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An American Abroad, 1936.

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
AN AMERICAN ABROAD
Impressions of the Turbulent Political and Social Scene
in Europe Gained During My Summer Visit Abroad

By
Rabbi Abbba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday Morning, October 11, 1936

The world of Europe, my friends, gives one the impression of being a world of gathering storms. You are not certain that these storms will break or pass away. One lives in Europe today almost continuously on the edge of sensation upon which sensation - dramatic - you come to expect a revolution, a putsch or a broken treaty almost each day with your morning coffee and another with your afternoon apertif.

I spent less than two months in Europe this summer. Yet, during that comparatively brief time from the point of view of history, there occurred riots and stay-in-strikes on a national scope in France, the beginnings of that terrible bloody revolution in Spain, a new Fascist dictatorship was established in Greece, the revocation of sanctions against Italy, the refortification in the Dardanelles, the riots in Palestine, the German-Austrian pact which practically put an end to the Stresa front, the beginning of a putsch in Danzig, a bloody wave of trials in Soviet Russia, the increase in time of military service both in Russia and in Germany - these and numerous minor sensations occurred within a few short months this summer. So that one can readily understand why Europe is jittery and on edge and no one knows what tomorrow will bring for it. There is no course of history any more. There is no more line of adventure any more so that you can predict on the basis of past events what will transpire next week or next month.

I returned home just in time to hear the opening guns of the national campaign. Here, too, I found a sort of war mood. The air was thick and blue with charges and recriminations and denunciations and rabble-rousing. America, too, was going through the motions of political war. I assure you, that all this is mere child's play, a mock battle in

comparison to what is going on abroad. Here, we know that after November Third, the air will automatically clear itself and men will go about their business as before. It has been our practice every four years before election to view with alarm. After election, we lose both the view and the alarm. America goes on. That is the difference between what is going on in America and in Europe today. In Europe when they talk of dictatorship, revolution, war, it is all in dead earnest. Here it is heat and scare stuff campaigning. There they live in the midst of it or right next to it. There it is deadly, sharp, positive.

I wasn't surprised at all on coming back to this country to hear so many returning Americans spontaneously give expression to feelings of relief and gratitude as soon as they caught sight of the skyline of New York, of the outline of the majestic figure of the statue of liberty still holding aloft the torch of freedom and peace which for so many years greeted the eyes of grateful hearts whether of natives returning home, or of immigrants coming to seek new homes in a new world. One prays that this new world will old never become like the old world because the world today is a very sad one, a very, very sad one.

What I found over there - what particularly impressed me - for I have been observing this tendency for the past eight or ten summers when I have gone abroad - is the sharpening of the line of class cleavage and the widening of the gap between the Right and the Left. Classes are organizing themselves into armies to fight one another. They are actually in uniform preparing to fight not a foreign enemy but their own fellow citizens within the country. Class loyalty seems to be eclipsing almost everywhere national loyalty. And such a vindictiveness as one finds in this class struggle,

such a churlishness, such a sadism, makes one heartsick to observe it. All the elementary mandates of civility seem to be complete ignored. It seems as though the masters of mental and verbal violence are to be found everywhere, sad to say.

Nations in Europe today are not so much concerned with foreign war as with a threat of social war. Civil war is a greater threat than foreign war. Concession, compromise, adjustment - which is the technique of the liberal - is hardly anywhere in sight and that seems to be crowded out by a new mood - the mood to win all along the line and to remain dominant forever after by completely crushing and liquidating your opponent. One of the most disheartening things in the whole situation is that the conservative party, the so-called parties of the Right, the possessive classes, are continually giving evidence of the fact that they have no intention to abide by a democratic decision at the polls if that decision happens to run counter to their interests. The conservative groups, the possessing groups throughout Europe are giving clear evidence that they will stop at nothing. They will foment civil war, they will invite foreign invaders into the country, sacrifice the interests of the country without scruples if and when their economic privileges and power are endangered.

