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Must there be a second World War?, 1934.

Sermon 413

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD
AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 4, 1934.

MUST THERE BE A SECOND WORLD WAR?
Is There No Way Out?

There will be no peace in Europe until an economic peace conference will supplement the work of the political peace conference which followed the World War. The framers of the Versailles peace treaties were politicians and statesmen of the old school. They were not economists. What is politically sound is not necessarily economically sound. The Dual Monarchy was a political monstrosity but a sound economic unit. Today the individual national units which have been fashioned out of it are economic anomalies, each trying to be self-sufficient at the expense of its neighbors. The crying need of Europe today is for an economic federation of politically independent peoples.

Europe will never have peace until it returns to the League of Nations in a very serious and determined way. Military alliances are no substitute for the League. That is being clearly demonstrated today. The League must be given military power with which to enforce its decisions. There should be but one military air force in Europe -- that of the League of Nations. All nations must belong to it. No nation should be free to withdraw from it any more than an individual is free to withdraw from the pale of civil or criminal law.

There will be no peace in Europe until the German people have shaken off the rule of Hitler whose masters are the powerful industrial magnates of the Ruhr and who are exploiting the foreign policy of Germany today for the building under the guise of the political union of all Germans. up of a huge economic empire in the heart of Europe. These industrialists finance the Nazi movement and control it. The undisclosed but well known Rosenberg plan is the means whereby German industrialists hope to gain access to new markets and to sources of raw material in the heart of Europe. This, of course, is clearly a challenge to the political independence of all of Germany's neighbors.

When the German people will overthrow the present regime and curb the power of the men which control it there will be great^{er} prospect for peace in Europe.



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MUST THERE BE A SECOND WORLD WAR?
Is There No Way Out?

Delivered by
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
At
The Temple
On
Sunday morning, November 11, 1934.



Within a week, my friends, the world will be celebrating the sixteenth anniversary of Armistice Day -- the end of the World War which cost ten millions of human lives and twenty millions of wounded, and four hundred billions of dollars. And yet sixteen years after this World War which might have taught the human race a few lessons, the world is again filled with the noises and the alarms of war. Every day our newspapers bring to our attention another war scare, another incident which has within it all the explosive potentialities of a war.

France has placed her soldiers on the border of the Saar territory in anticipation of possible trouble in January in connection with the plebiscite which is to take place there. An outraged Germany is proclaiming to the world that France is playing with fire and is appealing to the conscience of the world which Nazi Germany has so outraged within the last two years and which it has so cynically ignored, is threatening to appeal to the World Court which is an instrumentality of the League of Nations and from which Nazi Germany withdrew voluntarily.

All through the last year feverish diplomatic activities have been going on. In Europe nations were making desperate attempts to form and strengthen their military alliances, acts which always precede war. Russia, Communist Russia, makes a military alliance with capitalist bourgeois France. Italy, the rival of France in the Mediterranean comes to some military understanding with France. The King of Yugoslavia comes to France on an official visit, evidently to sign some military alliance with France, and is assassinated. The Balkan states are meeting

in secret conclave to devise ways of mutually protecting themselves in the event of the approaching war. A Nazi Putsch in Austria results in the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss and fails of its objective. But this Putsch was dictated by the foreign policy of Germany.

She wants to strengthen her military position in the world in anticipation of what is coming. England, watching the tremendous increase in the air forces of Germany, serves notice, through the mouth of the acting Prime Minister Baldwin, that from now on, the frontiers of England are on the shores of the Rhine. And Russia enters the League of Nations. That cesspool of iniquity - Russia - enters the League of Nations in anticipation of some great trouble, perhaps with Japan, in the offing.

The Disarmament Conference broke down. During the past year the armaments in Europe have reached staggering proportions. It is no longer a secretive race. It is open and unashamed. In 1933, impoverished Europe which cannot pay its debts, with its millions of unemployed and semi-starving people -- last year Europe spent ten thousand millions of dollars on its armaments and in the maintenance of armies and navies -- an appalling increase in armament. In 1914, the nations of Europe, for example, had some seven hundred and eighty or ninety military air ships. In 1933, they had twenty thousands of them. Germany, alone, is planning to have, in the next year, ten thousand military airplanes -- for the next war will be fought in the air.

