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Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

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Reel  
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Box  
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Folder  
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The "New Realism" in International Affairs", 1938.

WRHS  
THE "NEW REALISM" IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
The Bankruptcy of European Statesmanship



510

By  
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday morning, May 8, 1938



During the past week, an ex-Socialist who is today the Duce of some fifty-eight million people in his country, in his empire, welcomed to Rome an ex-sign-painter who is today the Fuehrer of some seventy-two million people. We are told that some twenty million dollars were spent to make the occasion of this welcome a memorable one. Everything was done to make of the meeting a truly "Roman Holiday". All the clap-trap of color, tinsel, parade, display which tyranny, from the beginning of time, had to employ in order to impress the populace and in order to hide its own hollowness, was resorted to also on this occasion.

Even the population was trained in advance in a direct manner of the degree of cheering the guest was to receive and in its "spontaneous" enthusiasm. It was ordered by Mussolini that the greeting be moderate and dignified. The leader of the Third Reich was to be impressed with the military power of Italy on land, sea and air, but he was not to receive too warm a reception. The Italians were to cheer with vocal reservations. They were not to forget that the real king in the world was Mussolini and not Hitler.

How sure these dictators are of the love and affection of their people and how unanimous their people are in their devotion to them may be adduced from the following preparations which were made for Mr. Hitler's arrival in Italy:

"Every house along the route Hitler will take with the King tomorrow evening between the railroad station and the Quirinal Palace was searched today by the police for hidden weapons and possible assassins. Tomorrow evening policement will be stationed in every hallway of those houses and they will have the key to every apartment in each house.



"More armed policement will be on the roofs, and at intervals of 200 or 300 yards will be soldiers with machine guns, not only to command the route of the procession but also for defense against any low-flying airplane with bombing intent.

"For three days policemen have been patrolling the sewers of Rome in search of hidden assassins or stores of explosives. Probably never has such a display of uniformed policement been seen in any capital as there is in Rome today, and in addition there are in the city no fewer than policement for Rome, both plain- 46,000 plainclothes policemen. The ordinary allowance of/clothed and uniformed, is only 16,000, and hence 30,000 detectives have been brought in from cities lying off the route of Hitlers journey and from Germany itself.

"Those Italians among the 30,000 who are married have been instructed to bring along their wives and older children. These will be stationed along the procession route to cheer the passing dictators and give a cue to the crowds, should these appear to be underenthusiastic.

"There will be sixteen searchlights to play on the skies and on dark spots in the city; the normal number in Rome is only six. Even the lighting boxes alongside the columns bearing the flags and emblems of fascism and Nazism will not escape a last-moment scrutiny lest they contain a bomb.

"Last but not least, every alien of the Jewish faith, especially emigre Germans and Austrians who last week found refuge in Rome, either has been banished from the city or, if he had nowhere to go, is now in jail for the duration of the visit.

"These precautions are one of the penalties of unbridled power ruthlessly exercised. They are not the least illuminating of the



of the preparations for a notable international meeting. "

We have a counter-part of this, or we did have, in our own country. It was said that when Al Capone stopped at a hotel, that the hotel was first converted into an arsenal to hide him from his friends who wanted to send him gifts of pineapple.

And so these two divine incarantions of twentieth century Europe in Rome met this week/to outguess one another, to conspire with one another against one other and to plan their next hold-up, their next piece of deviltry. You may recall that following Mussolini's visit to Berlin last year, Austria was seized by Hitler. What will follow the return visit of Hitler to Mussolini only the future can tell. It is likely to be a very near and proximate future. But all indications seem to point to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia or as a preliminary step, its return to vassalage to the Third Reich.

The fate of Czechoslovakia was undoubtedly discussed by the two gentlemen. The sanctions of Mussolin was undoubtedly asked for and was probably given if the proper price was paid. What that price is to be, one can only surmise. Italy probably asked for a free hand in Spain or the economic exploitation of Spain following the victory of the insurgents and Mussolini probably asked for German neutrality or compliance with the plan of Italy when she aims to make her next imperialistic venture, perhaps into the colonial possessions of France, in Africa.

The first price has already been paid if the accounts of the newspapers this morning are true. Hitler has deserted a quarter of a million Germans, Tyrolese Germans in Italy. He stated last night that these forever remain within Italy. This same Hitler who has been shedding bitter tears over the German minority in



Czechoslovakia, surrenders to Italy the German minority in that country, a German minority which, by the way, is really oppressed, unlike the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia who are far from oppressed. Germans in Italy since the war are not allowed to have their own schools, newspapers, clubs or associations. They are not even allowed to write memorials in German upon the tombstones in the cemeteries.

As for the German minority in Czechoslovakia over whom Hitler has been complaining: "They have been allowed more schools of their own, relatively, than the Germans of Prussia. There are 3,745 upper and lower elementary schools, 80 high schools, 198 vocational schools, 10 teachers' training schools, 2 engineering colleges and a University; whose teachers do not even have to pass an exam in the State language, and are governed by German school boards and inspected by German inspectors."

