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Reel
181

Box
67

Folder
644

On the eve of invasion, 1944.

1. On eve of invasion of Western Europe.

Military will decide time and place - *imminent.*

All preparations to last detail are being perfected

~~An~~ *army* of millions, the like of which --equipped -- poised for final crushing assault on Festung Europa.

The Nazis will be attacked from the West, East, South, by land and sea and air.

This will be the final hour of decision.

The Nazis will be destroyed -- the Great Infamy is doomed.

2. Our military leaders are not promising us an easy victory.

Terribly costly -- as costly as some of the campaigns in the east, in Russia.

The enemy is cunning, ruthless, and desperate; and is likely to fight with mad fury, gambling on the one last chance to make the invasion so costly for the Allies that they will be content with a negotiated peace.

We have been admonished to prepare ourselves for severe losses -- many casualties -- and our experiences in Italy, Salerno, Cassino, Anzio serve only to reinforce their admonition.

1944 will be a terribly hard and severely trying year for the American people and for our Allies. The war will come much closer to the homes of our people than heretofore.

3. On the eve of invasion it is well for us to take stock of what we have already gained in this war and what we must achieve as a result of this war if it is not to be written off as another tragic and colossal failure -- even if it is, from the military point of view, a brilliant success.

The war has already cost us in money a staggering sum -- our national debt has mounted to a figure which the human mind cannot truly grasp -- this debt will be a heavy burden upon us and upon many future generations.

The War has already cost us severely in human casualties. Before it is over, unfortunately, the casualty list will be much, much larger.

There are other costs -- in terms of the dislocation of our civilian life -- the disruption of homes and families -- the migration of peoples -- the sharp increase in juvenile delinquency-- and the many aggravated social problems caused by the impact of the War.

This is also part of the heavy national debt which future generations will have to pay.

4. On the other hand, there have already been great gains which we have a right to register with gratitude. These have been definite gains to be kept in mind on the eve of invasion.

2.
1) Easier - Deliverance on the Horizon - No bigger than the promise of it - unmistakable
Long war will end before very long in victory - Hard Fighting - Great Infamy is doomed -
bleeding - Gangsters know themselves - Invincible Wehrmacht - civilians - Africa - Lidices - Sicily - Russia
will not save them - Doomed! Day of Retribution!

2) Easier to talk of ^{at such} task to come - Ideals are not at such ^{count} distance. War has already done much
for us - ~~Evaporate too near~~

(1) Rediscovered ^{the hard way} obligations of citizenship - Higher Demands of Group Life.
Disp. and sacrifices called for by Dem. Life.

We Had to learn anew that the Free Life is not an easy-going exper. in pleasant
dawdling - unrestrained self-indulgence.

Exacting, demanding, beset with dangers - Never a gift!

Always threatened - like land.

Eternal vigilance - Eternal selflessness.

(2) Redisc. - our Amer. Faith and creed ^{concerning which we} ~~Grown rather cynical.~~

Our intellectuals - never such a slump.

But as Nazi conspiracy unfolded - all in name

How ineffably precious - old words.

New passion! - 150 beacons.

Our cynicism is gone. Our men are dying.

We stand today before those sacred shrines - Lincoln -

3) Confidence in Democracy! Decadent - Africa - S. P. R.

Dem. is not only noble - but strong. Slow - weapons - might with might

4) ~~Abandoned~~ Surrendered our moral and political isolationism.

Ran out - Refused to assume

Built walls of Neutrality.

Took us a long time - cannot remain neutral.

Nature of struggle - Basic things - Break-down - Blackened

End of civilization - of concern to us as well as

These are all vital gains - yielded by war -

5. But there is much more which this War must yield us if it is to justify the multitudinous sacrifices.

There are first preliminary things which must be done immediately after the War.

First and foremost, among these is the punishment of the criminals responsible for the War, who loosed the horror upon mankind -- devastated and ravaged lands-- tortured human beings -- mass executions -- April 19!

All these criminals must be brought to justice and punished. This is not vengeance. Only the vindication and the enforcement of the moral law. The only way to insure respect in the future for the law of humanity.

If such evil-doers who set out to subjugate the world, who invented the concept of total war, who do not think it is a sin to wage war -- the only sin is to lose a war, are not punished -- if, after they have wrought havoc in the world and they lose, we allow them to get off scot-free -- in fact to rehabilitate themselves even before their victims are rehabilitated, you might as well begin to prepare for the Third World War.

The Junkers and their German dupes must have their delusions of grandeur and race arrogance blasted out of them in such a thorough-going manner that they will never try it again.

The world will never have peace until they are convinced that they are not only not invincible, but decidedly vulnerable.

It is a hopeful sign that the United Nations agreed at Moscow to bring those who are responsible for the hundred Lidices and Warsaws back to the places where they perpetrated their crimes, to have justice meted out to them.

6. But the justice of retributions is only the first step.

The world we want has higher considerations of justice.

