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The shape of things to come, 1941-1942.

Copy of Addresses
given by

Mayo Fesler

John W. Love

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Dr. William E. Wickenden

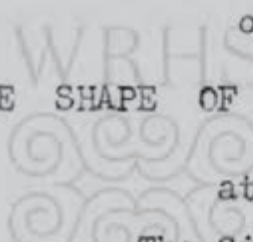
on

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

at

The City Club

January 3, 1942



THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

by Mayo Fesler

My thinking on the political and governmental side of this question, "The Shape of Things to Come", is based upon the belief that this will be a long war but that ultimately the allies will win. In the first world war we helped mightily in winning the war, and then helped ingloriously in losing the peace. In this second world war we are going to play an important part both in winning the war and in establishing a lasting peace. What will be the shape of things, political and governmental, in this country after we have won the peace? Will we find our political party setup and our governmental organization radically changed? Will we find ourselves under some form of dictatorship or plunging into communism? Will we find developing a multi-party system in place of our present two party system?

In my opinion we shall find none of these conditions. We shall find ourselves with a burden of debt which will appall us and which will deeply affect both our political thinking and our political conduct; but it will not affect the fundamental principles upon which our government is founded nor the representative character of the democracy under which we live.

As I see the political future, we shall continue our evolutionary process of improving our forms of government, particularly state and local, and our methods of formulating and expressing public opinion through political parties, without political revolutions or radical changes in government and politics. The reasons for this belief are these:

In the first place we are too well satisfied with our American way of life, even with all of its frailties, to look with favor upon new ideologies, especially of the present European types.

In the second place, no peoples, not even the peoples of the aggressor nations, went into this war with any enthusiasm for a great new cause. The people of the axis nations were forced into war by their war lords really against their wills. The peoples of the allied democracies went into the war with the feeling that they had a dirty but necessary job to do in ridding the world of a bunch of military gangsters and political highwaymen; and the sooner it is done the better. To them victory will mean a chance to return to the plow, the shop and the office. Neither side is fighting for a new and glamorous cause.

In the third place the world will be too tired and exhausted to think in terms of revolutionary ideologies. The people will want to rest after putting out the fire of this useless holocaust. The experience in past world struggles confirms this point of view.

For illustration, take the early years after the close of the Napoleonic wars. Following the preliminary Peace of Paris, the crown heads and statesmen of Europe met in Vienna. Mettermich of Austria, and a majority of those gathered there were either in favor of a return to things as they were, or at least were opposed to giving up any national advantages which they then had or had gained in the war. The results of the Congress of Vienna were largely compromises and a return to the status quo.

Take the early aftermath of the first world war. There were, of course, some shiftings of boundaries, numerous mandates created, a number of crown heads were decapitated, and a futile attempt was made to create an effective League of Nations in order to insure a permanent peace. But the

League of Nations failed largely because the nations involved were unwilling to surrender even a small degree of national sovereignty in order to find an effective permanent peace.

In the fourth place, our form of government in this country, and the relationship of the federal and state governments furnish a stable bulwark against radical or revolutionary changes. This nation is a federation of 48 sovereign states which have large residuary powers, which cannot be taken from them without their consent. A majority of those states are rural. The rural population is normally conservative and slow to take on revolutionary ideas. They can be expected to resist revolutionary changes. They are too well satisfied with our present representative democracy to flee willingly to ills they know not of. If total national sovereignty headed up at the National Capitol, we might have some reason for a feeling of uneasiness over the danger of a shift from a democratic service state to a totalitarian servile state. But not so long as we are a federation of independent states.

No, I cannot see in this nation's horoscope any revolutionary changes in government and politics, nor any concerted move on the part of our people toward new political ideologies as a result of the war in which we are now engaged.

I do, however, want to make this exception. The changes which have been going on in local government will, I believe, be greatly accelerated -- not changes in the basic principles upon which local government is founded; but changes in the direction of a consolidation of units of local government, forced upon our urban communities by the sheer burden of taxes which this useless war will ultimately entail. With the present debt burden, federal, state and local, according to the most recent federal reports, already at \$69,162,000,000, or \$521 for every man, woman and child, and within a year will be more than double that amount, and mounting steadily, we are going to be forced after the war to tighten the governmental belt somewhere. It can't be in the Federal government expenditures because that part of the debt burden will already have been created. It can hardly be in the state government because the states' portion of the debt burden is only 4.9% of the whole. The only place now seemingly available for that unpleasant process of belt tightening is in the cost of local services, and these local luxuries we are now enjoying by having a separate local government for every cross road in our metropolitan urban areas. For example, in our own metropolitan area with its present 103 units of government, we could save more than 10% of our cost of local government if these units were properly consolidated and efficiently administered. This unification will be forced upon us whether we like it or not.

The process of local consolidation will be further accelerated by another evolutionary process which is underway, namely, the gradual extension of public ownership and operation of the public utility services. These community services can be efficiently rendered and economically administered only on a community wide basis. As they are taken over from private ownership to public operation, the necessity for unification and consolidation of political subdivisions will become more and more apparent. But even here the changes will be evolutionary and not revolutionary, and will work no large changes in local government and politics.

