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The cauldron of Europe, 1935.

THE CAULDRON OF EUROPE The first of two lectures on Rabbi Silver's visit to Europe.

> By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver At

The Temple

Sunday morning, November 3, 1935

The general impression which an observant traveler in Europe this summer or this fall is likely to gain is one of a world that is unquiet, tense, restless, moving on against its will, but irristibly to some fateful and tragic hour of decision. The old world still offers to a traveler all the charm of its colorful life, its beautiful cities and treasuries of art and romance and their memories. An observant traveler would also see all about Europe evidences of unusual activity, enterprise, a great amount of building and construction. He will not get the impression of stagnation or decay in any of the principal countries on the continent. And yet, one does not have to be in Europe long to realize that the European nations are shot through with apprehension like with an ague. Beneath the surface, and sometimes not beneath the surface, there surge and swarm all kinds of dread expectancies. They are not at peace, these peoples of Europe. Nor are they in an armistice mood any longer. They feel themselves to be on the eve of conflict. They know it. Many of them feel their activities and hate it. Many of them are resigned to it as if to an inevitable necessity. Some of them are actually hoping for it and anticipating it. The very unusual amount of activity which one sees in Europe is a symptom of this apprehension, because most of that activity is devoted to preparation for war. A good deal of it is hasty public works intended to solve the very serious problem of unemployment which in Europe threatens the stability of nearly every government. There are very few governments in Europe today that feel themselves, stable secure.

Of course, nearly all of this economic demoralization and political bitterness which one finds abroad is due to the accursed heritage of the last war. Evidently the peoples of Europe have not yet completed their atonement through suffering any more than we have here for that war which was the greatest crime in history. The tragedy of it all is that with the wounds still unhealed, the leaders of the governments abroad are again contriving to prepare the rising generation for an even more desperate war to come.

over the These masters of destinies of nations seem to have learned nothing from the last war. They refuse to remember the simple stark lesson which the last war taught - that war benefits neither victor nor vanquished, that war solves no problem but creates graver and more difficult ones and that it always achieves the very opposite objectives than for which it was waged, that in the last war, the allied powers presumably set out to end all war and to make the world safe for democracy. In spite of the fact that The last war the allied powers won the best war, they succeeded in destroying democracy in making in one-half the world and made the nations of Europe more belligerent and war-minded and set them to prepare themselves for war on a far larger there leaders scale than in the days before 1914. The only lesson Europe seemed to their nations were adequally have learned is to prepare themselves for the next war, to pile up more armament, to build more destructive machinery, to enter into more secret military alliances in the fond and criminal hope that the next war will somehow be different, that the next war will succeed in giving the people A any feer in war and were then any war more than it has ever achieved and can ever achieve namely, prosperity, security, well being, peace.

The economic demoralization which one finds in so many parts of the Old World is, of course, directly traceable to the last war. It was the last war which destroyed so much of the accumulated wealth of the nations, ruined credit and currency, put them through the desperate cycles of inflation and deflation. These economic disasters are responsible for destroying half of the popular self-governments in Europe. And they now threaten the oldest and noblest democracy of Europe,-France.

I entered France this summer just a few days before July 14,
the French National holiday. Immediately I sensed, as anyone could not
allo sensing, the terrific tension in the air. The press was full of
dire forebodings. The leftist and rightist parties were out for a
showdown. Both the popular front and the Croix de Feu, the Fascist
lement of France, had announced that they would put on huge demonstrations
on July 14. Indeveryone expected that these demonstrations would end in
bloody riots. Charges and counter-charges were made by both sides - each
accusing the other side of plotting to overthrow the Republic. The middle ground newspapers were full of patriotic appeals to the nation to keep
calm, not to undermine the power and security of France in Farepe through
civil war. The government took extreme precautionary measures. Tens
of thousands of troops and fleets of airplanes were sent to Paris. Fortunately
the day passed off without mishap. But the lesson was not lost on the French
people. The issue was not solved.

