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Taking Stock of the Year 1935, 1935.

TAKING STOCK OF THE YEAR 1935

Delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

> At The Temple

On Sunday Morning, December 29, 1935

The year 1935 which is now drawing to a close has been full of momentous events with both good and evil to mankind. Undoubtedly the outstanding event of the past year has been the attack by Hitler on Ethiopia. This act of aggression has already embroiled diplomatically and economically through sanctions, most of the nations of the earth and it threatens to embroil them in war. It has already caused the overthrow of one Prime Minister in Great Britain and it threatens to cause the overthrow of another Prime Minister in France. It is causing a furious reshuffling of political alliances, considerable diplomatic wire pulling and horse-theiving. It has put the League of Nations to its second test, perhaps final test. The League, you may recall, three years ago, was put through a similar test against Japan's aggression in China. It failed then to act and protect one of its members against the invasion of another member. Because of that, the League lost prestige. The second test has now come. The Italian -Abyssinian conflict. If it fails again, the League again exposes feebleness and helplessness in the face of a powerful nation attacking a weaker nation and it is done as an agency for the peace of the world, as a serious instrumentality of international peace in the world and it acknowledges its utter uselessness in the world today. On the outcome of this issue, which is a far larger issue than that between Italy and Ethiopia, hinges the future of international law in the world. A League of Nations and a private militaristic adventure on the part of one nation and another are simply incompatible. One or the other must leave the stage of history.

In this mess, there are a few bright spots as well as a few dark spots. The whole affair, of course, is a serious indictment of the twentieth century civilization, the revaluation, the ruthless conduct of nations in their relations with other nations. And it is hard to realize that nations collectively are far less moral, far less peaceful than individuals in their private conduct. Nations seem to hold themselves not at all subject to any higher law, any moral restraint, fair play, peace. Nations will rob, cheat and play foul and violate covenants, break their pledges, repudiate their debts, double cross one other at any time, whenever they feel there is something to be gained by it. Moral anarachy is still the dominant factor which controls them. These same nations want their citizens to be moral, decent, law abiding.

when Ethiopia sought entry to the League of Nations. Italy has no business whatsoever in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is three thousand miles from Italy. Mussolini needs glory. "A party which demands and imposes the renunciation of liberty is in duty bound to bestow greatness on the country." A party which takes away the liberty of a country must give it prestige, glory, greatness. Now Mussolini finds himself forced to live up to his promises. He has not given them prosperity. He must therefore give them military glory, conquest, so he trumped up a reason. He invaded Ethiopia because he needs glory. Bombs rain down upon hundreds of thousands of peaceful people in a distant land and a government which was promised protection by a League of which Italy is an important member. Italy was pledged to the covenant of the League, to the Kellog-Briand Pact of Paris against war. Italy promised

she would never resort to war as a national policy. Italy in 1935 turned her back on the League and violated herpledges in the good old way of brigandry and piracy without stopping to declare war in the invasion of this nation.

Monarchies in the past have seldom evidenced such as present-day dictatorships are evidencing - not only Italy but Great Britain. Great Britain, three years ago, in a similar situation - in the case of Manchuria, in the case of Hapan and China - refused to act, refused to permit the League to act. Now that Hitler has done the same thing when British interests, more particularly involved, now when their interests are involved, England runs to the League of Nations to move heaven and earth against Italy and points to the sinfulness, iniquity of Mussolini. The Government of Great Britain wins a national election on the platform of defense of the League. Three weeks later its foreign minister arranges with the foreign minister of France to reward Mussolini, this sinful wicked man by giving him two-thirds of Ethiopia.

France, ever since the founding of the League, has always plead for collective security. France must some day look to the League for protection against war on the part of Germany. The real security that France will have must be found in a collective security of a League of Nations. But France, in its present day near sighted diplomacy, joined hands with England in formulating a plan which would not only have dismembered Ethiopia but which would have completely destroyed the efficacy of the League for a generation to come. The same old blundering which led nations to war in 1914 and which is preparing them for war

today.