"The 'brutally maltreated' Sudeten Germans, who can have as many newspapers, magazines, clubs and societies as they want - and have them in thousands; who, comprising 22.3 percent of the population of the country, are represented in Parliament by 22.3 percent of the deputies, and three of whose four political parties have Ministers in the Cabinet."

It is this German minority, according to Hitler, which is being persecuted by Czechoslovakia and which must therefore be re-absorbed into the German Reich while these one-quarter million Germans in Italy are denied every right and are surrendered to the Duce.

Such is the sincerity of the new champion of his minority.

The stage is now set for a new act of aggression on the part either of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, or both. Much has been said about the Anglo-Italian pact recently signed. Many were led to



assume that that definitely will contribute to the appeasement of Europe or to the curbing of Mussolini and Hitler. It is not true. It simply ironed out some difficulties which arose between Mussolini and Great Britain in the Mediterranean. These were ironed out to the mutual satisfactions of both parties and only of both parties. The payment made to Italy for this pact is the ultimate recognition of its conquest in Ethiopia and an insurgent victory in Spain. But Italy is left free to engage in any part of the World, in Europe and elsewhere, providing it does not impinge on the interests of the British Empire.

The Anglo-French Military Pact, widely proclaimed and heralded in the last few days, likewise contributes little to the real problem in Europe and to the curb of power. It is a re-affirmation of future military alliance between these two countries when their interests are in danger - that is to say - when Germany launches an attack on northern France or Belgium, it would be to the interest of Great Britain to ally herself with France. But England has made no other commitments in Central or Eastern Europe. Should France, for example, in fulfillment of treaty obligations towards Czechoslovakia, be forced into a war, Great Britain is not bound to come to her aid. She has definitely said. So that Czechoslovakia is left as a prey to the Third Reich actually as was Austria. France is left in the same condition of helpless dependency on 10 Downing Street as heretofore. And 10 Downing Street is in the hands of a Tory Government which has consistently through the last seven years aided and abetted the Fascist powers on the Continent of Europe.

In a recent issue of a magazine, the following account, itemized, catalogued, the action of this Tory Government:

"For seven years the Tory leaders of Britain's National



Government have sabotaged every effort to prevent or frustrate Fascist aggression. The Tory line emerged in 1931 when ex-Liberal Sir John Simon rejected Secretary Stimson's proposal for joint pressure to check Japan in Manchuria. In 1933 Sir John deserted France and Poland when they proposed collective action to prevent German rearmament. In 1934 he opposed Barthou's plan for a collective-security pact with the USSR. In March, 1935, when Hitler openly repudiated the disarmament clauses of 1919, Sir John deserted France and Belgium. In June he struck a naval bargain with Ribbentrop to allow further German violations of the treaty. In December, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare deserted Haile Selassie and the League of Nations in his ill fated compact with Laval to give two-thirds of Ethiopia to Mussolini. When Hitler repudiated Locarno and remilitarized the Rhineland in March 1936, Eden deserted France and Belgium once more and dishonored Britain's obligations in the very crisis which those obligations were designed to cover.

"For the past two years the record of Tory treachery is unalleviated. In June of 1936 Baldwin and Eden abandoned sanctions against Italy and reduced the Covenant to a xcrap of paper. In July of 1936 they informed Blum that Britain would desert France if Paris made any move to thwart the Fascist assault on the Spanish Republic. In August they organized the London Non-Intervention Committee to prevent Madrid from purchasing arms for defense against fascism. A year later, after the Tokyo militarists had resumed their attack upon China, Chamberlain and Eden rejected all suggestions of collective pressure against Hapan. In November, 1937, they wrecked the Brussels conference and accorded de facto recognition to Franco. On February 20, 1938, Eden retired, fatigued by Mussolini's threats and in need of a rest for new betrayals to come. Halifax carried on. March 12, 1938, Chamberlain wine and dined



Ribbontrop in London and abandoned Austria to Hitler. On March 24 he proclaimed in Commons that "non-intervention" in Spain must go on, that Litvinov's proposal for a conference against aggressors was unthinkable and that Britain would neither defend Czechoslovakia nor aid France to defend her."

This is the story, my friends, of the last few years and of the part which this historic government, Great Britain has played in bringing chaos on the world.

Her excuses are well-known. First of all it was claimed that the policy of Britain was aimed to avert war. But it is clear to every thoughtful observer that it does not avert war, but postpones war, enables nations to prepare for a bigger and better war to come. The appetites of these aggressors are not to be appeased. Yesterday it was Austria, today it is Czechoslovakia, tomorrow it must be Hungary and Roumania. Every forward step made by the imperialistic countries is of course clearly and unmistakably a step nearer to the next world war. All this talk about appeasement, this giving in to dictators for the sake of appeasement of the dictators is a hoax, clearly for deception, for the deception of others.