Today, of course, Spain is the tragic proof of this fact just as Italy and Germany were a little while back. A conservative press all over the world seems to have given people the impression that rebellion is the work of noble patriots, a fine splendid group of loyalists, patriots, defenders of religion who suddenly arose determined to serve their country, that the rebels were the saviors of their country. The present government of Spain

was elected democratically in Spain last February by an overwhelming vote and at the time there was not a single socialist or communist in the Cabinet. This government which was backed by the Popular Front, by the socialists, by all Spain because it was anti-Fascist, anti-monarchist, has attempted to put through desperately needed economic and social reform in a country where the people were unspeakably impoverished masses and were kept in ignorance and illiteracy. The landowners, industrialists, absentee investors who have mining concessions in Spain, bankers and certain elements in the church plus the old time monarchists decided to smash this legitimately constituted government of Spain and the military class was the spearpoint upon the attack of the government. These Fascists who claim to have a monopoly on the patriots, denounced the government and have called in Mohammedan Arabs to kill Christian Spaniards and the scum of the Foreign Legion to destroy the peace of the government. The patriots have promised the Fascists of Italy unimportant Spanish possessions if victorious, in order to receive help from them. They are ready to sacrifice land belonging to Spain - to weaken Spanish possessions just to put themselves in political control of Spain just as Louis XVI did in France at the time of the French Revolution.

It is important to remember when you hear people harangue about communist organizations that since 1918 there hasn't been a communist dictatorship established in the world and there have been more than a dozen Fascist and semi-Fascist dictatorships established on the pretext of checking communism. It is clear that the conservative or reactionary elements in Europe are determined not to allow the use of the democratic apparatus in any country to make necessary economic adjustments within the country.

This is tragic. In the case of Spain, whoever wins, Spain stands to lose. Spain is being destroyed by this cruel bloody civil war. The present government will probably lose because of the immorality and the cynicism of the Fascist regimes in Europe which have pledged themselves and have given their word to a neutrality pact not to aid either the present government nor the rebels. The fascist governments, however, have no sense of morality. They have been pouring in munitions and arms to Spain for the Fascist element. Democratic governments have a sense of morality and are unable to help the present government even though it is the legitimately constituted power.

The present government will lose out. A Fascist government in Spain, however, could never win either. The population is smouldering. They will remain restless, waiting for a first opportunity to break out again. It is a tragic situation. There seems to be no hope in the situation. The only gain which mankind may score up as a result of civil war may be this. Fascist adventurers have learned that from now on it will be very costly to put through a Fascist attack upon governments. Democracies have learned to defend themselves. The so-called revolutions in Germany and Italy were not revolutions at all. As you know, Mussolini's march on Rome was a parade not a revolution and the Nazis won power in Germany through parliamentary tactics. They scored a majority in the Reich and then outlawed every other party and established themselves as the sole party. There was no opposition. In Spain there has been opposition mobilized for the first time and the Fascists have suddenly discovered that it isn't such an easy thing to overthrow a democratic government.

I was in France on July 14 and saw the great demonstration of the French Popular Front, five hundred thousand strong, marching. They asked

for nothing but peace, freedom, bread. But every impartial observer who watched that parade was left with one conviction - that if any Fascist adventurers would try a Fascist overthrow of the French Republic, the streets of Paris would be drowned in blood.

The struggle in Spain which I watched from across the border this summer may not immediately lead to a European war but it is certainly not of purely local significance. It has continental implications. If the present government wins and the Fascists are defeated in Spain it might mark the beginning of a definite recession of Fascism in Europe. If, on the other hand, the present government loses and a Fascist government is established in Spain, if the Popular Front government collapses, Fascist adventurers in France will feel encouraged to try the same thing there. And what will happen in France will shake the whole world. Spain, then, in a sense, is the battlefield of Europe where issues which divide every country in the world are being fought.

I spent most of the summer in France and watched very closely and with much interest the new government headed by that great French statesman and Jew, Leon Blum, his almost superhuman task, and it does not seem likely that his government will last very long. Perhaps this very Spanish situation may soon overthrow it because if the Madrid government loses out, is captured, Blum will not be able to hold in line the communist wing and the radical wing and without them, he does not control a majority and he is through.

His radical friends have blamed Blum for initiating the neutrality move which put the legitimate government rebels of Spain on the same level as the Fascist element thus denying help to either. Blum figured that the present government would be strong. He did not figure on the cynicism of

other Fascist countries in Europe.

