

Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

Reel	Box	Folder
156	56	506

It Can't Happen Here, 1936.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org American Jewish Archives 3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220 (513) 487-3000 AmericanJewishArchives.org "IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE" A Discussion Of Sinclair Lewis' Challenging Book On The Threat of Dictatorship In America.

453

Delivered By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

> At The Temple

On Sunday morning, May 10, 1936 In the Book "It Can't Happen Here" Sinclair Lewis, the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature and author of so many well known books and novels on American life - "Main Street", "Dodsworth", "Arrowsmith", has written yet another novel - a great political tract in the form of a novel - a great national warning in the form of a book, an admonition in a time of crisis.

"It Can't Happen Here" is the story of how dictatorship would come to the United States - the form it would take, the personalities which would be likely to be here, the technique which would be employed, the slogans, the battle cries which would be employed.

The author, of course, draws his material from the experiences of some peoples living in countries of Europe which have dictatorships. But he fits that experience to the American model. Decidedly, this is an American dictatorship which Sinclair Lewis writes about. Its characters which are not Italians, Germans garbed in American speech but authentic American people against an authentic political background. Few people know Americans quite as discerningly as Sinclair Lewis . His novel-tract on what might happen in America is based quite as much on things which at various times in various places actually happened to him as on what has happened in Fascist states abroad.

At the very outset, the author points out the actual kindling which is available in the American scene at any time for a great national conflict. Thus, for example, he makes his main character, Doremus Jessup, reply to one of his friends who says:

"Nonsense! Nonsense!" "That couldn't happen here in America, not possibly! We're a country of freemen."

"The Answer to that," suggested Doremus Jessup, "If Mr. Falck will forgive me, is 'the hell it can't!' Why, there's no country in the world that can get more hysterical - yes, or more obsequious! - than America. Look how Huey Long became absolute monarch over Louisiana, and how the Right Honorable Mr. Senator Berzelius Windrip owns his State. Listen to Bishop Prang and Father Coughlin on the radio divine oracles, to millions. Remember how casually most Americans have accepted Tammany grafting and Chicago gangs and the crookedness of so many of President Harding's appointees? Could Hitler's bunch or Windrip's, be worse? Remember the Kuklux Klan? Remember our war hysteria, when we called sauerkraut 'Liberty cabbage' and somebody actually proposed calling German measles 'Liberty measles'? And wartime censorship of honest papers? Bad as Russial Remember our kissing the - well, the feet of Billy Sunday, the million dollar evangelist, and of Aimee McPherson, who swam from the Pacific Ocean clear into the Arizona desert and got away with it? Remember Voliva and Mother Eddy? Remember our Red scares and our Catholic scares, when all well-informed people knew that the O.G.F.U. were hiding out in Oskaloosa, and the Republicans campaigning against Al Smith told the Carolina mountaineers that if Al Smith won the Pope would illegitmatize their children? Remember Tom Heflin and Tom Dixon? Remember when the hick legislators in certain states, in obedience to William Jennings Bryan, who learned his biology from his pious old grandma, set up shop as scientific experts and made the while world laugh itself sick by forbidding the teaching of evolution? ... Remember the Kentucky night-riders? Remember how trainloads of people have gone to and enjoy lynchings? Not happen here? Prohibition shooting down people just because they might be transporting liquor no, that couldn't happen in America! Why, where in all history has

-2-

there ever been a people so ripe for a dictatorship as ours! We're ready to start on a Children's Crusade - only of adults - right now, and the Right Reverend Abbots Windrip and Prang are all ready to lead it!"

It is, of course, a superstition and a delusion to assume that in a country like the United States or in England or France or any other democracy that dictatorships can never come to pass. That is to take an utterly unscientific and altogether erroneous position that some people or races are congenitally democratic and others autocratic. That is not so at all. Democracy or dictatorship has nothing to do with biology. It is true that some peoples have had a longer experience in self-government than others and to that extent it would be clear to say that such peoples would for a longer time, perhaps, resist dictatorship than others. But to assume that such peoples would have an immunity against a breakdown in democratic governments regardless of what happens - that is a fantasy and a delusion.