Had Great Britain and France told Mr. Mussolini - had they told Mr. Mussolini when he set out fearlessly over the continent as to what attitude the nations would take - had these two nations told Mussolini that they would resist to the utmost such an adventure, Mussolini would never have ventured on it.

Great Britain in 1934 refused to give a definite response, the same as she failed to do in the fearful days of 1914. France which has been flirting with the idea of an Italian-French Military alliance against Germany gave Mussolini the knowing wink and Mussolini went The bright spot, of course, is that the people in this ahead. instance did not get away with it. So malodorous, infamous a betrayal, even the reactioneries of Great Britian and France refused to stomach it. This is significant - very significant. Fifty years ago such widespread reaction would not have been possible. Chancellries and nations schemed such dark deeds of rape and conquest of the weak and back woods peoples in the past and got away with it. Only a few isolated voices of idealists were raised in protest. It seemed the practical thing to do. Today world public opinion is more enlightened than in the past and people are more readily aroused and more vocal. This is a good sign.

Sir Samuel Hoare was counselled to resign to save the Cabinet. Premier Laval is fuming and orating to save his neck and the life of his Cabinet.

This, of course, doesn't mean a final victory for the League, for the interests of the League may yet be betrayed by governments in

less obnoxious ways. But this first attempt was definitely stopped. And it will take unflagging, vigilance upon the part of justice loving people of the world to avert a second attempt.

A League which cannot impose its authority through sanctions upon a recalcitrant nation is a useless and valueless agency. A state which cannot impose decisions on its courts of law cannot last long. A League must be a powerful League and must be able to impose sanctions upon a nation violating the covenant or it can't function. The Ethiopian war is simply the battleground for this great issue which will decide whether peace will become more and more of a reality in the world or whether war will become more and more iminent in the world.

While the nations of Europe in 1935 were engrossed in the Ethiopian war, Japan proceeded to dismember China and to set up puppet states under its political tutelage and for economic exploitation. Sooner or later, of course, there will be war in the Far East. In all probability when Japan will try to invade Russia.

Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. That should not have been permitted. No nations which are members of the League should be permitted to resign when a decision rendered does not please it, any more than the Southern States should be permitted to leave the Union. A war was waged over that.

The whole subject of national sovereignty must be redefined just as the subject of personal sovereignty has been redefined in the last few years. That is the price of peace. As long as nations will insist on absolute sovereignty they are not subject to any higher law of mankind and there can be no peace in the world.

In 1935, during the last days of the year, a Naval Conference was opened in London to discuss the limitations of armament. It was doomed to failure. It is doomed because the nations came to the Conference inspired by the hope of putting over something on other nations. It will be fortunate if the Conference does not result in setting higher instead of lower limitations for naval armament. The present world war mood is not congenial to disarmament.

In 1935 the United States adopted a "Neutrality Law". In view of the Ethiopian situation, Congress prohibited the exporting of implements of war for a period of six months. The American people now know how it was propagandized by munition makers into joining the World War. They don't want to be dragged into another war to protect exports of munition makers. They don't want to be sacrificed nor to sacrifice their children for the sake of protecting war profits. Those who trade with war countries do so at their own risk.

Our present "Neutrality Law" is not broad or rigid enough because ly, it is buying implements of war in a technical sense. Actual guns, canon are used in fighting. There are, however, other things as important as implements of war. For example, the whole problem in the Italian-Ethiopian situation is involved around oil. Without oil, Italy can't fight. In other words, we must make up our minds that in we must forego profits during in war. However large they might be the amount would be insignificant as compared to the cost of our country if actually dragged into war. We are going to pay for the war of 1914-18 for a hundred years to come - you and your children and your children's children will pay untold billions.

Now the American people has one or two alternatives to choose from.

It must either join the League and work with the other nations in the

imposing of sanctions upon recalcitrant nations, or if it doesn't want to join the League, it must maintain absolute neutrality during war. There is no other alternative.