Blum succeeded in putting through important social reform in France, many years over-due. They are not communist reforms. Many of these reforms have been in existence in the United States for a generation - the 40 hour week, vacation with pay, higher wages, control of the wheat market, the nationalization of the munitions industry which business has of France been a scandal ever since the World War when the munition industry/was supplying arms to the enemies of France during the war. As you may have read in the last two weeks, Blum has maneuvered one of the most significant moves in Europe - the devaluation of the franc. It will make possible a resumption of international trade, an effort to stabilize the whole monetary system of Europe bringing into cooperation the three great democracies of the world - England, France and the United States.

The foreign policy of France remains what it was and remains as difficult as it ever was. France is afraid, mortally afraid of a rearmed Germany. France is afraid of a war. France wants security. France realizes now that there is no security in the League of Nations. It is now seeking alliances with England and Russia. If France could make an alliance with England, she would feel secure. England is not really certain. England will not go the whole way. The English Foreign Policy has been ~~the~~ most undependable and confused in the last few years. England has suddenly discovered that she is not as strong as she was. Therefore she has adopted a policy of retreat. She is pulling in until such time as she becomes strong again. England put through a treaty with Germany - a naval treaty - without consulting France. France regarded that as an act of bad faith. Then the

Ethiopian situation developed. England called on France and France refused to back up England. When the Rhineland situation developed, France again called on England and England refused to help France.

All this has played into the hands of dictators. Italy succeeded in taking possession of Ethiopia and Germany scrapped every clause of the Versailles Treaty. Hitler will begin to lay down the law in Europe.

The German Foreign Policy is, of course, very clear. They are playing up to England. They will isolate France, then strike East in Russia, Destroy communism, then turn around and destroy isolated, paralyzed France. Then Germany will become the master of Europe. And in despair, France who knows that this is no secret to any nation in the world, has turned to Soviet Russia to form an alliance with her, a rather strange alliance between a capitalist government like France and a communist government like Russia. This fact has alienated Rightist sentiment in England who would rather see the British Empire lose strategic points through capitalism than suffer through growing communism. It has even alienated the Rightist faction in France itself which is today the only military protection outside of its own army which France has in Europe. Of course, nobody really talks about the League of Nations any more ever since that dramatic incident when the negroes of Ethiopia went before the League and demanded justice against a government which violated their sovereign rights. Following that dramatic appeal after which the League said that nothing could be done about it, the prestige of the League has sunk to nothing - so much so that a Nazi officer from Danzig could "crock a snook" at the whole assembly - the whole League of Nations.

The people of Europe, the masses of Europe still speak of peace. I spoke of this great demonstration which I saw in Paris - 500,000 people marching and chanting "Le pain, la paix, la liberte! On the day before, a silent vigil was kept at Verdun - that fortress around which waged the most desperate battle in the World War. 30,000 people assembled on that historic battlefield of Verdun. A torch had been lit at the flame which burns everlastingly over the tomb of the unknown soldier and on the evening of the 13th of July, in the presence of this assembled host of ex-soldiers standing around the monument around which the battle had raged for so many months and where the ground had been ploughed up so terrible, where the ground had been soaked with the blood of human beings - at that place they kindled a flame. As the Bugle sounded the "Sonnerie aux Morts" each of the 30,000 men dropt a flower on the 30,000 graves and repeated the following: "Pour la Paix du Mond!" For the Peace of the World! A little girl standing on the steps also repeated "Pour La Paix du Mond!" These ex-soldiers who had been wounded, blinded and crippled in the World War took this oath: "Because those who rest here and elsewhere, have gone to the peace of the dead only to establish the peace of the living - and because it would be sacrilege for us to allow what the dead abhor, we swear to safeguard and to will the peace which we owe to their sacrifice."

And again the bugles rang out and the silent vigil through the night began.

Peace - that is what is in the hearts of the masses of the world and what they are clamoring for. They don't seem to know how to get it. They have lost faith in all movements for disarmament. Disarmament is not a prelude for security - only mutual assistance is the essential step towards disarmament and peace. (Leon Blum).

