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Democracy in Armor, 1938.

DEMOCRACY IN ARMOR

Service held in connection with the joint Memorial Day
Service of the Jewish War Veterans and the B'nai
B'rith Lodges of Cleveland.

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday Morning, May 29, 1938



My dear Friends:

This day has been set aside to recall those dear dead who laid down their lives in a sad and tragic Civil War which ravaged our land for four long years. It is altogether fitting that we pay a full homage of tribute to those men who in those days which tried men's souls, made that sacrifice which they were called upon to make. They gave the fullest measure of sacrificial devotion to the cause in which they believed. At the behest of that patriotism they died heroically upon the battlefield - close on to one-half million men in the ranks of the Blue and in the ranks of the Gray thus died. Our nation, conscious of such supreme sacrifice can do no less than pay this tribute to them and also a tribute of affection to the last survivors in the remaining ranks of the army.

By custom this Memorial Day is also dedicated to the dear dead of other wars, the last of which was the great World War. In all these wars men were not found wanting to rally to the defense of their country, towards ideals which are the foundations upon which the institutions of their country are established.

In all these wars, back to the days of the Revolutionary War, American Jews in common with all other loyal citizens of America served and the ^{se} precious dead ~~of~~ American Jewish citizens who laid down their loves for our country we honor today together with all the others.

Jews have always been loyal citizens of their native or of their adopted lands. Some countries today obsessed by a recrudescence of medievalism, caught up with the high tide of intolerance and bigotry, choose to ignore or to dishonor the Jewish soldier dead of those countries. In Germany, for example, the names of their Jewish heroes who fought during the World War have been stricken from the monuments, from the

rolls of honor so that no one in the years to come shall know that the Jews of Germany in a proportion even greater than that of the non-Jew served during the World War and died on the battlefield for Germany.

Recently in Vienna, the leader of the Jewish War Veterans was dragged from his home the day that Austria was forcible annexed to Germany to be taken to the sidewalks in one of the principal thoroughfares of Vienna and there to be made to scrub the sidewalks. He asked for one privilege before being taken from home. And it was granted him. He put on his uniform, that of a former general in the Austrian Army and half a dozen medals he had won for bravery and thus accoutered, he was taken down to the sidewalks to be humiliated and degraded and forced to scrub the sidewalks. Jews never forget to serve in times of war as in times of peace. Particularly loyal are the Jews in lands of their birth and adoption where principles of freedom, democracy and tolerance hold sway, because our people have been compelled to live so many centuries without the benefits of these principles which alone give dignity and worth to human existence.

My dear friends, there is but one thought that I should like to leave with you on this Memorial Day. In the Civil War, men fought to preserve the Union. Why did men have to fight to preserve the Union? Why was the Union threatened? The Union was threatened because of slavery. And it was the moral issue of slavery which agitated our national life for decades, which embittered the political life of our country and which finally led to secession and to a Civil War. Had there been no issue of slavery, the Union never would have been threatened. The preservation of the Union would never have come into question.

For many decades before the Civil War, men tried to keep these two issues apart, that of abolition and the preservation of the Union. They tried to preserve the Union by ignoring the issue of slavery. All the ingenuity of statesmen were employed. Those who maintained that the two issues cannot be kept apart, those who insisted that the Union could not be preserved without abolition were denounced, even in the North as dangerous radicals and as fanatical abolitionists. Abolitionists was a term of contempt up to the days of the Civil War even in the Northern states.

There were so called realists in those days, so called Cooler Heads, practical people who maintained that the whole issue of slavery had nothing to do with the central government but that it was an internal affair of individual states and that the Federal State had no business to meddle with things that do not concern it.

But the realists of those days were not realists at all. They were literalists. They proved to be just duller and took the middle road which led to the battlefield of the Civil War. And why? Because these two issues could not be kept apart, because inherent in slavery, in the institutions, in the economic structure of slavery was the motive of expansion. The slave area had to grow as the profits accrued from cotton growing in the South increased. The southern planters turned eyes everyday to new territories, particularly to Louisiana. They saw that by carving that huge territory into new states which would be slave-holding states, not only would profits be increased but their political power in the nation, as well would be increased. They would come into actual control of the United States and they would

force even the free Northern states within the orbit of slave states. Should they be carved into free states, the power of the Northern free states would be immeasurably augmented. The profits of the planters would diminish. The emancipation of the slaves would increase. Therefore there developed irrepressible issues which no clever augmentation, no reactionist hair-splitting could side-track. Compromises were attempted. But it didn't work. They tried appeasement. But to no avail.