All this appeasement is to be had at the expense of other nations, not Great Britain. Up to this time you have read of no appeasement of Great Britain. England is always ready to offer sacrifices but not at her expense - Austria, Czechoslovakia. However, there will soon come a time when this perverted altruism will be played out and the smaller and weaker nations will refuse to be offered up on the altar of British altruism. When that time comes there will be a war which will drive the whole of Europe into it.



It is clear to every thoughtful observer that only the break up of the whole of Russia will satisfy the Fuehrer of the Third Reich. He has said it over and over again. He has written it down. He has repeated it over and over again. He means it. He has now organized an anti-Communist front of Germany, Italy and Japan. He would like to see Russia smashed, ultimately destroyed. That means war. And it will not be an isolated war but a war which will entangle every nation on the face of the earth.

It has been said and written that the present Tory Government hopes to see the two dictatorships come into conflict one with the other and destroy each other - either Germany vs. Italy or Germany and Italy vs. Russia, that Great Britain will stand by and see them weaken each other .

The same thought was in the minds of British diplomats in 1914. The same failure to speak and act decisively in that crucial hour was responsible for driving the world to war and brought the British Empire in 1917 almost to the point of liquidation. It was only on the intervention of the United States that the British Empire was saved. But the United States isn't at all sure that in the next war caused by the same double dealing and which the British Government is unintentionally hastening - it isn't at all clear that the United States will enter the struggle to make the world safe for Great Britain.

The Tory Government claims that it is not acting because the British Empire is not prepared, that they were better prepared in 1933 than today because other nations are also arming themselves to the teeth. Their military preparedness is only a matter of relative



Chamberlain said that the reason he had to take this "realistic" stand was because the League is impotent. But who made it impotent? England and France made it so, by refusing to follow through that technique prescribed by the League. Now that impotence of the League is used as an excuse by those who rendered it impotent to carry on the sort of diplomacy which we have seen recently.

My friends, out of the World War came two principles - one the self-determination of peoples and collective security. The two are absolutely inseparable. The peace treaties were carved into pieces. Numerous small states were carved out of the vast empires which were broken up. These small states which are politically insufficient and which cannot defend themselves in many instances and are in many instances not economically self-sufficient - Finland, Latvia, Austria, Poland etc. - cannot protect themselves against aggression. It was understood at the time that they could not protect themselves and therefore there was set up international machinery to give them collective security without which their existence is unthinkable. Now the collective security has been destroyed, the League is powerless and it no longer is capable of protecting the rights of these independent small nations. These smaller nations will come to an end. Austria already has come to an end. Czechoslovakia is on the way and other states will follow. They will be destroyed completely or reduced to vassalage so that their independence will be destroyed. In place of the new concept of collective security has come back that old form of alliance among nations based upon some unsteady and shaky balance of power. In place of the Dual and Triple alliances before 1914 we now have the Rome-Berlin axis and a sort of alliance of Great Britain, France and a sort of peripheral alliance with Russia.



All this now has come to be known as the "new realism". It is nothing more than the old cynicism. It is nothing more than stupid diplomacy, that all too subtle diplomacy which led to the world war and which is now building upon the continent of Europe still sodden with the blood of the ten million slain in the last war plans for another war.

But these folks who are responsible for this patchwork of peace, this so called appeasement of Europe - have no confidence in their own handiwork. I am convinced that there is no promise of peace because they are all feverishly engaged in building up greater and ever greater armies and navies and air fleets and more and more money is being wrung out of the steadily impoverished populations of Europe in taxes and in lowered standards of living to bolster up their rickety peace structures.

A few days ago, Prime Minister Chamberlain arose in the House of Parliament and declared" Today there is a new Italy - an Italy which, under the stimulus and personality of Signor Mussolini, is showing a new vigor, in which there is apparent a new vision and a new efficiency in administration and in the measures which ~~they~~ are taking to improve prior to that the conditions of their people." A few days/~~ago~~, in the House of Lords, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the spiritual leader of England, arose and praised Mr. Hitler in having annexed Austria. That was the spiritual collapse of a people which is being confounded and confused by its Tory leadership, a nation which is basically democratic, sane and just in ~~its~~ its judgments.

That is the new climate in which England finds itself today. Our own President Roosevelt, a few short months ago in that famous address in Chicago called forth a quarantine of the aggressor nations, treating them as diseased people capable of contaminating the people of the world



while the spokesmen of the government of Great Britain praised these aggressor nations for their superlative virtues and called upon the weaker nations of Europe to make concessions for appeasement - for the British Empire, not for the people of the world.

The situation, my friends, at the moment has no light in it, no orderliness, no hope. There will be no ray of hope in the entire situation of Europe, there will be no ray of hope for our own people in Europe until this present Tory government of Great Britain is swept out of power because every success of Hitler in Europe means the destruction of another Jewish community. When that cold-blooded Lord Halifax told Hitler that he could go ahead in Austria, he didn't lose one moment's sleep over the fate of three million Jews in Austria. At the moment ~~a~~ Hitler moved into Austria, he didn't bat an eye over the prospect of the people's disfranchisement.