The Labor group in England - the British Labor Party voted last week in Edinburgh three to one for more armament because of the fear increasing danger of dictatorship. But the because is not important. One nation increases armament because of this. Another increases armament because of that. The cause is not important. The important thing and the fact is that all the people are engaged in a race for rearmament which will eventually lead to war. They are afraid of something and until that fear vanishes from the hearts of the nations of Europe you will have a continuing rearmament; you will have the continued menace of war; and you will have war.

There are people who say you must remove all the causes of war before you can have peace. There are many liberals in Europe who say if you give the German government all they want, then you will have peace in Europe. There is no way of removing all causes of war just as there is no way of removing all the historic wrongs which have been committed.

What the world needs is the machinery for compulsory arbitration of international differences, open channels for legitimate revisionism, a police forcing collective group which will immediately and automatically stop an aggressor in his tracks before carrying out his design and confronting the world as Hitler did with a "fait accompli".

Europe will come to that. There must be law. There must be International Law. There must be a police force to enforce International Law and until such time, Europe will continue to be what it is - a world of gathering storms. Collective action for collective security - that is the key to the whole situation in this mad world which is Europe today.

This is what an American learns when he travels abroad in the year 1936, and what he learns about America. America can best serve the interests of

mankind by preserving and protecting her own democratic institutions, to help Europe without assuming any messianic role of savior. Europe is quite capable of helping herself if it wants to. It has the same intelligence, I assure you. And Europe must take the initiative in showing America the need for cooperation, the need for collective action, for collective security and the peace of the world.



1. Europe is a world of gathering storms. You do not know where the
storms will break or pass over. You live on the edge of sensation.
You come to expect a revolution, a protest, a riot, ^{a strike} a demonstration,
the spring or the scrapping, a treaty with your morning coffee
and another - with your afternoon aperitif. I was in Europe
less than 2 months - In that time there were triumphal
victory-wide stay-in-homes and riots in France, the beginning
of the bloody revolt in Spain, the ~~scandalous~~ break-up, the Shesha
front thus ~~with~~ ^{was} the Austro-German pact, a Forest dictatorship
set up in Greece, another fearful blood-purge by way of mass
trials in Soviet Russia, the air initial protests by the Nazis in
Germany, the end of sanctions against Italy, Riots in Palestine,
the blandishments resorted, length of military service increased
in Japan - Russia - and many other serious political & economic situations
which keep Europe seething, jittering - on edge.

I returned home just in time ^{to head the} for the opening of the show
~~that put our people~~. Here, too, I found a sort of a
war mood - a clash of political opinions, the atmosphere filled
with charges, countercharges, denunciations and rabble-
rousing. But let me assure you, that all this ^{is} exactly what
which makes sense, our more quibbling citizens, but around
the collar is child's play, a mock battle - in comparison
with the life-and-death struggles going on abroad. After here 3-
the war knows the smooth path will clear away - and men
will go about their business & customary ways, life & speech,
what party is elected. Always, before a hot election, we
live with alarm - and after election we forget both the
reason & the alarm. America goes on!

In Europe - this business is in dead earnest. Talk

Mr. Enloe - this business is in dead earnest. Talk

^{on their spirit} ^{slaughter and} ^{scar-head}
of revolution, dictatorship, war - are not campaign stuff over
there - They are real things. - They are next door to you - as in
your very midst.

It didn't surprise me at all, therefore, when the expressions
of relief and gratitude which, quite unconsciously, came from the
lips of Amer-whos like myself were returning home, when their
ship pulled in by Harker - and they saw at the first
sight, the sky-line, the city - and the heroic figures of
statue, liberty - still holding aloft the torch of freedom - and
peace - which for so many years had been the eyes of
grateful hearts whether of nations was a magnificent
come to see it a home of us - and a new hope.

2. What I found - was a sharpening, the lines, class cleavage
in Europe - a widening of the gap. Right and left
were frantically, ruthlessly, blindly ag. against each other.
They were becoming more fierce, not sections of one people - one
nation - but opposing ~~armies~~ armies. They actually put
themselves into army uniforms - drilled - secretly
armed each - against the day of bloody decision -
The sense of nation - was yielding to sense of class.
Class loyalty was taking precedence over nat. loyalty.
A vindictive, cherishing, hatred - a ruthlessness & brutality.