The justice which calls for the restitution of the rights and property to those who were robbed of them -- the loot must be returned -- the destroyed areas must be rebuilt by those who destroyed them. Four labor

Also Among the first acts, to mobilize a large-scale program, on an emergency basis, to provide food, clothing and shelter. A hungry world is a spiritually sick world and incapable of rebuilding itself.

Men and nations must be helped to self-help.

It is gratifying that plans are already afoot to achieve these results.

7. But all this is only preliminary to the world we want.

We want an organized and orderly world after this war.

Every twenty years -- every generation must not be called upon to drain itself of its wealth, of its youth, and of its hopes-- to accomplish that which war can never accomplish.

War must be made as obsolete as slavery.

A new international organization must be reconstituted for the collective security

4
of all peoples.

Not a new precarious balance of power.

Not an arrangement whereby three or four of the greatest powers ^{will} rule the world and impose a regime of peace.

Not a ^{new type of} ~~system for a new~~ balance of power by the creation of groups of competitive regional federations.

But an international organization, comprising all peoples, large and small, each assuming its proportionate share of responsibility to enforce international decisions and to accept international discipline.

8. The New World Organization must be implemented by force -- must permit no secession -- must not seek for unanimity



achieve
In other words, our purpose is to build world unity in a shattered, scattered and chaotic world.

Are we tending in that direction? It is hard to say!

On the one hand - November 11, 1943 - Moscow Declaration.

"United action which they pledged for war will be continued after the war for the organization and maintenance of peace and security"

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

"Pending the reestablishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and with other members of the United National with a view to joint action on behalf of the communities of nations."

This is excellent. There is vision here, and promise.

There is a *resolve* here to collaborate for peace, during the war, in the transition period following the war and for a permanent peaceful international system thereafter.

On the other hand one hears disconcerting talk and observes disconcerting action which tend to becloud these bright promises.

Unilateral action on the part of the Soviet Union with reference to Poland, the Balkan states.

One hears talk about dividing Europe into two spheres of influence - Eastern Europe, communist - Western Europe, capitalist.

One hears talk of an Anglo-American alliance for mutual defense.

All of which have in them the seed of future wars, revolutions and civil strife.

9. It will either be a world organization or nothing.

It will either be a system of collective security for all by all or it will be the old system of groups of nations who possess real or imaginary common interests, trying to make themselves secure by means of costly and never quite adequate armaments against other groups of nations - leading inevitably to war.

6.

The four great nations run the danger after the war of trying to re-shape the political map of the world to suit their own particular interests - each thinking of its own security in terms of military self-sufficiency - air bases, oil reserves.

This is superficial reasoning - no nation can ever be militarily self-sufficient any more than it can be economically self-sufficient.

Only a world organization backed by force can make any nation, however powerful, secure against war.

10. The slogan, then, as we invade Europe, must be unity, equality and freedom for all men and nations - it is still the glowing torch in our darkening world.

We must think in terms of one world, as Mr. Wilkie called it - his defeat in the Wisconsin primaries.

We must think in terms of one world, organized and self-governed by laws of its own making and equipped to defend these laws through collective power.

And when we think of equality of all nations, we are thinking of their equal national sovereignties within the distinct limitations of international law and responsibilities imposed by the needs of a world community.

We also think of the freedom of colonial peoples - a billion people are still waiting for that freedom - they must be helped to achieve and to use that freedom wisely.

Backwardness is no excuse for political domination.

11. The world we want must guarantee freedom for ^{all} men within their respective communities.

No nation should be allowed full status which discriminates against its own citizens on basis of race or religion.

There must be freedom from persecution.

This is not an internal concern of the individual nation - intolerance menaces, all nations. *poison which kills all free*

The rise of intolerance in our own country does not augur well for this new world.

12. The world we want will have a job for every man willing to work - decent security for his family, a decent home to live in, education for his children, chance to advance.

This is not Utopia - it is man's stupidity and greed which keep him from such a sane world.

Four hundred years ago this continent.

We can put all of our factories, minds, hands to work in war time - why not in peace-time.

13. World we want - more humane, less brutal, less violent.

There was never so much cruelty, hate, persecution - malevolence - contempt.

World needs a cleansing, not a cleansing by blood but by spirit.

It is befouled and unclean.

We need more than the four freedoms - freedom from hate - class and group bitterness.

Freedom from persecution, race or religion.

Freedom from intolerance, bigotry, political and economic.

We must rediscover the chivalry of the spirit - the generous instinct - the clemency of the heart - noblesse oblige.

Shameful dictators have made a virtue of being hard and gross and grim

This is a vile ^{world} ~~need~~ for men to live in and for children to grow up in.

Strong men do not need to be hard men.

Kind, considerate, fair.

14. This new world we want can be had - cynics - leadership, welling up.



Treaty of Versailles (from the Orpen painting) pictures Wilson (U. S.), Clemenceau (France), Lloyd George (Britain) and Orlando (Italy) facing the German signatories.