The whole purpose of the book is to shake the American people out of this dangerous delusion, to warn them that if they want to safeguard their liberty, they must be on the alert as it was 150 years ago, as it was throughout the history of mankind. And the author is also quick to point out that if dictatorship comes to the United States in practice, it will be quite as brutal, quite as beastly, quite as ready to stamp out the elementary decencies of the people as in all the dictatorships in the whole world. Dictatorships in practice are all alike. Dictators act all alike. Sinclair Lewis says:

"Everyone, including Doremus Jessup, had said in 1935, 'If there ever is a Fascist dictatorship here, American humor and pioneer independence are so marked that it will be absolutely different from anything in Europe.'"

-3-

"For almost a year after Windrip came in, this seemed true. The Chief was photographed playing poker, in shurtsleeves and with a derby on the back of his head, with a newspaperman, a chauffeur, and a pair of rugged steel-workers. Dr. Macgoblin in person led an Elks' brass band and dived in competition with the Atlantic City bathing beauties. It was reputably reported that M.M.'s apologized to political prisoners for having to arrest them, and that the prisoners joked amiably with the guards...at first.

"All that was gone, within a year after the inauguration, and surprised scientists discovered that whips and handcuffs hurt just as sorely in the clear American air as in the miasmic fogs of Prussia."

"Doremus, reading the authors he had concealed in the horsehair sofa - the gallant Communist, Karl Billinger, the gallant anti-Communist, Tchernavin, and the gallant neutral, Lorant - began to see something like a biology of dictatorships, all dictatorships. The universal apprehension, the timorous denials of faith, the same methods of arrest - sudden pounding on the door late at night, the squad of police pushing in, the blows, the search, the obscene oaths at the frightened women, the third degree by young snipe of officials, the accompanying blows and then the formal beatings, when the prisoner is forced to count the strokes until he faints, the leprous beds and the sour stew, guards jokingly shooting round and round a prisoner who believes he is being executed, the waiting in solitude to know what will happen, till men go mad and hang themselves - "

"Thus had things gone in Germany, exactly thus in Soviet Russia, in Italy and Hungary and Poland, Spain and Cuba and Japan and China. Not

-4-

very different had it been under the blessings of liberty and fraternity in the French Revolution. All dictators followed the same rountine of torture, as if they had all read the same manual of sadistic etiquette. And now, in the humorous, friendly, happy-go-lucky land of Mark Twain, Doremus saw the homicidal maniacs having just as good a time as they had had in central Europe."

The year when dictatorship is to come to America is 1936 - in fact this year in which we now live, and the drama of the book unfolds itself as **frmm** seen not from Washington or from New York City but as seen by the eyes of a sixty year old liberal country editor living in a small town in Vermont who derives from the old stock of the American pioneer, possessed of strong independent traditions of New England. And this old fashioned American, Doremus Jessup, who believes absolutely, unquestioningly in liberalism, democracy, the decencies of civilized living, watches apprehensively the rising tide of dictatorship in the United States, battles furiously against it, is borne down and battled by it, but rises to carry on the battle for liberty and freedom and human decencies with head bloody but unbowed for the book closes on the note "And still Doremus goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die."

The national conventions of the political parties are about to be held in the year 1936. The probable nominee for the Democratic Party is not Franklin D. Roosevelt as you might suspect, but Senator Berzelius Windrip who is modelled very closely after the prototype of Senator Huey Long. His description of the Senator is delightful!

"He was a tireless traveler, a boisterous and humorous speaker, an inspired guesser at what political doctrines the people would like, a warm handshaker, and willing to lend money. He drank Coca-Cola with the

-5-

Methodists, beer with the Lutherans, California white wine with the Jewish village merchants - and, when they were safe from observation, white-mule corn whisky with all of them."

"Within twenty years he was as absolute a ruler of his state as ever a sultan was of Turkey."

"Windrip caused the building of impressive highroads and of consolidated country schools; he made the state buy tractors and combines and lend them to the farmers at cost. He was certain that some day America would have vast business dealings with the Russians and, though he detested all Slavs, he made the State University put in the first course in the Russian language that had been known in all that part of the West. His most original invention was quadrupling the state militia and rewarding the best soldiers with training in agriculture, aviation, and radio and automobile engineering."