All mandates of sympathy -

Masters of verbal & mental violence -

Nations of Europe divided to-day not only vertically -

The social war - The civil war - is a greater threat ^{we} to foreign

Concession, compromise, adjustment - which is the temper
of the liberal - is hardly any where in sight - Men of force
are determined to win all and never afterwards dominate all
by crushing completely & exterminating - all opposition.

3. One of the disheartening facts in the situation is the growing conviction
that the conservative elements in any given country will not
~~consent~~ to abide by any democratic decision at the polls - if they
can help it - if the decision runs counter to their interests.
They will try to overthrow such a govt. by force. They will
foment civil war, invite foreign intervention if necessary
and without any scruples or hesitations ^{will} ~~scraps~~ ^{decide} ~~withhold~~
their country - and even sacrifice its nat. interests, - to
secure their privileges & powers.

Spain, & Cuba, was the way in ^{fact} ~~fact~~ of this summer
just as Italy & Ger - were a while back.

Conservative Pres - rebellion made of noble patriots - defenders
of religion. As if loyalist sent. fomented rebellion.

~~the~~ Present sent - ^{last Feb} ~~by ally~~ and at time of ^{Reb.} ~~no~~ ¹⁰⁰ ~~so~~
a commitment in it - altho there formed it. but it was
anti - fascist - anti-clerical & anti monarchist.

Rebels - military junta - landowners - ^(exploited) ~~peasants~~ ^{peasants}
^{enemies to} monarchist - clericals - kept Spain in ignorance.

Employ - Arabs - Foreign ^{front} ~~Lyons~~ ^{of} ~~Lyons~~ ^{industrial} ~~Lyons~~ ^{and small bus. war}

These reactionary elements - will not allow democ.

Machine ^{to divide the estate} ^{to give, threaten & buy} ~~the~~ ^{used} ~~to~~ ^{convert ancient abuses}
They will - as they have - united and of Italy, Ger - Portugal
- and prepared to turn over - if victory - ^{unfettered}
hands of the Mussolinis - to them - warring ~~and~~ ^{anything}

(4)

4. Such is the "badgering" these people. - They who denounce the "Internat^l ~~protection~~ ~~of the~~ ~~Con. Union~~ - who talk of nat. honor.

These fascists adv. rant about memoire of Comm. debates -
since 1918 - not a single Comm. debate has been stated.
in the world - More than ^{4 dozen} ~~50~~ Fascist & Semi F. debaters.

5. Treachery - Whom ever wins - Spain loses - First with May, Los -
 Rebels caused war - Hollers victory - Workers - Peasants
 will ~~not~~ revolt at first opportunity - No hope in sight!
~~Whom ever wins - Whom ever loses - Whiteness will follow~~
 bloodiest and war - Earliest civil war -

6. Only gain to mankind - lesson - that Fascists victories in future will prove very costly affairs.
 Mem. have learned to defend Eas.
 Fas. Rev. has to prove practically unopposed! "March of Rome" - Nazis - Parham. tactics. No opposition!
 In Spain ^{First det. of the} ~~The Popular Front~~ but back - a staggering blow
 It is still fighting - There was no comp".

- Names have banned their lesson - Instructions -
"Popular Front", org. - descrip - mobilization.

- Across the border - France - "Front Populaire" - 500.000
- Every Front adventure - and street Paris - run red
with blood

7. If Sp. Govt. will win - and treachery of H. H. ^{characteristics - character} ^{not up to date} matters it unlikely -
- must begin with def. version of Tr. in Europ - If not -
if Pop. Front part collapse - But set up - ~~Paris~~ French
adventure in France - and which will shake Europe and
the world - And the De La Roche - Jacques Roux -
are waiting...

To that extent, Sp. civil war, which nations, may proceed in
isolating it - will be nevertheless a major battlefield of Europe
to-day - where issues determining the whole continent
are being fought out -

8. I was in Fr. West, Summer - Watch Govt. of Leon Blum
Difficult task - Domestic problems - Foreign problems
May not last long.

Spaniards and war may cause his downfall -

His Govt. had an auspicious beginning - in spirit, Blum.
Put through important social reforms - tho not at all Comm.

