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Some things I learned in Europe, 1933.

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 15TH, 1933.

as I traveled through Europe

One of the things that was borne in upon me more and more ⁿ is that the United States is no longer regarded as the saviour of Europe or as its Santa Claus.

As long as we were rich and could pump the blood of gold into the drained arteries of impoverished European nations, they played up to us. But now that our fabulous prosperity has crumbled, our voice has lost its power to command. The Europeans were at first mildly inattentive and indulgent as one is to a rich uncle who has lost his money and then they became frankly impatient and cynical.

America should learn the lesson which the chanticleer ^{learned} in Rostand's play that the sun does not wait upon its crowing to rise. We should no longer assume the thankless and expensive role of the Messiah of the nations. The Europeans will permit us to play the exalted and flattering role of stage director of the world's affairs only if we are willing to pay the cost of the entire production. We should cooperate with the nations of the world in common tasks as an equal among equals, no less but no more.

The nations of Europe, I learned, are fast moving in the direction of economic isolationism. The day of the unhindered flow of international trade and commerce seems, for the time being, over. The nations are struggling to reconstruct their economic lives not by cooperating to revive world trade, but on the contrary, by isolating themselves still further, behind high tariff walls and numerous other restrictions seeking to build up their domestic economy without reference to world prices and standards of international exchange. Every nation is attempting to import a minimum and to export a maximum. ~~They wish to be~~ They wish to be independent of foreign markets but at the same time they are feverishly stimulating production for foreign consumption, often without aid of ^{the} *ing*

State subsidies. ^{TP} Economic isolations means, of course, strong governmental control of industry, commerce, credit, prices, wages and profits. Economic nationalism is the forerunner of State Capitalism and State Capitalism is the forerunner of State Socialism. Many of the advocates of the Autarchy, both here and abroad do not seem to be aware of it. ^{TP} Economic isolationism has ^{also} ~~always~~ ^{inter} been responsible for a most lamentable slump in ~~the~~ national trade ethics. Never has international business morality been at so low an ebb. Nations are frankly unashamed and cynical when it comes to repudiating or getting from under contractual obligations. ~~—~~ ^T This ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~moth~~ example is not being lost on the private citizen. If his nation can lie, cheat, ~~or~~ hold light its commercial covenants, plead bankruptcy or settle ten cents on a dollar, why shouldn't he with equal bravado, do the same?

I learned too that ^{the} nations of Europe are ~~marching~~ ^{war} toward a new war. It is now sixteen years since the last ~~war~~ ^{war} and a new generation is now ready for the trenches. Every nation is making its people war-minded and Germany is leading the parade. The youth in every country is being indoctrinated with the idea of the inevitability of the next war. ^{maneuvers,} Military parades, mock air rades and poison gas drills are the order of the day. Europe is back again in 1914. Serious days are ahead for the world.

Reich Is Thinking of War Despite Its Talk of Peace

Belief That Conflict Is Inevitable Is Engendered, Schools Teach Warfare and Even the Church Is Made Ready to Play Its Part.

By FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL.

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERLIN, Sept. 28.—While the three leading personages in Nazi politics, who are also the three chief officials of the actual German Government, are protesting the peaceable intentions both of the government and of the National Socialist movement, it is nevertheless a fact that Germany is being prepared for war.

Herr Hitler, the German Chancellor; General Goering, his chief lieutenant, and Dr. Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, have each recently, publicly and specifically asserted that Germany does not want war, is not thinking of war and will avoid it by every possible means. Yet in practice the actions of the government and the men who control it hardly square with these official declarations.

The constant military drilling and encouragement of the military spirit might perhaps be excused as the froth engendered by a militant national revolution and therefore harmless. There are, however, other developments which are not so easily explained away. It is these that puzzle outside observers, who find in them inconsistencies which are almost impossible to reconcile with the spoken words.

Stress on Air Defense.

The propaganda to make Germany "air-minded" in a military not a civil sense, now being carried on simultaneously with the most thorough preparations to secure the population of Berlin against air attack, has already been touched upon in dispatches to THE NEW YORK TIMES. Nobody threatens to attack Berlin from the air, or by land either for that matter, any more than any one threatens Paris or London, Prague or Warsaw. Yet Berlin is the only European capital in which this propaganda against air attack and preparations to meet it are being intensively undertaken.

But this is not the only inconsistency. In the higher schools in Germany the new régime has recently instituted chairs of military science, appointing to them men

trained in the theory and practice of war. One of these, sent to the University of Tuebingen, was General Wolfgang Naff of the Reichswehr. The newspapers were instructed not to announce these appointments and did not do so. They were carried out most unostentatiously. But now one of the new appointees, Professor Ewald Banse of the Brunswick Technical High School, has published a book in which he makes plain the part he and his colleagues are to play in making Germany martial. This book makes statements in strong contrast with the peace-loving utterances of German statesmen.

