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The France that will not die, 1942.

THE FRANCE THAT WILL NOT DIE

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the writing of "The Marseillaise"

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At The Temple

On Sunday morning, April 26, 1942 This is a dark hour in the history of France...Many countries have been defeated in the last few years. Few indeed have consented to collaborate with the enemy who defeated them. Recently unoccupied France has come under the political control of one who represents the hour of betrayal, who has been the advocate — the arch—advocae in collaboration with the enemy not only of France, but of mankind. One is inclined to ask Laval, Petain — all the men of Vichy: With whom is France asked to collaborate? With a Hitler who regards France as the mortal enemy of Germany, who stated: "There exi ts external conflict between Germany and France" which can only be resolved by the complete annihilation of France; the man who wrote that France relentlessly throttles us and robs our strength; and that Germany must undertake every sacrifice which may help bring about a nullification of the French drive for European hegemony; a man who summoned his people "for a decisive active settlement with France and a final decisive battle for the vastest German final goals." I have quoted from Mein Kampf. It is with this man and his followers that men of Vichy now ask France to collaborate.

When France was strong, Hitler never sought collaboration or alliance with her. In his textbook which is the Bible of Nazism, Hitler wrote: "InEurope there can be for Germany in the predictable future only two allies — England and Italy". This England which Laval so bitterly denounced, Hitler courted as an ally against France, as an ally ultimately against Russia. For as you know one of the three or four main pillars of the foreign policy of Hitler is the territorial expansion of the Reich on the Continent of Europe, eastward to Russia. And France, Hitler was persuaded, was thwarting its territorial expansion to Russia. Hitler was persuaded that he would make of Russia easy prey but for French protection.

And Hitler throughout the years of his ascendancy to power and after his ascendancy to power ridiculed the German critiques of England. He denounced those who criticized England for maintianing its great sea power and for retaining its colonies. Hitler ridiculed Rathenau and other Germans who tried to reach an

understanding with France. He saw in that "fawning before the great nation and suing like a lover for France's favor. Hitler's foreign policy was based on exploiting England's horror of any "undue rise of a continental power in the world scale"; on the hope that England would look askance at the French attempts at hegemony"; and sooner or later French policy would inevitably come into collision with British interests."

Hitler always pitted England against France, just as Laval is now attempting to pit France against England. Her whole policy was to isolate France and then annihilate her. It was part of Hitler's testament to his people, that he wrote about in Mein Kampf — never to tolerate two continental powers in Europe. It was to be either Germany or France.

Now it is with this sworn ememy of France that the men of Vichy make it easier to destroy these united nations and thereby make it possible ultimately to achieve supremacy on the continent of Europe with the destruction of France.

For the time being, of course, Hitler has put aside the idea of annihilating France, because the war is not yet over. He finds it necessary to protect his Western Front. So he will flirt with conquered France, possibly make some concessions until he no longer has need for France. Then he will destroy it. A Hitler victory will seal the doom of a France whom we all know and whom we all love.

Whom are the men of Vichy asked to collaborate? With a man whose peace treaties and alliances are matters of day to day expediency.

Hitler announced to the world that Bolshevism must be destroyed, that it is the enemy of civilization, that world this regime which is a curse to civilization. Hitler wrote in his book that the Rulers of Russia are common blood-stained criminals, the scum of humanity, that they have established the most frightful regime of tyranny of all time, that the Russians are a combination of a rare mixture of bestial horror with an unconceived gift of lying." Hitler wrote that "one does not

He did conclude such a treaty withRussia. It was the expedient thing to do at the time. He needed it to destroy Poland. He didn't wish to fight the Soviet Union at the same time. When Poland was destroyed, there was no longer any need for collaboration with this scum of the earth so he proceeded to break his treaty and invade the Soviet Union.

It is with this man and this regime built upon lies, treachery, that the conquered people, the men of Vichy ask France to collaborate. And against whom is France to collaborate? Against England, against the United States. Against England that fought side by side with France twenty-five years ago, as England fought side by side with France until the very hour of defeat. And against the United States, the new France has been tied in a thousand ways for more than 150 years, since the time of Lafayette, Benjamin Franklin, the Declaration of Independence right to the present day. It is to collaborate against the United States to whom France gave as a symbol of its unity, of its spiritual solidarity that magnificent statue which now stands in the Harbor in the gateway to the New World, Bedloe Island, the Statue of Liberty enlightening the world. It is the symbol of two great peoples pledged to one great ideal, the ideal of liberty in the world.