Recently, a well informed writer, close to the European Scene, Johannes Steel, in a book called "The Second World War", prophesied that there will be war in nine months, that the second World War will take place in the summer of 1935. He writes:

"There will be war by Summer 1935.

"War will come, because neither of the two powers that want war can afford to wait longer than the Summer of 1935 if they expect to win.

"The reasons for this, as we have seen in the foregoing chapters, are strategic as well as diplomatic.

"Since the sum total of all national life of Germany and Japan consists today of nothing else but the conscious preparation for a gigantic war, these countries are bound to provoke a conflict in time to give them a chance of victory.

"We have seen the importance of the time factor. We have reviewed the political events that are likely to take place during 1935. These events must, by their very nature, be conducive to a conflagration that will spread like wildfire.

"Japan must invade Soviet territory in order to safeguard her economic hegemony in the Far East.

"Her only hope to do so successfully is in the beginning of 1935, first, because the attention of the whole world will at that time be focussed on the Saar, Austria, and Hitler, and Japanese aggression will be obscured by the magnitude of the events in Europe; second, because the Japanese general staff guarantees a victory at that time, since it believes that Soviet Russia will not be ready for another year or two to defend her Eastern borders successfully.

"The German invasion of the Saar will take place in January 1935. Germany cannot pay for the Saar mines, as she is supposed to do under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and France will insist upon payment.

"The French general staff is convinced that France can beat Germany militarily if the fight begins before 1936. While the French system of alliances will hold good until 1935, the Little Entente will have broken up into its component fragments by 1936. France can win a war only with the help of the Little Entente. No responsible French statesman dares jeopardize the future of France by missing the one and only opportunity to reestablish French hegemony in Europe -- namely, a well-timed war.

"Austria will, by January 1935, either have gone Nazi or have called Otto to the Throne. The results of both eventualities have been described in this book. The German system of alliances will have become a potent force and will confront the French system of alliances; both of them cannot exist alongside of each other.

"The Italian challenge to France will have become articulate and must be met, for Italy, driven by the dynamic force of Fascism (the destructive force of conquest), will not halt in her drive for aggrandizement.

"War will come. That much is certain.

"What the exact line-up will be is difficult to say, but the events will march to their fated conclusions, as an inexorable destiny seems to drive humanity into a new conflict that may well prove fatal."

Though I do not know, because I am not as well informed as Johannes Steel, I do not know whether war will come in the next nine months, whether there will be war in Europe or in Asia in 1935. It is very difficult to prophecy. But clearly, all the factors which make for war are present in the present situation in the world.

What is responsible for the tension, this war mood which has advanced? Why is this early Europe still exhausted from the severe wounds

inflicted in the last World War, why is it being driven into another World War? I think that the most important factor in the situation is Hitlerized Germany. With the coming of Hitler into the world scene in January of 1933, a wrench was given to the whole European political set-up and a desperate new was perforce wished upon all the countries of Europe.

You take, for example, the Nazi Putsch in Austria which resulted in the death of Dollfuss and which resulted in Italy's marching to the frontiers of Austria. The shots which killed Chancellor Dollfuss -- that incident which almost resulted in a terrific European explosion, was directly instigated by the Nazi regime in Germany. Germany is determined to annex Austria economically and politically. She was stopped this time but she is not discouraged, I assure you.

The secret and feverish rearming which has been going on in Germany is known to every foreign office in Europe a rearming which of course is a violation of the terms of the treaties of Versailles and which can be interpreted in only one way by France and the allies of France. Germany is preparing for war. This has contributed much to the tension of the European atmosphere. The secret Nazi organizations which have been springing up in Europe, especially in those countries which are neighboring countries to Germany, these Nazi cells established among the Germanic population in the neighboring countries whose function it is to create German sentiment-- these too have contributed to the sense of impending struggle and conflict which pervades over Europe today.