One feature in this larger picture of the aftermath of war which should give us pause will be the sacrifices which we shall have to make in desirable local public services and improvements, such as recreation, education, beautification and even sanitation, because the large public revenues which would normally be spent on these services will for years to come have to be

fed in part at least into the maw of Mars to pay the cost of capturing and exercising these international gangsters who are now plundering the world's highways.

However, there is one ray of hope in this dark picture of the debt burden. If a world's peace can be established after the war on the basis of the eight point program of the Atlantic Conference, and some form of a League of Nations can be agreed upon, which will have enough authority and a sufficient military, naval, and air force to maintain and enforce a world's peace, then this burden of taxes will be relieved by just so much as is now required to maintain separate national armament establishments. To this reduction in the debt burden would also be added the increased prosperity which will come out of an assured world's peace and the social security which it will bring. Our national income could then be easily kept at more than 100 billion dollars a year, a minor part of which over a period of years would pay off the national debt, without much pain. If the shape of things to come could take the form of such an effective League of Nations, and one with any less authority and power is not worth-while, then the world will readily recover financially and politically from this wholesale destruction of the world's substance, and our nation can move on prosperously in the development and expansion of our American way of life.

But whatever comes, there is nothing in the offing, in my opinion, except wishful thinking, that can lead the people of this prosperous land to depart from the fundamentals of liberty and equality of opportunity, and exchange them for any system of government prevailing elsewhere in the world. We will fight to the last ditch to preserve freedom and democracy, and then die in the ditch if we lose them, because life to a free people would not be worth living without them.

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

by John W. Love

On recollecting some of the remarkable forecasting which has been undertaken from this platform, one is necessarily hesitant in attempting a view of the world of tomorrow.

Harry Elmer Barnes slaughtered many of us a few months ago with his prophecy of what Joe Stalin was going to do to us in combination with Hitler. Now, if he had informed us that Mr. Stalin was about to join the church if not the Rotary Club and become as respectable as Wendell Willkie, we would have said he was cookoo. We accepted his terrible foreboding because our own ran the same way.

If I were to suggest that the shape of economic things to come, in the afternoon of our lives, would probably be more like that of the 1870's and 80's than any other period, I would be disappointing many who are looking for something really awful. Those of you who saw New York's exposition under the title of the "World of Tomorrow" must have realized, at least in its second year, that it was of the world which might have been, and the world which we who are alive today shall probably never see. For time has turned backward in its flight, and the economic and business landscape seems more likely to resemble that of our grandparents than anything else we can readily imagine.

A world of patched pants and string-saving economies, of more individual proprietorships and partnerships, of conservative financing; a reconstructing world, after a war proportionately as terrible as the American Civil War, a world of new areas opening to settlement, of old areas re-opening; an era of new imperialisms, as novel and promising as the older ones were in their time. A period of business caution but one of land booms and housing booms.

You realize, of course, that the farther into the future we project our forecasts, the more likely we are to be right and at the same time the more surely we shall be forgotten. In the long reach of time, everything is more than likely to happen, and so, if you want to forecast Communism or Dictatorship, or chaos, or long and tranquil prosperity, you will be correct as to some period in the future. But not any of these things, I think, in our time.

I take it we are trying to look into an era of all-out peace, one in which, to paraphrase the sentence with which Edward Gibbon closed his chapters on the Crusades, silence reigns once again upon the coasts which have so long resounded with the world's debate. It is impossible to guess at the shape of the future without first guessing at the length of the war, the vigor of its prosecution, and above all, at its outcome.

If we are beaten, then all savings will have been exhausted save those in physical property. But my notion is that the Gettysburg of this war has now been fought, this time in front of Rostov and Moscow, but that the struggle is capable of running on two or three years more in Europe, and as long or longer in the Far East.

Let us assume a complete victory, an American debt of 200 billion dollars, and a living cost about double what it is today. By 1945 or 1946 most of us will be running on our rims, if we run our cars at all, our houses

will be out of repair, much of our domestic equipment unusable because of shortages of replacement parts. We shall, many of us, be in the condition of the people who were on relief in the 1930's, except that we will have savings in the shape of Government bonds. Undoubtedly many of us will rush out and turn them in to buy all the things we are short of. The 4 or 5 million American soldiers will be returning from the various fronts, leaving small armies of occupation, and the readjustment of employment will take several months; about as long, I should say, as it did in 1918 and 1919.

Most people will then decide this is the post-war depression everybody was talking about away back in 1941. On that account, all the public works which had been suspended during the war would be started rapidly up along with a lot of new ones the post-war planners are even now putting together in Washington. All these works will just about get going when the tide of replacement demand for goods sweeps the country. The flood of savings released by the cashing of Government securities will be going into the purchase of everything we've been short of, and then will come the grand whoosh of inflation.