France is rent today by bitter political strife fed by the bitter economic plight of the nation. Unemployment has increased. Foreign trade has fallen. The cost of government has been mounting and the revenues of the government have fallen sharply. In July, the Laval government put

These economic decrees brought about a slashing of the salaries of all public officials and public employees. A definite policy of deflation was inaugurated. Immediately, desperate resistance sprang up among the people. While I was in France, these bloody riots broke out among the workers in Toulon, Brest and Havre. These strikes and riots have threatened to become nation-wide in scope. Farmers were discontented. They demanded better prices for their products and organized a taxpayers strikes. The workers on the other hand can't pay any more/their foodstuff, for their wages have been cut. The middle class is caught between the demands of the agriculturalist and the working class. Here you have all the elements which make possible a Fascist adventure in any country.

Now the hope of democracy in the Old World lies in the hands of the two old democracies, England and France. These countries have a long democratic tradition behind them. But democracy generally seems to be doomed on the continent. There is the ene hope that France is not likely to yield to a Fascist adventure without a terrific struggle.

France will not tolerate dictatorship like Germany. It was not a pleasant sight to watch, this summer, this great Republic being torn by political stuff designs and being driven to the brink of political disaster.

The Italian-Ethiopian controversy developed during the month I was in Europe. Being in Switzerland, near to Geneva, I found myself very close to the heart of things and was in a position to get the repercussions of this controversy which developed. Mussolini's adventure in Ethiopia, and Italy's defiance of the League of Nations brought home to people two facts which were not new but which were now largely advertised, namely:

that a dictator must sooner or later go to war or go under; that the

League of Nations is still all too weak and undependable an agency for
international justice and peace in Europe. Fascist dictators sprang

up in Europe following the World War on the promise of solving the
desperate economic problems of the people. But that is the one thing
they have not been able to do for the simple reason that they have no
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even for the status quo, to defend the rights of the privileged classes who, in the
first place, financed them. They have not been able to help their people
economically.

Mussolini and Hitler have not only not improved the economic condition of their people, but have far worsened it. The standard of living in Italy and Germany is far worsened. The national debt of both countries has increased. Germany cannot pay its debts. Italy has no credit in the world. So that they failed on the economic plane, and having failed to give their people relief from misery and economic suffering, they must do something to maintain prestige among the people. To save their necks they must compensate their people and divert their minds, from misery and economic suffering. The only thing they can then give them is dreams of imperialism, glory, prestige which can only be realized through conquest WMM. If a provided the control of the conquest which can only be

Mussolini went to Ethiopia not because Italy needed more land for its expanding population. It has land inAfrica which it has never so far and employed for its expanding population. Italy is doing everything to increase this population. Italy did not go into Ethiopia to get wealth.

resources there may be in that country. Italy went to Ethiopia to save whenever his military staff will tell him that Germany is ready. So that there can be no permanent peace in the world so long as dictators control the destinies of these countries of Europe.

And it is also becoming clear that the League of Nations is still an inadequate as agency to insure peace in the world. Had the League been strong, Mussolini would never have dared to have disregarded it. But the League was not allowed to become strong by its friends. In fact, the League was discredited by those who are today its ardent devotees, by England and France. Three years ago, when the first real challenge of the Jennis was made to the whole, institution of the League, by Japan, which had these devoted friends of the Levyor resolved to invade China, the friends of Onina acquiesced in Japan's invasion of China and refused to revoke sanctions. This established a precedent which Mussolini was going to copy three years later. It was too tempting a precedent for Mussolini to overlook. What Japan did in 1932, Mussolini thought he could do in 1935. He counted on the acquiescence of France because France needs Italy for the day of Wilh reckoning which is coming to Germany. Mussolini did not expect England to put up such strong resistance. He did not realize how worried England would become when her road to India was endangered by Italian un periodis un impresentions in the Eastern Mediterranean and in East Africa. The Halian-Ellergrian issue

The League is today fighting for its life. This issue is of utmost significance to the world, not because of what will happen to Ethiopia, but because of what will happen to the League. What will

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important. If another precedent is established, if a nation is allowed

to violate with impunity its own covenant, the peace of the world and
get away with it, if England, France and Italy are allowed to parcel out

Ethiopia among themselves through secret alliances under the guise of
restoring peace -- if they do, the League ceases to be a serious agency
for peace in the world and will probably encumber the peace of Europe.

