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You cannot do business with fascists in North Africa, 1943.



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"YOU CANNOT DO BUSINESS WITH FASCISTS IN NORTH AFRICA"

Abstract of the address by

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Sunday - February 7th - 1943

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Why were the Darlan deals and the Vichy administrators in North Africa tolerated so long by our Government? Two explanations offer themselves - one of military expediency and the other of pr-Fascist leanings among certain elements in our own State Department.

Our Government, it is claimed, wants to win the war as "cheaply and as quickly as possible". It will, therefore, welcome anyone who wants to fight on our side. It will make deals with other Darlans, even with the Prussian Junkers - "if and when they are ready". After the victory is won, then we will worry about the Four Freedoms. This is a thoroughly fallacious and dangerous point of view. Behind it, is the fallacy that winning the war is an end in itself and that any means, even if they endanger the very objectives for which the war is being waged, are justified.

We may win the war with the aid of discouraged pro-Fascists in France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere, but we will end up by making the world safe for Fascism under another name. We shall leave those countries where we court or welcome Fascist renegades in the grip of these anti-democratic elements after the war, who will not be dislodged except through Civil war. We may actually find ourselves after the war backing up, of necessity, these very pro-Fascist elements with whom we are now collaborating, or hope to collaborate in the future, against the democratic elements of those countries. What then becomes of the Four Freedoms for which we are crusading?



Or are we naively to assume that the deals which we are making will be good only up to the Armistice and that immediately thereafter, our Junker-monarchist - reactionary collaborationists will quietly step aside for a popular plebisite to determine the form of government which their country is to have?

You cannot fight Fascism with Fascists and hope to build a democratic world; and if we do not build a democratic world after this war and succeed only in exchanging Hitler's dictatorship for a Junker army dictatorship, then this war will have resulted in a greater criminal folly than the last one. You cannot sacrifice ultimate goals for temporary expedients. By attempting to make the war easy for ourselves through deals with the sworn enemies of democracy in this or that part of the world, we are in danger of losing everything we are fighting for. It may be smart. But we shall be out-smarted in the end.

At Munich we thought that we could have an easy peace by dealing with the Fascists and sacrificing our friends and our principles. We got a quick war and a world disaster. We now hope to gain an easy victory by dealing with Fascists and by sacrificing our potential friends and our principles.

These deals with the known foes of human freedom, are sure to dishearten the oppressed peoples of Europe who find themselves today under the Fascist heel, and who are awaiting the day of liberation, not only from their Nazi conquerors, but also from their own native Fascist cliques of reactionaries and



militarists who led their countries from one disaster to another. These oppressed peoples believe in the spiritual integrity of our cause. The unsavory Darlan-Peyrouton deals, are causing them to wonder whether an allied victory, when it comes, will make them merely pass from the frying pan into the fire. These deals, if repeated in other parts of the world, will put the cause of the United Nations on the same low moral plane as that of the Axis. Nothing could be more disastrous, for example, than to make peace with the Prussian Junkers, even after an unconditional surrender and total disarmament. To recognize an army dictatorship in Germany and turn that country over to the Prussian beaureaucracy, which for generations now, has brutalized the German people and indoctrinated it with all the vicious doctrines of racism and their destiny to rule the world and the glory of total war, is to betray whatever hope there may be for the future regeneration of the German people and for an enduring peace in Europe. These Junkers who used the Kaiser in the last war and Hitler in this war and who will discard Hitler as soon as they are convinced that their war is lost, and present themselves as the saviors of Germany, must be thoroughly broken, discredited and cast aside, if there is ever to be a new order in Europe. To deal with the reactionaries of Austria who destroyed that Republic and handed it over to Hitler, or with the political gangsters of Roumania, is simply to keep the witches' caldron boiling in Europe for generations to come. There



are, undoubtedly, pro-Fascists in our State Department, friends of Petain, of Franco, and of all the political reactionaries of Europe. That same element assisted at the death of the Spanish Republic and jubilated over the Munich agreement. They, undoubtedly, had a powerful hand, not only in the original deal with Darlan, but in keeping North Africa for three months under the American flag, a place of concentration camps, of political persecution and of the infamous anti-Jewish laws which Vichy imposed at Hitler's order. Fortunately, the Casablanca meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill and the protests from all over the free world, are brining about a relaxation of pro-Fascist domination in North Afrida.