As usual, the economic planners will have been mistaken in their timing, the most important element in all such plans, and the great projects they have blueprinted for relieving unemployment will but make the boom the greater. For the prosperity of those days will seem to be the triumph of economic planning and Government participation in industry.

In that boom, then, the boom which follows this war, we shall face the decision as to whether America will genuinely undertake to lower the barriers to international trade, or whether, alternately, we shall continue in the nationalistic directions we have pursued without any interruption for more than a generation.

One of the sections of the Atlantic charter (drawn up on a vessel which has already been sunk) provides for equal access to raw materials, but as you all know, there can be no equal access to materials without access to the markets which surround those materials. Equal ability to buy the iron of Lake Superior is pointless without the ability to sell in the markets of Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, or the equivalent.

The attitude of labor union officers will be of considerable importance in that decision, I suspect. If they listen to the argument that the goods of an impoverished England and France, not to mention a Germany or a Japan, must not be allowed to undermine the dearly defended high wages and social gains of America, then our future can be no better than our past. If in addition, the Government should also be unable or unwilling to throttle down the land booms and housing booms of that period, booms for which it will be unprepared because they are not recognizably "financial", then we can look for a new depression to sweep us in the 1950s.

It will be that period, not the late 40s, which will test the strength and durability of American habits of economic life. Disillusioned finally as to the efficacy of Government planning in democracy, undoubtedly millions would then turn to whatever system of extremism happens to be fashionable at the time. That could be your social war, and its outcome would probably be decided by the attitude of the veterans and the farmers.

Probably I am going into too much detail here, for my own timing is as sure to be as wrong as any Government planner's.

The disposition of the Government-built factories of the war will also be an important item in the decisions to be made in the late 1940s and the 50s. Either in the post-war boom or the depression which follows it, there will be a group which will argue for the retention of those plants to make Government steel, or a Government automobile, like the Herman Goering Steel Works, or the Volksauto.

This party will be assisted not only by the labor organizations in these plants, but by Chambers of Commerce in the localities where these works are. We might get a sort of Chamber of Commerce Socialism out of it. We would have redistribution of wealth by geography, the only significant type of redistribution which ever took place in this country. It was the redistribution by geography which most of its supporters in this country were thinking of in the 1930s as evidenced in the power projects, the railway rate legislation and the agricultural bonuses.

Should this sort of Socialism overtake us, let us trust that any Clevelander who believes in it will have the good judgment to go where most of the usable Government plants are, say to Detroit, Dallas or Los Angeles. There is nothing in Chamber of Commerce Socialism for regions which get only ammunition factories.

In summary, then, my notion is that we shall have, following the war, what many will mistake for cyclical depression, that it will set in motion a new wave of public projects, that these will collide with the revival of individual spending, and the two together will produce an extreme prosperity plus a land boom and a building boom, that it will run into unregulated speculation because unrecognized, or too widely distributed for office holders to interfere with. The subsequent depression and future wars CAN be avoided by introducing, during the early stages of the boom, a greater freedom of imports than living Americans have ever known, but who can guess whether we shall choose the right road?

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

by

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There will be great spiritual strain in our country after the war. Eras of reconstruction are dangerous eras. Passions, hopes and fears run high. The demagogues and the political adventurers hope to find in the very fluidity of social forms their great opportunity. Orthodox and ear-marked Fascist and Nazi doctrines and slogans will of course be discredited. Dogmatism generally, both of a political and economic character, is likely to suffer eclipse. But this will not preclude other attacks upon human rights and liberties under other guises and with other catchwords, nor will it prevent the recrudescence of bigotry and intolerance which, for the duration, have gone underground in our land. The Ku Klux Klan was launched on the ebb-tide of the last war, and capitalized on the totalitarian patriotism which the war engendered. In the severe adjustments which will follow the war in our country and which will probably entail periods of inflation, depression and large-scale unemployment everybody will be looking for scapegoats. Some have theirs already well tethered in their backyards. The hope, of course, is that the very fact that these things happened after the last war may put Americans on their guard against their re-occurrence.

Religion which has so much at stake in this war -- in fact the whole classic Judaeo-Christian tradition is at stake -- is hoping, though it has no assurance, -- that this war, coming so soon after the last, will sober the human race so that it will foresake the cynical and brutal materialism which has led it from one Golgotha to another, and will restore to respectability the eternal human ideals and the spiritual values which alone give significance to human life. Religion hopes that this war will mark the end of the persecutions of races and minorities, the exploitation of hates, the total submergence of the individual to the state and the narrow nationalisms which have made

international life ugly, mean and cruel. Religion is hoping that the hard tasks of peace will evoke at least some of those virtues which fighting free men evidence in war — courage, resoluteness, self-sacrifice and unity. For we shall have need of an even higher order of spiritual fortitude, of faith and vision, after the war, if we are to conserve those values for which our country is fighting today, and for which brave men will die.



THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

by

Dr. William E. Wickenden

The struggle for survival is still the greatest sharpener of men's wits and of their tools. A people at war, convinced that they can win in the normal stride of business by sheer weight of wealth, resources and industrial potential, can be looked to for little that is novel or startling. Until three weeks ago only a few of our leaders had a sense of crisis. Our people at large, including nearly all of our managers and workers, are only now beginning to get it. What we have done in scientific and engineering circles to implement the war so far may not be a reliable index of what we are yet to see. Still, some things are obvious and if we must brace our knees for the risks of prophecy, we may as well begin with them.

The most obvious of all is the vast increase of certain forms of industrial capacity. The air-craft industry is probably the most spectacular. An index based on pre-war capacity is hard to fix, figures are going up so rapidly. Ten to one may be as good a guess as any. We shall have not only more, but also bigger, faster, higher-powered and more reliable planes. What can we do with them and with our vast production capacity after the war is over? When World War I began, the automobile was an incidental pleasure vehicle and the truck a novelty; when it ended, automotive transport of both men and goods had become nearly universal. If we repeat this bit of history in the realm of air transport, our neighbors Fred Crawford and Lee Clegg are going to be amply justified in the great expansion of the Thompson Products Company.

Next in the spectacular order is the four-to-one expansion of the light metals industry, which in turn calls for between 2 and 3 millions of kilowatts of power production capacity. We have been rapidly increasing our steel-making capacity for over a decade, building up from 37 million tons in 1930 to over 90 million tons now, yet we shall probably make less steel in 1942 than in 1941 for lack of necessary pig iron.

The synthetic rubber industry is now claiming the lime-light. It is a new industry dealing with products long known in the chemists's laboratory. We are now trying hard to fill in the gap between the patent specifications and the "know-how" of plant-scale experience. Synthetics are likely to replace the natural gum to only a limited degree. Isoprene, the natural rubber, is a versatile substance which we have not succeeded in reproducing artificially. The synthetics are kindred materials of more specialized properties. Neoprene, for example, is outstanding for resistance to oils and to heat. Others excel in tensile strength, or resistance to abrasion, or other particulars. The synthetics cost more to produce. Even if costs could be cut in half by standardized quantity production, they would still be above the cost of natural rubber recently prevailing and more than double the cost in a free competitive market.

The whole art of plastics, in which the artificial rubbers are included, may lead us into a new era. The metal economy in which we have been living is one which leads ultimately to its own doom through depletion. If we exhaust the iron ore, then what? Turn to aluminum, perhaps, since that material constitutes one-eighth of the earth's crust. But aluminum requires an immense use of energy in its production, and all the available water-power would supply only a small part of what might be needed. Plastics, on the other hand, are mostly derived from hydro-carbons and our ready supplies are

in the form of oil and coal. But oil and coal are the highly concentrated remains of pre-historic vegetable matters and suggest the interesting possibility that strong and durable materials of construction in the future may come from crops instead of from mines. People worry about the using up of mineral resources. Actually we are merely betting on the ability of future chemists and engineers to replace them from new sources, and all experience tells us our confidence is justified.

While the chemists are busy, the physicists are not to be outdone. World War I turned chemists into a profession having a habitat outside of college laboratories. That is now happening to the physicists and the supply is desperately short. Some of their research products are likely to be revolutionary. Take, for example, the micro-wave detector using extremely short radio waves which behave something like light. With their aid it is possible to locate accurately objects in the air or on the sea within a range of 100 miles or less and to follow their movements. Possession of these detectors has given the British fleet immense superiority over the Italians in the Mediterranean. They have been of immense value in the defense of Britain against air attacks. While still very complex and costly, these new devices give promise through future standardization and simplification of creating a new industry. Imagine ships, air-craft and even automobiles of the future carrying standard equipment which would automatically detect their approach to any other objects and might even automatically make an ordinary collision impossible.

Pressure to produce immensely more in great haste is certain to revolutionize many of the arts of production. Welding is one of the fields of greatest promise, where spectacular time-saving results may be obtained. I am told, for example, of a certain design of tank which has been experimentally welded with 1100 man-hours of hand labor. Standardization might reduce the hand operation to 800 man-hours, but if a satisfactory automatic process can be worked out, it is hoped to cut the figure to 200.

Let me anticipate the inevitable question, "Are we going to release atomic energy in time to win the war?" Atomic energy is not on the horizon, but is beginning to cast a glow of expectation beyond the horizon. We dare not predict when it will be available. It is well to remind ourselves that the likelihood of any great, fundamental discovery during war-time is small. While the energies of research men have been focussed on specific emergencies in Germany since Hitler came to power, and increasingly in all the civilized world as his power has spread, the progress of basic science has been dwindling everywhere. The greatest practical advances are likely to come as by-products of fundamental, unhurried and disinterested research, but the reverse is never true. We might as readily destroy civilization by failure to nourish it, as by failure to defend it. Men who seek new knowledge for its own sake, without hope of gain or material achievement, are the true nourishers of civilization. It is urgent that their work should go on unbroken and this fact gives great significance to the work of that least practical group of scientists, the astronomers, who have honored Cleveland by their gathering here earlier in this week.

