

SERIES V

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of
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On the Occasion of the 43rd National Encampment
of the

Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.
held at

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

September 4, 1938.

My dear Friends, I want to speak to you this evening of a few important things, briefly. That is why I was anxious to get in my little say before you got busy on these skits.

A body like this, in these times, wants to take stock and think through and plan soberly for the future. I look upon you as soldiers of war and of peace and particularly as soldiers of peace. You fought in the last war at the behest of war but in the spirit of peace. You had hoped, as we all hoped, to destroy finally those forces which make for war in the world. That you did not succeed is no fault of yours. It is sad to contemplate that twenty years after the Armistice, the world finds itself today in greater belligerency and tottering on the brink of a more disastrous war than even the war of 1914. Nevertheless, we ought not to despair of peace. Peace is possible as I believe peace is inevitable.

This part of the country and perhaps the whole country of ours, will this week celebrate the 125th anniversary of unbroken peace between this country and our neighboring country of Canada. Peace is possible, if there is back of it justice and honesty. Peace is not appeasement. There are people in the world today who believe, important people who are in control of governments, that permanent peace can be had in Europe through appeasement, through the satisfying of the unsatisfied and seemingly unsatisfiable, avaricious appetites of dictatorships. That is a fallacy. You can win for yourself a temporary peace from blackmailers or cut-throats by yielding to them and by granting them that which they demand, but, actually you are not securing for yourselves permanent peace. You are merely laying up for yourself greater trouble for the future because these blackmailers and cut-throats, once having succeeded in their dark, black art of blackmailing, will come back a second and a third and a fourth and numerous other times. There is no way of winning peace for the world by truckling under the threats of dictators and by

casting to them precious human values. The policy which Mr. Chamberlain has followed so vigorously and so fatuously in Europe of appeasing dictators has broken down. Instead of having peace in Europe, Europe is experiencing increasingly briefer and frequently more recurring periods of dangerous crises and Europe today is on the very brink of war because of this fallacious policy of appeasement.

My friends, the policy the Hitler government is pursuing today is not one whit different from the Imperial policy which the Kaiser's Germany prosecuted before 1914 and which led to the war of 1914. It is the policy of the *drang nach Osten*, the thirst of German Imperialism eastward. It is the old story of Berlin to Bagdad. Today it is no longer Berlin to Bagdad, out of deference to Great Britain with whom the Nazi government is determined to be on friendly terms. It is now Berlin to the Ukraine, and the Hitler government is determined, as was the Kaiser's government, to clear the path of the German Empire moving towards the East and every nation in the path of that imperial expansion must be subdued, must be disrupted, must be made a vassal state of Germany and the trick by which that is done, and that brings me to the point which I want to make, is the cunning and skillful exploitation of minorities within these countries lying within the path of German Imperial expansion. In other words, Hitler purports to utilize German minorities within countries like Czechoslovakia, later on within countries like Poland and Rumania, to create dissatisfaction, to create crises so that those countries may become politically helpless or outwardly, territorially dismembered.

Yesterday it was Austria and today it is Czechoslovakia. When you read the story of the Sudeten Germans and the great championing of their minorities on the part of the German Reich, please remember that Mr. Hitler is not interested in minorities, in the defense of the rights of minorities, even in the defense of the rights of German minorities. Just a few months ago Mr. Hitler on a platter gave to Mussolini of Italy a quarter of a million of Germans in southern Tyrol as a free-will offering and pledged to him that forever after this quarter of a million of Germans, who do not want to be Italians, are being subjected and have for the last twenty years been subjected to the most ruthless type of Italianization, --Mr. Hitler offered them as a peace offering to Mussolini. Mr. Hitler who sheds crocodile tears over the fate of minorities, over the tormenting of minorities, did himself take a minority, living within his own country, a peaceful, patriotic, law-abiding minority, which felt itself so completely integrated in the life of the country, its political, social, economic structure that at the Peace Conference following the World War it did not even think of asking for minority rights as did Jews in Poland and Rumania and elsewhere--this minority which had served the Fatherland so faithfully in war and in peace, had brought such distinction to German art and science and culture and literature--Mr. Hitler, this great champion of minorities in Europe, today took this minority and broke it and shattered it, not only disfranchising it politically but depriving it of elementary human

rights, degrading, humiliating it.

This man is not interested in the defense of minorities. He is interested in conquest, in expansion, in building an empire, but unfortunately for him there are minorities living in some of these countries which are in the pathway of Germany who remember their sufferings under the old Germany and under the old Austrian and Hungarian Empire, who will not quietly submit to being strangled and there are nations in the world today who are well aware of the real intention of the present Reich, and that, my friends, means war in Europe!

This policy of appeasing the dictators, I said a moment ago, is a policy of fallacy and I call upon history to substantiate my statement; I call American history to substantiate my statement. Those people who in Europe or in America today believe that the world can live on in peace, half dictatorship and half democratic are exactly like the people who before 1861 in the United States believed that this country could live on and continue indefinitely and in peace half free and half slave. Those who maintained, as I maintain, that Europe cannot live half free and half slave, those who maintained in those years that that condition of half free and half slave could not endure, were called contemptuously, both in the North and in the South, "abolitionists". They were denounced, derided, called crazy fanatics, war mongers, but these fanatics knew the facts of human experience and human psychology. Attempts were made to establish compromises. There was the famous Missouri Compromise. Certain territory was carved out. That territory was to remain permanently free and slavery was not to invade it but it wasn't long before it was scrapped and the conflict between Free and Slave became the Irresistible Conflict, for that is what it was because inherent in slavery was the element of expansion,--the slave states had to expand as the profits derived from the application of slave labor to the growth of cotton increased, the drive towards expansion, towards making more states slave states, towards gathering more territory and carving the territory into new slave states increased until the North saw itself in danger of being ultimately swamped by slave-holding South and the conflict became irresistible and a civil war resulted.