It ceases to be a serious agency for the pacification of the world.

The European countries will revert, as they have already begun to do,
to the balance of power arrangement which led to the disaster of 1914.

There are only two alternatives in Europe quite clear to refere described. Europe will either have collective security in the hands of a strong and authoritative League of Nations, feared and respected, to which the weak and the wronged nations can come in the full confidence that their wrongs will be righted, and their just causes defended, or there will be a return to conditions before 1914, a mad scramble for alliances and military preparedness and re-armament -- and the devil take the hindmost.

And what of Germany? I was in Berlin myself this summer, for two brief, very brief visits on my way to and from Russia. I was in Berlin long enough to contact with a few friends and to exchange necessary data. I was there long enough to make a tour of the Kur fuerstendamn District, the Jewish district in Berlin where the anti-Jewish riots took place a few days before I came to Berlin. I took

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occasion to visit that same moving picture theater where the anti-Jewish film, Peterson and Bendel, was shown and which Goebbels maintained was hissed by the Jews and which was therefore responsible for the riots which broke out in that section. I found that picture perfectly stupid and anti-Semitic. I inquired among some of the Jews who had been to the moving picture theater on the night the hissing was to have taken place. I was disappointed. I was told there had not been any hissing. I had hoped that the report was true, that the Jews of Germany had at last mustered up enough courage to do a little real hissing. There hadn't been anything of the sort. This was just a lame excuse for the propaganda machine of the Nazi government to initiate a carefully planned and intensive anti-Semitic campaign, to prepare the minds of the German people for the anti-Jewish legislation which was to be introduced at the Nuremberg Nazi Congress which was to take place a few days later.

And as part of this campaign not only were those riots instigated but this infamous Julius Streicher was brought to Berlin to deliver a series of vile anti-Semitic harangues. In preparation for his coming, the walls were placarded with copies of "Der Steurmer", with ugly cartoons of Jews, with slogans everywhere. When you stepped out of an elevator, you saw signs "The Jews are our misfortune"; "He who buys from the Jews is traitorous to the people."

I had occasion to speak with a few people in Berlin. You could not learn very much from them about Germany. They are either afraid to talk or they don't know what is going on in Germany. They know less about what is going on in Germany than outsiders do. The radio is controlled. Moving pictures are controlled. They not only don't get the right information but they are pumped full of wrong information. They do not

have the right to exchange information. Individuals are simply lost.

I had occasion to speak with hundreds of Germans in France, Switzerland, Russia, with Jews and non-Jews. There has been no exaggeration. What our intelligent correspondents have been giving us through the medium of the newspapers is true. They do not exaggerate. The facts are really true.

During the summer, the Nuremberg Congress, the Congress of the Nazis was held -- in the middle of August. Hitler came to this Congress with nothing to report of concrete achievement. So, again, the Jewish issue was thrust forward in order to divert the attention of the people from the failures of the Reichstag. The Reichstag was hastily convoked in Nuremberg. They did nothing but pass two sets of laws. One was to declare the Swastika the official flag of Germany. The other set of laws consisted of the disfranchisement and degradation of that helpless group of Jews in Germany. The Nazis had no other laws to pass. They could think of nothing else but to put through a set of laws still further degrading this helpless minority.