In exploring the fields of science and technology, all trails lead inevitably to that greatest of the immediate post-war problems - that of transforming a world economy geared almost exclusively to military needs to one serving social welfare. It is impossible to form more than a rough guess of the number of people in North America and Western Europe who will

have become wholly dependent for their living on the production of armament and special materials of war. It will hardly be less than 250 millions. To bring their efforts to an abrupt stop would invite economic chaos and social disaster. To convert them promptly into a productive economy which will make good the almost incalculable depletion of the equipment and goods of a normal civilization, is likely to place an even more severe strain on our technical ingenuity and organizing capacity than mobilization for total war. We in America, at least, will have so expanded our industrial and agricultural potential as to make possible an economy of abundance such as men have only dreamed of in the past. It will be of the utmost importance to avoid the shock of an abrupt dislocation. Once our intricate industrial machine is thrown out of gear, it may be extremely difficult to get it going again. One cannot but admire the imaginative foresight of the General Electric Company which has directed each of its major units to have ready two new products, not hitherto produced, to aid in taking up the slack as war production tapers off.

As to the political architecture of some new world order, I prefer to leave prediction in the hands of others who are expert in such a field. I would risk only one prophecy, that the world is being welded by blood, sweat and tears into a group of larger economic units, in which the sort of technological economy we have developed in the United States can operate effectively. Little nations lacking diversified resources and mass markets can not function in such a system. Let us hope, then, that the structure of world peace will be one based on economic integration with its recognition of mutual interests, rather than some fetish of self-determination which makes for political disintegration,



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CLEVELAND, OHIO.

THE CITY

Volume XXVII

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1941

Number 18

Start the New Year Right! A Look Into the Future!

**Hear a Four-Star Preview of
Things to Come by**

- ★ **Mayo Fesler**
- ★ **John W. Love**
- ★ **Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver**
- ★ **Dr. William E. Wickenden**

**RESERVATIONS MUST BE MADE NOT LATER THAN
TEN O'CLOCK SATURDAY MORNING**

Club Dining Room Saturday Noon January 3

"The Shape of Things to Come" is Symposium Saturday

**Four Noted Clevelanders Will Look Into the Future
of the U. S. A.**

THE first meeting of the new year — 1942 — will be an extraordinarily interesting forum to start this critical 12 months.

It will be a symposium on "The Shape of Things to Come" by four of the foremost men in their fields in Cleveland.

The four will be:

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, spiritual leader of The Temple.

DR. WILLIAM E. WICKENDEN, president of Case School of Applied Science.

MAYO FESLER, director of the Citizens League.

JOHN W. LOVE, business editor and columnist of *The Press*.

These four thinkers will look to the future and try to tell us, what — in their respective opinions — this war will bring in religion and ethics, in science and invention, in politics and in business.

It is to be doubted whether a better

combination on the four subjects could be found in Greater Cleveland. Each speaker is a great leader in his own field — each man's opinion respected and followed by a great number of Clevelanders as well as many outside the sphere of this city.

We'll warrant that their glimpse into the future will not be crystal gazing — but definite ideas in their respective subjects of what will happen and how.

From conversations with the four speakers by members of the Public Affairs Committee as they were arranging this forum it appears that the four men are not in agreement on the general situation.

One man is rather pessimistic about the immediate future and thinks that perhaps our civilization is crumbling fast — another speaker's look into the future has a rosy hue.

(Continued on page 4)

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Believe It or Not

This is the last day of 1941 — and none too soon. Let's try to forget the human race and concentrate on — oh, yes: all-out murder in order to recover civilization.

* * *

Anyway, here's a "best wish," which Cityzen Anton Rud clipped somewhere: "A Happy New Year, one and all! May you have plenty on the ball, And may it very seldom matter, When you are pitching, who's the batter."

* * *

Cityzen John ("Today's Business" in *The Press*) Love was in New York last week on personal business. He says that he was attending a convention of Statisticians and Economists, neither of which he is: he went "to listen to big words and profound thoughts in uncertain times like these."

* * *

Lest you think that Chairman Wendell (Public Affairs Committee) Falsgraf was loafing during the holidays, we should tell you that he tried to get Winston Churchill to speak at a forum meeting. He even had a Senator interview the Premier.

* * *

Cityzen Raymond (Kent University Dean of Men) Manchester has this in his recent "The Saturday Letter:" It might suggest something to Cityzen Frank (Mayor) Lausche: "In case you don't remember, January 1 is the day set apart

for you to put all of your sins in a container and place the conglomeration on the outer curb so that the city or some other organization may take it to the public dump."

* * *

Cityzen Carr Liggett may deny it but this sounds like Hi Phillips:

WITH APOLOGIES

When the Hitlers cease to hittle
And the Goerings no more gore;
When no Mussolinis muscle
Into "incidents" galore;
When the Adolfs cease adolfing
And the "Axis" gets the ax —
Then, and not before then, mister,
Can this little world relax.

* * *

Probably the only noteworthy event of last week was a Holiday Party, m.c.'d by Cityzen Walter (Music and Literature) Belding. Attendance was limited. We hope by next week to pick up a little dirt about it.

