

PART I

1. The English-speaking nations, Great Britain and America, are completely responsible for the present war. At the end of the last war, we had complete mastery and could have ended war for all time if we had been willing to recognize and accept our duty.
2. We turned our backs on this, even though everyone desired peace. Instead of arming to maintain peace, we disarmed. We wanted peace, prosperity, trade, and national security, but we got depressions, unemployment stagnation, armaments, insecurity, and the most devastating war in history. By trying to escape reality and avoid destiny, the United States only increased its troubles a millionfold.
3. After the last war, we did almost nothing to prepare our children to take part in world progress and international evolution. America refused to grow up, and accept responsibility as a nation among nations.
(Recommended reading - The editorial "America Refused to Grow Up" in the current issue of Life Magazine. Don't know the exact date, but it would be the last of June or the first of July.)
4. Democracy declined very rapidly after the last war for a number of reasons, among them, short-sighted and cowardly leaders in Germany, France, England, and America. These men acted in many cases contrary to public sentiment in England, France, and even in the United States. These were not real statesmen, they were faltering political leaders, and when these men were replaced with others, the new ones continued the same policies. There was a very real lack of leadership. Also, the democracies were indifferent to liberty. They were too much interested in other things. We saw Germany, Italy, and Japan getting ready for war, but we didn't take them seriously. But the one big reason for this war is that we were not willing to fight. At numerous times, the democracies could have prevented this global war with anywhere from 5,000 to 25,000 soldiers. But we were not organized, and no one nation was willing to go ahead alone.
(Personal note: Another indication that we live in a world of organization and individual effort isn't as effective as organized effort. Recommended reading - "Reveille in Washington" A fairly recent book (within the last year, I think) and written by a woman, whose name I don't know.)
5. We hated war, wanted peace, and practiced appeasement from Manchuria to North Africa. (Personal note: Willkie is one strong voice that speaks against appeasement in North Africa in "One World.") No family or business could be run by such a policy. Since the last war we have ignored all moral and spiritual values which have been built up for thousands of years. Through our cowardice, we have let international gangsters put civilization back a couple of thousand years. But there is one consolation. We can build from the ground up a new civilization of real democratic freedom and genuine personal liberty.
6. We must not take the policy of non-resistance as a model.
7. Most wars have been fought for freedom of one kind or another. But the difficulty is that man wants liberty with equality. But equality has never existed and probably won't for untold ages. Therefore, our real idea of freedom is an ideal, and doesn't really exist.
8. Freedom with compulsion is the only possibility. The restraints of law must be associated with ~~freedom~~ the satisfactions of freedom. The freedom of democracy doesn't make sense if it gives its citizens the right to destroy that freedom.

9. The foregoing applies to the individual, the community, the state, the nation, and the family of nations. There can be no peace until all nations recognize this. The liberty of democracy must not have the license to destroy ~~it~~ democracy.
 10. No nation can live and prosper above law any more than an individual or a community can.
 11. Liberalism and Christianity fostered human freedom. These have recently declined tremendously. Liberal ideas were taken over by other parties and became conservative, dogmatic. Democracy stopped growing, but industrial development advanced rapidly. Parliaments have become filled with members who only wanted to destroy parliaments. Self-government has been slowly committing suicide.
 12. Democracy must defend itself against everything undemocratic. It must be tolerant only of democracy, intolerant and uncompromising against everything undemocratic. Freedom must be militant, ready to destroy anything that threatens that freedom.
(IMPORTANT Recommended Reading - "Democratic Manifesto" by Emery Reves. Random House, 1942. \$1.50. These notes are practically a digest of that book. It's a MUST.)
 13. The privileges of freedom must not be used against it. No freedom of speech for those who want to abolish the freedom of speech. No freedom to vote for those who want to vote to abolish the freedom to vote.
 14. Democracy has been almost destroyed by those whom used its privileges for their own ends and we have stood by and let them do it.
 15. The rise of the dictators does not mean the defeat ~~the~~ of the freedom of democracy, but it means the defeat of those timid believers in democracy who were too ~~indifferent~~ indifferent to fight for democracy. Democracy is a way of life and we must defend it against the undemocratic minorities who want to overthrow such freedoms. Democracy can afford to be tolerant against everything else.
 16. A nation is a geographic group of people having a common ideal and living in the same territory. Citizenship should be transferable from one nation to another. Democracy should impose penalties on those who want to enjoy its freedom, but at the same time seek to overthrow the democracy.
 17. Political office should be held only by loyal citizens trained in schools of statesmanship and these schools should be speedily established. This will help stop giving men liberty to destroy liberty.
- (Nationalism)
18. We are now suffering from a clash of ~~industrial~~ industrialism and growing nationalism. It will end either in destruction of Western industrial civilization or a great modification of ever-growing nationalism. Nationalism originally was a good thing for it brought individual freedom, law, and representative government.
 19. But a social ideal often becomes political dogma, as nationalism has done, and then it becomes a great obstacle to progress. The concept of nationalism has become changed from its original ideal and has become almost a fetish, which no one dares touch. A man who goes around saying, "I'm the greatest man in the world" is ridiculous. But a nation which says "We are the greatest nation

in the world" is a shocking spectacle. Man compensates his inferiority by proclaiming his superiority.