Let's Not Be Suckers Again

The Germans duped us in 1919. This time, let's face the facts

By **LELAND STOWE**

Foreign correspondent, author of *They Shall Not Sleep*

Hitler is far from crushed, yet already many Americans are moaning over the ultimate fate of the poor Germans. Some earnest souls are literally begging us to treat the Teutonic worshipers of the mailed fist with kid gloves. They call that being humanitarian, "realistic."

Or is it being dangerously sentimental, willfully blind and utterly unrealistic?

Before it's too late, let's consider the main assumptions of the "soft peace with Germany" crowd. Here they are—with answers based on my 18 years as a foreign correspondent.

1 Assumption: *The German people should not be penalized for the crimes of their Nazi masters. They have suffered enough already. They didn't mean any harm by following Hitler. Most Germans are "good Germans."*

Answer: Can you cure syphilis by saying it "doesn't mean any harm"? Well, the Nazi system and its pan-German ideology are nothing less than political syphilis. Since 1933 (when they got nearly half of all votes cast in Germany), the Nazis have deliberately infected a nation of 80,000,000—particularly its youth.

I know German youth has been thus criminalized because I am one of the very few American correspondents to talk with German war prisoners for hours on end. I found in them no sense of shame at Nazi looting, executions and enforced mass starvation in occupied territory; no admission of German guilt. Anything done for Germany's benefit was right.

The fact is that the German people today are chronically sick—and must be cured.

2 Assumption: *The 1919 peace was excessively tough on the Germans. It forced them to pay impossible sums in reparations, left them no chance to earn an honest living. Another Versailles will simply mean another war.*

Answer: The Versailles settlement was never carried out, except in part. Even so, it was far softer than any terms imposed by Germany after the wars she started—and won—in the last 100 years. Versailles took away her colonies, but no important German territory in Europe. Yet in 1871 Bismarck robbed France of all Alsace-Lorraine; the kindly Germans (after fighting a whole war on French soil) also made France pay them five billion gold

francs—and strictly in cash—within two years.

What did Germany pay after 1919? Just over a billion pounds sterling, over more than 10 years—but only 253,000,000 pounds of this in cash. Meanwhile, she borrowed from her enemies one and a half billion pounds, and cleared between one and three billion dollars by defaulting on the loans. "Poor" Germany, on her own showing, spent over 40 billion dollars preparing for this war—merely eight times what she paid in reparations for the last one.

If Germany had been forced to pay in exact proportion to what she extorted from France in 1871—and if she had repaid one half of her borrowings—she never could have re-armed sufficiently to invade Poland in 1939.

3 Assumption: *The Germans must have a decent livelihood after this war, so their prewar industries should be restored. Make them return what stolen goods they can, but then let them start even with everyone else.*

Answer: The Germans have stolen upwards of 50 billion dollars' worth of goods from 16 Nazi-occupied countries. Norman Thomas says we should "not try to punish the whole people as distinct from specific war criminals." But how can a whole people gorge itself on other people's clothes, food, wines, automobiles, railroad cars and life savings—and not share the responsibility for thus turning most of 200,000,000 human beings into rag-pickers?

Of course, the Germans must have a way to earn a living. But they are the last people in Europe to merit consideration. The first factories rebuilt should be in the countries Germany has ruined. The first shiploads of food should go to those countries. Then we can start to help the Germans help themselves. But Germany can live well without a heavy arms industry, an army, a navy or an aircraft industry.

4 Assumption: *Germany's workers have been exploited enough. It would be sheer slavery to make them rebuild portions of the other countries German arms have ravaged.*

Answer: Besides the goods they have stolen, the Germans have enjoyed three or four years of hard labor from 8 to 14 million Poles, Czechs, Dutch, Russians, Yugoslavs, etc. Germany will never restore a twentieth of the

goods she has looted; but she can repay a part of those scores of millions of working days.

If William Green opposes exploitation of labor, his first concern should be restoring a means of livelihood to the greatest number of Europe's exploited working men and women. But by far the greatest number of exploited workers are not German. In simple justice, German workers should spend two years or more helping to rebuild non-German Europe. The sooner reconstruction is completed, the better the future for all European workers.

5 Assumption: *If we turn Germany over to members of the former Socialist, Catholic and democratic parties, and keep our own hands off, they will soon establish a true democracy.*

Answer: Professor James K. Pollock, of the University of Michigan, an international authority on Germany and German government for over 20 years, has the irrefutable reply. After the last war the German democrats, moderates and liberals tried—and failed.

"They did not liquidate the military caste," Dr. Pollock reminds us. "They had the chance to attack the Junker system . . . and they failed. . . . They did not democratize the army, the courts, the civil service, when it was entirely within their power to do so."

He warns further that these minority groups cannot be expected to run a new German democracy without preparation. He recommends "putting Germany under the control and supervision of an international governing commission for a transitional period of probably two years."

In other words, let us help the democratic elements in Germany learn how to reform German institutions and govern effectively before handing the country over to any group.

Do these answers sound "unrealistic"? Well, they are based on facts—and on a recognition of what political syphilis has done to the German people. I submit that no durable peace with Germany can be built on anything less.

If we disregard the facts as we did in 1919, we shall be suckers again—the biggest ones yet.

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