* * *

Cityzen Phil (Insurancetor) Moulton sends a come-on letter full of prophecy and patriotism illustrated by Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat cows and the seven lean ones. He forgot the "sacred cows" which get us into even more trouble.

* * *

Now that the winter season is coming, some of you absent-minded brothers again may be taking the wrong coat (anyway some other man's coat) off the clothes rack. Save Capt. Henry Banks a lot of grief by stopping, looking and then removing.

* * *

The frequency with which our Cityzens are breaking into the magazines prompts inquiry: Why not an Authors' Table? It's Cityzen James W. Havighurst who appears in the November "Cleveland Bar Association Journal" with an article on "The Wage-Hour Act."

* * *

In the same issue Cityzen Ezra Shapiro presents a thumb-nail sketch of the late Justice Louis Brandies.

* * *

TODAY'S AMBITION

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us,
Pictures in Look, Life or Time.
— Merrill Chilcote.

FOR DEFENSE

BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND STAMPS

One Hundredth Year of *Plain Dealer* Feted January 7th

On January 7th the Cleveland Plain Dealer will be 100 years old, and as one aspect of the celebration the unique Plain Dealer Old Timers' Club will turn its 18th annual luncheon into a birthday party. It will be held in the ballroom at Hotel Hollenden.

The Old Timers' Club is composed of employees who have completed 20 years of continuous service with the newspaper. Something of the character of the paper can be discerned when it is revealed that out of approximately 950 employees, more than 110 have a fifth of a century behind them.

The annual initiations held by the club have become famous events in Cleveland lore. Big, fat Radio Editor Robert S. Stephan rounds up the outstanding radio performers of the city and provides a professional show.

However, the main event is the detailed initiation put on by old members for the baptizing of the new. The smouldering ambition to be an actor, which distinguishes so many people, comes out in Old Timers with a fury.

W. G. Vorpe, Old Timers' secretary, announces that the principal speaker this year will be Grove Patterson, nationally known editor of the Toledo Blade, who cut his eye teeth as a Plain Dealer reporter. Patterson has remained over many years a close friend of Plain Dealer Editor Paul Bellamy, Vorpe, and many others on the staff.

Louis Rich will again conduct the orchestra. As long as Plain Dealer men can remember Rich has taken part at Old Timers' parties. The Orpheus Choir under Charles D. Dawe will be heard also.

This celebration is of especial interest to members of the City Club, for the Plain Dealer boasts many members as well as numerous former presidents and directors.

COMING EVENTS

January 10, 1942 • **Captain Robert A. Bartlett**

January 17, 1942 • **Senator Robert A. Taft**

Commodore Beaumont Gives \$500 to City Club Foundation

THE new administration of the City Club got off to a flying start at the annual meeting 10 days ago.

The new officers and board members hit the bull's eye when Director Nathan Loesser inaugurated the meeting with the announcement that Commodore Louis D. Beaumont sent the City Club Forum Foundation another contribution — this time \$500.

This check was obtained for the Club through the services of Cityzen Nathan L. Dauby who represents the commodore in Cleveland, and Mr. Loesser, who represents the donor legally here. This brings the foundation reserve to \$4500.

The inauguration of President Albert I. Cornsweet was a solemn and short ceremony — solemn because of the times and developments in the Far East.

His first action was to turn over the facilities and man power of the Club to the Civilian Defense program. He offered this to Mayor-Cityzen Frank J. Lausche in the form "of the keys of the City Club," which the mayor graciously accepted.

President Cornsweet had this to say, in part, on assuming office:

"The City Club is truly a great institution in Cleveland — a thoroughly democratic institution. Its membership and its offices are open to every man, regardless of race, religion, color or station, yet it stands for something in this community.

"The man on the street, the woman in the home, the child in school — they all know and trust the integrity of its forum.

"During this war and after this war the City Club will continue to uphold the Bill of Rights and its forum shall continue to be dedicated to freedom of speech."

After the solemnities the annual meeting had its fun too. The Orpheus Chorus again sang a group of songs under the direction of Cityzen Charles D. Dawe; Frank Herbert played "Santa Claus" in his inimitable way and Cityzen Wayne Mack, of Station WGAR, presented his "Master Minds" program with Cityzens, E. H. Bevier, M. E. Buehrle, Michael Lucak, Don Mills, Frank Cain and Earl Hoover.

Joseph S. Newman, lyricist and author

of "Poems for Penguins," read his latest opus "Spinach" to the delectation of the members, and Appellate Court Judge Daniel E. Morgan read a dramatic excerpt from Walt Whitman's "Years of the Modern."

Officers inaugurated along with President Cornsweet were Louis B. Seltzer, vice-president; James E. Cutler, treasurer; and J. J. Lafferty, secretary for his 11th term. New directors taking offices, besides Mr. Loesser, were Carl George, Ernest J. Bohn, and David H. Jenkins.

Four-Star Preview

(Continued from page 1)

Of course, this is not to be a debate, but a round table.