20. Extreme nationalism has been fought by the church and labor unions. But the problem must be attacked by moderate and intelligent citizens who do not seek its destruction, but who want to safeguard it by international protection and super-control. The present extreme nationalism is like a return to polytheism. Each nation has its own God and its own religion, figuratively speaking.
21. The nation~~ist~~ has become the pagan god of many peoples, under the cloak of Christianity. This polytheism must give way to the monotheistic ~~progress~~ progress of nationalism. The nations must associate themselves, just as the 48 states united. The church must unify itself and divorce itself from nationalism.

(Means of Attaining)

22. Internationalism will not be brought about by well-meaning idealists. It must be created by military power and made permanently strong by the sovereignty of coercive law, backed up by a powerful international police force. This is the only way to secure peace. Remember the fiasco of the League of Nations.
23. International legislatures must pass the laws, international courts interpret them, and international police enforce them. No nation will willingly give up any part of its national sovereignty except one or two of the most powerful who are the least afraid. The others must be forced into such an alliance at first. May require force to keep them in. Regional internationalism will probably come first.
(Note: Read our own history. Rhode Island didn't want to join the Union, but was coerced by N.Y. and Mass. Literally forced in. We had to go to war against the South to convince them that states' rights must be subordinated to the nation's rights.) (Recommended reading - the supplement to the February 1943 issue of Fortune.)
24. Now the time is ripe for international government. The workers' groups, Communism and socialism, have largely lost their influence and become nationalized in the present war (dissolution of Comintern). International peace lies in the hands of military power now, and the gradual change of military force into coercive law, with penalties attached to its violation.
25. The god of nationalism today has overthrown liberal democracy and is at odds with the Christian religion, which fundamentally has an international moral outlook. At the end of this war, nationalism must seek fair dealing in internationalism. If the church becomes separated from nationalism, as it should, Christianity will have its first real chance to make a world appeal.
26. Nationalism is obsolete. You can cross the Atlantic in 6 hours, but it takes 6 weeks to get a passport.
27. Nations~~l~~ must accept internationalism just as the South had to accept the Union. In a few years unwilling nations will be glad to be part of the federation. United States is the example of how differing peoples, differing races, differing religions can become accustomed and adjusted to living together.
28. The only 2 realities in this world are the individual and the human race. All other subdivisions are artificial and man-made.

29. Nationalism is not the final goal of human social evolution and when that is recognized, national wars will end.
30. The concept of sovereignty has brought much misery to men. The democratic idea started right, transferring sovereignty from one man to all men, the nation. But it soon became dogma and elected representatives began to wield sovereignty. International conferences are a failure, they end like most church conferences looking toward church unity.
31. Sovereignty reached its height in the French Revolution. Now on its deathbed in this war, military victories will give us a chance to restore it in modified form and adjust it to the new international government, if we dare to take the chance.
32. The large vested interests which are concerned with the concept of sovereignty are government employes, rulers, business, and religions in some nations. There are millions of people in these classes. Also, there is patriotism. When millions of soldiers return there will be great dislocations and re-organizations necessary.
33. But if national matters are cared for by national sovereignty and international matters cared for by international sovereignty, many, many war-breeding problems will cease to exist, among them the problem of minorities.
34. The international government should have peace as its main objective. If any gangsters should threaten that peace, the international police force should move instantly, and lawless minorities would soon learn their lesson.
35. Appeasement and moral compromise must be avoided. The present conflict is the result of "peace without victory" and "peace at any price." We will not have peace for thousands of years unless we fight for it at a moment's notice.
36. Democracy validates the concept of equality, and that means conflict, which only courts can compose. Nations are equal before a court. They can enjoy limited sovereignty, if deprived of the power to deal with military affairs and tariffs, handled by the international government.
37. Man craves equality with all other men, but this dream is a fiction. It is not true. Man can realize such a dream only by institutionalism. The Judaic Christian religion confers this equality on man. He is created in the image of God and God is no respecter of persons.
38. Men are also equal under the law. (Equal before an altar or before a judge. Otherwise not.) Likewise, nations cannot be equal except before a judge, under the laws of an international government.
39. Equality among men or nations is not possible without law. Equality without law is a fiction. Law without coercive power of enforcement is a tragic farce. Equality without law means war.
40. Hope for world peace without coercive international law is a futile dream.
41. We have never had mandatory international law with force behind it. Peace is the reign of law. But law is the just use of force by group authority. Consequently, there never can be lasting peace without the employment of force.