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Are the Dark Ages Returning?, 1938.

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 ARE THE DARK AGES RETURNING? After the Munich Pact - What?

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By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver At The Temple

On Sunday morning, November 6, 1938

My dear Friends:

In my judgment, the Munich Conference marked the climax in the process of the liquidation of the ideas which triumphed in the World War. I believe that in the future, history will liken the Munich Conference to the Congress at Vienna in 1814 which marked the climax in the liquidation of the ideas which triumphed in the French Revolution and in the campaigns and wars of Napoleon. There is a significant parallel between these two conferences which ought to be carefully studied.

The revolution of 1789 unleashed a set of revolutionary ideas in the Western World which shook it to its depths. A new world order was ushered in which upset the world order which was a thousand years old. The French Revolution proclaimed the end of feudalism, monarchy and the divine right of kings. It abolished the awarding of special privileges of birty, wealth, positon. The slogan of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", and it sounded the deathknell of the old regime. The Revolution beheaded the king and queen, threw thousands of the mobility into exile and confiscated the property of huge private estates. That Revolution was as dreaded and as hated by the property classes, the possessing classes, the privileged classes of those days as Communism is hated in our day. The army of Napoleon swept through Western Europe carrying these ideas along with them. Wherever they came, the old regime collapsed. New rules were set up. New nations came into existence. New boundaries were established.

And then came Moscow and Leipzig, the surrender of Paris and Elba. They were followed by Waterloo and St. Helena. Napoleon was crushed, and with him the new order which he seemed to represent. With the collapse of Napoleon, the old regime rallied again and set about to liquidate the new order, which ideas were brought into the world by the revolution of 1789. And they succeeded in liquidating it. They brought back absolutism, special privileges and the divine rights of kings.

Metternich, who in a sense, was the symbol of that reaction, spoke in his day with as much gusto and relish of the "disease of liberalism "as Mussolini and Hitler have been doing in our day. The Czar of Russia proclaimed then that "Republics are no longer fashionable". "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" became anathema. In fact anything emanating from the France became anathema. Vaccination was prohibited in many lands and also the introduction of gas lamps because they emanated from France. The new won liberties were abrogated and the dark ages set in again in Europe. Metternich set up a Gestapo similar, but not quite as vast as the Gestapo set up in Germany today, of spies, secret police, the incarceration or exile of anyone suspected of democratic ideals of liberalism.

Then a conference was held of four great powers, very much like **MARE** the four great powers who met at Munich, except that the four great powers then were Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia -France didn't join until later. These four great powers established an axis very much like the Rome-Berlin Axis. They named this group the Holy Alliance. The purpose was as it is today - to preserve the peace of Europe, to keep Europe from being converted and invaded by democratic ideas. These four powers were to hold conferences periodically. They did.

At one of these conferences, in 1820, a new principle was introduced. It was new in those days but is not new for us today,

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namely, that these great powers who set themselves up as the preservers of law and order and legitimacy. They were given the power to intervene in any country where democracy and liberalism threatened the old order. So Austria intervened in Italy and France intervened in Spain in the same way as Italy and Germany intervened in Spain two years ago to keep that country from going Communist. And they cast their eyes westward to the New World, these gentlemen of the Holy Alliance.

In 1820, the Spanish people revolted and the Spanish colonies in South America also revolted and they set up republics. The Holy Alliance thereupon decided to intervene in these newly established republics in South America to save them what was in those days democracy and liberalism. In the process of saving them from the horrible menace of democracy and liberalism, they meant to establish imperialism. It was as a result of this intervention in the western hemisphere that the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed which stated that our government does not look with favor upon the establishment in this hemisphere of a political power of a European people. The very self-same thing is happening today. The Nazis, Fascists, emmissaries of Japan, have been making their penetration in South and Central America. The United States Government has suddenly become alarmed and the Monroe Doctrine has suddenly loomed up again as a doctrine which must be defended against any Holy Alliance. The President of the United States has been calling for a vast increase of our air forces, navy looking towards some possible eventuality of a struggle with the powers in the new holy alliance.