A law was passed declaring that the Jews were no longer citizens but only subjects. They owed allegiance to the government but they had no political rights. A law was passed denying the Jews the right to use the national flag of Germany. Laws were passed forbidding intermarriage between Jews and Aryans and which was punishable by penal servitude. Extra-marital sexual relations were forbidden - also punishable by penal servitute. Jews must not engage Aryan female domestic help under the age of forty-five.

Now there is no particular tragedy in these laws for the Jews of Germany, except in the first - their disfranchisement. I don't think that any Jewish heart would break because a man hasn't the right to wave the Swastika. They don't have to marry Teutonic frauleins. They can marry Jewish girls. Only swinish mentalities could have exposed themselves to the ridicule and disgust of the world by enacting the last two laws, even the first laws.

The disfranchisement law would not have been so catastrophic if only the Nazis had granted the Jewish minority groups the same rights the minority groups, inclusive of German minority groups, in Czechoslovakia, Poland are enjoying. They have their own language, their own schools, their own cultural life. But at the same time they are protected by law. They are not degraded and humiliated by these Nazis who have forced over five hundred thousand Jews of Germany to a status of inferiority. The Jews of Germany can have schools of their own in Germany. The Jews of Germany can have a cultural life of their own. Their artists are probably the finest artists in Europe. It would be a richer, more satisfying life if the vindictiveness of these racial madmen were not forcing upon them the status of degradation and humiliation. Through a systematic policy to effect the economic extermination of the Jews of Germany, Jews are being forced to liquidate their businesses without being allowed to export their capital. This is a form of wholesale pick-pocketing unknown in any civilized country in the world.

The infamy and vindictiveness of these crazed Nazis knows no power of decency. Recently, Goebbels issued a decree to erase from all the war monuments the names of Jewish soldiers who died on the battlefields for Germany. They do not even hesitate to disturb the bones of the precious

dead wno died for Germany.

What is the future for the Jews of Germany? There is no future.

As long as this regime remains in power you will have to give them every possible relief to enable those who remain in Germany to help sustain themselves in life, to give them every possible aid to emigrate, especially the youth.

Personally, I should not like to see the Jews of Germany emigrate.

I should like to see them stay there and stick it out until the nour of decision comes. The Jews in Poland and Russia suffered centuries of such persecutions. The German Jews are now being called upon to bear what the Christians call the "cross". Let them bear it until that time when this regime will collapse. It must collapse. There is no future for the peace of the world as long as this regime, so avowedly militaristic, so determined to make every German a soldier, is destroyed.

Hitler is the greatest and grimmest fact in the world. And I believe that Europe will destroy him. Either it will be tomorrow, or next year, or five years from today. A regime which is built upon ideas which mankind has discredited, built upon force and terror, on racialism, chauvenism and intolerance -- such a regime cannot last long.

But as for the Jews of Germany - they are today passing through a terrible tribulation. But I do not despair. Dark as our day is, I think a brighter day will come for them. I am, generally, on the Jewish issue, quite an optomist. My reading of four thousand years of Jewish History has made me an inveterate optimist. What I have seen of Jewish life in many parts of the world justifies me to believe that the Jews of Germany will outlive Hitler. I think that these ghetto laws will be striken out from their legislation. But the German-Jewish community

will not be destroyed.

I remember when I was in Berlin in January, 1933, Hitler had just been made Chancellor by Von Hindenburg. I knew what that meant - that a tragic day was breaking for the Jews of Germany. I did not anticipate the actual disaster that would take place. I was depressed. It was Sabbath morning and I went to a synagogue. That Sabbath happened to be my birthday. (I would have gone anyway.) As I sat there, distressed, thinking of that which was likely to come over that noble and very fine Jewish community in Germany, I saw a little boy go up to the pulpit. It was his Bar-mitwah. In a quaking and broken voice, he began to recite the Haftarah. It was the very chapter, the very "maftar" which I had recited many, many years ago. As I sat and listened, I soon heard words reaching me from the mouth of that little lad that came to me as a message, as a healing, a consolation: ( "For even like unto the new heavens and the new earth which I shall create which shall stand before me forever, so saith the Lord, so will your seed and your name." And in 1935, that faith is still mine. Our seed and our name will endure even like the new heavens and earth which God is to-day creating.