Great Britain's policy was indirectly responsible for the destruction of a community of a thousand years standing. When Hitler marches into Czechoslovakia, there will be another Jewish community sacrificed upon the altar gangsterism in Europe and the British newspapers will be told to condone this act for the sake of the appeasement of Europe.

This is a dark hour my friends not only for us but for many people in Europe. Our only hope is, and the past gives us warrant for this hope, that this will not because it cannot continue indefinitely. Sooner or later, someone will call a halt to this program of destruction of all the sacred values of humanity. When that day comes, Europe will resume, perhaps after going through another sea of Blood, Europe will resume the forward march in the direction of international law and international cooperation, of collective security, of disarmament, of democracy, of freedom

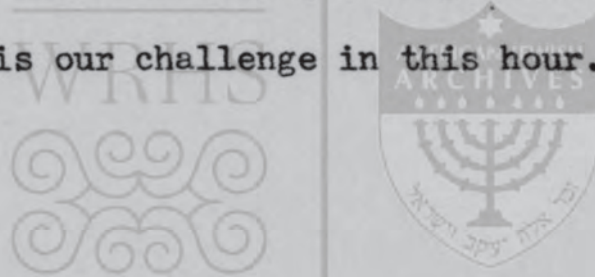


of tolerance, brotherhood, all of which have been denied two-thirds of the people of the Western World.

Dark days are upon us. I say it more than once because I should like to emphasize it. Dark ages are always ushered in by political blundering. Unfortunately the political blunders which brought about international anarchy have not been perpetrated by people, but by governments. Sooner or later, the British people will be aroused and awakened, France will come into its own and all the remaining free people in Europe will have their chance.

Until that day: "Blessed by He who waits patiently in heroic devotion to these values which are being endangered in the world/<sup>to</sup>day."

That is our task. That is our challenge in this hour.



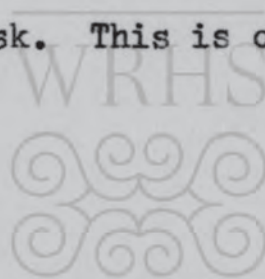


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1/ H. in Rome. - Ex. Soc. - Duce. 58 M. - 72 M.

20 Million : lavish entertainment - Roman Holiday

All clap-trap - color, trusel, parade, noise - Tyranny -  
Hollowness

Even pop. trained - manner, degree of cheering + showing  
its "spontaneous" enthusiasms.

It is to be "moderate" + "depersonalized". H. to be fully impressed  
but not edified by too warm a reception.

Italians are not to forget - Muss. is King-pin

To cheer with "vocal reservations".

2/ How sure dictators - have manners - address (Italy)

Similar precautions taken -

An illuminating commentary

Al Capone - arsenal - protest - "pissapples"

3/ 2 Arch-gangsters of Europe - are meeting - out press -  
feel each other out - to conspire - plan next  
piece of devilry - next hold-up

M's visit to Berlin - followed - Austria

What will follow? Perhaps -



Such act undoubtedly discussed Sanctum - Law<sup>(2)</sup>  
the price already paid - Desertion of 1/417. Typhoid  
Bitter tears of German in Czechs - not oppressed  
(Juste) Typhoid really oppressed  
Such is the sincerity of new champions of unwonted  
(Jews)

4/ Stage set - aggression on part of Fascists  
Nothing has happened to date - pause  
Recently concluded "Anglo-Italian pact" - ironic  
In payment - Ethiopia - Spain  
"Anglo-French Military Pact" reaffirms Unity  
It does not bind England to France in all wars  
only those approved by Eng

Should France - in fulfillment - Czechs -  
Helpless vassal - 10 Downing Street - Told for  
free hand in Czechs - World paper, of course  
Peace - concessions - Exactly - Author - Schwann

5/ 10 Downing St - Tones - Since 1931 consistently  
(Juste)



## 6/ Excuses

(3)

① Avert War - Post-pones - "Bigger & Bigger War"  
Apetite - unappeasable. Key and G - "Mein Kampf"  
"Drang nach Osten" - Every forward step

② Apposement - at expense - so far at our cost to  
himself - then comes a time - <sup>perverted</sup> "Kulturism"  
- refuse to be offered up on altar of TP

③ Only break-up of Russia - Tories wish  
for it - but Rothbarth - Braunhove - Aster.

④ Mean World War -

⑤ Perhaps Tories hope - Stand by Dictators  
1914 - Came close to destruction of Br. Empire  
U.S.A - rescue - Make world safe

⑥ Unprepared - War in 1933 or 1935 > now

⑦ League is Impotent - Eng. & Fr. made it so!  
Ignored - Refused to follow them in 1932  
Became practice to keep it - resign!



7/ Out of World War - 2 principles - (1) Self. Def. + (4)  
(2) Collective Security.

= unparable - without strong index. Ag.