But it is clear that the present German regime, and I am not speaking now of the German people -- I am speaking now of the present regime which has seized control of the lives of the German nation and which is determining the foreign policy of Europe -- the present regime of Germany is

not content with the hope of winning back Upper Silesia or the Saar Basin. They are obsessed by the hope, the program of a vast racial German empire in the heart of Europe which will control not merely the sixty or sixty-five millions of people but the thirty-five or forty millions of people outside of Germany in the Balkans, in Latvia, in Poland, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Roumania, in Jugoslavia, in Belgium, in Holland. The plan which has been held up in the last fourteen years dangling before the eyes of the German people is to create a tremendous Germanic empire in the heart of Europe, and this plan is being dictated by the powerful industrialists of Germany.

Hitler is a tool of the Nazi movement. He is an instrument in the hands of the powerful dominant industrial magnates of the Ruhr who have built up there a tremendous industrial organization which needs for its triumph new markets, access to sources of raw material. And it is that industrial combination which is dictating the foreign policy of Germany today. The Hoeschs, the Krupps, and the other gentlemen who finance the Nazi movement and who finance Hitler, control the Nazi movement and control Hitler.

The purge of ^{the} Jews, of this year, was dictated not by Hitler but by these gentlemen of the Ruhr because there arose within the Nazi party a group of people who were clamoring for a fulfillment of some of the national items in the Nazi program. Economically, hardly one of the promises had been fulfilled. It is amazing to know that some of the principles in the program were the confiscation without remuneration of the huge estates of Germany so as to give them to the poorer people of Germany and to abolish interest on land loans.

After Hitler came into power and remained in power for a year some of the socialists began to demand their fulfillment. It was then that

the signal was given by the Krupps and the Thyssens to wipe out this element in the Nazi movement. And three days before the purge, Hitler visited the Ruhr and got instructions and carried them out.

The foreign policy thereafter, ~~is~~ known to the world as the Rosenberg Plan, is the philosophy guiding the Nazi movement. It was he that defined what the foreign policy of Germany should be. I shall read to you a part of the Rosenberg Plan taken from this amazing startling book called "Hitler Over Europe":

"Since the night when the German Reichstag was burned and the power in Germany passed into the hands of the Hitler-Goring-Böbels triumvirate, the whole of German politics, the whole of the new Government's internal and external activity, has turned in reality upon one single point: the so-called 'Rosenberg plan'. This secret plan is today the unofficial fundamental Monroe Doctrine of the new Germany. Every political action, every diplomatic step, every ministerial speech, and every military preparation is, in fact, inspired by it and is in some relation or other to it -- to an even far higher degree than, for example, British policy is determined by the 'permanent plans' of the Admiralty. The secret import of the Rosenberg plan is that the new Nazi State is only a preparation and a provisional phase, only an interim stage towards another, higher system: towards the Germanic Union, the combination of all the German peoples, which is to replace the former Bismarckian Germany...The Rosenberg plan transforms the Central European State of 60 million inhabitants into a trans-continental Nazi Empire of 100 millions. It means the Hitlerization of Europe, with the exception of the Western Latin and Anglo-Saxon zones. It federates all the 'Germanic' nations of the continent by uprooting them, either with their consent or by force, either by means of 'anschluss' (union) or conquest, from their former national state structures and by flinging

them together into one block-- Hitler's new racial empire. The Rosenberg plan prescribes the end of Austria, which is only a South-German clan on the Danube. It prescribes the liquidation of Switzerland, the German part of which, a Germanic alpine branch, must be detached from the unnatural union with French Switzerland, a relic of the Middle Ages. It demands the breaking-up of Czechoslovakia, in order that German Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia may be brought back to the racial fold. It demands the disintegration of Belgium, the Germanic, Flemish part of which, together with Brabant and Luxembourg, is, as in the case of Switzerland, to be separated from the French, Walloon part. It makes Flanders and Holland, the old German Burgundy, the North-Western part of the racial empire. It incorporates Scandinavia, a fragment of the Nordic-Germanic race, the three states of which lead an unnatural national existence, into the same system. It claims the Baltic and its bordering states--Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania -- for the Hitler Empire, as the ancient possessions of the German Livonian Order. It claims Western Flanders and Lorraine from France, South Tirol from Italy, South Styria from Yugoslavia, Schleswig from Denmark. The power and the sovereignty of this empire-- by virtue of this new law of race--must reach out everywhere wherever even a fragment of the Germanic race has fallen, as far even as Rumania and Yugoslavia with their German colonist districts. This is the Rosenberg doctrine, for which the old Bismarckian state is only a province of the whole empire. This^{is}/the real political concept and meaning of the 'race manifesto' of the Nazis, for which the 'Jewish problem' serves only as a cloak. And this is the new map of Europe after the establishment of Hitler's empire, the map of the 'National Socialist revolution', which is to replace the map of Europe of the Liberal 'French revolution'.

