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Taking Stock of the Year 1937, 1937.

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 TAKING STOCK OF THE YEAR 1937 A review of the historic moments in the year now closing.

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By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver At The Temple

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On Sunday morning, December 26, 1937

The year 1937, friends, closes on a note of bathos - war on earth, ill will to men. Like the preceding year, this year, too, was one of scary head-lines, sensation, and it closes amidst economic recession, amidst the thunder of war in the East and in the West, amidst tension, generally, amidst deep gloom.

During 1937, the Spanish civil war - or rather the undeclared preliminary world war shared the front page with the Sino-Japanese War. Ever since the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, by the terms of which nations outlawed war, nations no longer declare war. They just fight! Nations never invade other countries. Armies just materialize out of thin air. Non-intervention pacts are then adopted by invaders in order to keep the records straight. Cities and towns are bombed. Men and women are torn into shreds by high explosions and no one takes credit or the discredit for such shameful atrocities for no nation has deckred war and no nation is subjected, therefore, even to the embarassments which result from official belligerency. In China American forces are machine-gunned in the true and crude Chicago fashion. The government responsible for such an outrage apologizes and declares it to be a blunder - until the next time.

1937, therefore, may be said to have been characterized by this brazon duplicity, this pompous and official lying, this cynicism, this cold, fearless greed which no longer required even . There was no vision anywhere, no repentance, no brave new voice raised for a new international order. There was no new strong, brave courageous word uttered anywhere in the chancellries of the world putting an end to the shameless international acts going on uninterruptedly now since the beginning of the World War. Statesmen and political leaders of the earth seem to be bogged down in a frightful Serbonian bog of their own duplicity and blundering. They churn and spatter and mess about but they get nowhere. Conferences are called, international assemblies are held to do this or that. These conferences result in less than nothing for the very nations which send representatives to these conferences have determined beforehand either to wreck those conferences or to reduce them to complete inocuousness.

On October 5 of this year, the President of the United States did utter a fresh, clear, challenging note in his great address in Chicago, in which he called to the remaining three democracies to form concerted action to defend the international morale, in which he called also for some form of quarantine against the aggressor warring nations. Now there was a time when a word spoken by the President of the United States, the greatest nation of the earth, would have been sufficient to make the culprits quake, to clear the air, at least. But not in 1937. For the culprits have discovered that these pronouncements are simply words which none of those who utter them have determined to back up by action of a decisive character.

It was presumed by many that when President Roosevelt spoke, and undoubtedly he did, that all the other democracies of the earth, or at least Great Britain and France would join in that great appeal. England and France gave the United States lip approval. They applauded generously what he said. They even agreed perhaps, even might have suggested that at the Conference held at Brussels some form of concerted action would be taken to keep nations like Japan from shameful aggression on China.

But nothing of the sort happened. From the very outset

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England had no intention of resorting to action. And England played its own game in the Far East as in the Mediterranian. And the Brussels Conference resulted in official condemnation of Japan. Again the aggressor nation was slapped on the wrist. Japan, of course, as you may well imagine, was terribly humbled by this act of discipline. She proceeded at once to capture Shanghai and Nanking and to shoot up American gun boats.

I am afraid that our government will find itself in a quandry in the Far Eastern situation. Our government refused to invoke the Neutrality Act when hostilities began in the Far East. It refused to place an embargo on shipments of materials and munitions or both to warring nations. Therefore, it was almost inevitable that some incident fraught with international danger would develop - and such an incident did develop in the sinking of the Panay. The United States demanded apologies, indemnities. Copious apologies were forthcoming as were promises to indemnify, all but definite guaranties that the thing would not happen again. The question remains - what now? What will the United States do about it? Clearly the United States can do nothing about it unless Great Britain and France, particularly Great Britain, really mean to join in a concerted action whom which would mean economic pressure, some form of economic sanction against Japan which action in twenty-four hours, I am persuaded would solve the Far Eastern situation. There is no possibility at all that such concerted action will eventuate because England seems to be incapable in recent years of whole-hearted, straight-forward cooperation with the other great democracies of the earth for peace and for the pacification

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of the world. I say this not in any sence of bitterness about Great ,however, Britain. I am persuaded/that practically the whole mess of the world today may be placed squarely at the doorstep of 10 Downing Street.