Inherent in dictatorship in Europe today, my friends, is the self-same motive of expansion; dictatorships must expand. Witness Ethiopia. Witness Austria. Witness China. Witness the invasion of Germany and Italy and Spain. Dictators must compensate their people for the liberties which they took away from them, for the elementary human rights of which they deprived them, for forcing upon them a lower standard of living, for sweating them in body and soul. They must be compensated for political victories outside the borders of the country; and so I regard the struggle between dictatorships and democracies in Europe as inevitable. What democracies must do in the present situation is to organize a united front, not in defense of the blundering and short-sighted and chaos-producing policy of appease-

ment of Great Britain but the policy of aggressive resistance to the aggression of dictators and positive defense of the democratic institutions the world over! (Applause). I mean the policy which so magnificently announced by the great President of the United States Roosevelt, the policy of quarantining the aggressor! (Applause). Action, my friends, on the part of democracies--I am going to say a bold thing now--why, when Germany first announced in 1933 its intention to disfranchise a group of its citizens for no sins committed and no crimes committed against the state but simply on the ground that they were members of a different race or a different religion --why, when that announcement was first made, did not the great democracies of the earth, France, Great Britain, the United States, say, in unmistakable words, "That cannot be, for if this policy is sanctioned by the German Reich, perhaps we will sanction it, too, against German subjects in our land!" (Applause).

Why, when Germany, six months ago, announced its intention of appropriating, that is to say, stealing the possessions, the wealth, the property honestly acquired by its former citizens, stripping these men, impoverishing them and then driving them naked across the border, why did not these great democracies of the earth, in defense of human rights, in defense of minority rights which they had underwritten at Versailles, why did they not say to Germany, "We advise you not to do it, because for every Jew which you will send out thus stripped and thus bereft, we will send back to your borders a German so stripped!" (Applause). I assure you, my friends, that in twenty-four hours, in twenty-four hours this whole miserable business would have been stopped. (Applause). When you tell me--and when you tell me this can't be done for foresooth it is the internal affair of each country to do what its people wishes to do,--I ask you this question: Is it an internal problem only when a nation takes a half a million of its people, robs them, reduces them to penury and then drives them to other countries, forcing those other countries to take care of them, is that an exclusive internal problem of this manufacturing country? If it were, why did thirty-five nations have to send representatives to Evian at the behest of our President to take counsel what to do with these helpless refugees? Why did these nations, twenty years ago, nineteen years ago, affix their signatures to international covenants, pledging themselves to defend the rights of helpless minorities in the world? The democracies, my friends, have gotten old, seemingly. They can't act boldly; they can't think boldly. There are, for example, today, three wars going on in the world in behalf of democracy: a war in China, a war in Spain, a threatened war in Czechoslovakia. In two of these wars, the democracies have done absolutely nothing but really, indirectly, encourage the dictators, instead of rallying to the defense of the democracies and it yet remains to be seen what will be the outcome in Czechoslovakia.

I am persuaded, my friends, and because I am so persuaded, I do not yield to pessimism, but a day of reckoning is coming. When

that day of reckoning comes, the eternal verities of human life will be re-established. The eternal sanctities of human life, the fundamental decencies of human life, will be recaptured by the masses of the earth, who have up to now in these lands of absolute totalitarianism been befuddled, confounded, confused by propaganda, been intimidated by terrorism,--the day will come and when that day comes, anti-Semitism, which is the most cunning weapon in the hands of these dictators, will also fall back into the limbo of medievalism and barbarism and a new day will dawn for Israel in the world, just as a new day will dawn for mankind.

I leave one word added to what I have said. I spoke of minority rights. We are fortunate in this country that we don't have to speak about minority rights. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities and that might lead to war in Europe. America is concerned with the rights of man. The genius of America, my friends, has been to dissolve group particularisms, to restrain the hard concretion and concentration of group loyalties and to create a condition where man is judged ~~qua~~ man, on his worth, on his character, on his achievement, not on the basis of the race from which he springs or the religion to which he belongs. The greatest phrase in the Declaration of Independence, if you think of it, is this: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that we are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights." They are endowed by their Creator, not by the State or Congress but by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights--rights which belong to them because they are human, and children of God, not because they happen to belong to a political organization. These are the most basic fundamental necessities of human life--the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That is the genius of America. (Applause). And as long as this spirit, this tradition now more than a century and a half old, pervades our thinking, our councils, our actions, America will be saved that fragmentization into groups and classes of varying status and varying rights which has over and over again made of Europe a hell-pit, an Armageddon, a bloody arena. And I say to you my friends, that those people in this country who are trying to destroy that tradition, are trying to persuade men that Americans are no longer to be judged on the basis of human beings and their loyalty to America but on the basis of race and religion, I say to you that these men are the deadliest foes of America, the enemies of America! (Applause).

We have those people, unfortunately, here in Detroit. You have a ghostly gentleman by the name of Father Coughlin who has in recent years been performing some amazing feats on his theological-political flying-trapeze and a very revealing light has been shed upon the character, the conscience and the concept of social justice of this gentleman by the fact that he has recently begun to republish in his paper that infamous, that impudent forgery, Protocols of the Elders of Zion, that most shameless hoax of our generation. The story of this forgery has been told over and over again ever since Phillips

Graves in 1921 exposed it in the London Times. It has been traced to its original source, to a satire written by a Frenchman, Maurice Jolie, concerning Napoleon the Third, in 1864, which had absolutely no reference to the Jew at all and some clumsy Czarist agent, back in 1905, took this imaginary colloquy between the French philosopher, Montesque and the Machiavellian statesman and recast it to seem like Zion against European civilization and Christendom. This document has been examined by competent historians and courts of law and has been declared over and over again, a shameless forgery. Here in this very city some fifteen years ago, one of your distinguished citizens dramatically publicized the contents of the document, and later on, becoming aware of the falsity and mythical character of it, now this ghostly gentleman, this Divine, fully aware of the nature of this aspersion against the Jewish people, comparable to the well-poisoning charges and to the blood libels of the darkest middle ages, and fully aware of the unholy uses to which that document has been put, and is being put by all the professional anti-Semites the world over, has been republishing it for the edification of his readers with some shyster's apologies appended that "We offer this document to our readers and whereas the authenticity of this document has not been established, there is some coincidence between the document and what is happening in the world today," that he is constrained to publish it.

It is gratifying to know, nevertheless, that this gentleman does not represent the true spirit of the great Church of which he is a priest. (Applause). Some of the most eminent spokesmen, as high in eminence as the Pope himself, as high in eminence as the great Patrick Cardinal Hayes, the sad announcement of whose death was just given to us, a great leader of his Church, a great friend of humanity, whom all men, Catholics and Protestants and Jews alike, join in mourning his passing, I say the great spokesmen of this Church have, over and over again in these wild and entangled years which so searchingly try men's souls, spoken of the horror of all these nationalistic and racial intolerances which have swept over the world and have called men to moral decency, to human sympathy, they have not stooped in these desperate times to fan still further the flames of bigotry and intolerance by republishing exploded lies of Czarist agents and White Guardists and by appending to them editorial comments which are as sinister as they are disingenuous.