While making the world safe for democracy, we ought, perhaps, begin with out own State Department, where certain elements are at work, where sympathies are not at all in keeping with the ideals championed by Cordell Hull or President Roosevelt.

AHS:bw



sermon 6145

1) Douglas Miller - "You Can't Do Business With Hitler" - 1941. Was 15 yrs with U.S. Embassy in Berlin - Terrible indictment of crimes and methods of Nazis - Speaks of their murder, lying, theft and covetousness. Characterizes them as bandits who have no scruples abt. attacking their neighbors. Summarizes movement as Reaction against Modern Civilization which had become too complex for people with lazy minds. Particularly calls attention to hopelessness of dealing with them, of trusting them in any negotiation or agreement. Anybody who believes in any treaty or pledge which they make - is a fool.

2) This warning comes to mind when one reflects on strange deal which we made with the despicable, the Nazis - the Fr. Fascists when we landed in Fr. No. Africa. Our soldiers crossed the sea arrogantly to fight the Nazi-Frs. conquer nation and all that they stood for. Yet no sooner did we land - joined hands with the unrepentant Fr. Fascists - the rich crowd of reactionaries, militarists & collaborators who had hoped and prayed <sup>all along</sup> for a Nazi victory over us. One day we were told - "You can't do business with Hitler" The next day we are told - "You can and must do business with his henchmen & lackeys" - with Berlan, & Reynaud and the entire No. Afr. contingent of Vichy, the hills of democracy and freedom. We told united - Crusade - 4 Freedoms - Oppressed peoples talk heart - We are coming to liberate them.

3 Months - hoist time. Hop on thousands of prisoners. - Concentration Camps still hold thousands Anti-Frs. prisoners. - Free Fr. followers who ended as in landing still unfettered



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- Infamous Vichy laws <sup>- imposed</sup> in force.

Civil admin. still in hands of followers of Petain; many enemies the Fr. Republic, the black reactionaries & traitors of Vichy.

3/ 0/ Darlan - with whom deal was first made - not much the Deal made with D - & Amer. people have not yet been told just what the deal was - & what persuaded this crab for - to turn renegade

was justified on ground of expediency. - "helped to eliminate further military resistance on part of French." Dar. had control of communications - far more expensive in life & time

I am no military authority & can have no opinion  
I accept this explanation - if - that the English who had - were not inclined to accept it. - were shocked - Churchill - Undersecretary. Eden - "Britain not committed to recog. Dar as head of any French Govt". Roosevelt - "temporary arrangement"

We all, somewhat bewildered & disturbed, accepted explanation then followed assassination of D. - Few tears shed over his timely demise

Any commitment - ended: Now we were free to act

now Civil Admin. - turned over to our Friends - Allied Sympathizers - Concentration C. - Anti-Jewish laws

Forced labor camps in Sahara Desert.

Now whole Vichy crowd - Gestapo agents - swept out -



Nothing, the sort happened!

As Civil Administrator - appointed, undoubtedly with knowledge & consent,  
Marcel Peyrouton - imported all the way - Argentina -  
State Dept. granting visa - Special plane.

Pétain cabinet - First to introduce Conc. Camps in France  
for labor leaders - Imprison men like Leon Blum

Mohamir Antisemitic - introduced first Antis. law & France  
boasted that he introduced Nazi methods in N. Afr.

All former Vichy crowd left to rule country.

Morocco radio permitted to broadcast Vichy - Nazi propaganda

Pétain pictures displayed everywhere

Anti-Fas. imprisoned. De Gaulle presented - Jews treated like  
in Berlin or Poland - robbed - children expelled from schools  
no public qfr. - all under Amer. Flag.