This sounds fantastic, and hardly believable. But if you read Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' and if you ^{read} 'Hitler Over Europe', you will be able to see that they are pervaded, they are saturated with this dream of creating in Europe this vast racial empire. They are not so much concerned with persecuting five hundred thousand Jews in Germany. They are concerned through the utilization of this new race idolatry to win over within a new German empire over thirty-five millions of people. Now it is clear that this seemingly secret and undisclosed plan is known to every chancellor of Europe and it is clear that this plan which aims at a Germanic empire is contributing to the mad rush toward military alliances and preparedness which is going on today. And it is also clear that as long as the Nazi regime remains in power and as long as the power of the industrial magnates remain in power that the prospect of war in Europe draws nearer every day.

There is no way of satisfying these mad men and any concession to them simply whets their appetites. They want to build a new empire in the twentieth century. It can't be done. It is too late for empire building in Europe. There is only one other nation in Europe which is still trying to build an empire and that is Japan. Japan is trying to do it in Eastern Asia and at the expense of China which is unorganized and which is itself split fifty ways by rival group parties. Japan, too, will come to grief. And old empire like that of Great Britain is beginning to crack, to dissolve. Yet these, romantic, deluded, intoxicated leaders of Germany wish to build up in the heart of nationalist Europe, in the twentieth century, after a World War was fought to give us peace determination-- they want to restrangle Europe so as to give Germany a new empire.

It can't be done. And the salvation, in my minds, rests with the German people itself. They must come from under this intoxication. They must free themselves from this hypnosis. They must overthrow some of their leaders -- this regime which has already returned them to economic defeat and which will return them to terrific political disaster. Johannes Steel summarizes what the Hitler regime has done for Germany within the last eighteen months -- this regime which was to bring paradise to Germany. This is what it has accomplished, for Germany:

"Prices had risen and wages had fallen, the national income had been reduced and the living standard of all wage earners had been lowered.

"As a result of the curtailment of the social services, there were 20% more suicides and a marked decline in national health and general welfare of the people.

"There was a slightly increased employment and a vastly decreased consumption of all vital foodstuffs and household goods. Fantastically increased profits for the big producers and decreased purchasing power of the consumer, as well as continued proletarianisation of a large section of the populace.

"An export trade that had dwindled to nothing. A budget that was dishonest and unintelligible. A currency that was not safe and a credit that was nil."

The German people itself must exert itself, take control of its own destiny and the peoples of Europe and of all civilized nations must help put moral and economic pressure upon them, to undermine the present regime in Germany because as long as that regime lasts, so long will there be threat of war imminent in Europe.

That, also, is true of Italy. Dictators have to compensate their people for the things they promised them. I have just read to you what the Nazi regime did to the German people. The picture in Italy is just as bad.

Italy's exports have been cut by 80 percent under Mussolini. Wages in Italy always the lowest in Europe were reduced one-third. The problem of unemployment is not solved. Within the last six months two hundred sporadic peasant revolts have taken place.

What must these dictators do in order to keep themselves in power? They must divert the attention of the people at home to some adventure beyond their borders. They must dazzle the eyes of their people with promises of conquest and expansion. That is why dictators everywhere are preparing their people for war.

Mussolini has been telling his people that war is the tragic destiny of man inherent in nature. The Italian people, too, must wake up. It will some day.

Dictatorship in Europe, in my humble judgment, has passed its zenith. It is definitely on the decline. It has failed miserably on the economic level. Economics will destroy dictatorships as it is responsible for dictatorships.