I close, my friends, with this word: The worst thing which you Jews, we Jews, can do under the present circumstances in the world, is to permit ourselves to be put on the defensive and to spend our time in apologetics. We owe no one an explanation. (Applause). We are citizens of this country and are performing our duties of citizenship as faithfully and loyally as any other group in this country. We are not interlopers on the American scene nor late arrivals who have appropriated or exploited that which others have built. The first Jews who came to these shores were among the earliest of the nationality groups, earlier than most nationality groups who came to these United States. (Applause). We Jews have worked and developed

and defended this country together with all the others and you ex-service men are testimony of the fact. (Applause).

It is, in a sense, not even dignified to belabor this thing and you will never persuade the professional Jew-baiter by presenting to him these facts of Jewish worth and Jewish achievement. They are not interested in discovering the truth. They are interesting in exploiting lies in order to destroy not only the Jew but America as well. Who are that gang of spies who were detected a few months ago in the United States? They are German Nazis who are spying, not upon the Jews of America, but upon the fortifications and the arsenals and the plans of the American government. (Applause). You scratch an anti-Semite anywheres, not only in the United States but in Brazil, in Mexico, anywheres, and you find a Nazi German or someone who holds a Nazi paycheck. The wisest thing for us to do is quietly, confidently, carry on as we have, working for America, for the America we all love, helping its continued growth and development, helping particularly to build up its economic life and to give its people--all of our people--a sense of economic well-being and security. That, more than anything else, will help to preserve our democratic institutions in this country. (Applause). Loyally, patriotically, in cooperation with all other men of good will in our communities, let us work for the strengthening of those foundations upon which the founding fathers of this great Republic builded this country.

I give you this word of warning: There are certain groups in this country who are playing upon the Jews' present mood. There are on the other hand, certain radicals who would like to persuade the Jew that only their radical program offers the only bulwark against Facism and anti-Semitism. There are on the other hand, certain groups in this country who threaten the Jew with all dire consequences unless he joins them. The truth of the matter, my friends, is that the Jew, as such, belongs to no rank and every rank. The Jew belongs to no party and every party. There are Jews who are liberals, who are conservatives, who are radicals just as the same is true of Catholics who are liberals, conservatives, radicals or Protestants who are liberals, conservatives or radicals. Any group is sharply divided along economic and political lines, according to the specific and particular interest of the individual in that group. We advise our would-be counsellors and guides not to proffer us the refuge of a political party or an economic system. Our refuge as Jews is the God of Israel who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth and our refuge as Americans is the spirit and traditions and the Constitution of the American people. (Applause). And when, God forbid, that Constitution is once destroyed, when, God forbid, the Bill of Rights, enshrined within it is made a scrap of paper, then it will be far more than five million Jews who will suffer, then the fate which might befall five million Jews would be insignificant in comparison with the tragedy for the whole of mankind to see the greatest and noblest democracy the world has ever known going down to defeat. The fate of a half million Jews in Germany, for example, is sad enough

and tragic enough. It is one of the saddest chapters in human history. Such ingenuity of sadism through the instrumentality of government was never in the whole record of mankind used against a helpless and innocent patriotic group of people, but sad and tragic as is the fate of these half million Jews or more, sadder by far and more tragic is the fact that in the heart of Europe, in the very heart of the Western World, in one of the greatest nations of the world, all fundamental human ideals, liberty, moral decency of concepts of humanity and kindness and brotherliness and tolerance have so completely and so shamefully broken down. The plight of fifty thousand Jews in Italy is sad, maybe sadder in the days to come, but it is even more significant as a symbol of the larger intolerance which is eating at the vitals of one of the great cultures of Europe in a land where the human mind first received its emancipation in the modern world.

Jewish persecution, my friends, and you must think of it in these terms, for in any other way, that is, by way of isolating the Jewish problem in and by itself, without relation to what is happening in the rest of the world leads to madness, the persecution of the Jew has far greater issues than the suffering of the Jews. It is the whole of Europe which is today going down into night and into chaos and it remains for the remaining few democracies of the world, England, France, the United States, perhaps the Scandinavian countries, it remains for these few countries formed along traditions of freedom and self-government, to preserve for mankind, for the future, those ideals for which so many generations have labored and suffered and been martyred.

What can you do, ex-service men, fellow Jews, in these critical times of storm when so many madresses and so many aberrations have swept over the world? Why, steadily, with cool heads and stout hearts, unafraid, undemoralized, carry on as you have up to now, working for America, for its free institutions, for its government, for its people; keep our ship of state sailing upon the high seas, outsailing the storms and help it to reach the harbor of peace and tranquility. As Jews, I give you the word of Isaiah, "Do not be afraid, do not be terrified, for I, God, am with you." (The members arose and applauded.)

Reported by:
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ABSTRACT OF THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF CLEVELAND AT THE
ENCAMPMENT OF THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS AT DETROIT ON SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 4, 1938

It is not difficult to create a Jewish problem or any minority problem in any country, but once created, it is most difficult to solve it. It has been demonstrated over and over again that widespread suspicion and hate can be aroused and focussed upon any minority group, particularly in times of severe economic distress. Any organized effort which exploits modern propaganda technique can, if adequately financed, create a Jewish problem or a Catholic or a German, or an Irish or an Italian one out of thin air. It was done in the past. It can be done again. The Ku Klux Klan of recent years is a point at hand. So also were the earlier Know-Nothing movements in American history which were directed against the Irish and Germans. So also are the anti-Catholic waves which occasionally sweep over our country.

The arguments which are used to rationalize such campaigns of hatred are palpable fakes. Forgeries, distortions and lies make up the miserable potage into which a few grains of so-called facts are thrown to savor it. The more insolent, preposterous and shameless the charges, are, the better. The purveyors of such hate propaganda are as a rule third-rate writers and journalists who had failed in their legitimate professions, men with intense personal grudges and scores to settle, social beach-combers or, amazingly enough, ministers of religion who find it far easier and more profitable to preach the gospel of hate than the less sensational and far more difficult gospel of love.