But the Holy Alliance did not last long. Fifteen years later, the French people threw up barricades and the Revolution of '89 began. From France they reverberated and spread to other lands in Western Europe. In 1849, eighteen years later, another revolution set. Louis Philippe was compelled to abdicate. The Second French Republic was set up.

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the ideas of the revolution of '89 swept over Europe. The palace of Metternich was fired upon in Vienna. He was forced to resign and he fled from Vienna in disguise. From then on, the ideas of democracy flourished and steadily advanced in Europe for nearly three quarters of a century until they triumphed completely in the World War. The World War made the whole world safe for democracy. New nations were established. New boundaries were defined. Minority peoples which had been oppressed were established in their minority rights. A system of collective security was inaugurated. A League of Nations, a World Court was established. The ideals of dismrmament, as a step towards universal peace was advanced.

But the four years of the World War bled Europe white. The economic life of Europe was completely shattered. The masses of the people, those among the victors and the vanquished were subjected to a long period of economic chaos, inflation, unemployment, impoverishment and misery. The peace treaties at Versailles in the World War did not reflect quite that idealism which was said to be the motives of the War. An effort was made to lift the chains of bondage from some of the defeated peoples. The new frontiers which were set up did not always follow the principle of self-determination. In Russia, a Bolshevik revolution took place which overtook the capitalistic system and which sent terror into the hearts of all capitalistic governments. And perhaps for the first time in history, anti-democratic methods were employed to achieve great ideals of social justice. Dictatorship was sanctified because of the end which it was supposed to achieve. As a reaction to Bolshevism and more especially to economic radicalism which set in all over Europe as a result of the widespread economic suffering, The Italian Fascist revolution took place, a revolution of the middle class

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and upper classes which also used the now sanctified technique of dictatorship in the achievement of its objectives. Dictatorship has become the fashion in every movement.

Ten years after the Italian revolution, the Nazi revolution followed and triumphed as a result of the renewed economic depression which set in all over the world with the year 1929.

The remaining democracies of the earth, too engrossed with their own problems at home, too much involved in imperialistic rivalries and too much divided internally along economic lines, could not check in peacetime the spread of those ideas which four bloody years in the World War tried to destroy. They permitted dictatorships to wax and grow strong, to build up their military machines. They befriended the dictatorships of the Right and conspired with them while at the same time being hostile to the dictatorships of the Left, failing to realize, or not wanting to, that since the triumph of Bolshevism in the Soveit Union in 1918, not a single other European country in Europe has gone Communist, while since the triumph of Italian Fascism, some dozens of states have gone either Fascist or semi-Fascist. Today the menace to democracy is far greater from Fascism than from Communism.

These democracies undermined the one great institution which it had built up which might have checked the rise of anti-democratic power, the League of Nations. They permitted the Fascist states to score one diplomatic victory after another, to invade foreign countries. Steadily now, democracy has receded through fifteen years while dictatorships of the crudest kinds known to mankind have advanced across the face of Europe. Dictatorship reached its supreme triumph in Munich when the great empires of England and France capitulated without firing a shot. They

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prostrated themselves before a power which twenty years ago was so beaten as no power in the world was ever beaten, a power which five years ago was without an army or navy worth the name. At Munich these great democracies had to acknowledge that they were beaten. They yielded and dishonored a pledge which was given at least by one of these great democracies, by France, to another nation to defend it. They were licked, these democracies. The new master of Europe is not democratic England or France but Nazi Germany. To cover up their nakedness and their shame they waved the fig-leaf, peace. They had saved Europe from war. Chamberlain rushed back from Munich all aflutter waving a piece of paper in his hand. He had averted war. And on the document he had the signature of a gentleman who respects documents, oh, so much. Never again would Great Britain and Germany go to war. At the same time while making this announcement, in the very same speech, Chamberlain called upon the English people to vote additional sums of money for its re-armament. That is how much confidence/had in the peace which he had achieved.