Missouri Compromise. The country could not remain half free and half slave. As the Mexican War and the annexation of Texas offered to the planters new prospects for expansion, the issue reached its inevitable denouement on the blood-drenched battlefields of the Civil War. In other words and this is the thought which I want to stress, the moral issue between slavery and freedom, between a country half free and half slave could not be side-tracked. It should have been faced graciously at the very beginning of our Republic. If it were faced then and for six or seven decades thereafter it would not have had to be solved upon the blood-drenched fields of the Civil War.

Why do I stress this? Because I am persuaded that the world today faces an identical situation. The world today is divided between free states and slave states. The world today is half free and half slave. Since the World War dictatorships have arisen in half of the Western World and have established their tyranny over millions and millions of people. Democracy has been scrapped, free institutions have been destroyed and tyranny unlike anything ~~ex~~ experienced in two thousand years is today ruling of great countries in the Western World.

Inherent in these dictatorships is also this motive of expansion. Like the slave area before the Civil War, so the dictatorship areas today

must expand. It is a part of its inherent philosophy, its driving motive, to expand. Mussolini had to expand in Ethiopia; Hitler thus expanded in Austria. Both today are endeavoring to extend sway over Spain. Japan is expanding in China. At this very moment Europe is hovering upon a brink of another world war because of the threat of expansion by a dictatorship in Czechoslovakia.

Now there are today so called realists like the Chamberlains and Halifaxes of Great Britain who also imagine they can keep the two issues apart, the preservation of peace and the existence of dictatorships and that by concessions and compromises they can preserve the peace of Europe. Those who claim that these two are inseparable, that you cannot preserve the peace of the world without curbing dictatorships are today being denounced as irresponsible radicals, as war-mongers.

Even in our own country we find an attitude of pseudo-realism. A few days ago, the Undersecretary of State, Sumner Welles, made public the following amazing statement:

"The cause of world peace, and the fundamental objective in our foreign policy, of keeping our own country at peace, are not furthered by our participation in international polemics and recriminations over internal policies of other nations regarding which we have no rightful concern."

It is like an echo of the pre-Civil War days when these same words and phrases and slogans were employed. This, of course, is decidedly in keeping with the demands which Mussolini made a few days ago when he told the democracies of the earth to hold their tongues but that they, the autocracies, the exponents of totalitarian absolutism in the world today are free to speak, to utter words of contempt and recrimination towards democracies and liberty. They are free

to denounce and to jeer. They are free to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain, to send armies and airships into Spain. They are free to set themselves up as the spokesmen of other countries and foment treason within the populations of other lands. They are free to send their propagandists into other lands as they have in the United States, as they have done in Mexico - in the United States as they have been discovered to be, spies of their country and thus, perhaps to undermine our land. They are free to march into cities of other countries in foreign uniforms, carrying their foreign flags and heiling their leaders. But democracies, according to Mr. Sumner Welles, must not even open their mouths in condemnation of these indecencies perpetrated in the most barbaric fashions among innocent men, women and children. Three-quarters of a million people have been stripped of their elementary rights, driven out of their professions and careers and have been sent out into the world as paupers, broken. Such a nation must be spared the inconvenience of having people in a democracy even utter a word of protest, indignation at such action. In other words, these indecencies, these attacks upon the elementary principles of human life must be accepted today as the routine of internal procedure. It is an internal affair of these countries. The fact that these countries by victimizing hundreds of thousands of human beings are thereby impressing serious economic problems of caring for their victims - that doesn't matter. It is an internal affair.