Originally it was thought that the symposium should deal only with the immediate future — something like five years, but discussions developed that to narrow the subject to such a short time would be unfair both to the speakers and the audience — and the subject was thrown open to an unlimited time.

This meeting, too, will mark the baptism of President Albert I. Cornsweet on the line of fire as chairman of his first forum.

The four speakers are so well known that we need not sketch their backgrounds for you, except in a sentence or two.

Rabbi Silver, last year, concluded his 25th year as spiritual leader of the Ansel road temple; he is a magnificent speaker, as City Club members well know and one of the leading thinkers of the country.

Dr. Wickenden is one of the outstanding educators in this country. His school is one of the finest technical universities and now, with defense foremost in our thoughts, the training he provides his young men today is of foremost importance.

Mr. Fesler, director of the Citizens League for more than 20 years, was the first secretary of the City Club.

Mr. Love is a nationally-known columnist on business affairs. His "Today's Business" is one of the most widely-read columns of its kind. Before he joined *The Press* he conducted "The By-Product" column in *The Plain Dealer*.

A GREAT LEADER OF AMERICAN JEWS SUMS UP
THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

1B

Release: Friday, January 23, 1942

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* THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME *
*
* The Aftermath of War *
*
* BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER *
*
* * * * *

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, one of America's great scholars and leaders, is noted for his succinct summations of the trend of an era and his penetrating analyses of current problems. He believes that it is time -- even while we are in the midst of war -- to be steeled to the problems of peace. In this statement, he summarizes the prospects that must be feared -- and shaped.

. . . The Editor

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 2B)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3B)

of secession -- a League which will be empowered to review treaties from time to time and to rectify what time will prove necessary.

There will be great spiritual strain in our country after the war. Eras of reconstruction are dangerous eras. Passions, hopes and fears run high. The demagogues and the political adventurers hope to find in the very fluidity of social forms their great opportunity. Orthodox and ear-marked Fascist and Nazi doctrines and slogans will of course be discredited. Dogmatism generally, both of a political and economic character, is likely to suffer eclipse. But this will not preclude other attacks upon human rights and liberties under other guises and with other catchwords, nor will it prevent the recrudescence of bigotry and intolerance which, for the duration, have gone underground in our land. The Ku Klux Klan was launched on the ebb-tide of the last war, and capitalized on the totalitarian patriotism which the war engendered. In the severe adjustment which will follow the war in our country and which will probably entail periods of inflation, depression and large-scale unemployment everybody will be looking for scapegoats. Some have theirs already well tethered in their backyards. The hope, of course, is that the very fact that these things happened after the last war may put Americans on their guard against their reoccurrence.

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

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What We May Expect After The War

Noted Leader and Scholar Analyses "The Shape of Things to Come"

By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN UNITED JEWISH APPEAL



SPIRITUALLY and ethically the shape of things to come is very blurred. One cannot forget that the last world war was fought for the very same objectives as this war and against the same foe. The war was won and yet, following it, the world entered one of the most disastrous periods in history, a break-down and blackout period, culminating in this second world war.

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

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

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

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(Continued on Page 27)

What We May Expect After The War

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SHAPE of THINGS to COME

Engulfed by hatred and fear
we should be steeled against
the grave problems of peace

Millions of people will seek new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The youth of half the world which has been indoctrinated with the racial and nationalistic mythologies of dictatorship will be spiritually lost and unsuited to a democratic way of life which they had been taught to hate and despise. There will also be resentments, rivalries and recriminations among the victorious Allies—just as after the last war. Will the British Empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America share reconcilable views on world reconstruction at the peace table? Will their economic interests be compatible? And will they agree on the basic freedoms which should be guaranteed to men and nations?

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(Continued on Page 39)

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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No Military Power

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It was this last failure—essentially a moral one—the failure to assume responsibility for world peace or, having assumed it, to live up to it—which was principally responsible for the

wreck of the first important and promising experiment in world pacification. Statesmen called national cowardice non-entanglement, and the successive acts of betrayal of the League appeasement, and so another world war was blunderingly concocted. Those nations which did not wish to intervene for peace are now intervening in war and the peacemongers turned out to be the real warmongers.

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

Sees Europe Ravaged

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RABBI SILVER

Shape of Things to Come

(Continued from Page 5)

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Pearl Harbor

(Continued from Page 4)

today, constitutionally and legally take this stand against war. I have taken it. Will you? If I do this, and you do this, and we all do this, then there will be no more wars. What about it? I will gladly send you particulars of how you can intelligently (legally) keep out of the war effort."

Robert Noble, Hitler's spokesman for American pacifism.

