



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
A DIVISION OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1961-1996.
Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

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Folder
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Moral Majority/Radical right, 1980-1994.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Radical Right

June 30, 1986
23 Sivan 5746

Mr. Robert Bialek
6111 Montrose Road #705
Rockville, MD 20852

Dear Mr. Bialek:

Your letter reached our office during Rabbi Schindler's absence. He is not expected to return to his desk for a few weeks. I know he will be grateful to you for having shared your thoughts with him and I thank you in his behalf.

Enclosed is a copy of Rabbi Schindler's remarks at what was to have been a debate with Jerry Falwell. Mr. Falwell was ill and did not appear; Dr. Pat Robertson spoke in his stead. We don't have his text but I think you will be interested in Rabbi Schindler's comments.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

Encl.

PLEASE PARDON ANY SLOPPINESS.
WRITING IS PHYSICALLY
DIFFICULT FOR ME.

ROBERT BIALEK
6111 Montrose Road #705
Rockville, Maryland 20852
(301) 984-1511

Dear Rabbi,

6/23/86

It is most disturbing to hear a leading Rabbi extol the virtues of a gerry Falwell, Falwell numbers among his friends Prime Minister Botha & Rabbi Haberman of Washington Hebrew Congregation. If you are pro-Israel, for whatever reason, Haberman will dispense absolution - whatever your misdeeds.

The disturbing aspect is that Haberman is not alone, Sinclair Lewis was right; "It Can Happen Here." And Haberman & his ilk are paving the way for Falwell's dream of a one religion (& racist) state. His followers are storm troopers of tomorrow.

"Those who don't know history are doomed to repeat it."

Here's hoping Rabbi Haberman's negative influence can be countered.

Sincerely,
Bob Bialek

NATIONAL REVIEW • 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016

Tel. 679-7330

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Editor

April 4, 1985

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter, which we will publish.

I am sorry I cannot attend your conference.

With cordial regards,

Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021



Radical Right
B

March 13, 1985

Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr.
Editor, National Review
150 East 36th Street
New York, NY 10016

Dear Mr. Buckley:

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Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE--JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: **Richard Cohen**
(212) 758-6969

For Release
Saturday, Nov. 22

Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco
(415) 772-5000

HEAD OF REFORM JUDAISM SEES A LINK BETWEEN RISE OF RADICAL RIGHT AND ANTI-SEMITIC ACTS

Rabbi Schindler, President of UAHC, Calls for 'Coalitions of Decency'
With Protestant, Catholic and Black Groups; He Assails Jewish Groups
That Embrace Fundamentalists Who Support Israel

San Francisco, Nov. 22 --The leader of Reform Judaism in the United States today called on American Jews to reach out to moderate Christians and black groups to form "coalitions of decency against the chilling power of the radical right."

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler of New York, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, also charged that it was "no coincidence that the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II.

"When the head of the 'Moral Majority' demands a 'Christian Bill of Rights,' when a prominent churchman says that 'God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew,' there should be no surprise at reports of synagogues destroyed by arson and Jewish families terrorized in their homes," Rabbi Schindler said, adding:

"That is why I fail to understand organized Jewry's flirtation with this new force on the American political scene. The Jabotinsky Foundation presents its award to the founder of the Moral Majority, Jerry Falwell; the Anti-Defamation League offers its national platform to TV evangelist Pat Robertson of the Christian Broadcasting Network; and JNF groves are dedicated to them both. All this is madness -- and suicidal as well.

"To be sure, they say good words about Israel and we must be grateful for that. And yet, can someone really be good for Israel when everything else he says and does is destructive of America and undermines the safety of its Jewish community. Let us not honor those whose works are anathema to everything for which we stand.

"I do not accuse Jerry Falwell and Bailey Smith of deliberately inciting anti-Semitism. But I do say that their preachments have an inevitable effect. Note if you will that Smith's first statement concerning the non-acceptability of Jewish prayer was quickly followed by his more recent pronouncement that Jews have 'funny looking noses.' The earlier comment may have been classic Christian doctrine. But how shall we label the latter? That's not fundamentalism. That's plain, old-fashioned anti-Semitism -- Julius Streicher with an Oklahoma twang.

"Jerry Falwell tells us that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God. Bailey Smith tells us that only one brand of believers is acceptable to God.

"It is no wonder that those who hold different political views should be branded as 'Satan' and that those who hold different religious beliefs should become the victims of vandals who respond by attacking synagogues and stoning Jews."

Rabbi Schindler was sharply critical of Jewish groups that he said were "eager to make accommodation to the Christian right and grab whatever short-term gains there may be at the expense of integrity and self-respect.

Jewish Groups That Embrace Right-Wing Preachers Assailed

"I do not suggest that Jews should stand alone against the Christian right, polarizing the struggle into a religious war. Rather, I urge that we seek allies among our Christian neighbors."

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"We will disagree with the Roman Catholic Bishops on abortion and birth control, but we will give voice to a common concern on aid to refugees, world hunger and racial justice.

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"The ground for cooperation and alliances is fertile -- but there is no time to waste."

On the role of religious movements in political affairs, Rabbi Schindler said:

"We do not deny the right of any Americans to influence the elections, but as Jews we cannot but shiver when the director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress speaks of the 'Christianizing of America.' We cannot but rebel when we hear that it is a sin to vote for a particular candidate."

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Rabbi Schindler conceded that Jewish attitudes toward new right leaders were complicated by the support many Christian evangelicals give to the state of Israel.

He continued:

"We who love Israel seek allies among all Americans. But we cannot be blind to the fact that the deepest reasons for the backing given to Israel by evangelical fundamentalists are theologically self-serving.

"They believe Jesus cannot return for the second coming until the Jews are regrouped in their biblical homeland and then converted to Christianity. They believe further that even devout Jews are not welcome in heaven.

"So let us welcome all those committed to Israel's security and survival. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the reasons for that support. And let us not honor policies that threaten the very values of religious pluralism and respect for the rights and beliefs of others on which our own security as Jews is based."