My friends, there is no way of side-tracking the moral issues of democracy versus dictatorship in the modern world as there was no way of side-tracking the issue of slavery versus freedom in the days before the Civil War. Democracies must either unite to establish collective security, the sanctity of international law, the rights of minorities -

the democracies will either unite to check the aggression of dictatorships in the modern world or they will go down to utter defeat upon the bloody battlefield of war. Silence will not solve the problem. It is far too serious. The United States should not turn its foreign office over to the Tory Government of Great Britain. But I am afraid it has been unintentionally doing this. It is this miserable technique which has in the last few years been responsible for all the chaos in the international scene. It is that which has destroyed the idea of collective security in the world. Unfortunately our government has been playing their game in the last few years. By delicate nods and through weasel words we approved the forcible annexation of Austria and the Rome-London Pact which predicated upon the ultimate recognition of the shameful conquest of Ethiopia. And we have also made ourselves a party to that spurious non-intervention policy applied to Spain foisted upon Europe by the same Tory Government of Great Britain.

A few months ago the President of the United States spoke great and courageous words. He said that those nations who are aggressors and who foment war should be quarantined as lepers. What has happened to that attitude on the part of our government? Today we must not even breathe a word of disapprobation of the terrorism and brutality and international gangsterism against the perpetrators of these acts.

That the attitude of Mr. Sumner Welles was not the attitude of the past was evidenced a few days ago when a group of Chicago educators, authorities on international law and others telegraphed Mr. Sumner Welles. In that telegram they objected emphatically to what the telegram called Mr. Welle's "historically inaccurate statement of our consistent foreign policy in relation to outrages committed anywhere in the world that defy and violate the laws

of humanity and God."

"Secretary of State, G. Blaine, dealing with religious persecution by Christian Russia in 1891, complained that the action taken 'would not only wound the universal and innate sentiment of humanity, but would suggest the difficult problem of affording an immediate asylum to a million or more of exiles without seriously deranging the condition of labor and of social organization in other countries."

"Benjamin Harrison, then President of the United States, in his annual message Dec. 9, 1891, said: "The banishment, whether by direct decree or by any less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and women is not a local question. A decree to leave one country is, in the nature of things, an order to enter another - some other."

"In the past even Germany herself has joined in strong protest against brutalities perpetrated on local citizens by a foreign nation. Moreover, it is a confusion of terms to call, as you do, the torture of religion and racial persecution as practiced by Nazi Germany a domestic policy."

"Is murder a domestic policy? Are concentration camps, is confiscation of property, is creating and foisting upon other countries exiles and refugees by the hundreds of thousands, are all these domestic policies?"

And so, my friends, if there are to be no more dead in future wars, then democracy, to use a magnificent phrase which was uttered by Thomas Mann, must "put on armor". It must learn to fight. It must pick up the gauntlet, accept the challenge, call the bluff. At home it must aggressively expose all anti-democratic propaganda and prohibit enemies of our free institutions from organizing into unofficial armies, parading our streets in military uniforms and generally playing democracy "for a sucker."

WELLES WARNS US TO HOLD TONGUES

Hull Aide Says Americans Do
Cause of Peace No Good by
Assailing Other Nations

CITES OUR 'INTERVENTIONS'

Baltimore Talk Viewed as
Effort to Soothe Countries
Lately Attacked by Officials

BALTIMORE, May 24 (AP).—Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, declared tonight that Americans harmed the cause of world peace when they condemned the purely internal policies of other nations.

He made a "mind-your-own-business" speech before the Presbyterian Social Union of Maryland, saying:

"The cause of world peace, and the fundamental objective in our foreign policy, of keeping our own country at peace, are not furthered by our participation in international polemics and recriminations over internal policies of other nations regarding which we have no rightful concern."

His speech was interpreted as an attempt to soothe the feelings of Germany, Japan and Italy, repeatedly hurt on recent occasions by speeches and statements here, some of them by high officials.

"In these troubled times," said Mr. Welles, "the world is surcharged with the clash of conflicting doctrines, with bitter recriminations of the exponents of divergent dogmas, and with propaganda conducted by the spokesmen of certain ideologies among the adherents of other beliefs."

"It is known to us all that the New World, and especially the United States, has been subjected to much sound and fury of this nature."

"When alien influences seek to undermine our own institutions we become definitely concerned. The government is fully prepared to deal with this possibility in accordance with the provisions of our laws."

"What we must avoid as a people is confusion between what is an attack upon our own institutions, and the purely internal policy of a foreign government."

Recalls Our Past "Intervention"

In speaking before the Presbyterian Social Union of Maryland, Under-Secretary Welles said:

"Civilized society can assuredly conceive of the existence of no peaceful world so long as nations because of their physical might can intervene in whatever form in the determination of the destinies of other independent peoples."