Truly that can not be so. The future of France does not lie in servility to a mad Medievalist across the Rhine, a grotesque anachronism — France's future can not be bound up with a man, with a Regime which is trying to build in the heart of Europe, in an age when empires throughout the world are dissolving, who is trying to capture national hegemony for his people and reduce all ther peoples to one degree or another of serfdom, in an age when all people, large and small are reaching out for freedom, self-determination and voluntary federation for the common good. France's future certainly can not be tied up with Hitler's. Certainly France does not believe in this graveyard world, this antiquated system of thought and way of life.

The destiny of France is bound up with the future of the world, with a

MISSING PAGE (S)





With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare
Their thirst of powerand gold unbounded
To mete and vend the light and air.
Like beasts of burden would they load us,
Like gods, would bid their slaves adore:
But man is man, and who is more?
Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

O Liberty, can man resign thee
Once having felt thy gen'rous flame?
Can dungeon, bolts, and bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewailing,
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield
But freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing.

To arms, to arms, ye brave
The avenging sword unsheath
March on- march on- all hearts resolved
On victory or death.

That is France! That spirit of France the men of Vichy will never quench. For one hundred fifty years since that was written, France has been the symbol of the unchained man, the man who has fought against tyranny, against fanaticism, against obscurantism. Thomas Jefferson when once asked which country he considered home he k answered first his own country and then next, of course, France. It was to France more than a century ago that the refugees of the old world were driven and where they found a refuge and a haven. It was in France that men learned the art of living, the art of thinking, the grace of living and the clarity of thinking. It is to this France that the men of France vichy want to surrender to a force which represents the very negation, the very antipathy, the very death of all these things we have been taught to identify with the men of France.

We Jews of the world owe a special debt of gratitude to France. France was the first nation in Europe to grant the right of citizenship to Jews in September, 1791. There weren't many Jews in France at the time, about 40,000. At the time of the Second World War there were no more than two hundred thousand Jews in the whole of France. The Jews of France repaid their Fatherland for

their tolerance and liberty with loyalty and devotion. They contributed in a very creditable way to the Arts, Science, Literature and to the political life of France. One need but mention the names of Henry Bergson among the philosophers; Gabriel of Lippman, physicist, Pissaro, master/impressionism among painters; Darmsteter among the savants, Sarah Bernhardt and Rachel among actors; in politics such men as Leon Blum and George Mandel. Jews were represented in large numbers on the faculties of France, at the Sorbonne, College of France. There were fifty Jewish generals in the French Army in 1930. During the world war of the two hundred thousand men, women and children living in France, six thousand of them died on the battlefield in France. Among them was Rabbi Abraham Bloch of Lyon who was killed while giving the cross as final consolation to a mortally wounded Catholic soldier on the battlefield.

There have been from time to time in France as in this country reactionary movements, loyalist groups, clerical groups who never reconciled themselves to the Republic. Their activity led to intolerance and anti-Semitic agitation - for example the Dreyfus Affair at the closing of the 19th century. But at such time there always was the unsilenced heart and mind of France which spoke up in defiance to these dark voices in defense to those unjustly attacked. There was always a Zola and Picquart to speak up and to direct France against reaction and was honorably reinstated.

and political intrigue. Dreyfus was exonerated and France was saved its soul and honor.

Vichy France is another such reactionary movement in the wake of national defeat and disaster. The ragic thing about the Vichy movement is that it is degrading France. It is one thing to be defeated. It is quite another thing to applaud the conqueror, that your leaders who led you against defeat were traitors and it was you who declared the war. That is the depth of degradation to which any people can stoop — to stab at the heart of your people, to justify your

enemy, to throw into prison the men who tried to defend France and the honor of France.

But the voice of true France is not subdued even now. The very things which transpired at the trial are proof of that. At the trial the true spirit of France spoke up fearlessly.

Under this Vichy regime the rights which the Jews of France enjoyed for a century and a half were rescinded. The Jews were blamed for the French catastrophy. The old Jewish problem was revived. The Jews were excluded from the press, the radio, the cinema, public office, from judicial and educational activities. They tried to make certain exceptions. They wanted to make an exception of Henry Bergson. But true to the spirit and honor of his people, he rejected these exceptions and resigned from his Professorship. When his people were suffering, his place was with his people, he said.