"The militiamen considered him their general and their god, and when the state attorney general announced that he was going to have Windrip indicted for having grafted \$200,000 of tax money, the militia rose to Buzz Windrip's orders as though they were his private army and, occupying the legislative chambers and all the state offices, and covering the streets leading to the Capitol with machine guns, they herded Buzz's enemies out of town."

"He took the United States Senatorship as though it were his manorial right, and for six years, his only rival as the most bouncing and feverish man in the Senate had been the late Huey Long of Louisiana."

"He preached the comforting gospel of so redistributing wealth that every person in the country would have several thousand dollars a year (monthly Buzz changed his prediction as to how many thousand), while all

-6-

the rich men were nevertheless to be allowed enough to get along, on a maximum of \$500,000 a year. So everybody was happy in the prospect of Windrip's becoming president."

It is quite likely that if ever a dictator would come to our shores, he would be just that type - a good natured, black-slapping, home-spun politician with a good sense of humor but also a cunning and clever, utterly unscrupulous and inordinately ambitious half-zealot and half charlaton with a capacity to bewitch his auditors and himself with the power and magic of his own political harangues.

The platform of Senator Windrip, like the platform of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy is a political stew concocted to attract all the dissatisfied and unhappy people. It is calculated to appeal to the American electorate for emergency powers which would be a cunning concoction of radicalism, pseudo-socialism, share the wealth-every man a king nokum, jingoism and anti-Communism. Such a program would be calculated to appeal to all the disgruntled elements, to the vague idealists, to all those who believe that the nation can become rich by voting itself money and to the mermidons of Big business and industry who would find in the program promises of protection against reds, labor unions, increased income taxes and all troublesome radicalism.

The platform of the Senator is also violently anti-Negro and only less violently anti-Jewish. The negroes would be disfranchised. Then would again be relegated to less lucrative jobs to make the more lucrative jobs available for the followers of Senator Windrip. "It is always desirable to degrade one element in order to make your element superior. Every man is a king so long as he has another man to look down on."

-7-

That is a sound principle of psychology which the Nazis exploited to the utmost in Germany. I am afraid that Sinclair Lewis in his noveltract rather under-estimates than over-estimates the element of anti-Semitism. Judging from the flashes of Fascism in the United States in the last few years, from the type of literature already produced and circulated from one country to another, it isclear they aim to fill the country with the most venomous kind of anti-Semitism. It is undoubtedly going to follow not Italian Fascism, but German Nazism, - if dictatorship comes to America.

In order to fulfil this program which would make every man a king, all that Senator Windrip demands and calls for, is that if elected, Congress shall serve only in an advisory capacity in a period of emergency, leaving all the executive power in the hands of the dictator and that the Supreme Court shall have no power to negate an act of the dictator.

His secretary is a powerful man, a Goebbels, Rosenberg, or Goering, a Machiavellian type of person who is a master of political machinations. He, together with Senator Windrip prepared the ground over a period of years for the establishment of a dictatorship in the United States. This man who organized the League for Forgotten Men, which is like the League for Social Justice, throws his prestige as well as his followers behind Senator Windrip and the Senator is nominated. Whatever has made possible the nomination , whatever elements entered into the nomination, Sinclair Lewis enumerates:

"Most of the mortgaged farmers.

"Most of the white-collar workers who had been unemployed these three years and four and five.

-8-

"Most of the people on relief rolls who wanted more relief." "Most of the suburbanites who could not meet the installment payments on the electric wasning machine.

"Such large sections of the American Legion as believed that only Senator Windrip would secure for them, and **INER** perhaps increase the bonus.

"Such popular Myrtle Boulevard or Elm Avenue preachers as, spurred by the examples of Bishop Prang and Father Coughlin, believed they could get useful publicity out of supporting a slightly queer program that promised prosperity without anyone's having to work for it.

"The remnants of the Kuklux Kan, and such leaders of the American Federation of Labor as felt they had been inadequately courted and bepromised by the old-line politicians, and the non-unionized common laborers who felt they had been inadequately courted by the same A.F. of L.

"Back-street and over-the-garage lawyers who had never yet wangled governmental jobs.