In our national life, the year 1935 witnessed an improvement in business, an increase in production, in profits, in the national payroll and in the purchasing power of our agricultural population. Nevertheless, there are still ten to twelve million people unemployed and millions more on the relief payrolls. The depression has not yet been licked in the United States. I do not know of anything that we did in the last six years of depression which justifies us in believing that the business improvement is a permanent one or that a similar depression will not occur again.

The New Deal has indeed stimulated production, business improvement, employment to a degree through the extension of credits, public works not projects and federal relief but the New Deal has/really given us a New Deal entirely. The NRA has been outlawed and similar measures vitally necessary to the whole philosophy of the New Deal are now being weighed in the balance of their constitutionality.

The popularity of the New Deal has declined during the past year with the return of a certain amount of business normalcy, of business prosperity. Other slogans are now being heard in the land. New voices are again being heard. They are beginning to "gang" in on the President - to quote a startlingly frank phrase of one of its numbers.

A national campaign is in the offing. Political partisanship will run riot in 1936. The present administration will be painted by its enemies as reds, radicals, and what-not. Our citizens will again be asked to "view with alarm", will again be called on to gaze at things that are

"pointed to with pride."

But one thing will be obscured and overlooked in the heat and fury of the political fray - that six years of the bitterest depression, of want and suffering, of bankruptcies and bank failures, of millions and millions of unemployed - six years of it have taught us nothing about the causes of depression or about its cure - that after six years we have evolved no plan for a national economy which will make a recurrence less possible.

One fortunate thing was achieved in 1935. It is the Federal Social Securities Act of which I spoke a few weeks ago. I regard it as a great achievement. Although this Act is clearly inadequate, neverwee have theless for the first time in the history of our country, protection for the aged and the unemployed, for the protection of mothers through mothers pensions, the protection of the weak and the crippled. This fact is a marvelous step forward. And if most of the things which Mr. Roosevelt tried to do in his Administration prove failures in the years to come his one fact will go down to/eternal credit and will keep his name living in the annals of history.

of the Jewish scene in 1935, I spoke on previous Sunday mornings so I will speak only briefly of it. I want to allude to one or two facts which took place in 1935. In Poland there have been going on serious anti-Semitic riots, particularly among the university groups. The poison from Germany has penetrated to neighboring countries, has infected neighboring countries.

Germany imposed the destruction of the Jewish community which begain in November of 1933. The infamous Muremberg Law disfranchised Jews in Germany, deprived them of their citizenship. Liquidation of businesses

have been going on ever since. As a result, thousands upon thousands of German Jews have been seeking refuge in other parts of the world. New Jewish diasporas are being established - particularly in South America - in Brazil, the Argentine and Paraguay. In Germany there has been a growing phortage of food and an increase of unemployment. The millennium which Hitler promised his people has not come to be.

- Church struggle - intensified in 1935.

1936 may see some momentous things happen in Germany.

During the past year we were agitating to keep the Olympic games out of Berlin. The movement failed but the failure was almost a victory. The decision to send American athletes to Germany in 1936 was won by such a narrow margin that it was almost a victory for the forces which were pledged to try and keep "mericans from participating in the Olympics.

The Nazis are exploiting the Olympiad for Nazi propaganda. Hitler is summoning the youth of the world to come to Germany. All freedom loving in people ought to stay away from Germany and Berlin/1936. Hitler is interested in getting thousands of tourists to come to Germany to help replenish their gold reserve. Because of their poverty, German citizens are unable to buy raw materials. People have to stand in long lines to buy commodities such as butter, etc.

Keep away from Berlin in 1936 so that Hitler will be repudiated forcibly in his own land. When he rises to greet the hundreds of thousands of visitors from all over the world, let him not find them there.

I close with a word about Palestine. Palestine has been one of the tens of bright spots in Jewish history in 1935. Thousands,/thousands of new emigrants have entered. New colonies have been established, cities have expanded. There is a thrilling, throbbing life there. A serious problem

has confronted that community within the last few weeks. The Jews have opposed the establishment of a legislative council in Palestine because membership in the council gives the Jew no minority rights. In this council there are 28 representatives, seven of whom are Jews, fourteen Arabs, five British officials, two British civilian representatives. The Jews feel that this new tribunal might interfere with the project of establishing a homeland for the Jewish people in the world.