"I wish I could say that our own government had always adhered to these principles. Its failure to do so in so far as the American continent is concerned was one of the chief reasons for the hostility with which we were regarded in earlier times by some of the smaller republics of this hemisphere, whose territory we invaded, and over the determination of whose destinies we undertook to assume control."

"That day, of course, has fortunately passed, and the memories thereof are rapidly becoming obliterated, but it is proper to remember what we ourselves as a nation have done, and not so many years ago, when we condemn, and rightly condemn, the policies of other nations who pursue such a course in the world of today."

"Apart from this legitimate humanitarian concern on our part, manifested in a constructive manner, we surely do not advance the cause of world peace by undertaking publicly to assail the domestic policies of other nations. When the policy of another country endangers our rights or our interests as a nation, or when it threatens the maintenance of those basic principles of international law and of conduct to which we have proclaimed our adherence and which we believe essential to world order, then this government should feel free to adopt such attitude as it believes the best interests of the American people demand. But the domestic policies of other peoples are as much a matter of their own determination as are our domestic policies a matter for our decision."

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GATHER TO DISCUSS THE CA

Women peace leaders who met here yesterday at Carrie Chapman Catt and Josephine Shain. Standing, Esther C. Brunauer, Mrs. William D. Spurborg and Mrs.

WELLES IS SCORED ON 'SILENCE' POLICY

Chicago Educators, Lawyers Assert Right of Americans to Protest 'Outrages' Abroad

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHICAGO, May 26.—A group of Chicago educators, authorities on international law and others telegrapher tonight to Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, protesting against his speech at Baltimore Tuesday in which he admonished Americans to cease their condemnation of the internal policies of other nations, "regarding which we have no rightful concern."

The group objected "emphatically" to what the telegram called Mr. Welles's "historically inaccurate statement of our consistent foreign policy in relation to outrages committed anywhere in the world that defy and violate the laws of humanity and God."

The signers of the telegram were Quincy Wright, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago; Dr. A. R. Hatton, Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University; Dr. John A. Lapp, Salmon O. Levinson, Harry D. Gideonse, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago; Professor Jerome G. Kerwin, University of Chicago; Paul Hutchinson, managing editor, The Christian Century; Dr. Charles Copeland Smith, head of the Neighbor Guild and international lecturer, and Dr. Curtis W. Reese, dean, Abraham Lincoln Center.

The telegram was made public by Mr. Levinson, Chicago lawyer, known as the originator of the Kellogg-Briand treaty to outlaw war.

"Secretary of State James G. Blaine, dealing with religious persecution by Christian Russia in 1891, complained that the action taken 'would not only wound the universal and innate sentiment of humanity, but would suggest the difficult problem of affording an immediate asylum to a million or more of exiles without seriously deranging the condition of labor and of social organization in other countries.'

Benjamin Harrison's Statement

"And Benjamin Harrison, then President of the United States, in his annual message Dec. 9, 1891, said:

"The banishment, whether by direct decree or by any less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and women is not a local question. A decree to leave one country is, in the nature of things, an order to enter another—some other.

Precedent Otherwise, They Say

"In the past even Germany herself has joined in strong protest against brutalities perpetrated on local citizens by a foreign nation," their message to Mr. Welles stated. "Moreover, it is a confusion of terms to call, as you do, the torture of religion and racial persecution as practiced by Nazi Germany a domestic policy.

"Is murder a domestic policy? Are concentration camps, is confiscation of property, is creating and foisting upon other countries exiles and refugees by the hundreds of thousands, are all these domestic policies?

"They have been differently labeled by many of our Presidents and Secretaries of State. But to avoid prolixity and because you are presumed to be familiar with similar outrageous situations handled by our various State departments, we cite but one instance.

"This consideration, as well as the suggestion of humanity, furnishes ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia, while our historic friendship for that government cannot fail to give assurances that our representations are those of a sincere well-wisher."

"Secretary of State William M. Evarts, as well as Theodore Roosevelt had his Secretary of State John Hay, took an even firmer stand in a similar situation.

"We have searched American history in vain to find a precedent for the weak and dangerous policy you announced at Baltimore."