Rabbi Schindler continued:

"If sectarian doctrine becomes the test of political opinion, the Jewish community is lost. If tens of millions of TV viewers who make up the parishoners of the electronic church are told that only one brand of politics is acceptable unto God, the terrible danger of intolerance grows apace.

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"The idea of a Christian republic is an ominous threat to every American. For Jews, it is a cause of deep anxiety as well. That anxiety is not imaginary, as the mounting number of reports of attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions makes clear.

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'A Struggle for the Soul of America'

Rabbi Schindler concluded: "What has begun is a struggle for the character and the soul of America. It may endure for many years, transcending the immediacies of politics and elections. It is not a battle that Jews alone can win. Just as we believe that the radical right poses a threat to the very institutions which make up America's democratic society, so do we affirm that anti-Semitism is an assault on the fabric of American life.

"Both must be counteracted by the entire American community. Both require the mobilization of interfaith and intergroup coalitions of decency speaking out against bigotry, whether the source be religious or political."



11/80

AJP/RELN

Morae Mayon
Robert R. R.

March 13, 1985

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Perhaps over the years all of us (Falwell included) have become a bit more mellow, less hyperbolic. I have invited Jerry Falwell to address the UAHC's fifth biennial Consultations on Conscience, Sunday, April 14, 1985 at 8:00 p.m. in Washington, D.C. and he has accepted. He and I will speak on the same topic: "The Role of Religion in Politics."

You are invited to attend what I hope will be a stimulating and enlightening meeting.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Radical Right

December 28, 1984

Rabbi Israel Zoberman
Temple B'rith Shlom
1004-1008 South Fourth Street
Springfield, Illinois 62703

Dear Israel:

Many thanks for sending to me a copy of your fine column on
"Responding to the New Right. Well done!

I thank you for your good wishes for the secular New Year.
Be assured, Rhea and I reciprocate them fully to you and your
loved ones.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Radical Right

June 30, 1986
23 Sivan 5746

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Rockville, MD 20852

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Federal Right
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FEB-21-85

ONLY six months ago, it strains the memory to recall, the great internal public issue of the day appeared to be the romance between church and state, with Ronald Reagan, as the suitor, in high tumescence. In America, great national issues have a way of just disappearing. McCarthyism, for instance. (I even forget now who promoted the general attitude toward Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority seems to be a little less than the boil level at which it has been sustained for so long.

The publication of a book, *Falwell: Before the Millennium* by the talented young writer Dinesh D'Souza reminds us of the kind of thing responsible, or rather generally responsible, people have been saying. Would you believe that Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the well-known president of

the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, actually said back then that the Moral Majority was responsible for "the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism since the era of World War II"?

As a matter of fact, the reference began by confusing those of us who had been unaware of an outbreak of anti-Semitism during World War II, which continues to remind most of us of the revelation of the horrors of anti-Semitism. But somewhere along the line it became clear that the Rev. Jerry Falwell is the most pro-Israel national figure since Ben Gurion. Norman Lear spoke of "fascism masquerad-

ing as Christianity." It was never quite clear what was fascist about Falwell except that he opposes pornography, along with such other men of fascist leaning as Irving Kristol, Walter Berns and Oliver Wendell Holmes. George McGovern called Falwell "a menace to the American political process," which, however, he would also call anyone who voted Republican.

And of course the greatest spectacle of them all was provided by the president of Yale, Bartlett Giamatti, who addressed the freshman class and warned it against the awful perils of the Moral Majority. He left Yale students so fright-

ened that the Whiffenpoofs disbanded in order to practice guerrilla warfare, against the day Falwell took over the government.

We have, in America in recent years, been terribly — I once swore never to use the word, but here it is indispensable — uptight about church and state. Europe, notwithstanding its bloody history of religious warfare, is both relaxed on the subject and eclectic. France and Portugal are the two countries in which church and state are most rigorously separated. But religion is taught in the French lycees, often by chaplains, because religion is considered to

be a part of general education. In Belgium the state pays salaries to all clerics, including rabbis. In West Germany, the government supports its churches finally through a payroll tax, no less.

Up until 1952, in great big open-hearted liberal Sweden, no Catholic could serve in the Cabinet, nor teach in an elementary school. Catholic Swedes who wanted a passport needed to get a certificate of good moral behavior from a Lutheran pastor. A generation ago, Norway would not permit a Jesuit to enter its country, and in Switzerland, Jesuits were not allowed to preach. Great Britain, of course, has an established church, currently engaged in examining such questions as the virgin birth and the divinity of Christ, which means that the Church of England is not threatening Norman Lear.

Have we survived Falwell?

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY Jr.



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While I do not expect that you will publish a correction, in the interest of accuracy you ought to know that you misrepresented both the timing and the substance of my views in your column entitled "Have we survived Falwell?", published in the Daily News here in New York (February 21) and other papers around the country.

You began: "Only six months ago...the great internal public issue of the day appeared to be the comance between church and state..." You then referred to me by saying: "Would you believe that Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the well-known president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, actually said back then that the Moral Majority was responsible for 'the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism since the era of World War II'?"

Correction: It was not "back then" (presumably "only six months ago") that I spoke of the Rev. Falwell, but on Saturday evening, November 22, 1980.

You wrote you were "unaware of an outbreak of anti-Semitism during World War II."

I did not use the term "since the era of World War II" but rather "since the end of World War II." And the statistics recording anti-Semitic incidents during that year confirm my assertion.

I did not say that the Moral Majority was "responsible for 'the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism...'" What I did say was that "it was 'no coincidence that the rise of the right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II,'" and I added:

"When the head of the Moral Majority demands a 'Christian Bill of Rights,' when a prominent churchman says that 'God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew,' there should be no surprise at reports of synagogues destroyed by arson and Jewish families terrorized in their homes..."

Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr.
March 13, 1985
Page -2-

"I do not accuse Jerry Falwell and Bailey Smith of deliberately inciting anti-Semitism. But I do say that their preachments have an inevitable effect....Jerry Falwell tells us that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God. Bailey Smith tells us that only one brand of believers is acceptable to God. It is no wonder that those who hold different political views should be branded as 'Satan' and that those who hold different religious beliefs should become the victims of vandals who respond by attacking synagogues and stoning Jews."