Vast empires - caused out

8/ Now destroyed! In place - old Line Albany based  
instead, Shady Balance, Power.

<sup>Rom-Berlin Axis</sup>  
~~Dual~~ Tuple - Complexity Today

Econ. schisms - Tories hate Russia

7 truly - uncertain - War away

The old, derivate game, Dept. See-Saw - in which

Factors - so far out-pressed -

In which small rules - power - minorities

Saw "stupid" realism, "black-head" shrewdness -  
all - too - subtle but idiotic diplomacy - war



10/. That there is no "peace" here - no agreement - "settlers"  
know that their shoddy, makeshift work holds no promise &  
security - armament - Can't build fast enough!  
Higher arms - various other pieces - More money  
wring out of steadily impoverished populations. Korea

11/. When <sup>from American hands</sup> Chamberlain arose in Haus, <sup>to France</sup> Can't build fast enough  
declared: (Inst.) -

Bankruptcy of statecraft - Ethiopia - Spain -  
Collapse of Int'l. morality

And when - March 29 - Archbishop, Canterbury - heading  
the pro-peace in Haus, London - praised the work of the  
in annexing Austria - Theft - Confiscation of property  
Spiritual collapse (Expects G. B. - led about by

Tony Gant - This is the new climate -

12/ "Guaranteeing Oppressor Nations" - Roosevelt

12/ No light - No promise - No hope. Sunk in mire!  
Tony Gant. swept away -



mend the Italy of Mussolini.

"In former days," said Mr. Chamberlain, "we had a close friendship with old Italy—the Italy which \* \* \* won her independence and unity under such leaders as Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi.

"Today there is a new Italy—an Italy which, under the stimulus and personality of Signor Mussolini, is showing a new vigor, in which there is apparent a new vision and a new efficiency in administration and in the measures which they are taking to improve the conditions of their people. \* \* \*

"The signing of this agreement has already effected a radical change in the relations between our two countries. The clouds of mistrust and suspicion have been cleared away. The peoples now regard one another with a determination to promote mutual friendship instead of hostility. I believe that between Italy and ourselves this agreement marks the beginning of a new era."

Laborites taunted him, but Mr. Chamberlain let the interruptions pass. He was out to bolster Mussolini's prestige today, to make him stand up to Hitler in the knowledge that Britain was Italy's friend.

Mr. Chamberlain revealed for the

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### Cheer Leaders Brought In

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# 100,000 S ENTRAI

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If she could force the Czech government to back down on the question of "autonomy" for the Sudeten Germans; that would be the first step along this road.

Now an outcry *might* be justified in protesting the condition of the German minority left in Italy by the Peace Treaties, where the South Tirolers have no schools, no newspapers, no clubs or associations, no political representation, and may not even employ their mother tongue on their tombstones.

It might be justified in Hungary, where half a million Germans have only two-score German schools, are allowed only one semi-official cultural association and a small handful of rigidly-controlled newspapers, and no political discussion or representation whatsoever.

But Hungary and Italy are Germany's "friends," so she picks the Sudeten Germans to champion who have *more schools of their own, relatively, than the Germans of Prussia—viz.: one to every 862 head of population against one to every 1,150*; who have, beside 3,745 upper and lower elementary schools, 80 high schools, 198 vocational schools, 10 teachers' training schools, two engineering colleges and a University; whose teachers do not even have to pass an exam in the State language, and are governed by German school boards and inspected by German inspectors.

The "brutally maltreated" Sudeten Germans, who can have as many newspapers, magazines, clubs and societies as they want—and have them in thousands; who, comprising 22.3 per cent of the population of the country, are represented in Parliament by 22.3 per cent of the deputies, and three of whose four political parties have *Ministers in the Cabinet*.

"Discriminated against," they have 23 per cent of the jobs in the State educational service, 18 per cent in the railway service and 14 per cent in the Post Office, and a promise by the Government to bring the latter two figures up to the 22.3 parity.

These statistics are taken from a book issued by the Henlein Party; the reader will judge for himself whether the Sudeten Germans are being treated fairly.

To show the power of propaganda over persons who are not personally acquainted with the facts, it seems that the Nazis have succeeded in winning over the group of British Conservatives, headed by Lords Lothian, Londonderry and Astor, which has been active in arranging Lord Halifax's mission to Hitler, to the idea that Britain should bring pressure to bear on Czechoslovakia to give the Sudeten Germans autonomy.

What is happening is that the Prague Government, while redoubling its efforts to meet legiti-



mate Sudeten grievances through the three co-operating German Ministers in the Cabinet, is tightening down on the Henlein group.

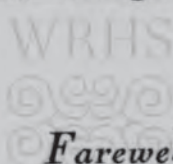
Henlein's right hand man and a number of other close associates have been arrested for the same sort of unnatural, immoral conduct which led to the notorious "Blood Purge" of the German Nazis on June 30th, 1934. An especial effort is also being made to cut off Henlein's financial assistance from abroad.