There was no protest against the Aryanization of thousands of Jews. Aryanization is the symbol for theft. When a German wants to steal an economic enterprise owned by Jews, he "ganifs" it.

I want to read to you some words spoken by Leon Blum while in prison.

Leon Blum is seventy years old: "There is no national revolution in France.

What has occurred up to now is a counter-revolutionary operation comparable to that which marked the fall of the Second Republic in December, 1951, and which resulted in the defeat of 1870-1871.

"Marshall Petain enjoys popularity in France because he is the symbol of his own glorious past and resistance to Germany.

"But public opinion does not see the significance of the political activity which certain groups are seeking to carry on while hiding behind the Marshal's name. Public opinion believes that this activity will be fruitless with either alternative: nothing will remain of it in the event of Britain's victory, which is so eagerly desired by all of France, nor will anything remain of it in the event

of Germany's victory. The people understand this and take part in the so-called national revolution as if viewing something entirely foreign to it.

"I do not think, of course, that after the war France will simply return to its customary political existence. A political regime cannot emerge unchanged from such a catastrophe. I personally believe that our constitution will be changed in the spirit of principle very close to those which permeate the constitution of the United States of America. I believe, also, that we will see a transformation of political morality, but that France, in which no attempt at reactionary upheaval has succeeded or has been able to take root in the last 150 years, will again become the French Republic, and that the principles of democracy, i.e. the principles of 1789 will again be victorious in France as a guiding spirit.

"When that time comes, there will again be possible the development of human progress, and unity of action with free peoples, especially the democratic Anglo-Saxons will be renewed once again."

They are convinced that the redemption of France lies in the victory of the United Nations. A people who has known freedom will never reconcile themselves again to slavery.

"Once having felt thy gen'rous flame?
"Can dungeon, bolts, and bars confine thee,
"Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
"Too long the world has wept, bewailing,
"That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield
"But freedom is our sword and shield,
"And all their arts are unavailing.

"To arms, to arms, ye brave
"The avenging sword unsheath:
"March on, march on, all hearts resolved
"On victory or death."

The spirit of France and the spirit of mankind has always been in the long run, victory. And so in this dark hour we hail France. In this night which has settled over France and over the continent of Europe we have not forgotten -- we shall not

forget the torch which France has always held aloft to light the way for advancing mankind.



Heroic Symbol of France's Revolutions

Socialist Leader, at 70, Still Heads Fight on Reactionaries, Upper Class Fascists Who Plotted Downfall of the Republic

the determination of political leaders like Laval, Flandin, Deat who were not only for a speedy liquidation of the war but had been against it from the very beginning. They openly sympathized either with the Fuehrer or with fuehrership and wholeheartedly hated socialism, parliamentarianism, the Jews, etc.

These circles approved and supported the proposal of the High Command to capitulate immediately in view of the "inevitable defeat of Britain." It was to be an "honest pact,"

However, his enemies ignored these facts. Though the war had been declared not by Blum but by Daladier, they argued that it was Blum who made Daladier Minister of National Defense. The question, who declared the war was of no importance to them at all. The things that mattered now were: that Blum "voted against the Maginot Line" (that very line which tethered and paralyzed the military activities of France and proved to be so harmful and fatal); that he "asked the disarmament

government decided to put the blame for the terrible catastrophe incurred by France applied the shoulders of one representative of the military command, the former Commander-in-Chief Gamelin, and of four civilians. Three of the latter were former premiers: Daladier, Reynand, and Blum (though, as already mentioned, Blum had not been a member of the government during the war). The fourth civilian was Georges Mandel whom all the Petainists hated bitterly. Mandel's fault was

An Unpublished Interview With Leon Blum



Petain

THE interview which appears below was prepared by Leon Blum for the American press in January, 1941, but was withheld for various reasons. Now the friends of Blum have permitted this document to be made public.

Interview granted by Leon Blum on January 21, 1941

"There is no national revolution in France. What has occurred up to now is a counterrevolutionary operation comparable to that

which marked the fall of the Second Republic in December, 1851, and which resulted in the defeat of 1870-1871.