Daladier returned home as a hero having shamefully betrayed an ally and having reduced France to a third or fourth rate power in Europe. He also sought to cover up the nakedness by proclaiming that he, too, had saved Europe from war. In 1815, reaction triumphed after military defeat of the armies of France. But in 1938, they did not suffer any military defeat of the armies of France at all. It was so corroded and spiritually so corrupt that it could fall before an invading army without even striking a blow. The Great Roman Empire collapsed also without even striking a blow.

In my judgment, and I hope that I am wrong, Munich will come to be known as the twentieth century replica of the collapse of Vienna. Great Britain

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and France are being unwillingly drawn into the Rome-Berlin axis. And the purpose of this axis avowedly is to liquidate the democracies, the liberal ideas which stemmed from the revolution of 1789. There will be a new Unholy Alliance in the world. One of the leaders of the British Parliament, Winston Churchill had to warn the House of Commons that Great Britain would go Fascist, that it would not be long before freedom of press and freedom of speech would be suppressed in the House of Commons.

What ideas do the new masters of Europe represent - and I am afraid that they are in to stay for some time. I am afraid that a new era has been ushered in. What do these new masters of Europe represent? Everything which is anti-democratic, everything which is opposed to democracy. They represent a new Ceasarism, a new militarism, a new imperialism which is insatiable. It is naive to assume that Hitler is now completely satisfied in his conquest of Czechoslovakia or that Italy is now satisfied with its conquest of Ethiopia. It is not a part of imperialism to be satisfied with any amount of conques.t. It recognizes no rights of other peoples, no sanctities. The new masters of Europe represent state absolutism, the suppression of the individual, the ultimate conversion of the individual into a robot. They represent heresy-hunting. They represent inquisition. They represent a ruthlessness, a dangerous animalism in the world which Religion has been trying to iron out for centuries. They represent an organized "schrecklichkeit" such as mankind has never experienced.

You read, in the last few weeks, of the tens of thousands of Jews who were herded into cattle cars and dumped across the borders of Poland for no reason, without warning. They were citizens of another country. They were carrying on their daily jobs, occupations, within the law. Did

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you perhaps read what happened to these thousands of men and women and children? This is an account of a young woman who found herself a member of this uprooted and cast out group of human beings:

"A few minutes after we had been unloaded from the train on the frontier, S. S. men with fixed bayonets surrounded us and told us to march as quickly as possible. It was cold and wet and the road was full of holes and mud.

"We were warned not to look back, but we h and the rattling of machine guns in the rear. The S.S. men threatened to shoot if any one tried to stay behind, so we moved forward for quite a while in dead silence. We were hungry and tired and some elderly people collapsed under the bundles they were carrying.

"Suddenly, for no apparent reason, rifle shots broke the silence. The people ran or dropped to the ground, where they were beaten and trod on by guards. Many were injured during the stampede. I lost my baggage, as did many others. There was no time to recover it.

"The worst happened when we came to a ditch right on the frontier. There was a barbed-wire fence on the other side. We were pushed across it carrying children and those who could not move.

"We waded ankle-deep in water, finally reaching Polish soil. The S.S. men remained behind. We proceeded unguarded to the station.

"Near Beuten Elite guards made 900 refugees run for half an hour when they left the station.

"When the women wanted to rest after this terrible exertion, the S.S. men threw away their suitcases so they could not sit on them. We wantered over fields for several hours, across **ditt** ditches and meadows to find the frontier office. We were finally left alone in the middle of a great field in complete darkness. Three men went to find a human habitation. They

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returned at dawn with a Polish policeman who showed us the way to the nearest village.