From 1932, when England wrecked the League of Nations by obstructing international action against Japan, from that moment when England refused to allow the League of proceed against Japan, thereby destroying the authority and the prestige of the League in Europe, thereby encouraging Mussolini and Hitler to carry on their political activities, from the time that Great Britain made private naval arrangements with Germany without the knowledge of the allies thereby giving moral prestige and backing to Hitler, right through to the time that Great Britain refused to back up France when Hitler marched into the Rhineland and remilitarized it, right through the Ethiopian fiasco, up to the present double dealing in Spain, England has been a dangerously blundering and confusing factor in the international situation. This made possible the present invasion of China by Japan just as it has made possible the increasing strength of the Fascist regimes in Europe. Apologists and propagandists call this uncertain, inept and improvised diplomacy of England, "muddling through", and that rationalizes it into a cardinal virtue. But it is hard upon the world, this "muddling through", and it will untimately be hard on Great Britain herself. This "muddling through" leads to disaster and to war. Great Britain forced upon the Popular Front government in France, a non-intervention policy with reference to the Spanish Government, an agreement not to ship materials and munitions to the Spanish Government - she forced this policy upon France with the understanding that she would see to it that Italy and Germany would keep out of Spain, that they would not send men into Spain. She

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accomplished the first and did not, because she had no intention of doing so, accomplish the second. She enmeshed the way until the Loyalist Government who could have licked the war in Spain in a few months has been compelled to fight for its very life for more than a year and half. Whenever Franco seemed to be gaining, immediately the agents of Great Britain appeared on the scene and began to negotiate for mining concessions. Someone has said - "Business as usual during altercations." She has been flirting with Italy against Germany and then she begain flirting with Germany against Italy. Recently she send Lord Halifax to Hitler to offer him a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe - that is, by sanction Nazi invasion in Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine, wars of aggression on other nations. This is called the English way of "muddling through."

The same sort of procedure brought about a state of civil war in Palestine. England's indecision and weakness has led the Arabs to think that the <sup>B</sup>ritish are not anxious to carry out the <u>The think</u> terms of the Mandate. /The more they protest and riot, the more concessions, they will receive from the Mandatory Government in Palestine. It was only after one of her own officials was shot down in cold blooded assassination that she decided to put an end to political terrororism which was carried on in the very nose of the government for ye rs. The civil war in Palestine is the fault of the Jews and not the fault of the Arabs, but of England, because of its blundering, blind stupid k policy. And now it proposes to atone for twenty years of failure by the creation of a still more desperate blunder - that of dividing the country into three parts. Instead of having one Palestine there will be three <sup>P</sup>alestines,

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three hostile forces.

It is said that when England will have completed her re-armament she will then be able to act decisively. Until she makes up her mind, the fate of democracy will be in the balance. Fascist governments will remain aggressive. They will continue to bluff, to threaten and to achieve by blackmail what they never could achieve in war.

A world anti-communist camp has been established as a camouflage for Italy, for Germany. Under cover of this camouflage, Italy means to grab territory, to increase its power. Now Fascism has crossed the Atlantic and has established itself in Brazil and in France. In France itself, the home of liberty and democracy, large scale conspiracies, one of which has recently been unearthed a hooded order - backed and financed by munition-makers - exactly those agencies which put Hitler into power in Germany - large scale conspiracy who would undermine the French Republic and establish a French dictatorship. That will continue to go on all over the world until the three great historic democracies learn as they ought to learn, to unite for concerted, positive action. 1937 has not been a good year for democracy.