There is in this very city a ghostly gentleman, Father Coughlin, who has in recent years performed some breath-taking feats on his theologico-political flying trapeze. A revealing light is shed on the quality of conscience of this gentleman and on his concepts of Social Justice by the fact that he has recently been republishing in his paper that notorious forgery, "The Elders of Zion", the most shameless hoax of modern times. The story of this impudent forgery has been

told over and over again in books and magazines, ever since its first expose by Mr. Philip Graves in 1921, in the London Times. Its origin has been definitely traced to the book of Maurice Joly which he wrote as a satire against Napoleon III back in 1864 and which had nothing whatsoever to do with Jews. Some brazen anti-Semite clumsily recast that imaginary colloquy between the Frenchman Montesquieu and the Italian Machiavelli and dished it up as the secret document of a conspiracy of Israel against Christendom. Competent historians and courts of law have definitely established its fraudulent character. Here in Detroit, more than fifteen years ago, the contents of this document was sensationally publicized by a prominent citizen who later on acknowledged his error and retracted. And now this man of God, with a full knowledge of the nature of this document whose accusations are one with similar accusations of well-poisoning and blood libels so popular in the Middle Ages, and fully aware of the vicious and unholy uses to which this document has been and is being put by Jew-baiters all over the world, proceeds to reprint it in his magazine for the edification of his readers, with some shyster explanation appended to it, to wit: that while the authenticity of the document has not been proven, yet there are so many parallels in it to what is happening in the world today that he is constrained to publish it. With this impudent fig-leaf of an excuse, and all the while shedding crocodile tears over our "unfortunate race", this divine proceeds to bear false witness against his neighbors by repeating in print lies which were broadcast by Czarist agents and White Guardists and which were long ago exploded.

Disheartening as all this is, it is nevertheless gratifying to know that the views and attitudes of this gentleman are not shared by the great church of which he is a priest, and that some of its noblest representatives as high in eminence as the Pope himself, have spoken in these wild and entangled times which so searchingly reveal men's souls, of the horror and degradation of those racial and nationalistic intolerances which are ~~xx~~ sweeping the world to-day and have summoned men to decency and

moral discipline. They have not stooped to fan still further the flames of hate and bigotry by publicizing discredited forgeries which have been an international stench for decades, and by supplementing them with editorial comments as sinister as they are disingenuous.

In a sense there is very little that one can do about such propaganda in our country. There is no way to suppress it by law although, in all conscience, some recourse in law ought to be available in a democracy to racial and religious groups who find themselves the butt of concerted attacks by forces hostile to democracy, nearly all of them of alien origin and inspiration, calculated to destroy them politically and economically, before the fatal hurt is actually inflicted.

The worst thing for American Jews to do under the present circumstances is to allow themselves to be put on the defensive and to spend their time and energies in apologetics. We owe no one an explanation. We are citizens of this country and are performing our duties as faithfully as any other religious or racial group here. We are not interlopers on the American scene, nor late arrivals who helped ourselves to what others had built. The first Jews came to the United States earlier than most of the racial groups which today make up the colorful composite of American life. Along with all others, the Jews of America have worked, built, developed and defended this country. You ex-service men who fought in the last war against Germany, when you were summoned to defend the interests of this country, are a living testimonial to this. We need not belabor this fact. It is not dignified to do so, nor will it in any way convince the avowed or the camouflaged anti-Semite. These are interested not in learning the truth but in exploiting falsehoods in order to destroy not the Jews only, but democracy, freedom and liberalism in the world. Scratch an anti-Semite anywhere in the world and you will find a Nazi-German or one who holds a Nazi pay check!...

The best and wisest thing for the Jewish citizens in America to do in these confused times is to work quietly, patiently and confidently in all spheres of life, for the America which we all love, and for the economic well-being and

security of the American people. This will insure the perpetuation of our democratic institutions. Devotion, patriotism and intelligent cooperation with all citizens of good will in all the communities of our land for the improvement of the social, political and economic life of America will help to preserve the foundations of human rights and liberties for all men which the founding fathers of this country laid so truly and so wisely many years ago.

There are radicals in this country who are trying to enveigle the Jews of America into their ranks by proclaiming that their program is the sole bulwark of Jews against Fascism and anti-Semitism. There are, on the other hand reactionaries who insolently threaten American Jews with dire consequences if they will not join their ranks. The fact of the matter is that Jews, as such, belong to no rank and to all ranks, to no party and to all parties. There are Jewish liberals, conservatives and radicals. There are many Jewish business and professional men who are quite as violently opposed to the New Deal, to President Roosevelt or to the C.I.O. as are the most irreconcilable Republican Tories. Jews, like any other group of people, are sharply divided along political and economic lines, and each acts and votes in keeping with his own specific interests.

We would like to advise all our would-be counsellors and guides not to offer us the refuge either of a political party or of an economic system. As Jews, our sole refuge is in the God of our Fathers, and as Americans, in the Constitution of the United States. When that Constitution is once destroyed and the Bill of Rights is torn into shreds, it will be more than Jews who will suffer. The fate of five million Jews will then be of far less significance to civilization than the collapse of the greatest and noblest democracy that mankind has ever known.

The tragedy of the half million Jews of Germany and Austria is great and appalling indeed, one of the saddest in the annals of mankind. Nowhere has the refinement of cruelty and the mad ingenuity of sadists, organized as a government, wreaked more horrible desolation in the lives of the peaceful, law-abiding and

patriotic community. But infinitely more tragic for the future of humanity is the complete and ruthless destruction of all ideals of intellectual freedom, moral decency, political liberty and the concepts of a free, tolerant and kindly humanity in the very heart of Western Europe. The fate of fifty thousand Jews in Italy is but the symbol of a larger intolerance and barbarism which is eating at the vitals of a great culture in a land where the European mind was first emancipated. The issues involved in Jewish persecution today far transcend the Jews themselves. It is Europe which is sinking into night and chaos!



It is not difficult to create a Jewish problem in any country, but once created it is most difficult to solve it. It has been demonstrated over and over again that widespread suspicion and hate can be aroused and focused ^{with} ~~on~~ any group, particularly in times of severe economic distress. Any organized effort which exploits modern propaganda technique can, if adequately financed, create a Jewish problem or a Catholic or a German ^{or Italian} ~~or an Irish~~ one out of nothing. The Klu Klux Klan of recent years is a point at hand. So were the earlier Know-Nothing movements in American history. ^{directed against the Irish and the Germans} So also are the occasional anti-Catholic waves which sweep over our country. ^R The arguments which are used to rationalize such organized campaigns of hatred are palpable fakes. Forgeries, ^{distorted} ~~manufactured~~ data, and lies ~~will~~ ^{into which} ~~make up~~ the miserable potage and a few grains of ^{so-called} ~~truth~~ will ^{be} ~~are~~ thrown ~~in~~ to savor it. The more preposterous, insolent and shameless the charges, ~~are~~ the better. The purveyors of such hate propaganda are usually third-rate writers and journalists who ~~have~~ failed in their legitimate professions, social beach-combers and, amazingly enough, ministers of religion who find it easier and more profitable to preach the gospel of hate than the ~~far~~ ^{more} difficult and less sensational gospel of love.