The Czechs are thus openly bearding Nazi Germany. One cannot but admire their courage. Every one of their neighbours, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary,

Roumania, have hedged and made conciliatory gestures or pacts with Germany, out of fear for the day when she might be all-powerful. Only the Czechs have stood their ground solidly against the Nazis.

Placed in the very worst spot in a jittery Europe, a spot where many observers believe a great German drive will start, they remain calm. If the Germans come, they will fight, and fight well; there is no thought of any other course.

And if it comes to that, it is my prediction that the Germans will meet a greater surprise and a greater check to their plans than they met in Belgium in 1914.



## *Farewell To Austria*

THE ABSORPTION of Austria adds 32,377 square miles and, by the 1934 census, 6,760,233 persons to the German Reich.

Created by the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the world war, Austria embraced the southwestern end of the former kingdom. The 32,377 square miles represents a tract about the same size as Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut combined. The population also is about 200,000 more than that of these four States.

The country has always been preponderantly Roman Catholic. The 1934 census made a listing of religions, and reported 6,116,250 Roman Catholics, who represented, thus, 90.57 per cent of the total population; 295,452 Protestants and 191,481 Jews.

The annexation of Austria brings the German Reich to a total of 219,004 square miles and a population of approximately 73,700,000, since the Austrian territory is added to the 186,627 square miles and the population of 66,939,767 before the absorption. It also adds nine more States to the seventeen which composed the German Reich.—*The Sun, N. Y.*



# The Perfidy of Albion

THEY WANT TO DESERT US! They want to desert us!" The French ambassador in London is desperate. Russia is about to come to the defense of a small Slavic state on the Danube threatened from Vienna and Berlin. Germany is about to wage war upon Russia. France is Russia's ally. For years Downing Street has assured the Quai d'Orsay that it will support France against the Reich. Now the ambassador has just been informed by the Foreign Secretary that Britain has no commitments in Central Europe and no obligations to come to the defense of the Republic! He waits—to learn whether "honor" has been stricken from the English vocabulary.

It is not 1938, but 1914. It is August 1, the eve of the First World War. Sir Edward Grey has told Paul Cambon that his government cannot support Paris in war unless Belgium and northern France are invaded. The ambassador waits. Two days later he and his nation are saved, not by British honor but by the accident of the Schlieffen Plan by which France is to be struck down through Belgium. The British Cabinet meets and decides to aid Brussels and Paris. But four members resign in protest. Among them is Sir John Simon. Years later he becomes Foreign Secretary, to be succeeded by Sir Samuel Hoare who is succeeded by Anthony Eden who is succeeded by Lord Halifax. A quarter of a century has passed. M. Corbin is in M. Cambon's post. He also waits. And he too will one day cry out in anguish at the prospect of British desertion.

The tragedy of 1914 might have been averted had the rulers of Britain made it clear in time that they would defend Serbia, Russia and France against the Central Powers. They would not. The tragedy of 1938 might be averted if the rulers of Britain would make it clear that they will defend Czechoslovakia, the USSR and France against the Central Powers. They will not. Chamberlain and Halifax, like Asquith and Grey, hope against hope for British neutrality. But there is one difference. The Liberals of 1914 muddled into a war which was not of their making. The Tories of 1938 hope to muddle out of a war which they are doing all in their power to bring about. Now as then the tacit assumption in Downing Street is that America will rescue the Empire if worst comes to worst. The assumption was once correct. It may be correct again.

The time has come for all Americans to face without illusions the purposes and implications of the foreign policy of the Conservative Party. Anglophiles and advocates of Anglo-American coöperation (and the present writer is among them) must face the appalling fact that Tory diplomacy is deliberately aiding and abetting the instigators of the Second World War. Anglophobes and advocates of "keeping out of other people's wars"

must face the appalling fact that an isolationist America is wholly without influence on British foreign policy and that, if war comes and Britain is involved and the Empire is threatened, the United States may be again bound by elementary considerations of national security to sacrifice blood and treasure to save those who are today practising the politics of disaster.

For seven years the Tory leaders of Britain's National Government have sabotaged every effort to prevent or frustrate Fascist aggression. The Tory line emerged in 1931 when ex-Liberal Sir John Simon rejected Secretary Stimson's proposal for joint pressure to check Japan in Manchuria. Lord Lytton said later (May 17, 1934): "The failure of our government to back up Mr. Stimson is perhaps the most regrettable of all its shortcomings." Lord Lothian agreed (December 12, 1934): "The mistake of British foreign policy at that time . . . was its rejection of Mr. Stimson's offer to reverse the isolationist decision of 1920 and act with us in support of the collective system in the Pacific." In 1933 Sir John deserted France and Poland when they proposed collective action to prevent German rearmament. In 1934 he opposed Barthou's plan for a collective-security pact with the USSR. In March, 1935, when Hitler openly repudiated the disarmament clauses of 1919, Sir John deserted France and Belgium. In June he struck a naval bargain with Ribbentrop to allow further German violations of the treaty. In December, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare deserted Haile Selassie and the League of Nations in his ill fated compact with Laval to give two-thirds of Ethiopia to Mussolini. When Hitler repudiated Locarno and remilitarized the Rhineland in March, 1936, Eden deserted France and Belgium once more and dishonored Britain's obligations in the very crisis which those obligations were designed to cover.