Perhaps over the years all of us (Falwell included) have become a bit more mellow, less hyperbolic. I have invited Jerry Falwell to address the UAHC's fifth biennial Consultations on Conscience, Sunday, April 14, 1985 at 8:00 p.m. in Washington, D.C. and he has accepted. He and I will speak on the same topic: "The Role of Religion in Politics."

You are invited to attend what I hope will be a stimulating and enlightening meeting.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Radical Right

December 28, 1984

Rabbi Israel Zoberman
Temple B'rith Shlom
1004-1008 South Fourth Street
Springfield, Illinois 62703

Dear Israel:

Many thanks for sending to me a copy of your fine column on
"Responding to the New Right. Well done!

I thank you for your good wishes for the secular New Year.
Be assured, Rhea and I reciprocate them fully to you and your
loved ones.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Acknowledge
of Honor.

12-24-84

From the desk of
RABBI ISRAEL ZOBERMAN, D. Min.

Dear Alex,

Post-Chanukah greetings to you
and yours for a rewarding 1985!

Shalom,
Israel

Illinois Times December 13-19 1984 Vol. 10 No. 15

Guestwork

by Rabbi Israel Zoberman



Responding to the New Right

One of the poignant lessons of the Jewish people's story is not to take for granted a hospitable environment which confers equality on all its children. That must mean that we have a stake in preserving and enhancing the quality of American life. Eternal vigilance is the non-negotiable price that comes along with the precious benefits of a democratic system of government.

America has flourished, due in large measure to its built-in pluralism, a pluralistic texture that would unravel without one essential thread—the traditional separation between church and

state as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

That principle has been under attack by forces committed to replacing the enviable American way of life with their own sectarian vision. The vision to which I refer is that of the New Religious and Political Right, a powerful bloc embracing potentially 50 million Americans. It already flexed its considerable muscle at the 1980 elections, and has kept faithful to its promise to try to change America as we know it. The events of the last four years have proven that the proponents of America as a Christian nation are rather creative and resourceful. Let us not take lightly a movement with a sense of mission, particularly one with a mixture of religious and political aspirations that also happens to have friends in some of the highest offices in the land.

I assume that the New Right counts the Jews among those who will yet have to see the light, in spite of the Rev. Falwell's flirtation with the State of Israel.

There is surely a no better place to begin implementing one's radical plan than in the mind of a child. It is no wonder then that our public schools have turned into contested arenas, with children becoming pawns in a scheme to recreate American society. I believe that God should, indeed, be present in our public educational system, but not in a sectarian manner upholding a certain religious approach clearly identified or nebulous. God is found where caring, sensitivity, concern, and learning permeate the classroom, where a student's and teacher's religious heritage is not compromised by undue pressure to conform to enforced guidelines of religious expression of whatever type.

The Book of Genesis was not intended to be a scientific textbook. Its thrust was and remains to instill an appreciation for sacred ideas and values. The cause of religion is best served when its teachings and guidelines are expounded upon in one's church and synagogue, where interpretation is offered according to one's traditions.

While we should be candid about our fundamental disagreement with the New Christian Right, we are duty-bound to emphasize to its supporters and to ourselves that we share a common agenda of concerns.

☐ The need to strengthen family life.

☐ The significance of values and ideals in a pervasively secular and materialistic society.

☐ The positive contribution religion can make to the individual and community.

☐ We have to consciously remedy the ills and shortcomings in our society.

Working together on these weighty issues would hopefully allow us the opportunity to also discuss differences of purpose and approach. Our opponents need to know that a wrong kind of medication can be fatal to a patient. So it is with improper means employed toward beneficial goals.

We Jews are not alone in our apprehension. It behooves us to create coalitions with concerned Americans across lines of religious and political affiliation. Thus will we respond more effectively to the challenges confronting the entire American system.

A time of crisis is also a time of opportunity. May we all dedicate ourselves anew to the kind of America we dare not do without.

Israel Zoberman is the rabbi at Temple B'rith Sholom in Springfield.

Radical Right

Radical Right

October 15, 1984

Mr. Jo Salwen
4 Hawthorne Lane
Westport, Connecticut

Dear Jo:

Unfortunately I have to deplore your letter, for it betrays a measure of innocence concerning the American Jewish community and its articulated positions.

The Jewish community has not at all been silent on the matter of the Christian right. We have spoken up forcefully and with near unanimity on this subject. I would venture to say that 90 percent of the rabbis in the United States made this their central theme during the past high holidays, nor have we been silent in the public arena either.

Just as an example, strong statements of mine were included in Time Magazine and in Newsweek both, two or three weeks ago. I was quoted extensively in The New York Times, in the Washington Post, in the Wall Street Journal and I appeared on news programs on every one of the major networks. Many other Jewish leaders were represented in like fashion. In other words, "our Jewish community has spoken" and is continuing to speak quite clearly.

Nor are we Johnny-come-latelys on this particular scene. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations - the parent body of Reform Judaism in America and the largest American Jewish organization, which I head - warned about the "emerging Christian right" as early as 1978, long before most of the other civic organizations were aware of this danger, and we have spoken regularly and forcefully on this subject ever since. Through our Religious Action Center in Washington we organized several effective coalitions to fight the moral majority, and we have published books and materials and even video tapes warning of this danger and bestirring our people to act against it.

Mr. Jo Salwen
October 15, 1984
Page - 2 -

Perhaps you are getting your impressions of the Jewish community from the editors of Commentary Magazine and some of their fellow travelers who occasionally write articles and Op-Ed pieces in The New York Times and in the Wall Street Journal. But you ought to know that Commentary Magazine is not exactly respected in the Jewish community; very few consider this publication as reflective of the consensus in our ranks.

I hope, therefore, that you'll put your mind to rest.