1. The general impression - gain - woring The old world still offers The traveller will also note abundance But the nations of Europe are shot thru Beneath the surface - surge they are not at peace -They Know it the very unusual extenty There are very few goth, indeed, 2- Mearly all git-WRHS The evon. demonalzation atonement The hazedy of it all - wounds - leaders - contriving They have refused to learn - Last war- office the only lesson - fond and criminal hope. 3- The econ. disorganization of Europe is, f-course, tauable destruction of accumulated wealth-The econ desartus destroyed 1/2 of for self- gorts. It is threaten in to-day - - France I entered France - total

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Sermon 431 ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, AMSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 3, 1935. THE CAULDRON OF EUROPE The general impression of an observant traveler in Europe this summer or fall, is that of a world unquiet and restless, moving against its will, but irresistably, to some fateful and tragic hour of decision. The nations of Europe are shot through with apprehension as with an ague. They are not at peace, these peoples of Europe, nor are they in an armistice, but on the ewe of conflict. They know it. Some are resigned to it ax as to an inescapable fate. Others fear and hate, Still others are secretly hoping for it. The Italian-Ethiopian conflict has brought home to the peoples of Europe two basic facts not new but now extensively advertised. The first is that a dictator sooner or later must go to war or go under. The second is that the League of Nations is still a week and undependable agency for international

The Italian-Ethiopian conflict has brought home to the peoples of Europe two Wasic facts not new but now extensively advertised. The first is that a dictator sooner or later must go to war or go under. The second is that the League of Mations is still a weak and undependable agency for international justice and peace in Europe. Fascist dictators sprang up in Europe after the war the on the promise of solving economic problems of their people. Not having any intelligent or consistent solution, and at heart pledged to protect the interests of the privileged classes who financed their adventure in the first place, they have failed.

Mussolini and Hitler have not improved the economic condition of their people. They have grievously worsened it. In each country the standard of living of the masses has fallen while the national debt has mounted. On the economic plane, dictators have proved a miserable failure. To save their necks they must compensate their people and divert them with dreams of empires, glory and prestige. Hitler will go to war for the same reason as soon as the generals tell him that Germany is ready.

The friends of the League of Mations discredited it three years ago when they acquiesced in Japan's invasion of China and refused to revoke sanctions. This

tempting precedent, Mussolini could not overlook. The League today is fighting for its life. If Mussolini is allowed to appropriate Ethiopia, a member nation of the League, or if Italy, France and England, through secret alliances, proceed to parcel out Ethiopia among themselves under the guise of restoring peace, the League will cease to be a serious agency for the pacification of the world. There will either be real collective security in charge of a strong authoritative League of Nations, feared and respected, to which the weak and the wronged nations can come in the full confidence that their wrongs will be righted, and their just causes defended, or there will be international chaos, a mad scramble for military alliances and preparedness — and the devil take the hindmost.

Hitler had nothing to report at the Euremberg Congress of his Party to the credit of his regime so that he thrust forward the Jewish issue again. The Reichstag was convoked not to solve any of the pressing economic and social problems of Germany, but to pass laws disfranchising the helpless Jewish minority group in Germany. The Jews of Germany have now been reduced to the status of a minority group without, however, receiving the protection which minority groups, inclusive of Sermanyiax German minority groups, receive in other parts of Europe. Its systematic policy to effect the economic extermination of the Jews of Germany is now being carried out. Jews are being forced to liquidate their businesses without the right of exporting their capital. This is a form of wholesale pick-pocketing unknown in any civilized country in the world. The latest edict of Dr. Goebbels was to strike the name of the Jews who died on the battlefield for Germany from all the war memorials. To such depths does a nation sink that has lost its way in racialism and chauvenism.