War Is Held Inevitable.

Its starting point is that war is inevitable and therefore it is imperative to know as much about it and be as efficient in its practice as possible. Therefore, the mind of the nation from childhood onward must be impregnated and familiarized with warlike ideas, because war is either the aim of all policy or the instrument to which policy helplessly resigns itself in the moment of failure.

Nothing so impresses outside observers here as the thoroughness with which Professor Banse's theory is being put into effect. Outside the schools, the lads of the Nazi Storm Troops have it persistently drummed into them that they are soldiers. Their weekly newspaper keeps war constantly before their eyes with pictures and articles on fighting, essays on tactics, diagrammed instructions in the use of machine guns, &c.

Streams of children and youths are constantly passing through war exhibits, studying models of trench warfare. The newspapers, under strict control, are filled as they never used to be with illustrated articles on phases of war glorifying German heroism. The chief themes of public addresses to youths are German victories on land and sea, Germany's national mission in the world and Germany's need for eastward ex-

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REICH IS PREPARING FOR NEW CONFLICT

By FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL.

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pansion according to the theories of Herr Rosenberg, Nazi foreign policy expert.

Meantime, Professor Banse and his colleagues are taking care of the younger generation. In the preface to his book he says it is meant for the whole nation, all classes, but particularly for teachers, because at present they lack "a guide in this new subject against the moment when it has to be taken into the curricula of all schools." Then he proceeds to the theory behind such instruction.

Defense of Armed Conflict.

"Lamentations about the Versailles Treaty," says Professor Banse, "lead nowhere. They will only make us ridiculous, if we do not take our fate into our own hands and work, before everything, upon our psychological readiness for and knowledge of war. For nobody should be in doubt that war stands between our prevailing need and our coming fortune."

But war today, he continues, is no longer a frolicsome campaign with regimental music and a cornucopia of decorations. "It is a bloody battle, and in particular a contest of material. It is gas and plague. It is tank and aircraft horror. It is hunger and poverty. It is baseness and falsehood. It is deprivation and sacrifice. Only a nation can endure it whose every member has known for years that his life belongs to the State and only to the State, which is the guardian of nationhood and mother-tongue and culture. We will therefore not paint war in rose-color, we will not desire it, but we are

convinced that it will come, and that the way to freedom can only lead through it."

War must not be regarded as an end in itself, Professor Banse says, but as a means to an end. Everybody must understand, however, that there is nothing extraordinary or criminal about it that it is not a sin against humanity.

"The defense and amelioration of their existence are among the highest moral duties and rights of mankind and of States. Only that citizen may claim the protection and benefits of the State who is prepared to stake his goods and blood on its maintenance. The methods and aims of the new science are to create an unshakable belief in the high ethical value and the deeper meaning of war and to produce in the individual the psychological readiness for sacrifice in the cause of nation and State."

Hence the need for starting the younger generation on the right track, ready for the willing and efficient exercise of those military functions which it will in time fulfill. Thus the eye of the growing German must be trained to contemplate a lake, for instance, not only as a piece of water but also as a geographical feature destined to influence the movement of troops. The birds of the air, the animals in the fields, climate, vegetation and subsoil all have their military significance.

"Military Eugenics" Is Aim.

More than this, a skillful government and military command must give to warlike individuals particularly favorable conditions to live and procreate, thus grafting their warrior ideal on the less warlike classes. Such individuals must deliberately practice "military eugenics." Under the empire much ethics were unwittingly practiced in favor of the nobility, but in the new Third Reich they "will not be confined to this class but will extend to all the warlike elements of the German family."

Behind the military lines also

there is much to do. There is the important matter of propaganda. Its three main principles are to strengthen the war-will of the home population, to weaken that of the enemy population and to influence neutral peoples against the enemy. To this end the propaganda organization must be prepared in peacetime, covering foreign and neutral countries "with a close net of unostentatious influence." In the last war, says Professor Banse, England proved herself a master of this weapon; Germany was "too clumsy, too stupidly honorable and too world-alien."

There are those who see in the establishment and support of German propaganda newspapers in America, in the importation of innumerable minor professors from minor American educational institutions, and their elaborate entertainment here, and in the frequent passing backward and forward of the old German propagandists of the last war, some indication that the propaganda machine for the next war is already being prepared.

Church Must Play a Part.