"Marshal Petain enjoys popularity in France because he is the symbol of his own glorious past and resistance to Germany.

"But public opinion does not see the significance of the political activity which certain groups are seeking to carry on while hiding behind the Marshal's name. Public opinion believes that this activity will be fruitless with either alternative: nothing will remain of it in the event of Britain's victory, which is so eagerly desired by all of France, nor will anything remain of it in the event of Ger-

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LIAM E. BOHN

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Here and Now

Pegler in the Nude

By FERDINAND LUNDBERG

(Mr. Lundberg will resume in a future issue his discussion of price and fiscal controls as levers of general social amelioration in time of war or peace.—Editor.)

If anyone has given editorial attention to Westbrook Pegler's column of March 31, 1942, it has escaped my notice. Thinking that this particular essay by Pegler would unquestionably provoke at least a mild rebuke from some quarter, I resisted the temptation to comment upon it earlier. Now, when it appears that public attention is thoroughly preoccupied by other matters, I feel I must give it extended notice for a number of reasons that will appear in the course of my remarks.

In his essay of March 31, 1942, Pegler. was again calling Secretary Harold L. Ickes to task. But this time Pegler—our arch-constitutionalist, upholder of law-and-order, and decrier of violence by labor unionists against the preserves of such sterling characters as Mayor Frank Hague and Tom Girdler,—this time Pegler found fault with Mr. Ickes because he had not personally murdered someone. Mr. Ickes, it seems, can never please Pegler. Sometimes, Mr. Ickes is being too rough. At other times he is too gentle.

The editor of a Bridgeport, Conn., scandal sheet had said something about Mrs. Ickes and Mr. Ickes had written the editor a letter which, according to Pegler, was "so dirty as to bear comparison with Fiorello La Guardia's premeditated and twice reiterated remarks about a reputable New York citizen last fall, which might have cost La Guardia the election had they not been too filthy for communication to the voters."

"I don't blame Ickes for resenting the editorial," wrote Pegler, "but I do insist that he should have gone right up to Bridgeport, sought out the editor and shot him dead. Or he might have knocked his head off with a ball-bat. I say

door wide to murder. In addition to all the instances when the murder in Pegler's view would be justified by the facts, there would be all the instances when murder would result from imagined aspersions. The theory, spread before millions of readers of diverse temperament, threatens everybody.

2. Many unstable minds need only such a piece of sharp writing as Pegler's to justify them in an assault on the life of another for a real or imagined offense. Again, alleged aspersion might be resorted to as an excuse for murder desired on other grounds.

CONTRARY to Pegler, there are countless remedies for the sort of offense he calls Ickes to task about for not solving by "direct action." Apart from remedies in court, both civil or criminal, there is always the fact that community opinion is a defense, and is turned against the slanderer. Because some obscure scribbler in Bridgeport has transgressed against good taste nobody thinks any the less of Mrs. Ickes. Neither she nor her husband was actually damaged by the scurrilous screed. But Pegler, we should observe, recommends that they proceed as though they had really been damaged, as though extremely depreciatory remarks, mere words, were always damaging. Pegler, in short, shows himself to be a word-fetichist. He evidently believes the word to be evocative of the fact. He also shows that he has no confidence at all either in the good sense of the community or in its legal institutions.

Pegler, as I have suggested, is a sick man. And a sick man, I would be the first to insist, is entitled to his privacy. But the community also has rights in the case of sickness, and it enforces them in cases of contagious disease by isolating the sufferer even though he has done no wrong.

In the case under discussion—and in others centering around Pegler—the safety of the com-

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Ye sons of Freedom, wake to glory
Hark- hark- what myriads bid you riseYour children, wives, and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their criesShall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding,
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

Refrain

To arms, to arms, ye brave
Th8 avenging sword unsheath:
March on- march on- all hearts resolved
On victory or death.

Now, now the dangerous storm is rolling, which treatherous kings, confederate, raise; The dogs of war, let loose, are howling, And, lo-our fields and cities blaze.

And shall we basely view the ruin, While lawless force with guilty stride, Spreads desolation far and wide, With crimes and blood his hands imbruing?

With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare
Their thirst of power and gold unbounded
To mete and vend the light and air.
Like beasts of burden would they load us,
Like gods, would bid their slaves adore:
But man is man and who is more?
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