"The Lost Legion of the Anti-Saloon League - since it was known that, though he drank a lot, Senator Windrip also praised teetotalism a lot, while his rival, Walt Trowbridge, though he drank but little, said nothing at all in support of the Messiahs of Prohibition. These messiahs had not found professionalmorality profitable of late, with the Rockefellers and Wanamakers no longer praying with them nor paying.

"Besides these necessitous petitioners, a goodish number of burghers who, while they were millionaires, yet maintained that their prosperity had been sorely checked by the fiendishness of the bankers in limiting their credit.

"These were the supporters who looked to Berzelius Windrip to play the divine raven and feed them handsomely when he should become

-9-

President, and from such came most of the fervid elocutionists who campaigned for him through September and October."

The Senator and Secretary are quick to follow the example of doctators in the Old World and organize their own private army of shirted Minute Men which they use up to the time election as mere marching clubs who actually were to become the private army of the president just as the Storm Troopers in Germany.

The Senator is elected by the people. People sometimes have a way of voting in dictators into power. And the first act of Windrip after he is elected, is to give official standing to the Minute Men, making them officers of the army and issuing machine guns to them. The second act is to ask Congress to pass a law transferring legislative power to the dictator. Congress, of course refuses. Immediately the newly elected president declares a state of martial law. He has the Supreme Court confined to their homes with guard - a sort of protective arrest.

Step by step dictatorship advances. Here and there riots break out as a protest to this violation of the constitution of the United States, but by now, President Windrip has a private army of cut-throats, of gangsters, of assassins who attempt to put down the rebellion. This League of Forgotten Men is now liquidated. There is no longer need of another political party. There is no longer any need for an American Federation of Labor.

The president proceeds to reorganize the country into eight provinces. They proceed immediately to reorganize the educational system of the country. That, of course is/Bolshevik, Nazi, Fascist

-10-

idea of dictatorship - to eliminate all the intellectualism and thinking from the country. Man should be educated to do his job for the totalitarian state. Do not educate mankind to think. Thinking is dangerous. So a university is planned to produce en masse technically trained obedient people. "Entirely omitted from the course of study were Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Biblical study, archaeology, philology; all history before 1500 - except for one course which showed that, through the centuries, the key to civilization had been the defense of Anglo-Saxon purity against barbarians. All the social sciences were eliminated.

"In the realm of so-called "pure science," it was realized that only too much and too confusing research had already been done, but no pre-Corpo university had ever shown such a wealth of courses in mining engineering, lakeshore-cottage architecture, modern foremanship and production methods, exhibition gymnastics, the higher accountancy, therapeutics of athlete's foot, canning and fruit dehydration, kindergarten training, organization of chess, checkers, and bridge tournaments, cultivation of will power, band music for mass meetings, schnauzer-breeding, stainless formulae, cement-road construction, and all other really useful subjects for the formation of the new-world mind and character. And no scholastic institution, even West Point, had ever so richly recognized sport as not a subsidiary but a primary department of scholarship. All the more familiar games were earnestly taught, and to them were added the most absorbing speed contests in infantry drill, aviation, bombing, and operation of tanks, armored cars, and machine guns. All of these carried academiccredits, though students were urged not to elect sports for more than one third of their credits.

"What really showed the difference from old-fogy inefficiency was that with the educational speed-up of the Corpo universities, any

-11-

bright lad could graduate in two years."

The situation goes from bad to worse. The economic condition of the country grows worse. The people are clamoring for \$5,000 a year which is not forthcoming. The poor grow poorer and not richer. Conditions are desperate. The dictator organizes a reign of terror. Concentration camps are put into operation. There is mass execution. Fear hangs like a pall over the American people. People are afraid to talk to former friends.

Jessup waits and watches apprehensively what is happening. An event takes place which shakes him out of his stupor. A famous scientist in New York City and a famous rabbi are assassinated by a member of President Windrip's Cabinet. This American journalist is finally forced to declare his resentment in an editorial. But by that time the minds of the masses of the American poeple are so possessed by dictatorship that a mob breaks into the editor's office. He is arrested by his former gardener who never forgave him that he was a gardener while he was the master. He is taken before a judge and told that his paper, from now on, is to be run by a member of his office. He is to stay as technical advisor while some other party man edits the paper. His son-in-law refuses to submit to the indignation of the Military Judge's decision and is foolish enough to speak insultingly of him. He is taken out and shot.