Professor Banse goes on to deal with other factors. The church also must play its part in the psychological preparation for war. Government should support only a church which strengthens the nationalistic state of mind. Only such a church can give men the moral strength to give their lives for the State. "The dying warrior dies more easily," Professor Banse says, "when he knows that his blood is ebbing for the national God."

It can hardly fail to occur to some of those who read these sentiments that the new régime in Germany has been quite forehanded in dealing with this aspect of German preparations. One of its most strenuous activities has been the taking over and nationalizing the Protestant churches in Germany. Two thousand Protestant clergymen sent protests against the last step in this process when it was completed a few days ago, but all in vain.

academicians, government officials and industrial leaders.

the symbol officially represents a foreign State.

The new Professor of Military Science has no scruples about how the war he is preparing for shall be waged. He makes the astounding assertion—which will readily be accepted in Germany—that the French in the last war applied biological methods to warfare by conveying bacteriological cultures to their prisoners of war in Germany for poisoning cattle and grain. "This devilish plan miscarried," he says, but the idea offers possibilities for the next war.

Bacteriological Warfare.

The chief methods in such tactics would be the infection of drinking and other water by typhus bacilli, the introduction of typhus by means of fleas, and of plague by artificially infected rats. Biological warfare, says the book, "is undoubtedly the given weapon for a nation which has been disarmed and rendered defenseless." If such a nation one day defends itself by this means against brutal violation and destroys its opponents by purely scientific means, it cannot be blamed. True, the League of Nations, with sanctimonious mien, has forbidden this means of warfare. But when the existence of a nation is at stake, "every method is permissible to stave off the superior enemy and to vanquish him."

"We are now in a position of military inferiority," the book goes on to say. "Our small Reichswehr could never carry on a war of movement. In case of war, it could only dig in, in order to check the advance of the enemy, while a new national army was being trained and modern fighting instruments manufactured or imported."

"The difficulty of the Reichswehr's job in such a contingency requires no elucidation. But for a people driven to the edge of despair there is no salvation except in tackling the seemingly impossible. And whatever the League of Nations and international law may say, this people will employ any means—every means—to save its skin. Wars have ever been full of

surprises, and victory has often come unexpectedly.

"Those regions of Germany which would be occupied by the enemy at once on the outbreak of war must resort to waging national warfare (Volkskrieg) actively and passively. Its passive form would consist in absolute boycott of the invading army. The native population must refuse all intercourse with it; and must restrict its business activities to its own economic requirements. The enemy must be made to feel as if he has sat on a powder barrel.

Popular Resistance.

"The active form of national war—invented by the French and used first in La Vendée—must be directed from numerous cells distributed throughout the occupied territory. Its object would be to attack small detachments of the enemy troops, or individual soldiers; to destroy railways, bridges; to wreck military trains and enemy motor trucks.

"Let no one raise moral objections. When a nation, disarmed, deprived of its just dues and driven to destruction, fights for its existence, there can be but one law: To fight for its liberty and regain its sovereignty. And for attaining that, any means is just."

The writer of this book is a government employe, holding his chair of military science by appointment dictated by the new government régime and writing thus as a part of his job. The book itself has been in circulation in Germany since November, last year, has not been officially repudiated, is selling moderately well and undoubtedly its sentiments are those of many Germans.

But when those sentiments are set against the official peace-breathing utterances of German statesmen and particularly when some of the recent developments in Germany are regarded in the light of the methods so frankly advocated, the outside observer may perhaps be pardoned if he finds the speeches in contradiction with the facts.

1. I should like to share - impressions - not Life moves - report - revise - confirm - invalidate
2. Thus E.g. borne in - U.S. - "Savior" Santa Clara
 1. Europe needed us badly during - we were a power - we did not know - Peace -
 2. As long as we were rich - Pumps extended - deferred -
 3. But the day soon came - washed under - Our fabrics ^{pride} & crumbled Our voice lost -
 - Europeans, at first - mildly inattentive, slightly indulgent - rich uncle - impatient ^{not a kind}
 4. I was in France - Shy lost - patriotic - recalled - passions - Were we in stronger
 5. Learned a lesson - Chautauques - not assume - Thankless role of Messiah { NO nation ever is that stage director

3. Antarctic

Day of free Trade - free flow - over

after war - every nation speeded -

large surplus - dwindling markets

collapse & prices - freezing - vast unem.

(1) Nations now struggling to lift - not

- isolating behind -

- build up dom. econ. without refugees

- Further minimise world prices - inter - Exchange.

- wish to be independent - but at
stimulate

(2) Autarchy - will bring good control

Econ-Nat = $\frac{\text{private}}{\text{state}} + \frac{\text{state}}{\text{state}}$

(3) Cauchy's attempt to Fragmentation.