4.) Cassablanca - Protests - Dept. did not talk in good faith.  
relaxed - Civil liberties - altho 5500 prisoners  
Restrictions laws a.g. Jews relaxed.

Sen. Henri Giraud - for Republicanism - Pop. Front  
recently announced - Anti-J. laws could be prohably  
relaxed - but "J. problem in Alg. & Mor." - purely internal  
matter of interest only to France

① Gradually? Triph - Jan. 23 - Arabs -  
Ev. imperials & antisem. frequently hike - Arab. Camouflage  
in cities - Arabs - to serve imperial purposes



② "Internal matter" - fanatical riots - Nazis  
To maintain that disfranchisement & persecution / minority  
is not Nazi doctrine - wheel of freedom - if they mean  
Farther to recognize the inherent menace

5) Why were <sup>these</sup> deals ~~made~~ & these countries tolerated so long  
by our Govt? 2 Explanations offer themselves (a) Ample  
stated by Kingsbury Smith - "Mercury" - covered as State  
Dept. for many year - called "Our Govt Case for Expediency"  
(b) the other by Drew Pearson - "State Dept. Leads to French  
Targets"

(a) Justice. This is it! And it is thoroughly fallacious & Dangerous!  
Behind it is fallacy that winning the war is an end in itself - and  
that any means - even if they endanger the very objectives for which the  
war is waged - are justified.

We may win the war with the aid, pro-fascists and we will end  
up by marking the world up for fascism under the name.  
We shall have these countries, where we counted a widespread front  
renegades, in the grip of those anti-democ. elements who will  
not be dislodged except through Civil War.  
And what becomes of our freedom - and our world-wide  
crusade for democracy!

We may actually find ourselves, after the war, of necessity  
backing up the pro-fascist elements against with whom  
we are now collaborating, against the democ. elements of these  
countries.

Or are we naive to assume that these deals are good only  
up to the armistice? And conced. after - these collaborators - French  
Belgians - pro-fascists -



5  
you cannot fight Fascism with Fascists only to build a demer.  
world - + if we are not to build a demer. world - only exchange  
Hitler's dictatorship - for greater military dictatorship - this was  
as a criminal folly.

you cannot sacrifice ultimate goals for temporary expediency  
by making the war easy for <sup>them with tactics</sup> ourselves, in this or that part, the  
world we may lose everything we are fighting for.

It may be so. But we shall be not rewarded in the end.

At Munich we thought that we could have an easy  
peace by dealing with the Fascists, + sacrificing friends and  
principles.

We now hope to gain an easy victory by dealing with  
Fascists + sacrificing friends + principles.

These deals with the braves for human freedom are  
sure to dishonour the oppressed people (people who are  
to-day suffering from Fascist tyranny and are awaiting the  
day of liberation, not only from the Nazi conquerors, but  
also from their own nations' Fascist chiefs & rascals  
who led them from one disaster to another.

They believed in our spiritual integrity - They have had  
a real shock! These unscrupulous deals with the armed  
enemies of their pol., econ. & social ~~for~~ inheritance are  
causing them to wonder, whether <sup>the alleged</sup> victory, when it comes, will  
only cause them to pass from the freezing pan into the  
fire.

These deals are likely to put the cause, the United  
nations on the same moral plane as that, the Axis  
Long War



Nothing could be more disastrous than to make peace with  
Germany - even after unconditional surrender & disarmament.

To recog. a military dictatorship in Germany & deal with it  
is to betray whatever hope - <sup>- Prisoner Bureau</sup> [stunted + brutalized young  
- Supervisory Mission - Total war (Force + Fraud) peace [America] (Federal The South)

Unrepentant war mongers. Attached under Kaiser Hitler  
no pledge - German discredited + cast aside.

To deal with Reactionaries & Quakers - who destroyed - handed  
a with full fingers & Runaway - wicked children.