Doremus Jessup, American, now views, step by step, the onslaught of dictatorship, what it really means. His own library is rifled. His books are used as kindling for a bonfire. One by one, his friends are sent to the concentrations camps which are fast springing up. He tries to escape to Canada with his family but is forced back.

-12-

Then in desperation, he joins up with an underground movement, the headquarters of which are in Canada, which sends its secret agitation throughout the United States to stir up the people against dictatorship. And Doremus Jessup joins the secret small unit of this underground movement in the basement of one of his friends and establishes a printing press and carries on propaganda at the risk of his life. They sacrifice their lives to hold aloft the spirit of old-time American liberties. Then he is arrested and taken to a concentration camp and those who have read accounts of concentration camps by Karl Billinger and Gerhart Seger will understand the descriptions in this book - what a political concentration camp is - all the indignities, all the inhumanities all the sadism which is heaped on the people sent there. All this is now transplanted from Germany to the United States.

And the story moves on rapidly. Sarason and the President finally break. Rebellions spring up. Sarason, in order to detract the attention of the people from all the misfortunes heaped upon them, concentrates on war with Mexico as the only way of unifying the American people. President Windrip is afraid - not of war with Mexico, but he is a raid of putting arms in the hands of Americans. He is afraid that once they have arms, they will turn their weapons against him. There is a break between the President and Sarason who is redly the voice of the party. One night, Sarason's room is invaded and he is given the choice of being killed or sneaking off. Sarason smeaks off but is caught and deposed by the Secretary of War - Haik, a militant dictator and a stern disciplinarian.

While all this is taking place, Doremus finally succeeds in escaping to Canada where he contacts with the underground movement headquarters. He can't remain in Canada, however. His place is in

-13-

American and at the risk of his life, he returns to the United States. You find him, at the close of the book going from hamlet to village, carrying on his propaganda. "And still Doremus goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die."

Can all these things happen here? Given a long depression, given a spineless government unwilling or unable to make drastic reforms for the people, given a cleverand unscrupulous demogogue - and Big Business, hoping to check reform, curb organized labor and reduce taxes by helping to finance such a demogogue, and you can have a dictatorship in these United States, perhaps not as relentless as in Italy and in Germany, but you can have it.

How are we to prevent It? How can we guard ourselves against #7 The answer, my friends, is very simple. There are three ways of guarding ourselves against this blight which has fallen upon tens of millions of people. First to defend, to fight for desperately, to champion every basic American liberty, every constitutional guarantee, every tradition of American liberty, of freedom - not to beguile ourselves into thinking that these liberties can be sacrificed. Once we accustom ourselves to ignore or treat lightly ancient liberties for which man has shed blook the right of free speech, the right of free assembly, etc., it is but one step from turning over our government to gangsters who are suffering nothing themselves. These liberties are your dearest heritage. You will be the people who will suffer most when these liberties are once destroyed, not the ones who destroy them.

Secondly, the way to defend ourselves against Fascism is to expose the forces that are subtly, secretively imposing Fascist ideology upon us. The Mr. Hearsts, who day by day, terrify the American people

-14-

with a trumped up Red Scare - the Germans who seek to give the American people the thoughtthat they are being menaced by Communism - these are the under cover men in the United States - that is how the Nazis got into power. They don't act. They attack communism, radicalism. They incite people to attack radicalism and confuse them until they are actually ready to sacrifice liberalism and democracy.

Lastly, the way to protect ourselves against Fascism and Communism is by reforming our economic life in such a way that there will not be millions of distressed in our midst who pray for radical change.

The answer to dictatorship, my friends, is liberalism, not communism, but liberalism. But unfortunately that is almost discredited today. I close by reading the words written by the man who wrote "It Can't Happen Here."

"He was afraid that the world struggle today was not of Communism against Fascism, but of tolerance a ainst the bigotry that was preached equally by Communism and Fascism. But he waw too that in American the struggle was befogged by the fact that the worst Fascists were they who disowned the word "Fascism" and preached enslavement to Capitalism under the style of Constitutional and Traditional Native American Liberty. For they were thieves, not only of wages but of honor. To their purpose they could quote not only Scripture but Jefferson."