There is in this very city a ghostly gentleman who has in recent years ^{performed} ~~been~~ ^{ed} ~~executing~~ some breath-taking ^{feats} ~~performances~~ on his theologico-political flying trapeze. His-peculiar-of-conscience-and-his-version-of-social-justice-are-illustrated-- A revealing light on the peculiar cast of conscience and on his concept of Social Justice is ^{shed} ~~thrown~~ by the act of this gentleman in ^{republican} ~~republishing~~ ^{in his paper} ~~in his paper~~ in beginning recently to republish in his paper that notorious forgery the "Elders Of Zion," the most shameless hoax of modern times. The story of this forgery has been told over and over again in books and magazines. It's origin has been traced to the book of Joli ^{London Times} ~~which was written about Napoleon third~~ ^{in the} ~~and which ad nothing to do with Jews.~~ ¹⁹²⁴ Some brazen anti-semites ^{clumsily} ~~recast~~ that imaginary ^{colloquy} ~~that colloquy~~ written more than a half a century ago and ^{disheveled} ~~disheveled~~ it up as a document of a secret conspiracy of Israel against Christendom. Courts of law and ~~other~~ ^{competent} authorities

^{whereas this book is a} ~~whereas this book is a~~ ^{principal} ~~principal~~ ^{weapon} ~~weapon~~ ^{in the} ~~in the ^{conspiracy} ~~conspiracy~~~~

have established its fraudulent character. Here in Detroit, ^{more than 15} ~~some fifteen~~ years ago, ^{in 1915} this document was ^{published} ~~sensationally~~ published by a prominent citizen of this community who later on acknowledged his error and retracted. And this cleric, with ^{and is being} full knowledge of the mythical nature of this document and all the vicious and unholy uses to which ^{in his magazine} this document has been put by Jew-baiters all over the world, proceeds to reprint it for the enlightenment and edification of his readers, with ^{some} ~~this~~ shyster explanation, that while the authenticity of the document has not been ^{proven up to date (see!)} established, he ~~has~~ discovered in it such amazing parallels to what is happening in the world today that he ^{feels} ~~is~~ constrained to publish it!

Disheartening as all this is, it is ^{nevertheless} however gratifying to know that the views and attitudes of this gentleman are not shared by the great church of which he is a priest, that some of its noblest representatives, as high in eminence as the Pope himself, have spoken in these wild and entangled times, ^{so searching} which try and reveal ^{however} ~~mens~~ souls of the ~~godlessness~~ and spiritual degeneration of the racial and nationalistic intollerances which are sweeping ~~all over~~ the world, and have not ^{been} ~~scooped~~ to fan still further the flames of hate and bigotry. ^{by publishing this document} ~~by publishing this document~~ ^{as they are his own words} ~~as they are his own words~~ In a sense there is very little that one can do about such propaganda in a free country, ^{to} there is no way of suppressing it by law, although, in all ^{conscience} ~~countries~~ some recourse in law ought to be available to racial and religious groups in a democracy who find themselves the butt of a concerted attack ^{most of them of alien origin and inspiration} by forces hostile to democracy, calculated to ^{disparage} ~~hurt~~ them politically and economically, before the fatal hurt is ^{actually} ~~finally~~ inflicted.

The worst thing for American Jews to do under the ^{present} circumstances is to ^{allow} ~~put~~ themselves on the defensive and to spend their time and energies in apologetics. We owe no one an explanation. We are loyal citizens of this country and are ^{performing} ~~performing~~ our duties as ~~citizens~~ as faithfully as any other racial or religious group. We are not interlopers on the Amer-

ican scene, ^{late} arrivals who helped themselves to what others built. The Jews came to the United States earlier than most of the nationality groups which ^{to-day} make up the colorful composite of American life. Along with all other they ^{here} worked, builded, developed and defended this country. You ex-service men who fought in the last war ^{against Germany} to defend the interests of your country are a living testimonial ^{to} of this. We need not belabor this fact. It is neither dignified nor will it convince the ~~traducers-of-our-people~~ professional maligners of our people. They are interested not in learning the fruth, but in exploiting falsehoods ^{in order} to destroy, not the Jew but democracy, freedom and the rights of ~~the masses~~. ^{under as well. Scripted for propaganda any other way the world would see it as well as the Jewish citizens of this country.}

The best and wisest thing for ~~us~~ to do in these confused and difficult times is to work patiently and ~~confidentially~~ ^{quietly} confidently, through the ~~enactment and enforcement of just laws~~ ^{for in every walk of life the American who are here and and the economic security of} for the economic well-being of this country and its people. This will insure the perpetuation of our ~~its~~ democratic institutions.

There are radicals in this country who are trying to enveigle the Jews of America into their ranks by proclaiming that their program is ~~our~~ ^{the Jews'} sole bulwark against fascism and anti-semitism. There are reactionaries who insolently threaten ~~us~~ ^{American Jews} with dire reprisals if ~~we~~ ^{they will} do not join their ranks. The fact of the matter is that Jews as such belong to no rank and to ~~all~~ ^{no} ranks, to no party and to all parties. There are many Jewish ^{business} and professional men who are quite as violently opposed to the New Deal, President Roosevelt or the C.I.O. as the most irreconcilable Republican Tory. Jews like any other group of people ~~are~~ ^{are} sharply divided along political and economic lines, in keeping with their ^{own specific} ~~especial~~ interests.

We should like to advise ~~all~~ ^{our} self-appointed counsellors and guides ^{even if well intentioned} not to offer us the refuge of a political party or an economic system. As Jews, our sole refuge is in the God of ~~Israel~~ ^{our Father}, and as Americans, in the Constitution of the United States. When that constitution is ~~destroy-~~

destroyed and ~~the principles of liberty and democracy~~ it's Bill of Rights is torn into shreds, it will be more than Jews who will ~~then~~ suffer. The fate of five million Jews will then be of far less significance to civilization than the collapse of the greatest democracy that mankind has ever known.