I believe that what Europe needs most if war is not to come in the immediate future, what Europe needs most is an economic peace conference. The gentlemen who were responsible for the Versailles treaties and the peace conferences following the World War were politicians and statesmen of the old school. They were not economists. They granted self-determination to every group and nationality in Europe.

But that is not enough. A thing may be politically sound yet economically

unsound. The Dual Monarchy, for example, was a political monstrosity. But it was a sound economic unit. Today there have been carved out of this Dual Monarchy, a number of small countries trying to be self-sufficient at the expense of its neighbors, each nation struggling to become economically independent. It begins to gamble and speculate in foreign exchange. It tries to become prosperous. As a result you have the present chaotic economic conditions in Europe.

Austria, for example, is the tinderbox of Europe today. Austria is an economic anomaly, a country which, before 1914, had a huge empire to serve and a people of close on to fifty million people, had its entire hinterland taken away from it.

And lastly, what Europe needs, is an economic peace conference to federate peoples without depriving them of their economic rights. And finally, if it is to be spared another World War, Europe must return in a very serious mood to the League of Nations. There is no other way out. The balance of power and military alliances will prove worthless as they exposed their worthlessness in 1914. The League of Nations has been a weak helpless instrument because it was never implemented with the power to enforce its decisions.

European nations need a League to adjust difficulties, for reconciliation for arbitration. It must be implemented with power to enforce decisions. There must be no military airplanes except those controlled by the League of Nations. No nation must be allowed to withdraw from the League of Nations. It should not be a matter of choice whether a nation should belong or not. You haven't the right as an individual to say: "I will remove myself from the pale of civilization and law." When you say that you become an outlaw. Every nation must submit itself there and will submit itself if ~~the~~ is force behind it.

War has been officially outlawed but this official action, like so many other official actions and so many other treaties are today worthless because

there is no international power sufficiently powerful to enforce them.

That must come. There is no substitute for a League of Nations. Perhaps it will not come, my friends, until after the second World War. Perhaps by that time there will not be any need for a League of Nations.

What can we do, you and I? We are not really masters of our own destiny. You would be surprised how little you and I can do about this. The average man doesn't war. Do you want war? Do you want war?

There are certain privileged groups that want war, that foment war and who confront you with a 'fait accompli'. You have no choice. You have to go to war. If you don't, you are a traitor. You weren't asked if you want to go to war.

Our only hope is to teach and educate ourselves and our children into the stupidity of war as a method of solving any problem, into the horror, brutality and costliness of war. And perhaps, if a sufficient number of people will become aroused about the politicians and the powers that foment war, they may pay some attention to the wills of the masses.

I should like to read this brief paragraph written by Nicholas Murray Butler and with that I shall close. It is called "What Price Glory."

"The World War, all told, cost--apart from 30 million lives--400 billion dollars. With that money we could have built a \$2500 house, furnished it with \$1000 worth of furniture, placed it on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre and given ~~it~~ this home to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia. We could have given to each city of 20,000 inhabitants and over, in each country named, a five million dollar library and a ten million dollar university. Out of what was left we could have set aside a sum at five percent that would

provide a \$1000 yearly salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and ^alike salary for another army of 125,000 nurses.

And yet the world is approaching a Second World War.



1. Within a week - 16th armistice - End - cost

(1) And yet alarums

France sending - Saar - "playing with fire"

(2) Feverish diplom. activity - forge - precedes war

(a) Russia - Fr.

Balkan States

Italy

Dollfus assassin.

King of Yugoslavia

England sends

Russia enters day

(3) His armament Conf broken down

Race - a falling

10 Billion

Military air craft 790 - 20.700

Munition industry

(4) Johannes Steel - (p. 214)

2. Tension? Driving weary Europe?

Hitlerized Germany - Tension

(1) Nazi Putsch in Austria - Italy - Yugoslavia

(2) Secret & feverish rearm.