For the past two years the record of Tory treachery is unalleviated. In June of 1936 Baldwin and Eden abandoned sanctions against Italy and reduced the Covenant to a scrap of paper. In July of 1936 they informed Blum that Britain would desert France if Paris made any move to thwart the Fascist assault on the Spanish Republic. In August they organized the London Non-Intervention Committee to prevent Madrid from purchasing arms for defense against fascism. A year later, after the Tokyo militarists had resumed their attack upon China, Chamberlain and Eden rejected all suggestions of collective pressure against Japan. In November, 1937, they wrecked the Brussels conference and accorded *de facto* recognition to Franco. On February 20, 1938, Eden retired, fatigued by Mussolini's threats and in need of a rest for new betrayals to come. Halifax carried on. On March 12, 1938, Chamberlain



wined and dined Ribbentrop in London and abandoned Austria to Hitler. On March 24 he proclaimed in Commons that "non-intervention" in Spain must go on, that Litvinov's proposal for a conference against aggressors was unthinkable and that Britain would neither defend Czechoslovakia nor aid France to defend her.

Each of these steps was represented to the British public and to the world as necessary to preserve "peace." This contention is hypocrisy and nonsense. Equally nonsensical is the oft-repeated assertion that the Tories have been "playing for time" until Britain is heavily rearmed. British sea power at its lowest ebb was more than adequate to compel the aggressors to yield. In each instance British action would have had the full support of France, the Soviet Union and of many of the lesser powers and the partial support even of America. This combination could have frustrated each act of Fascist aggression without war. What was lacking was not power but the will to use that power against the Fascist regimes—a fact fully appreciated at all times by Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. Japan could have been stopped in Manchuria without war if Britain's Tories had desired to act. German rearmament could have been prevented, Ethiopia could have been protected, the Covenant could have been enforced, Locarno could have been preserved, Spain could have been rescued, Austria could have been salvaged—all without war—if Britain's Tories had desired to act. Today Czechoslovakia could be saved without war if Britain's Tories desired to act. They refuse to act because they prefer to condone and support Fascist aggression.

This purpose has never been admitted because the voters of Britain have at no time entertained any such desire. As Professor Gaetano Salvemini has recently put it, the Tories are obliged to be greater hypocrites than the reactionaries of other lands because the British public is an honest and decent public. In the arts of deception Il Duce and Der Führer are amateurs compared with MacDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain. When he discovered from the "Peace Poll" in the summer of 1935 that the British electorate demanded economic and military sanctions against aggressors in a system of collective security, Baldwin adroitly reversed himself and became a champion of the League of Nations. Feeble sanctions were imposed upon Italy in October, not to save Ethiopia but to soothe the voters.

The Tories won an overwhelming victory in the election of November 14, 1935, with the slogans "Uphold the Covenant" and "Our Word Is Our Bond." Two weeks later the Hoare-Laval betrayal was consummated. But the technique was too crude. Seven months later Eden junked Geneva with finesse. The voters were told that the League was "impotent" and that surrender to fascism was the price of peace. In fear and befuddlement the voters believed, for to believe the absurd is the true test of faith. Even Liberals and Laborites were taken in. As for Americans, all accepted

the picture which the Tory leaders so carefully painted. It was a portrait in oils of a poor but honest England under "realistic" but benevolent rulers who preferred peace to prestige and yielded to aggression with a sigh rather than plunge their people into bloodshed.

The reality behind this façade now stands forth in ugly nakedness. The camouflage has worn thin. The Tory leaders approved and supported Fascist aggression, with such gestures of protest as were needful to conceal their aims, not through stupidity or weakness or blundering but because they desire the Fascist powers to strengthen themselves for war. They welcome the breakdown of Geneva. They view with equanimity the conquest of Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria and Czechoslovakia by the Fascist Triplice. They approve the reduction of France to immobility and complete dependence upon Britain. They are not pained but pleased that Japan should threaten Outer Mongolia, that Mussolini should menace French communications in the Mediterranean and plant the Roman eagles on the Pyrenees, that Hitler should seize control of all Danubia and Balkania, that the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo coalition should gird its loins for combat. Efforts to disguise Tory satisfaction at these developments have been rendered easy by the circumstance that actual Tory aims savor of lunacy to the uninitiated. But the Tory leaders are no lunatics.