The tragedy of the half million Jews in Germany and Austria is great and appalling indeed, one of the saddest in the annals of mankind. But infinitely more tragic for the future of humanity is the complete and ruthless destruction of all ideals of intellectual freedom, moral law, political liberty and the concepts of a free ^{and surely} tolerant humanity in the very ^{heart} center of Western Europe. And so also with Italy. The fate of the fifty thousand Jews in ^{Italy} ~~that country~~ is significant because of the larger intolerance and barbarism which it symbolizes, in the ^{of course, but now by} classic home of the ^{barbarism, ending at this point, so great a catastrophe} Renaissance where the European mind was first emancipated. It is Europe that is sinking into night and chaos.

The Jewish crime:

Nowhere has ~~the~~ the ^{WRHS} ^{AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES} ^{It is impossible for thousands} ^{studied, involved} and the mad ingenuity of ^{against the government} ^{disregard} ^{horrible} desolation in ^{the} the ^{peaceful, law-abiding and} ^{brotherhood} community.

1) Greet - Soldiers & War & Peace - fought at best
destroy - not your fault - 20 - Despair
Canada

2) Justice - appease - Black-war -
Dictators - Policy - broken down -
In place & peace - Europe confronted -
You cannot give

3) Imperial policy. Kaiser - "Drang"
Utilize Ger. minorities - stepping-stones -
play upon them - disrupt -

Yesterday - Amst



4) H. not concerned - minorities - S. Tyrol
"harvesting of nat. minorities" -
Took of minorities - Conquest.

5) Minorities who - forgotten - War

6) Apprehension - Peace bet. Ger. + Jew - "of
Civil War - Inherent

7) Need United Front - Invariance -

8) Ask - Why not call halt!
24 hour -

Internal Problem? Evident?

What? Minority Rights? pledged -

afraid to act boldly - 3 Wars!

Allowed to war. pot. & harmful advance

9/ A day of reckoning

10/ Modern Europe - beguethed - Amer

concentration - Balkanization

Dissolve groups
confessions



parts - ind. Russia

Europe enclosed -

Amer. confirmed God - "unalterable"

As long - fragments - vanishes

11/ In only one instance - permitted

12/ Those people - break up - judge
loss -

13/ If we wish to know for —
Easy - Almanac - Any ag. effort
K. K. K.

14/ Arguments - 1st - Fagner
The more incident - Parvey - 3rd at

15/ In this Key at - shortly particular
Shed - Story - Philip from -
Organ Shed - recast

Confidential Historian WRHS Her in Detroit
And now - 1936 at full knowledge
Independent Fig - leaf - for action

16/ Disbanding - Patience Cardinal Hayes -

1/ I greet you - Soldiers, War & Peace -
You fought not at the behest, the spirit, War - but at the be-
hest, the spirit, Peace - ~~the~~ Destroy ~~was~~ forces, war in
world -

that you did not succeed - not your fault - 20
no need for despair & Peace. - Is possible - Canada 125 yrs -

2/ Can be had - if based on Justice - Else it cannot last.
Peace is not appeasement - You can appease - Black-washes

Case with Fas. & Nazi dictators - Policy of appeasement - so foolishly

broken down -

In place of peace - Europe confronted - shorter united
dangerous crises - Yesterday Fitting

You cannot give Dr. all they want without -

3/ Imperial policy, Ruhs to-day differs - Kaiser
'Drang nach Osten' - Berlin - Bagdad - Rum. & UK

will utilize Ger. minorities - stepping stones -
will play upon them - propaganda - create - disrupt

vassal states

Yesterday - Austria, To-day Czech - Sudeten

used -

4/ Not concerned with Minority Rights - S. Tyrol
circled years - "un-necess. tormenting & nat. minority"

H. took moral minority in his own country - at home -
did not even ask - integrated - served - broke it -
- rotted it

No! H. is not interested - Congress! Europe!

5/ There are, however, minorities - proletariat -
nations - who know exactly - war!

6/ Aggravation - Peace bet. Dem. & Dict. - 1/2 true -

Civil War - Abolitionists - No. Congress -

Inherent - Ethnicity -

7/ Need for a United Front - not to back up G.B.'s
blunders, time seems, chaos - friction - aggravation
Resistance & Defense - Invariant to Roosevelt!

8/ Action! Why did not Dem. - when Gen. dispar-
aged them - call a halt -

Expropriating - 24 hours!

Internal Problem? Evian? Dumps

What, minority up which they pledged
to defend

9/ Afraid to let Spain blatantly - allowed to wax
powerful resident - potentially makes adversaries
in East

10/ ~~the~~ A day of Reckoning is coming.

11/ Modern Europ was beguiled a dauphin - America. has been man for man - It has intended
no such problem -

Genius of Am - except in an instance - failed disorder
has evidenced itself - resistance to hard concentration
has of many people

Amended or Baethungation, Am

manifested itself in slavish dissolving people particulars
& admits as to ind. human conferment.

Europ covered with night, many people. Am. with
night, man.

Allegiance, Am. citizen to his country - direct - not then people
Whatever other loyalties - rel. man - culture - human
transcendent

Am. confirmed the ind. in his unshakable rights
Rights to life, liberty etc - being - not because

This doctrine, as long as it is adhered to, makes impossible the
fragmentation, in into many people. (very big)
states & degrees, night people

12/ In only one instance - fact or fact. It permitted
the existence

This 1 person - emitted - from incapable - swayed taught
3/4 - civil war 500,000 - bloody act & many people

13/ These people: who would break up - teach men to judge
under. worth, charac. & achievement -

dearest / son, spent open, him. How, him

14/ If we wish no immunity problem to plague -
let us not create it.

Easy - Demonstrated - widespread - aroused / pursued

any org. effort - which exploits - their air - was done

K. K. K. - Known - nothing - Anti-Catholic

15/ Arguments - rationalize - palpable fakes - Fugues -

The more resilient.

The purveyor, such hate as usually

16/ There is in the very city -

a revealing light

Story, this important paper - told - Philip Graves - 1924

Its origin - freed - Wm. J. G. - Saturday, Nov. 11,

1864 - no ref. to Jews -

From Ernest Gant agent - cherry recoat -

Compensated historian + counts

Her, in Detroit, contents - 15 in.

And now, this man, of, with a full knowledge
- rather - one with well - preserving - Shepherd

21/ There are Radicals - inverts - rants - proclaiming -
Truth, the matter -

There are J. liberals, Conservatives & radicals -
Many J. business men - New Ideal -
Jews, like others, are sharply divided.