(3) Nazi agents & provocations

(4) Hit. Germ. making out udl - 1914

raw material markets - autarchy

(5) Hitler is only tool

3. It is this undisclosed - fear alliance - arrangement

4. It is clear that as long as Nazis - does every

- (a) No way of satisfying these mad men

- (b) They want to build an Empire -

- (c) Solution lies with German people

- (d) Nazis have lost heart but Grief

(Note p. 90)

- (e) Europe & other civilized - must help

5. Italy - Dictators must make war!

1. Economic disasters:

foreign trade - wages - Unemployment - peasant

2. "Economic Adventures"

"War is tragic destiny of man"

3. Italian people must wake up.

4. No peace in Europe.

6. Europe needs - Econo. Peace Conf -

Versailles -

What is not sound - dual monarchy

- Each country - econ. self-sufficient - tariffs
- Austria
- Need of econ. federation of free

7. Europe must return to League

(a) no other way

(b) Implement it with force

(c) Military air-force

(d) All nations must belong to it

(e) Outlaw all war - defensive as well

(f) There is World Court

8. Educate for peace - (Inst)

to have seen the hardening-up camps of the armies which had been at the business since 1914, and looked into the faces of young men who had been over the top, wounded, hospitalized, hardened up — over the top, wounded, hospitalized, hardened up — over the top, wounded, hospitalized, hardened up — four times, five times, six times. Never talk to a man who has seen *that* about the lyric glory of war.

Nevertheless, some may say that while war is a grim and murderous business with no glory in it in the end, we have the right to make the Unknown Soldier the symbol of whatever was most idealistic in the men who went out to fight. We think of our Unknown Soldier rising up in answer to a human call and making the sacrifice of his life. The war brought out his best — his loyalty, his courage, his care for the down-trodden, his capacity for self-sacrifice. Yes, but to what purpose? To take the strongest and loveliest things in men and use them for the most abysmal cruelties of which our human nature is capable.

Be realistic and follow through what war made the Unknown Soldier do with his idealism. Here is one eyewitness speaking: "Last night, at an officers' mess there was great laughter at the story of one of our men who had spent his last cartridge in de-

fending an attack. 'Hand me down your spade, Mike,' he said; and as six Germans came one by one round the end of a traverse, he split each man's skull open."

"I can remember," says one infantry officer, "a pair of hands which protruded from the soaked soil like the roots of a tree turned upside down; one hand seemed to be pointing at the sky with an accusing gesture. . . . Floating on the surface of the flooded trench was the mask of a human face which had detached itself from the skull." War harnessed the idealism of the Unknown Soldier to *that*!

Do I not have an account to settle between my soul and him? They sent men like me into the camps to touch those secret, holy springs within him so that with loyalty and self-sacrifice he might go out to war. O war, I hate you most of all for this, that you lay your hands on the noblest elements in human character, with which we might make a heaven on earth, and you use them to make a hell on earth instead. You take our science, our loyalty, our unselfishness, with which we might make the earth beautiful, and, using these our finest qualities, you make death fall from the sky and burst up from the sea and hurtle from unseen ambushes 60 miles away; you blast fathers in the

trenches while you are starving their children at home with blockades; and you so bedevil the world that 15 years after the armistice we cannot be sure who won the War, so sunk in the same disaster are victors and vanquished alike.

I will do the best I can to settle my account with the Unknown Soldier. I renounce war. I renounce war because of what it does to our own men. I have seen the long, long hospital trains filled with their mutilated bodies; I remember the maimed men for whom the War is not yet over.

I renounce war because of what it compels us to do to our enemies, bombing their mothers in villages, starving their children, laughing over our coffee cups about every damnable thing we have been able to do to them. I renounce war for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracy, for the starvation that stalks after it.

I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I support another! O Unknown Soldier, in penitent reparation I make you that pledge.

What Price Glory

THE WORLD WAR, all told, cost — apart from 30 million lives — 400 billion dollars. With that money we could have built a \$2500 house, furnished it with \$1000 worth of furniture, placed it on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre and given this home to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia. We could have given to each city of 20,000 inhabitants and over, in each country named, a five million dollar library and a ten million dollar university. Out of what was left we could have set aside a sum at five percent that would provide a \$1000 yearly salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and a like salary for another army of 125,000 nurses.

— Nicholas Murray Butler

WRHS