The High Commissioner will have vetce power over every problem in the council. Questions of immigration will not be in the providence of the national council. No discussion of mandates will be held in the Council. Nevertheless the very institution, of itself, might serve as a stumbling block in the way of achieving its great objectives and purposes of the mandate given by the League of Nations to Great Britain over Palestine. Only the future can tell what will happen.

So we face the year 1936. No one is able to lift the veil of the coming year. That is not given to mortal men but it is clear from the events which have been developing in 1935 that tremendous events, momentous things will happen in 1936 that will affect the destiny of the world - not only in our land.

May the lights of 1936 be greater than the shadows. That it be a year of peace in the fullest sense of the word is hardly to be expected. We can hope and pray that the year willnot bring us war, that it may be a good year.

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD AND E. 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 29, 1935

TAKING STOCK OF THE YEAR 1935

One of the bright spots in the international situation in 1935 was the repudiation of the infamous and malodorous Hoare-Laval plan for the dismemberment and betrayal of Ethiopia. Public opinion served notice upon the chancelries of the world that there are limits even to the shamelessness and chicanery of international diplomacy. The repudiation of the plan does not mean final victory of the League. Its interest may get be sacrificed in a less bold and obnoxious manner by France and England. Only continued unflagging vigilance will frustrate future attempts.

The League in 1936 must force Mussclini out of Ethiopia or must acknowledge its own helplessness and uselessness. Without the power to impose forceful sanctions upon a recalcitrant nation, the League is valueless. The life and death struggle of the League will center around the issue of sanctions.

While the European nations were engrossed in the Ethiopian affair,

Japan encouraged by its success in 1933, prosecuted her plan further for the

dismemberment of China and for setting up puppet states under its political

tutelage and for economic exploitation. Sconer or later there will be war

in the Far East.

Japan withdraw from the League of Nations. It should not have been permitted to withdraw any more than we permitted the Southern States to withdraw from the Union which they joined voluntarily. Membership in the League should be irrevocable. No nation has the right to announce that it is beyond the pale of international law any more than an individual can claim immunity by proclaiming himself to be beyond the pale of the criminal and civil laws of his state. The whole concept of national sovereignty must be re-defined and modified. This is one of the prerequisites of international peace.

The Naval Conference in London will fail miserably. It will be fortunate

if out of it will come not/a limitation of naval armament but a mutual agreement to decrease armaments. The present world war mood is not congenial to disarmament.

In 1935 the United States adopted a "Neutrality Law". The American people are determined not to be dragged in by exporters, munition makers and financiers into another war. This "Neutrality Law" is not broad enough and far-reaching enough. The term "implements of war", the exporation of which is prohibited by the "Neutrality Law" should not be restricted to its technical meaning. All exports to belligerents should be prohibited. We must forego the profit of such commerce. However great such profits might be, they are insignificant with the colossal losses which we would sustain in another war. We shall pay for the cost of the last war for another hundred years.

In our national life, 1935 witnessed an improvement in business. But more than 10,000,000 people are still unemployed and millions more are on the relief rolls. We have not yet licked the depression. I do not know of anything that we did xx in the past few years to justify us in assuming that the present business improvement is permanent or that there will be no recurrence of a depression. The New Deal has certainly stimulated business and re-employment through bounties, credits, public works and federal relief but it has not given us a New Deal. The MRA has been outlawed and other vital measures are being weighed in the balance of constitutionality. The popularity of the New Deal has declined in 1935. Other slogans are gaining currency in the land, "a balanced budget", "save the constitution", "relief wastes", etc. The myrmidons of big business have found their courage again and their voices, and to use the revealing expression of some of their numbers, they have begun to "gang in" on the President. A national campaign is in the offing. Political partizanship will run riot. There will be a bitter campaign. But one thing will be over-looked. Six years of bitter depression have taught us nothing about the causes of the depression or about its cure. After

six years we have evolved no plan for a new national economy which willmake the recurrence of disastrous depressions less likely in the future.





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