As a matter of fact, I would venture to guess that the majority of America's Jews will vote Democratic this time 'round. No less than 55 percent, perhaps as many as 60 or 65 percent, in my judgment, will pull the Democratic lever (and this despite the Jackson-Farakhan fiasco). About the only ones who will be firmer in Mondale's camp will be our traditional allies of the black community.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Mr. John Simon

~~No further~~



Oct 17, 1984

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank You for taking
your time for response and
enlightenment.

I do feel reassured.
I separate Reagan from the
moral majority even tho
they are mutually supportive.
I read the Times not Com-

mentary. but will look
for your stated position
with greater care.

Thanks again
Jo Salwen



Jo Salwen

RA DICAL
Rigau

March 29, 1982

Rabbi David Saperstein
Religious Action Center
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear David:

Your letter to Josh Haberman is superb. Thank you for sharing it with me. You have also given me material which will be helpful in responding to others who question our stance in regard to the Religious Right.

With fondest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(Code 202) 387-2800

Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN

Co-Director and Counsel: RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

Religious Action Center

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

צדק צדק חרדך

Justice, Justice Shalt Thou Pursue

March 16, 1982

Rabbi Joshua Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation
3935 Macomb St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Josh,

Two reactions to recent columns in the bulletin. First, I thought the nuclear armaments one was superb. Actually, if you don't mind, I'd like to distribute it to other rabbis as a sample column.

I thought the column on the Religious Right was also superb-- but absolutely wrong. You have slain a straw dummy which you built. Give me one example, not twenty, not ten, not five, but just one single example of a leading Reform Jewish figure (or anyone for that matter) who has argued that the support of the Religious Right for Israel is "a hypocritical strategy, a ruse, designed to soften up Jews before trying to convert them." Give me one example where in Reform Judaism's articles it was asserted or insinuated that these groups "would soon turn into a Nazi-like movement." You certainly shouldn't attribute letters-to-the-editor as being the position of the paper. Give me one example of where Schindler, Saperstein, or Vorspan or anyone else in the Reform Movement has accused these groups of "subversion" or "organized violence." I won't go through the whole article but you have totally misrepresented Schindler's position and that of Reform Judaism. So what did the article prove: that if we had been saying these things we would have been wrong. That's hardly worthy of your thoughtfulness and your sense of accuracy and fairness.

As to the other points which you accurately ascribed to "these alarmists," what about their merits? First, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson were the only Religious Right types to have said anything against the AWACS sale. What did they do? They signed one newspaper ad and one letter, respectively. Only one. They refused to make any calls. They didn't come to the news conferences. They didn't lobby their congressional supporters. And none of the other leaders did anything at all on the issue. You didn't mention that in your article.

Parenthetically, why did Falwell and Robertson do anything at all? Precisely because there were Reform Jewish leaders who were the only Jews that had access to them. When we asked them to help, they agreed, albeit in this limited fashion. You didn't mention that in your article.

When push came to shove, how many of the Religious Right types in the Senate voted with us? Only one-- D'Amato (and I need not tell you that any move on his part to do otherwise would have been political suicide in New York). Except for him, we lost every one of the Religious Right types. Every one. On the other hand, we

got every member of the Black Caucus. We got every vote cast by the Hispanic Caucus. The major opposition to the AWACS sale came from the liberal democrats and republicans in the Congress. Outside the Congress, the most stringent opposition emanated from the labor unions. You didn't mention that in the article.

"I do not know of a single anti-semitic incident which may be charged to Christian conservatives." Now, I don't know how you define anti-semitic. How about Bailey Smith's remarks on Jewish noses or Jewish prayers? While he's apologized, the Moral Majority leaders haven't. Consider:

Reverend Jerry Falwell in Long Island Magazine 3/22/81

"At the risk of stereotyping people, I'm saying that, as far as controlling the media and the city is concerned, Jews are blessed by God. They have abilities in finances that others don't have."

Rev. Dan C. Fore, chairman of N.Y. state Moral Majority chapter
"God has given them Jews talents He has not given others. They are His chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money." He also said, "They control the media, they control this city."

conversation between Falwell and journalist Joe Klein

Falwell: Dan Fore is a fine young man.

Klein: But he believes that unless Jews acknowledge Jesus Christ as their savior, they're condemned to eternal hell.

Falwell: Well... most of your fundamentalists believe that.

Klein: Do you?

Falwell: Yes. Of course, you have Orthodox Jews who believe that we're condemned to hell too.

Incidentally, what Schindler did say about the Religious Right and anti-semitism was not that they were anti-semitic but:

Surely it is no coincidence that the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since World War II. Don't misunderstand me. I do not say that the Jerry Falwells are deliberately fomenting anti-Jewish sentiments and violence. But I do say that their preachments have that inevitable effect. When ministers assert before thirty million parishioners that only one brand of politics has God's approval why, then, intolerance takes rootage.

Most importantly, it is the Religious Right groups which are the staunchest supporters of that legislation which would undermine the jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court and the federal court system. Far out "alarmists" like Barry Goldwater remark that:

The uncompromising position of these groups is a divisive element that could tear apart the very spirit of our representative system, if they gain sufficient strength. As it is, they are diverting us away from the vital issues that our government needs to address.... And I'm frankly sick and tired of the political preachers across this country telling me as a citizen that if I want to be a moral person, I must believe in "A", "B", "C", and "D". Just who do they think they are? And from where do they presume to claim the right to dictate their moral beliefs to me?

Way-out groups like the American Bar Association have maintained:

... one overriding conviction: the necessity to protect the integrity of the courts of this Nation, federal and state, from misdirected

legislative efforts to achieve something that can only be done through constitutional amendment. The issue is not abortion; it is not busing; it is not prayer in public schools; it is not any of a number of things that may occasion dissatisfaction with particular decisions. We are sure that the Members of the Association have many various positions on these substantive questions, as we do. But the real issue, the only issue, is whether, as a matter of policy and of constitutional permissibility, this Nation is going to adopt a device whereby each time a decision of the Supreme Court or a lower federal court offends a majority of both Houses of Congress the jurisdiction of the federal courts to hear that issue will be stripped away. We do not believe that is a system the Framers intended nor one that we should strive to institute.