"He saw now that he must remain alone, a "Liberal," scorned by all the noisier prophets for refusing to be a willing cat for the busy monkeys of either side. But at worst, the Liberals, the Tolerant, might in the long run preserve some of the arts of civilization, no matter which



brand of tyranny should finally dominate the world."

It can happen here but it need not happen here.

-16-



1) Traile : Sinclain Lewis-Story of how - forces - personalities - tecurizer - Slogans In all this draws upon - fits - authente. Ten His wovel- that lased quite as well 2). Lit outset author - Kinaling - at all tures - (21) 1. It is a Suker https - I this is to take _ Birlight At is the. 1] Whith purpose - alert - "Elernal Vigitari" also in practice, an J. wit de format (344) 5/ 1936 - Unfolding - Vermont engreped -"And still Denemous Jessup goes on in the red sunsise - for a W.J. can were de" 6] Nat. Connections - Sen. Bergelins windrife - H. Ing" (P.34) am. dictator hilly 7/. Platform. stew. appeal -Virlently Anit - hegro -"Every wan is a King so long as he has some one to loss down on"

Underentivati Janhan. Harkes -&) Remands Congress -9]. Back 5 Windnip _ Sarason _ Toss the. "Clerital Radio Croner" Bishp hang _ what elements - (94) 10/. Minute men" ". Elected - Fust Act - 2nd Step by Step - Rots - "Lugn" "Partes" G.J.L Reary Country Education - (251) 12). Der perate- Economis - Concentration Tamps mass executions "Fear" Book Barning -13/ Dorennes Jessup- Warts- assanchin -14/ His nun libraing - Portlen "He did a lot of complaining about conditions" 15/. Conauthatin Camp - Ohn by One. -This to Except -

16) Underground - Basement-Amerted - "Karl Billinger" - "Serharet Seeges" 71. Dissention _ Rehelling - Muzico: 18/. Seen 5 Was Hack -19). Escapos - Returns -20% Can it Happen Her ?. a Proloz & heckossin _ 21. How to Pornent it?. 1) Fight -() Bet Scan - "hheraless" (b. 1/42) (3) Reform - "hheraless" (b. 1/42)

denever. + other autor. molery had with to do with I- not now prych. It is fine that hat some natures Europe Thus back had a some wheat longle lypenere in set good & in the exercise of pulp. rightfull around - that we have we were the he.t. legges than a they - Mut that they are wares in mune againt a healdown in dus. Egent hyarden, what huppen, to them is a fantany. and or daugeren dehusin. 5. White juncpose of both is to shall been puple losse from that alwarm. To startle them with them on the is joing on the put 50. as well a to the D. in tecning - unifield he much 6. The par for the ondargh I as then in this for § 1936 - and the development this, barna is watched finn and finn week or h. y. but finn watched finn and finn week or h. y. but finn we terment tillen where lives an de forhand born. Repaired crunky ration - Horemons Jerrup - white sur watches apply. the way hide 1 h is aryunged leg il - Bettle January gamt I - is low down Watter but is to racy on the battle Hend that I prove a with not meine fraklig.

5 miclain funis - Noth King - author 7 - Cutie - Reporter -1. a Tract - a Warning - a draw. admoustries - Timely Joreful, - challinging.

2. Hs the story , hav D. come to him - what it did them and have aneworms reacted to it - Its exposes The forces in an life when which a D. adventuces can conjut-the motives behind the which from them - the personally which would direct much a convenient the beauty on which would direct much a convenient the beauty ou which would be surployed - the slopaus & battle con-

In all the J.T. ? Course draw where to shies vatures' cop. with J. but he jits that cop. to his ans model this chas. as and fer in that is to him. jail offerel - but grith an heads and against an welkerty and book provid. Here men term the Can. fight good classes as discerningly & routbrally a 1. T. What win ght haften to be an is load gruts in much on things which at varies times to it races places actually happen I is then - a on wheel herefored in Fourth states abroad.