It is old story.. means to End.

6/ Drew Pearson - (Joshi) <sup>WRHS</sup> <sup>AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES</sup>  
Same element Munich - Death of Sp. Republic.

While making world safe for Dewey perhaps we ought  
to begin by making our State Dept. safe for Dewey.



## The Washington

# Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

## State Dept. Leans to French Fascists

(Ed. Note—This is the second of two columns regarding the behind-the-scenes factors in the North African political mess).

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—The basic problem faced by Churchill and Roosevelt in trying to unscramble the North African political mess was the difficulty of imposing democratic French leadership, when the American diplomats who have steered the French don't particularly believe in democratic leadership.

For instance, Julius Holmes, now an officer on Gen. Eisenhower's staff, made no secret, during his career in the State Department, of faith in Spanish Dictator Franco and his dislike of Popular Front governments.

Robert Murphy, chief State Department representative in North Africa, waxes enthusiastic about French leaders of the Right, but not the Popular Front government of Leon Blum, which closely resembled that of his chief, President Roosevelt.

Back in Washington, the men who have guided the State Department's French policy, Jimmy Dunn and Ray Atherton, have vigorously protected the Spanish Fascists, and give every indication that if truly democratic governments were established in Spain or France it would be an international tragedy.

### 'So-Called' Free French

Finally, the man whom Murphy has asked to be sent to help him in North Africa is Sam Reber, author of the famous statement in which Cordell Hull referred to De Gaulle's forces as the "so-called" Free French. Although Hull issued the statement, the Free French know that Reber wrote it for him. So it is easy to imagine how much co-operation De Gaulle will expect—or get—from Reber

in promoting a non-Fascist government in North Africa.

Also it is easy to understand why these young State Department gentlemen should have accepted, almost blithely, certainly without too much scrutiny, the appointment of Marcel Peyrouton as chief political operator for Gen. Giraud in North Africa.

For Peyrouton dovetailed beautifully with their general scheme of things. He was the first man in modern France to establish concentration camps for labor leaders. He was the first to impose anti-Semitic laws on France.

After the fall of France, Peyrouton actually boasted for publication that he had introduced Nazi methods in North Africa. After the fall of France also, he was made head of police for the Vichy government, where he proceeded to carry out Hitler's orders against such French patriots as Leon Blum.

This was the man whom Bob Murphy, who knew Peyrouton intimately in Vichy, now has brought back to Algeria to take over civilian government.

### State Dept. 'Ducks'

Ever since this news broke, the

State Department has been playing hide-and-seek with the War Department, trying to dodge responsibility. It claims that the first it knew about Peyrouton was when an army officer asked transportation for him from Buenos Aires, where he was French ambassador to Argentina.

If this is true, which the War Department doesn't confirm, then the State Department had ample time to block Peyrouton's departure from South America. Secretary Hull has been known to act promptly on other occasions when his authority in North Africa was even remotely challenged.

When ex-Governor Lehman, now world relief administrator, wanted to send Paul Appleby, Undersecretary of Agriculture, to North Africa to make a survey of food problems, Mr. Hull shot over to the White House in person to ask the President to block it.

He told Roosevelt that North Africa was his bailiwick, that he wanted no one else meddling.

In the case of Fascist Leader Peyrouton, however, Hull permitted him not only to have a visa, but gave him special airplane transportation all the way from Argentina.

Copr., 1943, United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

## Answering

# Draft Questions

By the Soldiers' Friend

Q—I read recently that the base pay of WAACs was \$21 a month, and that it was raised automatically to \$30 after four months' service. Is that correct?—MISS D. D.

A—That was the original basis

of pay. This has been raised by congressional action to \$50 a month. Thus, WAACs now receive monthly pay of their comparable grade in the army.

—BUY WAR BONDS AND STAMPS—

Q—My husband registered last February at the age of 37 years and 8 months. He was classified 2B. Recently he received a card stating he is 4H. Will you please explain?—MRS. A. W. S.