It has not been a good year for that socialism which is represented in the Soviet Union. Russia figured prominently in the past y ar because of the bloody purges which have been goin on in that country. Day by day executions took place of the foremost leaders of the country, of the Bolshevist heads, of the Red Army, Presidents of Republics, heads of bureaus, heads of industrial establishments thousands were shot as Trotskyists, <u>on charges of</u> The reasons given by official department were irrelevant.

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What is important is to realize that there must be a vast amount of discontent in the Soviet Union to have necessitated this wholesale slaughter of its choicest leaders in every field intellectual, industrial or political. One is led to suspect that the picture in Russia is not as lovely as it is painted and that perhaps the methods which were employed there to bring about this Kingdom of perfection in the last analysis defeated the objective which **base** these methods hoped to achieve.

Recently in a book, "Assignment in Utopia", by Eugene Lyons, he makes this observation: "As a boy on New York's East Side, as a man fighting the iniquities of the society in which I lived, I was drawn to socialism by an outraged sense of justice. The Russian "socialism" that offers to fill the bellies of its people but retains the privilege of slitting those bellies at will is retrogressive; it cancels out ages of struggle and costly victory in the domain of the human spirit.

"I left Russia convinced that man's greatest task is to defend the basic concepts of freedom and respect for life. Precisely today, when such concepts are being spat upon, they must be defended from Bolshevik onslaughts no less than from fascist or capitalistic onslaughts.

"No plan for economic salvation can be accepted if it is diseased with disdain for life. Ultimately, the Russian experiment will be judged not by the goal of a full belly, but by how much freedom, selfrespect, justice, truth, and human kindness it has brought into the world."

I think, my friends, that what our age needs more than anything else is a new lesson in the sanctity of method or what religion calls the "good way". There must be the "good way" which leads to the

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realization of method. And the shame of our age is that means we employ, the most infamous acts of immorality to achieve the highest ideals of morality. In fact, it seems as if idealism actually spoils morality. The same people who in their private lives are scrupulously moral, in a cause which involves national or class interests are unscrupulously immoral. "By their way shall we know men not by their objectives." People seem to have forgotten that democracy is unique in the world because of its way of achieving morally desirable ends. In the philosophy, the process of democracy, is quite as important as the end. Democracy is a way just as religion is a way. Therefore, if you meet a person who denounces Fascism and in the same breath denounces communism, you may know him to be a friend of democracy. Similary, if you meet a man who denounces Fascism and does not in the same breath denounce communism, you may know him to be an enemy of democracy. And not only an enemy of democracy but of religion as well for religion is the reality of a new method which both Fascism and communism grossly and grievously violate. Similarly, a church which organizes a crusade against communism but at the same withholds to Fascism, is really not fighting irreligious methods but is laying itself open, unfortunately, to the charge of serving its own ecclesiastical interests. What has happened in Soveit Russia this year and the year before, what is continuing to happen leads one more and more to the conclusion that these revolutionary experiments have not been a great success and that they need not serve as a criterion for us in this country.

For America, my friends, 1937 has been a hard year. The first half of the year was a year of floods and industrial conflict.

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The second half was a year of economic recession. I spoke about industrial conflicts two weeks ago and I will not bear on those things now.

For economic recovery, I have no recipe. I have looked around for such a recipe among the economists. Perhaps our technological tempo has reached a high where the cycles of prosperity and depression have become of sharper curb, have been speeded up so that mr our national economic set-up will have to adjust itself to this curb. Of one thing I am certain - that we ought not to make the mistake which was made inxred of using the same speed and the same headlong plunging in repealing many of the laws which were enacted to correct some of the evils which appeared on our national economic scene in 1929-30 and 31, and in undoing much of their good. Many of the laws which were adopted were necessary laws, many of the measures adopted were demanded by the entire people because of the abuses which were in evidence at that time. and in my judgment, to repeal all the desirable legislation which was adopted to curb for example, stock gambling, social security, laws to aid the farmer, protect the life of the laborer, would be a mistake. There can be no stable economy in the United States or in any country on the earth without some form of national planning.