James Roosevelt Leaves Clinic

ROCHESTER, Minn., May 26 (A.P.).—James Roosevelt, son and person-

ABOLITION OF IS CALLED

Representatives of Groups Discu

The abolition of possible but certain resolution adopted National Committee and Cure of War at meeting in the Y. ing, 600 Lexington

The meeting was representatives of eleven organizations with a ship of 6,000,000.

"It is commonly League of Nations text of the resolution. Because some nations, and those have been intimidated are not. The few feel the many refuse to assistance. Therefore peace is and must pointless. The changed policy must people and climb official top. It spreading now. T of wars and prep which frighten others to protest n

Support of the Cross in its civil aid to China was meeting, as was of Miss Frieda the division of w of the State Dep to act as official forthcoming In Conference.

Two newly ins national organ were Mrs. Saidi dent of the Ge Women's Club French, presid board of the Y

The speakers rie Chapman Foster Dulles Schain, chairm presided.

FULL STUDY ASKED

Offers Resolution Committee to Fi

Special to

WASHINGTON

representative Tr setts introduced to provide for work out "taxation." committee b ators, two experts nom and confirm

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1/ Recall Dead - 4 - savaged -
well - pay tribute - Supreme - summoned
Gave fullest - course in which - beloved
at behest of Patriotism - died heroically
Close to 1/2 M. - rank of Blue Gray
Our Nation can do us less - service

2/ By custom - other wars

3/ In all these wars - Am. Jew as pat
and our dear dead

J. always a loyal citizen -

from countries ignores or dishonors

Rail, Honor - Vienna

Exp. has J. been loyal -

4/ In the Civil War - Union - Slavery
Had there been

Moral Issue - agitated - embittered
divided - finally lost

8/ So great avidity Cuba - Zaire ¹³

9/ Conflict Unpresumable

Could not remain 1/2 free - 1/2 slave

No appeasement possible

"Missouri Compromise"

Moral Issue - which should have been
faced when Cont. was adopted -
could not be side-tracked

10/ Europe - 1/2 Free - Dictators.

Expansion - Spain - Ethiopia

Austria - Czechoslovakia

Appeasement thus concession - "Peace"

Chamberlain - Halifax - "Realists"

Those who call for United Action
denounced - "War-mongers"

11/ Even in our Country - Summer Wells
Under Secy & State (Indo)

This is, 7 cover - "Hold their tongues"

They are free to per-
interfere - Spain
Champion / 14 months - Texas

Send profs - Nazis Spies

March in ~~prison~~ uniforms

Dem - should not even - elem.
human right

deceivers

Not express indignation - thereas
to buy - 3/4 M/-

Routine Inter. procedure
"Internal affairs" - Refuses -

15/. If there are h h no more Dead

Am. must "put on armor"

Units against Formentors

So C. imperable

- ① Check Prop. ② Expose -
- ③ call their bluff.

16/. Then these Dead shall -



12/ The way to Sid-Tuck

Collection action against Aggers

Out law - M/monte

Els - War! Posed! - to speak

13/ Did Tibner!

U.S. should not turn to For. Office

Musical takes - chaos

Destroyed Ideal, All. Security

We have been playing Trus' game -

Austria - Run London Post - 1/1/40

14/ A few months ago - Pres. Roosevelt
Warrentini - what has happened?
Now - we must not even - (Just)

5. Tried to evade - Keep 2 apart - Pres⁽²⁾
union by ignoring.

All the ~~ing~~ ingenuity - employed -

Those who maintained - "fanatical Abol["]
"dangerous radicals"

6) So-called Realists - Cook Heads - Mudd, R.
Sl. matter in Ind. States

Internal affair -

Fed. Govt - no bus to mudd

7) But the Realist. were not

Inherent - Motif of Expansion

It must grow - as Sl. app^{ts} to Cotton
became more profitable.

Planters avidly turned - Territories

Carved into slave-holding-admitt^{ts}
~~control~~ profits - control - orbit

4) For the Civil War - Union fought to preserve the Union. Why
was the Union threatened? Sec. of Slavery. Had there been
no slavery even the existence, the Union would have been
threatened or even called into question. The moral issue
of slavery agitated - for generations - established our natl.
pol. life - divided our people - & finally led to rebellion -
Secession, & the shame of the Civil War.