3. at the way musel anthor shows the Thirding in the. here wady at all times for thend was angle pratien -for for legiterral on most rule & lawkers were, for suppression of likesters in the name of likesty. (21) & a delarion 4. It is a Superbition other hom. a any country - R. Expland - is preven secure against Dut. That is to and the trescitution & artysities enour perstrue that same profiles a saves an conferentally or demples an

). The 1936 Wat the town there's an at the way. The man Who is encywhen spotter of as the Wever raveledate to Facked 7. J. R - who cannot be recommented - Senation Bergelins windrife - modellad after Sen Huy Torg -I this description - is patically httpid - on (p. 34) The am. der. is letter to the part will a stype (preson - out a suggering mithe unlate the Latin a Temping hull the but a good - violand, back stuffing, how there will suggestion and the showed innerent fauthines wercompulsers as half Bealst and half charlatans - with a rapauly to heart " build and that the charlatans - with a rapauly to heart " I this plat former of by the usainfallers, his another any we Platform - "15 Pourt platform for the Injohn here" augentes ster Tradescaling preude - 2 rations mithemin; the maturalising and reaction calcula-ked & allow the maturalising and reaction calculated to appul to all the desprinkled & unkappy and the destrict of the desprinkled & unkappy allered a state of the server idealed the winder that and indust by from them protection ogainst keds and the maries from them protections ogainst The beren the champing plain puffle- the Sunt Whereiter - the serior. I alemandes that Congress dung critical afish while at sensore in adorday raparty - and higher Court shall have us perge to wegat by

I this program is areti- here and bis villenky An element in a firstle an . whet - It and be vident - as vident & thing. as in for - The furt places 5 Fas. ag. taken in U.S - their lates + mayaque - + the part altrave , The of themen reval that they and videnty & vidential anti-f. Camit-ull un the way & Naji-ul Habain Fore - 71 will mall an - a chief plank in perpan - and their stragest fifty - fuck. (8) Back q Winderfs - was his publicity was this her wakened Joseph Goebhel - append in manyhureting a hor mark Schemen a third gright the huld from - Les by their propog. ralled to them: (p.99-25) 9 a Revention in terms & Rotary 10 Organizes, temption on under Hother Stores trothes This Fasci - his un prin "Us unto Unen"- avonted part marching clubs - artually his privat any - to do the wrends and dury the campagin for Election and after election & new his protany to can then his distriburs.

who formed "leager, Ingother them"-Frethe Coryton

"Every man is a King so long as he has

11 Elected - His purtant is to ade M.M. to be required as grind aupling of by um - Fufert The to hun Farson. That are suchere prin he wood to Them: DItis 2 what won to act layour to pars a low your heir complete with t 1 de . + areentin - Repiked - Purlam stats Martine Caro. 100 Coverne amerted S M. 1% beech wurker / Tupren Cent confined this dus have gaspred J. M. 14. 12 Reyn, Tenn spreads - Ship to 1hop plantin is stemped out - Rists place up - blooder put down by h. lh - tanta feed. I take - in metaling allestic coupled - that the Jepanets we for land alwheld - that devided but & popular for their M. Atthes we then rules town of the their M. Atthes we they put for but pown flips 13. for top Brulah - A Jessul - refs the D. we can dens with a it work his own Suntap. This paramea feller haved thead Loding, becaus certitains of ful. heldensig when mit B. is un center - de Where reported his loves portion, his better who Now his master.

13 - here Rever to county - Strunan -Revy. Educat. Fraken - aboled many humenets. - maller more wells. cally -Provant "infele trabino" hactoral "undern" curnulum. Classe muld all hertay hefen 1500 - all for. tauer re-wall "hleratin" a nuch desenvored - (p. 251) Economies - pm-N. Derferate - Concerchatur Camps - raves - Kidnaflingman yentur - Celebretes O afraid to Speak . - Every me fet fren - nameden and munipresent - WRHS (2) Book - hung NA Know hefere 1300 -Shakepun bucken - defailure Threes -

19. Jesup - waits - watches - defracher allowing ver fait Hears of hutal nunder of an ecunit bidgist als. Shuwalt and a balls als. Know de Very- & a Spunker Wonfing about - Hector Maggothus - Ley 9 Elicenter (Wonfing about - Hector Maggothus - Ley 9 Educations and their acquited - united to attack - The attacked by not - awked - by his primes jardene - now Consansfrance - (hached) - + ordered by Mulertay Judge - to they as a pelining adne while some other back man soll perfer. while he has his san-in-law condening & dealth privineting M. Judge. 16. His own ahan ufled in Brok hung-- This avant hearing, clushaked ed. , Deckin -"he had a los g durplang about conditions" H. Concentration. Campand there we the Viening for firende on by me find there we the Frad back I Twen to excape to Cavala - # Frad back A. Tum to Com manist underpowl - deraffault hhud -N.U. - agent - Jowis - Stoh. secret press To basement glame of Buck Tothis hherd and aundert fang Tennen - Carris on and prop-