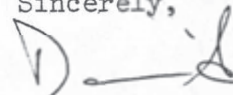
We do not believe the great rights set out in the First, Fourth, Fifth, and other provisions of the Constitution "amount to nothing." We deem it critical to their continued meaningfulness that these bills under consideration and others like them be defeated.

Every Jewish organization in America has opposed the Religious Right's activities in these areas. But, not a word about that in your article. Josh, there are many valid things one could say about the Religious Right groups. They have pointed out serious problems in American society. They challenge us to deal with issues involving the breakdown of morality of the family, authority, and the school system. But their answers-- to legislate their religious beliefs into the law of the land-- is bad for America and bad for those who do not accept their religious values.

Certainly, we should continue to talk with them while we criticize their political platform. We have been doing that. That is why we have better contact with them than almost any other Jewish organization. Such discussion is a necessity if we are to teach these groups about Jews and if we are going to transform their amorphous, theological support for Israel into concrete political support.

I am enclosing a copy of a talk I gave last year which spells out where and why I oppose the Religious Right. Let's deal with the real issues-- not straw men.

Sincerely,



Rabbi David Saperstein

RDS/rjs
enclosures

cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler ✓
Mr. Albert Vorspan

P.S. I am enclosing today's Washington Post article that I thought raised some superb issues.



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THE TEMPLE JOURNAL

(USPS 358-060)

Published by Washington Hebrew Congregation and its Sisterhood and Brotherhood
Macomb St. at Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016

FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 26

EARLY SERVICE AT 5:45 P.M.

LATE SERVICE AT 8:30 P.M.

RABBI WEINBERG Will Speak

"On Golden Pond: Across the Generations"



SATURDAY MORNING

FEBRUARY 27 AT 10:30 A.M.

Sermonette By RABBI HABERMAN

Bar Mitzvah of David Wagner

Bar Mitzvah of Todd Alan Waldman

AS I SEE IT...

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman

Our New "Right Wing" Evangelical Friends

Ever since President Reagan's landslide victory in 1980, various analysts have focused considerable attention upon the evangelicals, especially those associated with the "Moral Majority." It is generally agreed that the support of this voting bloc was decisive for the President's election. The emergence of some 60 million fundamentalist Christians with a dominantly conservative outlook as a major political power in America is a fact to be dealt with the greatest care and wisdom by non-Christians, particularly Jews.

Unfortunately, public reactions by several prominent Jewish leaders on the sub-

(continued on page 4)



A New Celebration For The Whole Family

SHUSHAN SHINDIG '82, MARCH 7

We are pleased to announce a totally new and revised format for our Purim celebration this year. The celebration will take place on Sunday, March 7, at 12:00 noon, at the Julia Bindeman Suburban Center, immediately following Religious School. There will be an early dismissal at 11:30 a.m. from the Temple with bus transportation for those who desire it. The afternoon activities will begin with lunch in the multipurpose room. Sandwiches, hot dogs, hamantaschen and Purim delicacies of all kinds will be available.

Food stands will continue to be open throughout the afternoon's activities.

The main feature of this Purim celebration will be a fantastic series of Purim workshops and activities including making your original gregger, creative masks, costume and make-up booths, a hamantaschery (gourmet cooking for the holidays), calligraphy, inscribing your own Purim proclamation, a super treat "Bait-a-Haman," participation in a Purim spiel and seeing yourself live on TV. There will also be the traditional booths and games with prizes.

The afternoon promises to be an unusual treat for adults and children. It is a wonderful opportunity for the whole family to share creative experiences and the holiday celebration together. Join us for a joyous and unforgettable holiday celebration.

Purim Family Dinner, March 8

See page 3

RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION TO OPEN MARCH 5

The Fine Arts Committee of WHC will present a Retrospective Exhibition in honor of the recently deceased artist, Judy Lee Gilbert, opening Friday, March 5, in Ring Hall following services.

Judy Lee Gilbert studied at The Ameri-

(continued on page 5)

SUNDAY SCHOLAR, FEBRUARY 28



PROFESSOR MARSHA ROZENBLIT

"The Vienna of Theodor Herzl: Assimilation and Jewish Identity" is the topic of Professor Marsha Rozenblit, faculty member since 1978 at the University of Maryland, in modern Jewish history, at the Scholar Series lecture on Sunday, February 28, 10:30 a.m., at the Temple.

Professor Rozenblit previously served as instructor at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Her publications include a major study on the topic, "The Assertion of Identity: Jewish Student Nationalism at the University of Vienna Before World War I" to be published in the forthcoming edition of the prestigious *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, 1982* and her book, *Assimilation and Identity: The Jews of Vienna, 1867*, to be published by the State University of New York Press.

The next lecture in our Scholar Series will be Sunday, March 7, when Professor William Hallo will speak on the topic: "The First Purim: An Assyriologist Takes a New Look at an Old Story".

INSIDE THIS JOURNAL

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TEMPLE CALENDAR.....	Page 6

AS I SEE IT . . .

(continued from page 1)

ject have lacked both wisdom and statesmanship. With extreme haste, before there was even a chance to properly identify and differentiate between the large assortment of Christian groups that are lumped together under the "Moral Majority," some of our leaders, like Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, rushed to denounce them in the sharpest possible terms. Immediately they were branded as a "threat." Articles and letters to the editors in the Jewish press, especially in *Reform Judaism*, insinuated that these "right wing extremists" had an antisemitic bias and would soon turn into a Nazi-like movement.

When, quite to the contrary, Moral Majority leaders rendered public and political support to Israel, these alarmists dismissed it as a hypocritical strategy, a ruse, designed to soften up Jews before trying to convert them in preparation for the Second Coming.

Enough time has elapsed to test out some of the charges and allegations against evangelical Christians in general and the "Moral Majority" in particular. To this date, no evangelical leader has been charged in any American court with political misconduct. There is no evidence that evangelical right wing conservatives seek to operate outside accepted channels of our democratic process. There's been no report of subversion or organized violence under the inspiration or guidance of the Moral Majority. I do not know of a single antisemitic incident which may be charged against the record of right wing Christian conservatives or officials of the Moral Majority. As for their so-called "extremism," it is no different from the conservatism of many millions of conservative Americans of various other faiths.