Men ought to keep the 2 issues apart. Union
& Slavery. Keep one by ignoring or by working counter to
the other. All the ingenuity / state men was employed.
Those who maintained that 2 are inseparable - that
you cannot preserve the Union without abolishing slavery
were denounced in the North even South as fanatical
abolitionists - ^{dangerous} - Radicals. - the "United States" statesmen

The so-called British & Cobden heads were want
to explain that slavery was a matter for the ind.
states to ^{determine} ~~decide~~ an internal ^{policy} affair, the states - the
Fed. govt. has no bus. to meddle in it. All we
need to concern ourselves with is the preservation of the
Union.

But ~~it was~~ the radicals were really not radicals at
all - only liberals. & the Cobden head - only dull.
For. inherent in econ. structure of S. was the impetus
of Expansion. It must grow - as Slavery applied to
Cotton growing became more & more profitable. ^{It}
avidly turned its eyes to the new territories which
the planting, cotton would be profitable. Carried
into States admitted into the Union - there
also new slave-holding states would stir the nat.

central to South & face anti-sl. states into its orbit.
Caused ^{72 years ago} into anti-sl. states - the power, the free
North would be immeasurably augmented, and the
threat to the ultimate abolition of sl. increased.

(am) The Conflict was ^{unavoidable} inevitable. Country could not
remain ^{of 2 years & 1/2 sl. states} - There was no ^{agreement}
all ^{Missouri Compromise - 1820. Repealed 1854. Mexico City} ^{uninterrupted support. Had} ^{Dem.} ^{not only not out to}
at the side - tracked. War!
Scott Denno, 1857-70, then Sen. 1859 - Shared environment w/ North.
sl. Europe - 1/2 Free - 1/2 Slave. Debatable -

Agreement then Concession.
Peace - also all. Realist - Chamberlain
Those who criticize - Call for United action to
curb - are denounced - as war mongers

Even in our own Country - Samuel Welles -
Under Secy, State -
This is 9-cards what Murderer - "Hold
their tongues" -

They are free to jeer & denounce -
" " " to interfere - indirect affairs

Spain - send armies

" " to set Eos as champions
of immorities in other, unlucky states?
Write them to rebel in.

" send propaganda - Nazi spies
Dem. peoples should not only not out to
Nazi Union - prayer flag & prayer spies.

positive action + inter. organization.

(b) A few months ago Mr. R. called for immediate
of American nation - ^{for humanity?} What has happened to it?

Now - we must not even breathe word of ^{refugees}
of inter. organization - + acts against heeding people
which ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{was} not U.S. attitude in last (war)

9/ If this can be no more dead - in wars. in
Future - deaths > any in past -

① Democr. must unite against foundations of war -
new imperialism & etc - who under new labels
+ slogans - are pursuing the old, blood-drenched,
same of conquest.

② Check their Propaganda ③ Expose their pretenses

③ Call their bluffs

10/ There this dead shall not have died in vain.

-----Program-----

511
May 29, 1938

Organ Prelude-----A.R. Willard
Entrance of Veterans

To the Colours-----J. Berg

Blessing of Colours-----Geo. J. Vaughn

Star Spangled Banner-----Choir & Assembly

Union Prayer Book-----Pages 314-335

Anthem--~~"They are in Peace"~~-----~~Temple Choir~~
(Foster)

How blest are they Temple Choir
(Tschaiakowsky)
Roll Call of Departed

Cleveland Lodge (B'nai B'rith)---P. Frankel

Heights Lodge (B'nai B'rith)-----S.S. Simms

Veterans -----B.F. Sacharow

Placing of Flags-----Sonia Gordon

Taps-----S. Zuckerman

Echo-----I. Stein

~~El Mole Rechsim~~-----~~Emanuel Rosenberg~~

There is no Death (O'Hara)
Speaker
Mrs. Marie
Simmelink Kraft
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
"Democracy in Armor"

Anthem--Souls of the Righteous-----Choir
(Noble)

Exit March-----A.R. Willard

Assembly Please remain standing untill
Veterans Leave

DEMOCRACY IN ARMOR

In the Civil War men fought to preserve the Union. Why was the Union threatened? Because of slavery. Men tried to keep the two issues, the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery, apart. All the ingenuity of statesmanship was employed to that end. But to no avail. The so-called "realists" of those days were wont to exclaim that slavery was an internal affair of the individual states, that the federal government had no business to meddle with it. Those who maintained that the two issues were inseparable, that you could not permanently preserve the Union without the abolition of slavery were denounced even in the North as dangerous radicals and fanatical abolitionists.