201. amental have squeed , M. 14, beaten, Hulled, have punition demokad - Concentration Camp-There who have wad - accounts FR.C. by excepted Jewan - Karl Bithogh - Suchand Scage horn- warther - Jeth- Tadem - 5 there places - the heathers - lasher - promy 7 grants 1 carta nil - baryunks 21. Encape - to Cavada. 22- Wetater brock with Taroson - Source mailes henry val marter the country-Rebelin - Undel hart h. West - Learner was - anaye to be ineralter by they, 20 - defebrable mer det a bills Windrif Appen- ud wordy- afraid? Weight with arms -Auvade his bed com - Kell - sneak If - to France 23. Saussen - depart thelad by Seen (Why taik - Will. tout detater - stem ducephicanon-24

24- letres tov. 5. to cary on -

25. Can it Hoppen Hur. It can. a tailinged defression of a spenders givent afrain to more dractically torsaind reform of an uncomputers + gifted denivy + Big Bus. hopen to check hopen reform, curl org. Calin + reduce tapes by Substances to prease with a denvog -

26. How to prement it? O Comogens defense fam. Cout. likether. O hed Scare - Heart - Naji fuite -Johans my for Farmer -Sentime sam / Spritter = Concount -3 Reform - anna to Fax is us lim. Mut liberalisms_

p.432. -

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1936

ermon 456

" IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE "

It is a fond delusion that American or any other country is forever secure against a breakdown of democratic government or the establishment of a dictatorship. To assume this is to take the unscientific or utter erroneous position that some peoples or races are congenitally or temperamentally democratic and others are not. Bid ogy has nothing to do with it - nor race psychology. It is true that some nations have had a longer experience in self-government than others and to that extent they may resist dictatorship longer than others. But that they are forever immune against it is a sweet but dangerous delusion.

The whole purpose of Sinclair Lewis' book "It Can't Happen Here" is to shake the American people into an awareness of what is going on around them or within them and to remind them that eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty. It is also true that if a dictatorship ever comes to America in practise, it will be quite as brutal and indecent as the dictatorships of the Old World. Terrorism has no geographic nuances.

A American dictator is likely to be the type of person whom Sinclair Lewis describes as a good natured, homespun, back slapping politician with a sense of humor, but shrewd, unscrupulous, inordinately ambitious, half zealot and half charalton, with a capacity of bewitching himself as well as his subordinates by the incantations of his own émotional harangues.

The platform by which such a dictator would appeal to the American Electorate for emergency powers would be a cunning concoction of radicalism, pseudo-socialism, share the wealth - every man a king hokum, jingoism, and anti-Communism. Such a program will be calculated to appeal to all the disgruntled elements, to the vague idealists, to all those who believe that the nation can become rich by itself money and to the mermidons of Big Business and Industry who will find in the program promises of protection against reds, labor unions, increased income taxes and all troublesome radicalism.

The time for the old-fashioned American liberals to fight dictatorship is now - not later on when Fascism is already in the saddle. Then it will be too late. A bitter and determined defense of every American liberty endangered at any time is part of the price which we must pay for remaining free men. The defense of traditional American liberty - of free speech, free press, the right of free assembly - should not be left to chance or to a few visionaries and idealists. It should be the daily of every thoughtful American who prizes his heritage of freedom.

Red Scares are tried and tested Nazi tricks for the overthrow of democratic government. Fascism never makes a frontal attack. It persuades people to sacrifice their liberties out of their fear of radicalism.

The xtxx strongest safeguard of democracy is the reformation of our economic life so that people will have security and a decent standard of living. They will then be loyal to the institutions which protect them. They will not listen to adventurers, economic quacks, and medecine show doctors. Those who fight mass reforms are dangerously or unconsicously the Minute Men of an American Fascist adventure.

-2-