Now, what about their professed friendship for Israel? The other day, I attended a National Prayer Breakfast for Israel at the Shoreham Hotel sponsored by evangelical Christians, many of them identified with the Moral Majority. Among the three to four hundred guests from across the nation were about thirty Jews. Seated on the dais were several Congressmen, Senators and a dozen prominent evangelical ministers from all over the country, including the notorious Rev. Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, who shocked us with his remark, later withdrawn with apologies, that God does not hear the prayers of a Jew. The gist of about six opening and closing prayers and five short addresses was: We love Israel. Jews have a right to a free and secure State of Israel. It is the only true democracy in the Middle East, America's best friend and ally. Arabs are freer and better off under Israelis than anywhere else.

The Rev. Bailey Smith reported his impressions of a two-week tour he made to Israel with twelve Southern Baptist and eight Jewish leaders. He was received by Israel's President Navon, the new Ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arens,

A SPECIAL THANK YOU

Sisterhood would like to thank all those who have helped as supervisors and hostesses for Oneg Shabbat during 1981:

Supervisors: Judy Johl, Beverly Kligman, Lillian Levin, Sarah Poll, Hilda Sommes;

Hostesses: Yvette Kraft, Ellen Forman, Mrs. Rosalie Sussman, Mrs. Harold Popkin, Mrs. Hy Bronrott, Mrs. Anita Singer, Mrs. Esther Potash, Mrs. Annabette Kaufman, Mrs. Fran Nathanson, Mrs. Phyllis Cowen, Mrs. Sheila Garfinkle, Mrs. Levy, Mrs. JoEllen Fishman and Mrs. Gusdorf.

Anyone interested in serving as a hostess for Oneg Shabbat should contact Deborah Epstein at 985-1974.

Bar/Bat Mitzvah Families have provided hostesses and their names have appeared in the *Temple Journal* during the year.

former Prime Minister Rabin, he stayed in a kibbutz, he saw Lebanese Arabs receive medical help in Israeli hospitals, and concluded: Israelis are beautiful people. The land is still the Promised Land and the promise must be fulfilled to the Jews. When asked on a CBS interview what should be America's policy if continued support for Israel leads to another cut-off of oil, he replied: "Even if Americans must turn down the thermostat and wear sweaters, we shall support Israel."

The Prayer Breakfast ended on an emotional high when a gospel singer led the group in the singing of Israel's national anthem, the Ha-Tikvah, first explaining it as the song of hope "we all share."

In my assessment of evangelical Christians in America, I have reached seven conclusions:

1. They are not a bubble that will burst, but a permanent major force to be reckoned with whose constituency has been identifiable for nearly 150 years.

2. Their interest in the return of the Jews to the land of Israel is not a "Johnny-come-lately" gesture but may be traced back several generations. The first American Zionists were not Jews but evangelical Christians. The recognition of Jewish rights to the land of Israel is a cornerstone of their theology.

3. Whereas previously evangelical Christians were primarily interested in the land of Israel as the "Holy Land," today they enthusiastically endorse its modernization, cultivation, and the social experiment of the kibbutz movement. They admire Israel as a political entity and military power. They identify with Israel both politically and religiously.

4. How sincere is this friendship for Israel? Among Christians who now account for half of all tourists visiting Israel, evangelicals are a major and ever-growing group. Politically they are the only ardent friends of Israel among the major Christian denominations of America. They have proven their commitment in words and

ISRAEL TRAVEL OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

The UAHC Youth Division sponsors a wide range of summer, semester and long programs in Israel especially for young people from Reform congregations.

Known as "NFTY in Israel," the program offers high school and college students unforgettable summers and semesters exploring the wonders of Israel. The programs are designed for individuals with a wide variety of interests. One can participate in extensive camping trips in the Galilee, explorations of Israel's modern cities, and as special programs for those interested in kibbutz life, Hebrew language and more.

In addition to these summer programs, the UAHC has designed to meet every interest of the "NFTY in Israel" offers fully accredited academic programs for college students. For further information, contact the UAHC in Israel, (212) 249-0100, or Rabbi J. J. 362-7100.

ATTENTION COLLEGE STUDENTS

The UAHC College Education Committee, in conjunction with the Temple Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, announces a "Sambatyon," a Reform Jewish weekend that will take place at the University of Pennsylvania from March 6-7, 1982. The scholar-in-residence, Rabbi Richard Address, the Director of the UAHC Pennsylvania Council, will conduct workshops and discussions on "Jewish View on Biomedical Ethics." The fee for the weekend is \$15.00. Students will be housed at the Harnwell House in Philadelphia, Pa.

To participate, call Laura Rabinowitz (215) 287-5477 or Amy Schwartz (215) 222-3373. Or write Amy Schwartz, Rodney, 3700 Spruce St., Philadelphia 19104.

deeds, financial contributions and political action.

5. There is no sign of any step-back of Christian evangelical missionary activity among Jews.

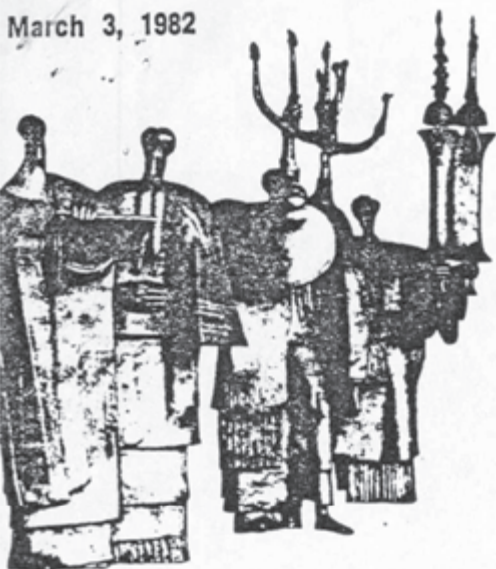
6. With regard to domestic issues, evangelical Christians know that most Jews differ with them on abortion, ERA, public schools and possibly also economic and public welfare policies: I expect to oppose them as hard as ever on those issues on which we disagree—and make common cause with them wherever we do agree—as strengthening the family, curbing pornography, opposition to preferential treatment, support for adequate national defense, and friendship for Israel.