~~a few days~~
(1) 40 hrs (2) Higher Wages (3) Vacations (4) Control of Wheat
market (5) Nat. of minimum wages (6) Monop. Control of
Europe de France "Les Familiales"

Ended disastrous era of Deflation.

Now - devaluated Franc - Fixed - Stabilization -
will help to end econ. prop. of Europe - and crazy
effort at int. autarky and self containment.

Revs. World Trade - Some thing which our
country has been advocating for a few years.

~~Snipes - "Jew" - Blum~~

Opposition - Strong - little - Protesting this week. These

9.7. foreign policy - same - Security - Great Fear - Germany - 'War on Versailles' '66
- League made pact -

Separate albanis - ~~the~~ Eng - Italy - Russia -

Eng. will not go whole way - uncertain quantity - strong pro-

German sentiment in England - Even among liberals
Eng. does not know its own mind - divided - Impoverished - Policy with a moral

(1) Anglo-Germ. Naval Treaty - British bad faith
to back up.

(2) Ethiopia - Sanchez - France refused to back any up.
" " " " " " F. up.

(3) Phenylant- Decupat. Exp.

(4) Spain -

(4) Spain -
All this has played into hands of Dict. - Italy in Ethiopia
Gen. script every clause ; Verdell - Revised etc.

10. Germ. policy - to keep Eng. neutral in a conf. ^{Gives up - for them} ~~Says the English~~ ^{They} ~~would not~~
isolate & paralyze France - ^{Russia} ~~Soviet~~ - & then
beat France - No Germany.

11. In despair - Fr. turned to Poriet - just as sov. anxious -

1) Abstracted Rightest sentiment in Eng - rather see
Mr. Empire lose sharp points than calculations suffer
than many concessions - Factor in Ethiopia -
and Rhine - & Spain

(2) Made Hitler see "Red"

(3) Arnold Rightist in France - who place
properly loyalty above nat. loyalty

Demand abrogation & Post-Rend financing mechanism

12. League - Weall - Sancharis - Regus - In 1881 - Arthur
Feisen - Dany - "crooked & sunk" at Ligny
13. Get people want. peace.

Le pain - La Paix - la liberte

Verdun - Vigil. - July 13 - 30.000 ; All out - Torch lit -

Ornament at Dismantment - Silence - ~~Boys~~ Funer Ball -

14. Dismantment - Less Blame . Torch - Boys Spoked "Sonnen aux Morts" - God was drift flame
unmanned "Pour la Paix du Nord"
3 times - Child - "Discher Ball"
- " is a prelude to security "
- Mutual Assistance - is the essential step towards Disa.
and Peace.

(8) British Labor Party - Edinburgh - 3 to 1.

"Because of attitude of dictators" -

(r) Cannot remove all causes, war - Greed! Unlikely
ambitions!

Not can all historic wrongs

Need machinery for compulsory arbitro. & diff

Open channels for eq. revision in

And collective action in possible prevention of
aggression

15. Europe is the world must come to that: - Whether
they all go dict. or democ. - stay cap. or go Communist
- There must be such a thing as Int. Law - Intn.
Courts of Law Intn. Agencies to enforce
law - order and peace

1) Storms - You live on edge of sensations - You come to expect a revolution - 2 months -

I returned Home - Guns - After Nov. 3

View with alarms - In Europe - dead earnest

Talk of revolutions

It did not surprise me

2) What I found - a sharpening of lines -

Org. against each other - uniformed armies

Class loyalty -

Vindictiveness -

Mandates -

Masters of verbal

Vertically -

Social War - greater threat -

Concessions - win all - dominate all

3) One of the disheartening - not abide - overthrow -
forment - invite -

Spain - tragic proof - this summer.

Conservative Pres. - Reds - Rebels - Patrists

Present Govt - elected last Feb. - No soc. - Backed

Rebels - Military junta - Arabs

Invited Italy - Germany - Louis XVI -

Such is the "Patriotism" - Communist - Rant

The reactionary - will simply not allow - abuses

Tragedy - Whom wins -

4- Only gain - Costly - "March on Rome" -

• Masses have learned - Division - "Popular Front"
org. disapp - mobilize

Across border - France - 500,000 - Blood -

5- If Sp. govt wins (treachery - neutrality) -
If not - France - shake Europe - Dr. La Roche
To that extent - Battlefield, Europe -

6. I was in France - Summer - Leon Blum -
Difficult Task -
May not last long - Spain

Auspicious Beginning - Social Reforms - 200 families
Ended disastrous era of deflation - France.