#### Floods.

My friends, the year 1937 has been a hard year. I don't say, however, that the situation in the world today is a hopeless one. Particularly to the young people who may be here this morning, I would have them prepare themselves in training through the discipline of mind and thought for the great work which lies ahead. I would urge

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upon them in these troubled times not to be dismayed but to keep the banner high. A new day will come. 1937 is not the last year on the calendar of the God Almight. The aberrations of our day are not the last word in civilization. A new day will come. Perhaps they will help to bring it to pass. It is a hard day but a good day for strong people to live and to work in.



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lin, neck-deep in blood, moves every month closer in essence to the fascist states in Germany and Italy.

As A BOY on New York's East Side, as a man fighting the iniquities of the society in which I lived, I was drawn to socialism by an outraged sense of justice. The Russian "socialism" that offers to fill the bellies of its people but retains the privilege of slitting those bellies at will is retrogressive; it cancels out ages of struggle and costly victory in the domain of the human spirit.

I left Russia convinced that

man's greatest task is to defend the basic concepts of freedom and respect for life. Precisely today, when such concepts are being spat upon, they must be defended from Bolshevik onslaughts no less than from fascist or capitalistic onslaughts.

No plan for economic salvation can be accepted if it is diseased with disdain for life. Ultimately, the Russian experiment will be judged not by the goal of a full belly, but by how much freedom, self-respect, justice, truth, and human kindness it has brought into the world.



**Q** A BOWL stood on a secluded hall table at the home of Sarah Bernhardt, and one day I noticed that a few of her guests, in leaving, after looking around to make sure they were unnoticed, slipped something from it into their pockets. I asked about it, and Sarah explained that, as many of her friends were in need, she kept the bowl filled with coins. "They know it is there, and for what purpose," she said. "In this way I can help them without putting them to the necessity of asking for it." —Elsie de Wolfe in Ladies' Home Journal

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Q ONE DAY Jo Davidson, the sculptor, handed me a check, saying "I thought you might need it." I did need it badly, and having some prospects of repaying it, I accepted. Jo went on, "In my struggling days in Paris, a rich friend financed me for a year. A long time afterward, when I had plenty of money, I invited him to lunch and he brought up the question of the debt. I said, 'No sir. I have no intention of paying you. I have passed on many times that amount to struggling youngsters. Loans to young artists should not be repaid — they should be passed on'." Jo paused and looked at me. "Orrick, you can do the same with this money1" — Orrick Johns, Time of Our Lives (Stackpole)

## Pro and Con Abolish Intercollegiate Football?

In the following debate Mr. Pro and Mr. Con thresh out this issue with no bolds barred. All attitudes treated are derived from acknowledged experts and all facts have been gathered by a skilled investigator.

So, when the smoke has cleared away, what do you think?

#### YES, SAYS MR. PRO:

MERICAN FOOTBALL is a splendid game. That is why some of us would like to see the game given back to the boys before the over-enthusiastic public squeezes it to death. Here is evidence of the impending suffocation:

"Thanksgiving Day used to end the season. Now, the big intersectional post-season games are played on New Year's Day. Spring practice begins in another four months. Many college players spend their summers at manual labor conditioning for the September opening of the season. That adds up to seven or eight months a year. College football isn't a game any longer — it's a job.

"The University of Texas recently hired a first-flight football coach on a 10-year contract at \$15,000 a year. How many college presidents receive as much?

"Radio advertisers paid college athletic associations some \$400,000 this season for exclusive rights to broadcast their football games. "The ultimate comment on football's present absurdities was made when Elbert Hubbard wrote that 'Football bears the same relation to education that bullfighting does to agriculture."