7. There is no reason to treat evangelicals differently from other Christians and ethnic groups with whom we have, in the past, cooperated on some issues and differed on other issues. Evangelical Christians, and that goes for the Moral Majority too, should not be labelled as "friends" or "enemies" but should be identified and dealt with on an issue-by-issue basis.

March 3, 1982

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THE TEMPLE JOURNAL

PURIM ISSUE

(USPS 358-060)

Published by Washington Hebrew Congregation and its Sisterhood and Brotherhood
Macomb St. at Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016

FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 5
EARLY SERVICE AT 5:45 P.M.

FAMILY SERVICE AT 8:00 P.M.

LATE SERVICE AT 8:30 P.M.

RABBI HABERMAN Will Speak

"How Do You Measure Your Success?"
THE BIBLICAL STANDARDS



SATURDAY MORNING
MARCH 6 AT 10:30 A.M.

Sermonette By
Guest Rabbi Simeon Kobrinetz
Bar Mitzvah of Neal Mitchell Shapiro
Bar Mitzvah of Joel Abraham Silberman

AFTERNOON AND HAVDALAH
SERVICE AT 5:30 P.M.

Bat Mitzvah of Deborah Beth Goldman
Bat Mitzvah of Randi Max

AS I SEE IT . . .

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman

A Strategy Of Madness

Suddenly the radio program I was listening to was interrupted and I heard a sustained whistling sound at the end of which the announcement said, "This signal is only a test. In the event of an emergency, this signal will be followed by instructions."



That's how the

day of doom will begin. The instructions you
(continued on page 5)

Purim Festival, Sunday and Monday, March 7-8

FAMILY SERVICE THIS FRIDAY

The next Family Service will take place on Friday, March 6 at 8:00 p.m. in Ring Hall. This month's service will feature the Fifth Grade classes from the Temple and the music of our Youth Choir. Rabbi Mason will tell a story. All March birthday boys and girls will receive a blessing and a special birthday token. There will be secret Purim surprises.

The service, designed for children of all ages and the wider family, has proved to be a warm religious experience for everyone. Bring the family so that parents, children and grandparents can share this Shabbat experience. A festive Oneg Shabbat will follow the service.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT

Jay W. Freedman has been designated by the Nominating Committee as the candidate for President of the Congregation for the two year term commencing Tuesday, April 20, 1982. The full report of the Nominating Committee appears on page 3.

Profiles of the Officers and Board candidates will appear in future issues of the Temple Journal.

SUNDAY SCHOLAR, MARCH 7
PROFESSOR WILLIAM HALLO

PASSOVER BEGINS
WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 7

See Page 5

Proclamation

Whereas our ancestors, in joyful thanksgiving for their marvelous rescue from the evil designs of Haman, decreed that "the days wherein the Jews had rest from their enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow unto gladness, and from mourning into a good day; that they should make these days of feasting and gladness which should be remembered and kept through every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and that these days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews nor the memorial of them perish from their seed."

Therefore we, the rabbis of Washington Hebrew Congregation, call on our members, young and old, to celebrate Purim with us, with singing, dancing, eating, drinking, dramatics and fun games by coming to our celebration, with noisemakers of every kind; furthermore we request that you keep a straight face all day long so that you may the better laugh with us at the Julia Bindeman Suburban Center on Sunday, March 7 and at the Temple on Monday, March 8, at 6:15 p.m. for our Purim Dinner Party with dramatized Megillah and surprise entertainment.

Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Rabbi Joseph P. Weinberg
Rabbi Steven S. Mason

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RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION TO OPEN MARCH 5

The Fine Arts Committee of WHC will present a Retrospective Exhibition in honor of the recently deceased artist, Judy Lee Gilbert, opening Friday, March 5, in Ring Hall following services.

The artist expressed a 'joy of life' in her works, many of which echo haunting symbols of the Jewish experience. She has exhibited widely and her paintings are included in private collections here and abroad.

The exhibition includes a representative sampling of her work. It will be presented in cooperation with the Gilbert family who is pleased to share with our Congregation the joyous vision of life represented in the art of Judy Lee Gilbert.

AS I SEE IT . . .

(continued from page 1)

will hear regarding food supplies, water and shelter will probably end with the warning that there are only a couple of hours to prepare for the attack.

As for the destruction and your chance of survival, the less said the better—and yet, we cannot be numbed into silence. About three months ago, I wrote an article for this column, "Let's Stop the Drift to 'International Insanity,'" in which I called attention to the madness of the nuclear arms race. It is pushing the USA and the USSR to the brink of bankruptcy for weapon systems which both acknowledge must never be used. Yet, nobody in his right mind really believes that we are stockpiling nuclear arms just for show or storage.

Vivid details are being published of what would happen in a nuclear attack. Mary McGrory recently wrote, in the *Washington Post* about the impact of a one-megaton nuclear bomb over San Francisco:

"In the hell that would follow—radiation, fire, storm, 500 mile-an-hour winds, collapsing buildings—780,000 people would die instantly and 382,000 would be seriously injured. Among survivors will be tens of thousands with third-degree burns, a number that would exceed by a factor of ten or twenty the capacity of all the burn care centers in the United States."

Dr. Helen Caldicott, who resigned from Harvard to give full time to her new mission in life, "... to save world from itself," is now President of Physicians for Social Responsibility. This organization has grown into an international association of about 10,000, with membership increasing by approximately 250 each week. Said Dr. Caldicott, "If only 10% of the existing nuclear missiles were fired, between 70 and 80 percent of the ozone layer would be destroyed. If 10 to 20 percent were fired, the glare would blind all unprotected eyes. People, of course, could protect their eyes with glasses. But animals would be blinded and would inevitably die. The entire ecosystem of the planet could collapse."

Dr. Caldicott is travelling from coast to

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 22, 1982

The Nominating Committee of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, appointed by the President pursuant to all applicable provisions of the Constitution and By-Laws, has met and given full consideration to the matter of selecting nominees for officers and members of the Board of Directors.