If the Tory course be madness, there is method in it. The method was long ago hinted at by Lord Rothermere in *The Daily Mail* of November 28, 1933: "The sturdy young Nazis of Germany are Europe's guardians against the Communist danger. . . . Germany must have elbow room. . . . Once Germany has acquired the additional territory she needs in western Russia, her need for expansion would be satisfied, and that growing menace which at present darkens the horizon would be removed forever." Colonial Minister L. S. Amery in "The Forward View" (1935) wrote: "While it is no part of our policy to foster a quarrel between Japan and Soviet Russia, it would be no concern of ours, if such a quarrel developed into war, to prevent Japanese expansion in eastern Siberia." On April 1, 1936, *The Daily Mail* urged a defensive alliance with France, but an alliance "not directed against Germany . . . clear of all entanglements in eastern Europe, and leaving Germany a free hand there against Bolshevism."<sup>1</sup> Garvin's *Observer* and Astor's *Times* take a similar view. It is the view, albeit seldom so frankly acknowledged, of Halifax and Hoare, of Chamberlain and Simon, of Lady Astor and the "Cliveden group." It is the only view that renders intelligible the whole course of British policy since 1931.

Here is no "British plot." Here is nothing resembling weakness or stupidity on the part of the aristoc-

<sup>1</sup> For these and other revealing excerpts from British reactionary sources, see E. Palme Dutt's "World Politics 1918-1936," Random House, 1936.



ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE  
ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 8, 1938

### THE NEW REALISM IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In Rome, this week, a former socialist who is now Duce of 58 million people and a former sign-painter who is now Fuehrer of 72 million people, met. Twenty million dollars were spent to make the occasion a truly Roman holiday. All the clap-trap of color, tinsel, parade, ~~xxx~~ display which tyranny must always employ to impress its subjects and to cover up its hollowness and deceit was resorted to, also in this instance. Even the acclaiming populace was trained in the manner and degree of showing its "spontaneous" enthusiasm. It was instructed to cheer with vocal reservations...

And so the two Divine Incarnations of 20th century Europe met to conspire with one another against each and to plan their next piece of deviltry. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Mussolini's first visit to Berlin, last year, was followed by the seizure of Austria. What will follow Hitler's return visit to Mussolini? All indications seem to point to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia or, as a first step, its reduction to vassalage to the Third Reich. Provided Hitler will pay the price. The price is German acquiescence in some new Italian scheme of aggression, either at the expense of Spain or some French colonial ~~xx~~ possession.

One price the champion of the German race has already paid. He has abandoned forever the quarter of a million German folk in Italy who, unlike the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, are really oppressed and ~~xxxxxx~~ subject to ruthless Italianization. So much for the unbreakable bonds of race proclaimed by the Nazis....

The stage is set for a new act of aggression on the part of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy, or both. Neither the Anglo-Italian Pact, recently concluded, nor the much heralded Anglo-French Military Pact will deter them. England and Italy have simply ironed out some of the difficulties brought about by their conflicting imperial interests. In payment of which Italy has received the



promise of the recognition of her Ethiopian conquest and an insurgent victory in Spain. Italy is free, however, to carry on her imperial adventures elsewhere where they do not impinge upon British interests.

The military pact between France and England does not commit Great Britain to any international obligations which she had not heretofore assumed. Should France, for example, in fulfillment of treaty obligations towards Czechoslovakia, be forced into a war, Great Britain is not bound to come to her aid. France is left in the same condition of helpless dependency on 10 Downing Street as ~~xxxxxx~~ heretofore. And 10 Downing Street is in the hands of a Tory Government which has consistently through the last seven years aided and abetted the Fascist powers on the Continent of Europe.

Out of the World War there emerged two principles: the self-determination of peoples and collective security. The two are inseparable. Vast empires were broken up into small states incapable of self-defense. Their existence is impossible without some strong international organization such as was contemplated when the League of Nations was set up. This system of collective security has now been destroyed. There will now follow the systematic destruction or absorption of the smaller nations.

6 In place of collective security the old system of loose alliances based on a shaky Balance of Power is being restored. In this system the smaller states will again become the pawns of imperial rivalries and the minorities within those states will be pitted and incited one against the other at the behest of imperial interests. This will make of Europe the same bloody cockpit which it turned out to be in 1914.

And statesmen call this a "new realism". A better word for it is old cynicism. It is not appeasement which Chamberlain is giving Europe but postponement - a short postponement of the frightful day of reckoning. Nations are merely given time to prepare for a bigger and a better war.



That the Tory and Fascist statesmen who are today controlling the affairs of Europe have no confidence in their own patchwork is evidenced by the fact that they are all feverishly engaged in building up greater and ever greater armies and navies and air fleets. More and more money is being wrung out of the steadily impoverished populations of Europe in taxes and in lowered standards of living to bolster up this rickety peace structure which their stupid diplomacy is again building upon the continent of Europe still sodden with the blood of the ten million slain in the last war.

Not until the present Tory government of Great Britain is swept away will a new ray of hope come to Europe.

The failure to act decisively in 1914 brought the British Empire three years later to the brink of ruin. It was only the intervention of the United States which saved the Empire. In the next war which British diplomacy is quite unintentionally hastening today, the United States may not again be willing to make the world safe for the British Empire.