"Francis Wallace, realistic and intelligent friend of the game, summarizes the situation:

"The colleges enter the open market and bid against one another for the year's crop of athletes. They pay these boys and masquerade the payments. They present these athletes in great outdoor stadia and charge all that the traffic will bear. Football, as now conducted by most of our great universities, is, at best, semiprofessional — as much show-business as Broadway."

"Colleges do not need football profits to pay for the rest of their athletic programs. Stevens Institute of Technology abolished intercollegiate football in 1924. Since then it has maintained intercollegiate competition in full schedules of all other standard sports and provided an intramural program which takes in all under-

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AESTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 26, 1937.

## TAKING STOCK OF THE YEAR 1937

The year 1937 closes amidst the thunder of war in the East and the West, amidst international tension, economic recession - and bathos.

The undeclared preliminary World War in Spain now shares the front page with the undeclared Sino-Japanese War. Ever since the Kellog-Briand Pact, nations no longer wage war. They x just fight! Braz@n deplicity, official lying, intrigue and cynicism characterized international relations during the past year. There was no repentance among statesmen, no vision, no brave new voice raised for a new international order. The political leaders of the earth seemed to be bogged down in a frightful Serbonian bog of their own duplicity and blundering. They churn and splatter and mess about. But they get no where.

President Roosevelt's fresh and cheering appeal, made in Chicago, calling for concerted action for peace was a voice in the wilderness. England was not ready to back up such a program with action - witness the Brussells Conference - and words without action in the present international set-up are ridiculously ineffective.

There is no prospect for any effective check upon Japan, Italy or Germany except through concerted action. And England seems to be incapable of such forthright and single-minded cooperation. In fact, the whole European chaos since 1932 may be laid at the door of 10 Downing Street. From 1932, when England wrecked the League of Nations by obstructing international action against Japan, through her separate naval treaty with Germany which served notice that the allied front is broken, through the sanctions fiasco against Italy which she inaugurated and sabotaged, through the tacid acceptance of the remilitarization of the Rhineland, up to the present double dealing in Spain, Great Britain has been a dangerously blundering and confusing factor in the international situation. Apologists and propagandists call this uncertain, inept and improvised dipplomacy "muddling through". That rationalizes it into a cardinal virtue. But this "muddling through" is damnably hard on the rest of the world and ultimately also on Great Britain. This unwillingness on the part of the British Government to speak the clear unambiguous word at the **existive** critical moment and to match action with words brought on the World War. This same technique - if it is a technique and not just repetitious ineptitude - has made a mad-house out of Europe.

This true of the British policy also in Palestine. Falestine is an armed camp today because of the meakness and indecision of the Mandatory Government. The Report of the Royal Commission is ample evidence of this fact.

It is said that when England will have **search** completed her re-armament she will then be able to act decisively. She will cain lay down the law to the world. It is too late for that. Other nations are re-arming also. England must decide to cooperate whole-heartedly with the remaining free nations of the earth and until her decision is made, the fate of democracy in Europe will hang in the balance. Fascism will remain aggressive even though internally poor and domestically a failure.

The bloody purges which have been going mi on in the Soviet Union in 1937 - twenty years after the Revolution - are again driving home the fact that Utopia cannot be ushered in at the point of the bayonet. Mankind will have to learn anew the sanctity of method. By their way shall ye know men and not by their objectives. The shame of our age is that so many infamous acts of immorality are committed in the name of the highest morality. It seems that as if idealism actually spoiled morals. People who are meanthy moral in their private lives become unscrupulously immoral when in pursuit of some national or party ideal.

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For America 1937 has been a trying year. The first half witnessed floods and strikes, the second, an economic recession. It would be a grave mistake to exploit the mood which the present recession has created to repeal good measures which were adopted to correct patent evils and abuses. We should not match the unfortunate haste of repeal years to enact laws with a similar unfortunate haste to nullify them.

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