Opposition - Rising

7. Foreign Policy - Security - "Was a Vassalage"

League inadequate - Alliances -

England will not go whole way - Uncertain
strong pro-ger.

(1) Anglo-ger. Naval Treaty.

(2) 6 thursia - France refused

(3) Rhineland - England "

(4) Spain -

Far east gains - (thursia - Versailles

8. German Policy -

9. In despair Fr. turned to Soviet -

Abandoned Rights in Eng. - Hitler - at Home -

Property rights alone

"Because those who rest here and elsewhere, have gone to the peace of the dead only to establish the peace of the living - and because it would be sacrilege for us to allow what the dead abhor, we swear to safeguard and to will the peace which we owe to their sacrifice -

Again the bugles rang out, and the silent vigil began.



KADDISH CARD

ADOLPH E. WEINBERG
MRS. FANNY GROSS

and

MORRIS GROSS

The anniversary of whose death occurred during the
past week.



MEMO

FROM

RABBI A. H. SILVER

Good Member,

C/o Colston
Leigh




521 Van

NYC

Reu Chellman

F a 4¹¹55

W. indenthal



Sermon 452

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD
AND EAST 106TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 11, 1936

AN AMERICAN ABROAD

I returned from Europe just in time to hear the opening guns in our national campaign. Here, too, as in Europe, I found a sort of war mood. There was a sharp clash of political opinion. The atmosphere was ~~in~~ blue with charges, incriminations, denunciations and rabble-rousing. Let me assure you that all this is child's play and a mock battle in comparison with the life-and-death struggles going on abroad. Here we know that after November third, the smoke of battle will clear away, that men will go about their business regardless of which party will be elected. Always before a National election, the American people view with alarm. After election, they forget both the view and the alarm.

In Europe, however, this business is in dead earnest. When they talk about revolution, and the overthrow of government, and dictatorship, and civil war over there, they are not using scare-head campaign stuff. These are real things over there. Nations either live in the very midst of them or are next door to them.

I found, abroad, a sharpening of the lines of class cleavage and widening of the gaps between Right and Left. The sense of nation was yielding to the sense of class. Civil war is a greater threat to many nations in Europe today than foreign war.

The ~~disheartening~~ disheartening fact in the situation is the growing conviction that the conservative elements will not abide by a democratic decision at the polls if that decision runs counter to their vital interest. They will try to overthrow such a government by force. They will not hesitate to foment civil war or to invite foreign intervention. Since 1918, there has been not a single communist dictatorship established anywhere in the world. But more than a dozen Fascist and semi-Fascist dictatorships have been established.

Spain, of course, is the present tragic proof of the fact that conservative and reactionary elements will not allow the democratic apparatus to be used to correct social and economic abuses which threaten their privileges and power.

Out of the Spanish tragedy may come one boon to the world. It is now clear that Fascist victories in the future will prove very costly affairs. Democracies have learned how to defend themselves. Mussolini's march on Rome was a parade not a revolution. And the Nazis won power in Germany through parliamentary tactics. There was no military opposition in either case. From now on there will be. The masses have learned their lesson.

If England and France had cooperated in closest harmony in the last few years, there would be peace in Europe today. But England's foreign policy is uncertain, fluctuating and improvised. Economic interests are in conflict with political and imperial interests thereby paralyzing the government in critical situations. This lack of cooperation has played into the hands of the dictators of Europe in a magnificent fashion.

Leon Blum, in France, has given the country courageous leadership in critical times but his tenure of office is very uncertain. However, the social reforms which he has already introduced, a long time over-due in France, and his latest move to devalue the franc, will remain to his lasting credit. Should the Madrid government fall, the Fascist elements in France will be encouraged to attempt an overthrow of democracy in France, and a bloody civil war may ensue.

The hope of Europe lies in collective action for collective security. Europe is reorganizing today on the basis of 1914. This can only lead to another world war. The League whose prestige today is at zero point, must be reorganized and implemented as a real effective agency for collective security in Europe.