclusion by nature = Fascist dictates others  
 by both why? ~~Excludes~~

Language but relish 4 Power Reg. Parts. why? ~~Excludes~~

Squeeze but relish 4 Power up. 1  
~~Power. Can't keep them, lesser power.~~ will feel them  
~~People, a what to do as they told Gubelov~~ without regard to  
~~They are worn & Gubelov / ruler:~~ rights as under law  
 were able to, still together  
 the 4- among & ~~disposal to~~



9/ Only one security. Collective - <sup>fall from</sup> ~~hugue~~ broken down  
no panel of ~~hugue~~ - its idea. Sound!  
Rebayed - U.S. - <sup>Chas. Row 1932</sup> ~~just for~~ here given a chance  
It was rapid deterioration. Possibly ~~another~~ <sup>this</sup> world war.  
Return to Mentable Idea - for which no substitute!

Implemented to act - act quickly -

Given security - progress disarmament will take place slowly  
but steadily - ~~Nations do not want to disarm~~

9/ Allies Win! No preferences! A plague! Out - War. Mongering  
10/ Far off to-day - ~~but so are other ideas of mankind~~

An idea inherently sound - cannot be perm. defeated

America must help - Talked un- ~~done~~ <sup>done</sup> but  
not in "leading" but in "cooperating"

(Inter-  
ship)

If we will not intervene then regulated inter. procedure  
to stop aggressors + defend inter. law - we will find our-  
selves intervening then war. (~~Inter~~)

11/ Review our Notion of National Sovereignty -

Only proper def. of Nat. Sovereignty is status subject to  
inter. law

Sovereignty - if it is not anarchy - is always limited by law

Just as Personal liberty is freedom under law - esp. license

No nation has a sov. Right to go to war - if there is a conflict.  
internat. agency functioning as hand to adjudicate matters at issue  
on the basis of law - any un- <sup>involved</sup> ~~involved~~ has a right to go to private  
war to settle a dispute -