22/ We should like to address - refuge -

Our Refuge, as Jews, - as Americans

When that Constitution is our ~~asylum~~ -

Fate of 5 M. Jews -

23/ Tragedy, 1/2 - journey is great suffering indeed -
one of saddest -

We - when has refinement, civility - & urgency, salutary,

but infinitely more tragic for future, than - complete
& utter destitution. of all ideals - with freedom - more
desire for freedom - concepts -

Fate of 50,000 in Italy - large numbers.

24/ Jews involved in J. persecution - for dissemination
this Europe which is nothing with light & truth!

25/ Few democrats left - let us - so his work
that weather storm - & reach port - safely - port

with this important by-leaf as excuse - ^{"any interest you"} false activities
by not broadcasting in front lines - 5 Govt agent -

17/ Disheartening - not attitude - not shared -

fan publicity discovered sympies - intern Stenels
Sufferer - Est comment - as much as discrepancies

18/ In a series - nothing to do -

No way to toppress it by law, altho in all cases,

19/ best thing for Am Jews to do - put on Deference -

apologies - He who excuses -

Own no on an explanation - Citizens - Indefinite

Earlier - Along with all the - worked

For ex-tenor here

No need to belabor - not disputed - concern

Scratch an Am - hazy - firm

20/ Best thrust - work quietly - for time - and

for com well-being

will ensure perfection -

Devotion patience, intell cooperation - for important
- foundations

THE FALLACY OF PEACE THROUGH APPEASEMENT

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

of CLEVELAND, OHIO

An address delivered at the 43rd National Encampment of the Jewish War Veterans of the U. S. at Detroit, Mich., Sept. 4, 1938

This masterly discussion is very timely in view of the surrender of England and France in the case of Czechoslovakia.—Editor.

A body like this, in these times, wants to take stock and think through and plan soberly for the future. I look upon you as soldiers of war and of peace and particularly as soldiers of peace. You fought in the last war at the behest of war, but in the spirit of peace. You had hoped, as we all hoped, to destroy finally those forces which make for war in the world. That you did not succeed is no fault of yours. It is sad to contemplate that twenty years after the Armistice the world finds itself today in greater belligerency and tottering on the brink of a more disastrous war than even the war of 1914. Nevertheless, we ought not to despair of peace. Peace is possible as I believe peace is inevitable.

This part of the country and perhaps the whole country of ours, will this week celebrate the 125th anniversary of unbroken peace between this country and our neighboring country of Canada. Peace is possible, if there is back of it justice and honesty. Peace is not appeasement. There are people in the world today who believe, important people who are in control of governments, that permanent peace can be had in Europe through appeasement, through the satisfying of the unsatisfied and seemingly unsatisfiable, avaricious appetites of dictatorships. That is a fallacy. You can win for yourself a temporary peace from blackmailers or cut-throats by yielding to them and by granting them that which they demand, but, actually you are not securing for yourselves permanent peace. You are merely laying up for yourself greater trouble for the future because these blackmailers and cut-throats, once having succeeded in their dark, black art of blackmailing, will come back a second and a third and a fourth and numerous other times. There is no way of winning peace for the world by truckling under the threats of dictators and by casting to them precious human values. The policy which Mr. Chamberlain has followed so vigorously and so fatuously in Europe of appeasing dictators has broken down. Instead of having peace in Europe, Europe is experiencing increasingly briefer and frequently more recurring periods of dangerous crises and Europe today is on the very brink of a war because of this fallacious policy of appeasement.

My friends, the policy the Hitler government is pursuing today is not one whit different from the imperial policy which the Kaiser's Germany prosecuted before 1914 and which led to the war of 1914. It is the policy

of the drang nach Osten, the thirst of German Imperialism eastward. It is the old story of Berlin to Bagdad. Today it is no longer Berlin to Bagdad, out of deference to Great Britain with whom the Nazi government is determined to be on friendly terms. It is now Berlin to the Ukraine, and the Hitler government is determined, as was the Kaiser's government, to clear the path of the German Empire moving towards the East, and every nation in the path of that imperial expansion must be subdued, must be disrupted, must be made a vassal state of Germany, and the trick by which that is done—and that brings me to the point which I want to make—is the cunning and skillful exploitation of minorities within these countries lying within the path of German Imperial expansion. In other words, Hitler purports to utilize German minorities within countries like Czechoslovakia, later on within countries like Poland and Rumania, to create dissatisfaction, to create crises so that those countries may become politically helpless or outwardly, territorially dismembered.

Yesterday it was Austria and today it is Czechoslovakia. When you read the story of the Sudeten Germans and the great championing of their minorities on the part of the German Reich, please remember the rights of minorities, even in the defense of the rights of German minorities. Just a few months ago Mr. Hitler on a platform gave to Mussolini of Italy a quarter of a million of Germans in southern Tyrol as a free-will offering and pledged to him that forever after this quarter of a million of Germans, who do not want to be Italians, are being subjected and have for the last twenty years been subjected to the most ruthless type of Italianization—Mr. Hitler offered them as a peace offering to Mussolini. Mr. Hitler who sheds crocodile tears over the fate of minorities, over the tormenting of minorities, did himself take a minority, living within his own country, a peaceful, patriotic, law-abiding minority, which felt itself so completely integrated in the life of the country, its political, social, economic structure, that at the Peace Conference following World War it did not even think of asking for minority rights as did Jews in Poland and Rumania and elsewhere—this minority which had served the Fatherland so faithfully in war and in peace, had brought such distinction to German art and science and culture and literature—Mr. Hitler, this great champion of minorities in Europe, today took this minority and broke it and shattered it, not only disfranchising it politically, but depriving it of elementary human rights,

degrading, humiliating it.

This man is not interested in the defense of minorities. He is interested in conquest, in expansion, in building an empire, but unfortunately for him there are minorities living in some of these countries which are in the pathway of Germany who remember their sufferings under the old Germany and under the old Austrian and Hungarian Empire, who will not quietly submit to being strangled, and there are nations in the world today who are well aware of the real intention of the present Reich, and that, my friends, means war in Europe.