It is interesting to note that several agents of the Japanese government, including friend John J. McCloy, were in the room. But later on, when the Japanese agents became free to speak, they said that the speech is a part of the plan of his case against Noble. Noble, who became even more famous then that he was in the previous February, at the time had no concrete in the

(Continued)

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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It was this last failure—essentially a moral one—the failure to assume responsibility for world peace, or having as-

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A Home Page for Sabbath Reading

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

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

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

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

Europe and other parts of the globe will be ravaged after the war. Famine, poverty, misery and hate will stalk over the face of the earth. There will be ruined economies, social collapse and revolutions in every defeated country—

The Aftermath of War

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, one of America's great scholars and leaders, is noted for his succinct summations of the trend of an era and his penetrating analyses of current problems. He believes that it is time—even while we are in the midst of war—to be steeled to the problems of peace. In this statement, he summarizes the prospects that must be feared—and shaped.

—The Editor.

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will be spiritually lost and unsuited to a democratic way of life which they had been taught to hate and despise. There will also be resentments, rivalries and recriminations among the victorious Allies—just as after the last war. Will

NEWS BRIEFS

America . . .

It was confirmed in the New York United Press office that Franz Weisblatt, UP reporter covering Manila whom the Japanese claim to have captured, has not been heard from since the fall of Manila . . . President Roosevelt again rapped race discrimination . . .

Another Fascist and anti-Semitic paper closed down . . . A new abridged prayer book for Jews in the Army was published by the Jewish Welfare Board . . . The first inter-faith Religious Book Fair will be held during February, it was announced.

A call not only to the Jews but to all the people of America to realize the strategic importance of Palestine as a key center for the winning of the war and to strengthen the Jewish community of Palestine by giving it greater material resources and by permitting it to establish a Jewish Army was sounded at the National Conference of the United Palestine Appeal held in Cleveland . . .

Refugees from Europe, many of whom were Jews, arrived in New York on the Portuguese liner Guine, with stories of German infiltration of Portugal . . . A novel method of provoking interest in the synagogue service and liturgy of the Jewish people through albums of records was announced by the Congregation Ahavas Achim of Belleville, N. J.

Overseas . . .

The U.S.S.R. revealed a Nazi order to German soldiers to wipe out the "Jewish-Bolshevik" system . . . Hungarian students demanded more anti-Semitism . . . Jewish refugees in Lisbon appealed for visas to American lands . . . Moslem tribes aided Russia in the war against the Nazis . . . 2,400 Jewish firms were "Aryanized" in Rumania . . . Anti-Semitism in Luxemburg was condemned by a Luxemburg representative at the Allied Conference to deal with Nazi atrocities.

Palestine . . .

The Free French will finance Palestine's Alliance Israélite schools, it was announced by French Commissioner of Justice Professor Rene Cassin, who told newsmen in Jerusalem that the Free French would not recognize any of Vichy's anti-Semitic legislation and that anti-Semitism as such was practically extinct among the populace of occupied France . . . Food rationing was officially envisaged for Palestine . . . New and significant archaeological discoveries dating back to the Hasmonaïc period were found on the slopes in the Valley of Kedron outside the Old City of Jerusalem.

the British Empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America share reconcilable views on world reconstruction at the peace table? Will their economic interests be compatible? And will they agree on the basic freedoms which should be guaranteed to men and nations?

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

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

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

There will be great spiritual strain in our country after the war. Eras of reconstruction are dangerous eras. Passions, hopes and fears run high. The demagogues and the political adventurers hope to find in the very fluidity of social forms their great opportunity. Orthodox and ear-marked Fascist and Nazi doctrines and slogans will of course be discarded. Dogmatism

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There will be great spiritual strain in our country after the war. Eras of reconstruction are dangerous eras. Passions, hopes and fears run high. The demagogues and the political adventurers hope to find in the very fluidity of social forms their great opportunity. Orthodox and ear-marked Fascist and Nazi doctrines and slogans will of course be discredited. Dogmatism generally, both of a political and economic character, is likely to suffer eclipse. But this will not preclude other attacks upon human rights and liberties under other guises and with other catchwords, nor will it prevent the recrudescence of bigotry and intolerance which, for the duration, have gone underground in our land. The Ku Klux Klan was launched on the ebb-tide of the last war, and capitalized on the totalitarian patriotism which the war engendered. In the severe adjustment which will follow the war in our country and which will probably entail periods of inflation, depression and large-scale unemployment everybody will be looking for scapegoats. Some have theirs already well tethered in their backyards. The hope of course, is that the very fact that these things happened after the last war may put Americans on their guard against their reoccurrence.

Religion which has so much at stake in this war — in fact the whole classic Jucaeo-Christian tradition is at stake — is hoping, though it has no assurance, — that this war, coming so soon after the last, will sober the human race so that it will forsake the cynical and brutal materialism which has led it from one Golgotha to another, and will restore to respectability the eternal human ideals and the spiritual values which alone give significance to human life. Religion hopes that this war will mark the end of the persecutions of

racism and minorities, the exploitation of hates, the total submergence of the individual to the state and the narrow nationalism which have made international life ugly, mean and cruel. Religion is hoping that the hard tasks of peace will evoke at least some of those virtues which fighting free men evidence in war — courage, resoluteness, self-sacrifice and unity. For we shall have need of an even higher order of spiritual fortitude, of faith and vision, after the war, if we are to conserve those values for which our country is fighting today, and for which brave men will die.