"There were heartbreaking scenes in Warsaw when children were taken from one point to another in search of their parents. It often happened that fathers had been deported first - sometimes-direct from work without being allowed to communicate with their families. The other relatives in many cases were taken to the frontier by different routes, often to different stations. A few happy men learned that the rest of their families had returned home after the expulsion order had been repealed.

"The number of those injured and all who had to be taken to hospitals is estimated at 200. Many of them had to be operated on, three were temporarily insane".

This is 1938, my friends. These are the masters of the world today. They represent, my friends, a moral and intellectual depravity which Europe has not known for more than 2000 years, fiends, taking away property people without law; they strip them naked and drive them out and then indulge in some shyster rationalizing about kultur, race and authority. The height of degradation was to been near the sewers and latrines of Vienna/few months ago when scholars, scientists and artists the elite of German culture - were taken to clean those places with their bare hands. That is where the last of the kultur and civilization of a people that might have been great saw its last burial ground. They represent the ones who are out to shackle the human mind. They are the ones who burn books, who would like to destroy ideas with a torch and with a rubber truncheon and with concentration camps. They are the same barbarians, with the same spirit of hatred of civilization and of all culture which characterized the Fifth century who rushed out of their dark forest

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and marshes and over-ran and destroyed the civilization of antiquity and ushered in one thousands years of darkness, brutality and chaos in the Western World.

All this reaction was ushered in by the Munich Pact.

As soon as a state goes Fascist, it goes anti-Semitic. What are we to do about it? Some people think you can't do anything about it; that the ideas you should talk about - democracy, rights of individuals - perished from the earth on the battlefields in France; that the ideals which you deprecate - militarism, force and intolerance and rigid discipline are the ideals current in the world today and **x** you might as well subscribe to them and you might as well resign yourself to them.

I don't think so. I think that democracy has not yet said its last say. Evidently democracy and freedom are things which have to be re-emphasized over and over again. We can never say that we have them safe for ever. They must be re-emphasized, at times, with human blood. They are worth recapturing because they, alone make life worth living. Mankind will again have to throw up barricades against the aggression of these dark forces which have now won mastery of the world. Democracy must become militant. It must wage war intellectually, spiritually upon all the forces that threaten it. We must build up all the legitimate safeguards in democracies against insidious invasion of our country by these forces whose sole purpose/to disrupt. We must drive out from our midst any man who does not believe in the safeguarding of our constitutional rights.

I believe it was the old Roman sage, Seneca, who said: Liberty can only remain unconquered as long as she knows nothing more valuable than herself."

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We can defend our democratic institutions positively, constructively by building up a social order which will give men security against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, old age which will make them feel at home in a free land, love it because they feel sheltered in it, ready to defend its institutions because they feel safe....

Any impartial observer must know that our national economy is not wholesome, is not well, is ailing. It is not hopelessly sick, however. It can be restored to hearlth. That requires vision, courage, good will. That requires a sense of coopeation on the part of all peoples, employee and employer alike. That calls for the absence of dogmatism, partisanship. That calls for statesmanship. And above all, vision and good will.

The prospects in the world today, my friends are not very bright. It would not be true to my convictions if I would today have given a Pollyanna kind of sermon. It is wise to have perspective. It is wise to learn history. Our knowledge of the past, a large-scale view of the past and present will help to strengthen our faith concerning the future.

Following the revolution of 1815, Europe enjoyed three-quarters of a century of a new order dominated by those ideals which we hold beautiful and sacred. Following the collapse of the Munich order, Europe may again come upon a long stretch of peaceful constructive life. There is hope for it.

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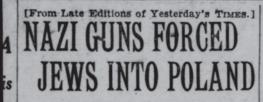
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1938.



Deportees Were Shot At From Rear as They Trudged From Reich, Refugee Reveals

9.000 HUDDLE AT BORDER

Await Result of Talks to Be Held Today-1,000 Receive Assistance in Warsaw

By JERZY SZAPIRO

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES. WARSAW, Poland, Oct. 31 .- This writer made the rounds today of provisional concentration points here of Jews expelled from Germany, of whom about 1,000 have thus far arrived in Warsaw. They are being accommodated in schools and various Jewish institutions.