This policy of appeasing the dictators, I said a moment ago, is a policy of fallacy, and I call upon history to substantiate my statement; I call American history to substantiate my agreement. Those people who in Europe or in America today believe that the world can live on in peace, half dictatorship and half democratic are exactly like the people who before 1861 in the United States believed that this country would live on and continue indefinitely and in peace half free and half slave. Those who maintained, as I maintain, that Europe cannot live half free and half slave, those who maintained in those years that that condition of half free and half slave could not endure, were called contemptuously, both in the North and in the South, "abolitionists." They were denounced, derided, called crazy fanatics, war mongers; but these fanatics knew the facts of human experience and human psychology. Attempts were made to establish compromises. There was the famous Missouri Compromise. Certain territory was carved out. That territory was to remain permanently free and slavery was not to invade it, but it wasn't long before it was scrapped and the conflict between Free and Slave became the Irresistible Conflict, for that is what it was because inherent in slavery was the element of expansion—the slave states had to expand as the profits derived from the application of slave labor to the growth of cotton increased, the drive towards expansion, towards making more states slave states, towards gathering more territory and carving the territory into new slave states increased until the North saw itself in danger of being ultimately swamped by the slave-holding South and the conflict became irresistible and a civil war resulted.

Inherent in dictatorship in Europe today, my friends, is the self-same motive of expansion; dictatorships must expand. Witness Ethiopia. Witness Austria. Witness China. Witness the invasion of Germany and Italy and Spain. Dictators must com-

pensate their people for the liberties which they took away from them, for the elementary human rights of which they deprived them, for forcing upon them a lower standard of living, for sweating them in body and soul. They must be compensated for political victories outside the borders of the country; and so I regard the struggle between dictatorships and democracies in Europe as inevitable. What democracies must do in the present situation is to organize a united front, not in defense of the blundering and short-sighted and chaos-producing policy of appeasement of Great Britain but the policy of aggressive resistance to the aggression of dictators and positive defense of the democratic institutions the world over! (Applause.) I mean the policy which so magnificently announced by the great President of the United States, Roosevelt, the policy of quarantining the aggressor! (Applause.) Action, my friends, on the part of democracies—I am going to say a bold thing now—why, when Germany first announced in 1933 its intention to disfranchise a group of its citizens for no sins committed and no crimes committed against the state, but simply on the ground that they were members of a different race or a different religion—why, when that announcement was first made, did not the great democracies of the earth, France, Great Britain, the United States, say in unmistakable words, "That cannot be, for this policy is sanctioned by the German Reich, perhaps we will sanction it, too, against German subjects in our land!" (Applause.)

Why, when Germany, six months ago, announced its intention of appropriating, that is to say, stealing the possessions, the wealth, the property honestly acquired by its former citizens, stripping these men, impoverishing them and then driving them naked across the border, why did not these great democracies of the earth, in defense of human rights, in defense of minority rights which they had underwritten at Versailles, why did they not say to Germany, "We advise you not to do it, because for every Jew which you will send out thus stripped and thus bereft, we will send back to your borders a German so stripped!" (Applause.) I assure you, my friends, that in twenty-four hours this whole miserable business would have been stopped! (Applause.) When you tell me—and when you tell me this can't be done for foresooth it is the internal affair of each country to do what its people wishes to do—I ask you this question: Is it an internal problem only when a nation takes a half a million of its people, robs them to penury and then drives them to

DEMOCRACY AT HOME

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

Can we have both democracy and economic security? Must we sacrifice one to get the other? How much freedom would we give up for the sake of a new social order? These are some of the vital questions discussed and answered by Miss Thompson, one of the greatest of women journalists.—The Editor.

It is characteristic of these times that we discuss democracy and freedom with a clear implication that both of them are on the defensive. Apparently our liberal democracy is on the defensive on two fronts, externally against the powers outside that

THE FALLACY

(Continued from Page 3.)

kindliness and brotherliness and tolerance have so completely and so shamefully browned down. The plight of fifty thousand Jews in Italy is sad, maybe sadder in the days to come, but it is even more significant as a symbol of the larger intolerance which is eating at the vitals of one of the great cultures of Europe in a land where the human mind first received its emancipation in the modern world.

Jewish persecution, my friends, and you must think of it in these terms, for in any other way, that is, by way of isolating the Jewish problem in and by itself, without relation to what is happening in the rest of the world leads to madness, the persecution of the Jew has far greater issues than the suering of the Jews. It is the whole of Europe which is today going down into night and into chaos, and it remains for the remaining few democracies of the world, England, France, the United States, perhaps the Scandanavian countries, it remains for these few countries formed along traditions of freedom and self-government, to preserve for mankind, for the future, those ideals for which so many generations have labored and suffered and been martyred.

What can you do, ex-service men, fellow Jews, in these critical times of storm when so many madnesses and so many aberrations have swept over the world? Why, steadily, with cool heads and stout hearts, unafraid, undemoralized, carry on as you have up to now, working for America, for its free institutions, for its government, for its people; keep our ship of state sailing upon the high seas, outsailing the storms and help it to reach the harbor of peace and tranquility. As Jews, I give you the word of Isaiah, "Do not be afraid, do not be terrified, for I, God, am with you." (The members arose and applauded.)

are not democratic and that are bombarding the rest of the world with anti-democratic propaganda and internally against our real or imagined enemies within.

Unfortunately, democracies don't even seem to agree about the external ideological enemies to be opposed to say nothing of internal ones. The Soviet Union represents the ideal of many of our brethren of the left who consider the American way of life merely a bourgeoisie already in an advanced stage of disintegration. Fascism, on the other hand, is their King Charles' head, and they want us all to mobilize against it not because it also menaces our society, which it certainly does, but because it threatens to become the successor of the present social order, and they want to inherit it themselves.

The real weakness of democracy, it seems to me, comes from the fact that in a world with very clearly defined ideologies, other people who claim to believe in democracy seem unable to clarify even in their own minds what it is they really believe in, and at all points they qualify their belief. They believe in democracy, provided—they believe in democracy providing it works, and sometimes when you ask what democracy has to do in order to prove that it works, you find that it has to do all the things that despotisms do, only do it without despotism.

Now, it seems to me that it is high time to come out and say that there are lots of things that despotisms can do that democracies can't do and remain democracies. Some of these things seem to be at first sight impressive and desirable. In the field of domestic affairs and particularly in the field of economics, whole masses of our people are asking for things that the despotisms claim to have accomplished and that we certainly have not accomplished, and even in high and responsible government circles we are being told that we are challenged and that unless we can do these things, democracy is a failure, the inference being that democracies are going to have to bribe their citizens in order to obtain their loyalty.

The government is being asked, for instance, to guarantee the economic existence of every individual and to guarantee that every individual will have satisfactory work at a satisfactory annual wage, work that he likes to do, a field that he likes to work in, otherwise democracy will not be justified, and all sorts of devices are being thought up to bring about this unquestionably highly desirable end.

But democratic government—government, mind you—cannot do this. It