- makes inter. cooperation

(4) Shrimp in Nat. Ethics

Cylindrical - refueldation { getting from under
behind bars

mean as the example

lie - cheat - hold up, let - settle.

equal barrels

1. I should like to share with you some, the lessons which I learned during my stay in Europe. In the main they are expressions and conclusions. The main and changes so rapidly these days that the hesitant hypothesis yesterday is the demonstrated fact today, and the fact today is the protest tomorrow. But we can do no more, certainly we less than report what to has struck and contemplated allowing for time to revise, correct or amplify his conclusions.

2. Thus, for example, it became clear was known is upon more and more as I travelled thru Europe that which was is no longer regarded either as the sanctum, the Europe or its sanctum claus -

Europe needed us badly during and after the war - fighting men, money. They got both - We were a power then - We did not know how to use our power wisely for great ends. At the Peace Conf. outplayed - The Peace which was made was a Europ. Peace. We could not even sign it.

As long as we were rich - pumps blood of gold - drained they played up to us - exholling - flattering - deferring to our judgment in form tho not in substance.

But the day soon came when we ourselves were washed under by the econ. backwash, the war - became unparalleled - Our fabulous, glittering prosperity crumbled and we were hurled -

Then our voice lost its power to command.

The European at first became wildly inattentive

And slightly indulgent - rich uncle.

and then frankly impatient and causal

I was in France during the peace negotiations

Read papers - public opinion -

Not a kind word - No one recalled -

Shylocks! It became almost a patriotic duty to discover the most damning argument & appellation with which to denounce us.

The passions have now cooled off - but, you will notice, that the debts have not been paid.

Were our position stronger in the world no nation would have dared to refusiate - esp. as in the case of France the refusiation was not due to poverty - Coppers -

I learned a lesson which America should learn. the lesson which the ~~chamberlain~~ learned in Rostand's play - that he does not command the sun to rise - sun rises whether he crows or

We should no longer assume the thankless and expensive role of the Messiah, the nations we never really were that. No single nation can

We should cooperate - equal among equals
no more - no less!

We still send plenipotentiaries ~~ambassadors~~ ^{to} ~~the stage~~
~~over~~ Europe to persuade nations

We still initiate great world conferences
as we were truly the stage-directors, the world

The Europ. will permit us to play this exalted
mystic role - if we pay all the costs
& the production - which we are unwilling
and unable to do.

3. I learned that Europ. nations are moving at a very rapid pace towards economic isolationism or autarchy -

→ The day of free trade and free markets and the unhindered flow of international commerce and credit seems for the time at least to be over.

Since the war every nation including the newly formed states proceeded to build up and increase ^{their} industrial output. ^{that part backward countries previously built} A large surplus was thus accumulated which the respective home-markets could not consume. This brought about the world collapse of prices, the freezing of inter. credit and vast unemployment.

The nations of Europe are now struggling to reconstruct their econ. life - but not by cooperating with one another to revive world trade but, on the contrary, by isolating themselves still further behind high tariff walls and numerous other restrictions on international trade, seeking to build up their own domestic economy without reference to world prices or standards of international exchange. Each nation is attempting to import an absolute minimum but at the same time to export an absolute maximum. That the two things are on the face of it irreconcilable does not seem to bother them. They wish to be independent of foreign markets but at the same time they are perverse by working to stimulate foreign trade ^{often through large and state subsidies} in order to have a favorable balance of trade.

Everywhere I went I saw huge posters - propaganda -
→ Buy Italian, Buy French etc. - And everywhere gobs voting vast sums out of taxpayer pockets to subsidize industries which manufacture for foreign markets.

(b) Autarchy, of course, must bring in its wake strong
→ government control over industry, commerce,
credit, prices, wages and profits.

Econ. Nationalism is the forerunner of State Capitalism
→ and S. Cap. is the forerunner of State Socialism.

The advocates of Autarchy, here and abroad, do not
seem to be aware of it.

(c) It also means the econ. fragmentation of the West. World
→ which is contributing mightily to its pol. and
→ physical fragmentation. - makes Inter. Coop.
in any sphere more & more difficult.

(d) It has also brought about a most lamentable slump
→ in intern. trade ethics. -

Nations have become unachieved & cynical when
it comes to refunding - in getting firms under
leniency has inter. bus. morality - so low ebb.

→ There is hardly a nation - behind bars

→ And this monumental example in int. immorality
is not being lost on the ^{private} ~~political~~ citizen.

If his nation can lie, cheat, hold up its
Commercial covenants, plead bankruptcy ^{on} ~~and~~
settle 10 cents on the dollar - why shouldn't
he with equal bravado and nerve
do the same!