Old persons and children were the first arrivals, having been evacuated from overcrowded frontier stations before all others. Most of them have no relatives left here and have no place to go. They left Poland twenty or thirty years ago or were born in Germany. Many are able to speak only German.

Most of them are entirely dependent on Jewish charity to provide food and shelter. The Joint Distribution Committee's work of organizing relief under most difficult conditions is greatly praised.

All frontier stations except Zbaszyn have already been cleared of refugees, who are scattered through finally reaching Polish soil. the country. The situation is still S. S. men remained behind. 5,000 refugees are awaiting evacuation to the interior or return to

the railroad station or in barracks near by last night and the rest passed the night in the open near the station.

The first few hundred of the Zbaszyn refugees arrived there on a special train Saturday morning and were forced off before Polish officials could recover from their surprise. Fearing difficulties with the next load there, the Germans emptied the trains on German territory and drove the refugees across. fields into Poland.

This correspondent met one young, woman of this group today in the headquarters of the Jewish Students Union here. She is the wife of a Hamburg merchant. In Nazi Germany she learned to hold ner tongue and was reluctant to talk even here, fearing that harm might come to others in Germany.

"A few minutes after we had been unloaded from the train on the frontier," she said, "S. S. men [Elite Guards] with fixed bayonets surrounded us and told us to march as quickly as possible. It was cold habitation. They returned at dawn and wet and the road was full of holes and mud.

"We were warned not to look back, but we heard the rattling of machine guns in the rear. The S. S. men threatened to shoot if any one tried to stay behind, so we moved forward for quite a while in dead silence. We were hungry and tired and some elderly people collapsed under the bundles they were carrying.

"Suddenly, for no apparent reason, rifle shots broke the silence. The people ran or dropped to the ground, where they were beaten and trod on by guards. Many were injured during the stampede. I lost my baggage, as did many others. There was no time to recover it.

"The worst happened when we came to a ditch right on the frontier. There was a barbed-wire fence on the other side. We were pushed across it carrying children and those who could not move.

"We waded ankle-deep in water. The We serious at Zbaszyn, where almost proceeded unguarded to the station."

The writer learns that many of Germany. A few hundred slept in this group required medical atten-

ankles or exhaustion. It is reported eight men are still in a no man's land, the Germans having taken their passports. Food is being supplied them by Polish frontier guards.

For the most part the refugees do not complain of the treatment received at the hands of the police in their home towns in Germany or. except for one or two cases, in German trains. The ordeal began when, after having left the trains. they were handed over to Elite Guards or Storm Troopers.

Near Beuthen Elite Guards made 800 refugees run for half an hour when they left the station.

"When the women wanted to rest after this terrible exertion," a youth from Saxony told the writer, "the S. S. men threw away their suitcases so they could not sit on them. We wandered over fields for several hours, across ditches and meadows to find the frontier office. We were finally left alone in the middle of a great field in complete darkness. Three men went to find a human with a Polish policeman who showed us the way to the nearest village."

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> The number of those injured and all who had to be taken to hospitals is estimated at 200. Many of them had to be operated on; three were temporarily insane.

Newspapers here-both Polish and Jewish-are not allowed to publish details of the frontier or Warsaw scenes; the reason given is that such accounts might strain relations at a time when Berlin and Warsaw differ already on the question of Carpathian Ruthenia and the desirability of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier.

The Nationalist and habitually pro-Nazi Dziennik Narondy says in an editorial that the Jewish expulsions furnish a striking example of There were heartbreaking scenes the fertility of the Polish-German



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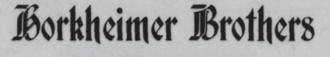
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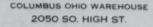


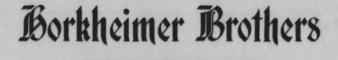
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