But the "realists" were not realists at all, only literalists. For inherent in slavery was the motive of expansion. It had to grow as slavery applied to cotton ~~growing~~ growing became more and more profitable. Planters avidly turned their eyes to the new territories which they insisted should be carved out and admitted into the Union as slave-holding states.

They tried compromises in those days - the Missouri Compromise, for example. It didn't work. They tried "appeasement" in those days. It didn't work. The conflict, as the wiser heads foresaw, was irrepressible. The country could not remain half free and half slave. As the Mexican War and the annexation of Texas offered to the planters new prospects for expansion, the issue reached its inevitable denouement on the blood-drenched battlefields of the Civil War.

There is a lesson in all this for the world today. The Western World today is also half free and half slave. The so-called "realists" of our day - the Chamberlains and the Halifaxes - also imagine they can keep the two issues of the preservation of peace and the existence of dictatorships apart, and that

by concessions and compromises they can preserve the peace of Europe. But inherent in dictatorship is also the motive of expansion. Witness Fascist aggression in Ethiopia, Austria, China, Spain and now the menace hanging over Czechoslovakia. There is no possibility of a Missouri Compromise on the issue of democracy versus dictatorship any more than there was on the issue of slavery versus abolition. This conflict, too, is irrepressible.

Those who, like Under-~~xxxxxx~~ secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, admonish our people to refrain from even criticising the dictatorships abroad because what they are doing are the internal affairs of those countries and none of our business, are naive and unrealistic and are rendering a distinct disservice to our country and to humanity.

Seemingly, dictators are to be free to denounce democracies and their institutions at will, to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations as Germany and Italy are doing today in Spain, to set themselves up as the champions of minorities in other nations and foment disloyalty and treason among their citizens, to send propagandists to other countries as the Nazis have done in the United States, which propagandists also act as spies, and to incite their followers in other countries to parade in foreign uniforms, to salute a foreign flag and to "heil" a foreign ruler; but democracies must not even breathe a word of disapprobation when shameful indecencies are committed against helpless men, women and children in the countries of these dictators, when hundreds of thousands of people are being robbed of their possessions and driven out as paupers to seek refuge in other lands which must take up the burden thus put upon them by these dictators.

If Mr. Sumner Welles is to be credited, ~~gangsterism~~ ional gangsterism in government is now to be regarded as routine internal procedure - an internal affair. And all this for the sake of preserving peace. Just as slavery was to be tolerated for the sake of preserving the Union.

It is high time that our State Department should cease to take orders from the Foreign Office of Great Britain which is today in the hands of a Tory regime, whose miserable tactics are responsible for nearly all the chaos ^{the} in international situation today. We have all too long been playing, consciously or unconsciously, the game of these Tories. By delicate nods and through weasel words we approved the forcible annexation of Austria and the Rome-London Pact which is ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ predicated upon the ultimate recognition of the shameful conquest of Ethiopia. And we have also made ourselves a party to that spurious non-intervention policy applied to Spain foisted upon Europe by the same Tory Government of Great Britain.

A few months ago, President Roosevelt heroically called upon the democracies of the world to quarantine the anti-democratic aggressor nations, to treat them as outlaws and international lepers. Today we are not even to express our shocked indignation against the infamous acts and brutalities of these same dictators.

There is no way to sidetrack moral issues of dictatorship in the Western World just as the issue of slavery could not be sidetracked. If peace is to be preserved, there must be collective action on the part of the remaining free peoples of the earth against aggressors, violators of international law, and oppressors of minorities. Democracy, to use a splendid phrase uttered recently in Cleveland by Thomas Mann, must "put on armor". It must pick up the gauntlet, accept the challenge, call the bluff. At home it must aggressively expose all anti-democratic propaganda and prohibit enemies of our free institutions from organizing into unofficial armies, parading our streets in military uniforms and generally to play democracy "for a sucker".