The Committee has complied with all applicable By-Laws concerning notice to the Congregation and has also published an article in the *Temple Journal*, issue of February 3, 1982, inviting suggestions for nominees from members of the Congregation.

In response to this notice, the Committee has gratefully received several excellent suggestions from members of the Congregation. These were most helpful in arriving at the final slate which is listed below.

The Washington Hebrew Congregation, with its more than 2,300 member families, has an unusually rich reservoir of talent and, as might be expected, the suggestions made to the Committee included many more deserving names than the limited number of positions which are open. The Committee wishes that it were possible to select many more persons than it had the opportunity to name. In formulating the slate below, the Committee has been guided by a desire to strike a true balance of skills, aptitudes, resources, age and gender and also to achieve a workable blend of experience and innovative new leadership.

The Committee believes that the slate it is presenting achieves such a balance. We believe also that each of the persons named has demonstrated his or her devotion to Judaism and to this Congregation and will bring individual and collective strength to our Temple as it enters its 131st year. The names of numerous other deserving individuals are being referred to the officers for consideration for future committee appointments and to future Nominating Committees.

Your Nominating Committee is, therefore, pleased to place in nomination the following individuals to serve for the offices and terms indicated. All terms begin and end

coast to inform the nation of four important findings of her organization:

1. Nuclear war, even a "limited" one, would result in death, injury and disease on a scale that has no precedent in the history of human existence.

2. Medical "disaster planning" for nuclear war is meaningless. There is no possible effective medical response. Most hospitals would be destroyed, most medical personnel dead or injured, most supplies unavailable. Most survivors would die.

3. There is no effective civil defense. The blast, thermal and radiation effects would kill even those in shelters, and the fallout would reach those who had been evacuated.

4. Recovery from nuclear war would be impossible. The economic, ecological and

with the Annual Meeting of the Congregation in each year noted. These names are to be voted upon by the members of the Congregation at the 130th Annual Meeting scheduled for Tuesday, April 20, 1982.

Officers — 1982 to 1984

Jay W. Freedman, President
Harriet M. Kriesberg, 1st Vice President
Stuart L. Bindeman, Vice President
Froma Sandler, Vice President
Richard M. Young, Vice President
Neil Sherman, Secretary
David Forman, Assistant Secretary
Earl M. Colson, Treasurer
Jason L. Shrinky, Assistant Treasurer
Ronald G. Kane, General Counsel

Board of Directors — 1982 to 1985

David L. Burka
Joan Bush
Jerome P. Lewis
Lawrence A. Miller
Alvin Neuman
Stephen W. Porter
Susan Rosenbaum
Joseph M. Sitrick

Board of Directors — 1982 to 1984

(To complete the unexpired term of Neil Sherman who has been named to another position)

Lawrence M. Mann

Board of Directors — 1982 to 1983

(To complete the unexpired term of the following members of the Board who have been nominated for other positions: Earl M. Colson and Ronald G. Kane)

Ethel McGuire
Henry J. Kellermann

The Chairman wishes to express his thanks to the members of the Committee for their diligence and skill which they brought to this Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

Leonard I. Abel, *Chairman*

William Bush, Jr.	Harriet Pomerantz
Herbert Ezrin	Dr. Arthur Schwartz
Ina Finkelstein	Leonard Shapiro
George Kramer	Eugene Youngentob

social fabric on which human life depends would be destroyed in the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and much of the rest of the world.

This catastrophe can be averted. The power of an aroused and informed public is great. The first step is the spreading of knowledge.

Chances are that you are shying away from reading newspaper and magazine articles dealing with the nuclear threat. It is a very uncomfortable problem to confront. It is time that we face up to the most awesome threat to human survival since the mythical flood of Noah. Better be uncomfortable than dead.

For more information about the work of Physicians for Social Responsibility, you may write to P.O. Box 144, 23 Main Street, Watertown, Massachusetts 02172.

J.O.H.

1982 Campaign
(Senate)

February 5, 1982

Dear Connecticut Voters;

THIS IS NOT A REQUEST FOR MONEY. IT IS A REQUEST FOR HELP.

Lowell Weicker faces a multifaceted challenge to his reelection, which requires enormous efforts on his behalf in order to insure that he can continue to serve us in the United States Senate.

Senator Weicker's record clearly exemplifies his commitment to the preservation of our basic constitutional rights and to the continued American support for the State of Israel. He has never waived on any issue affecting the security of the State of Israel and, consistent with that position, was outspoken in his opposition to the sale of AWACs and other sophisticated military hardware to Saudi Arabia.

Senator Weicker's initial challenge to his reelection comes from Prescott Bush, Jr. and he has also been targeted for defeat by the right wing of the Republican Party. This challenge will probably result in a Republican primary for the Senate nomination in 1982. **PRESCOTT BUSH, JR., ON JANUARY 23rd, 1982, WHILE APPEARING ON "FACE THE STATE," ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HAD HE BEEN THE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT IN OCTOBER-1981, HE WOULD HAVE VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE SAUDI ARMS PACKAGE, INCLUDING THE AWACs.**

You can insure that Lowell Weicker is renominated as the candidate of the Republican Party by enrolling as a member of the Party and thus becoming eligible to vote in such a primary on September 7th, 1982. If you are currently a registered Democrat, you must reregister as a Republican not later than March 5th in order to be eligible to vote in the September primary. If you are not currently registered in any other party, then such registration must be completed not later than August 24th.

TO INSURE THAT YOU CAN VOTE FOR LOWELL WEICKER, ENROLL AS A REPUBLICAN NOW AT YOUR LOCAL VOTER REGISTRATION OFFICE AND ENCOURAGE YOUR FRIENDS TO DO SO. For questions, call East Hartford 289-1524.

Very truly yours,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Morris J. Amitay
Susan Shimelman
H. William Shure

Dr. Michael Berenbaum
Rabbi Melvin L. Libman
William Zales
Lewis Rabinovitz



*file Anti
Semitism*

SENTENCED TO DEATH!

THE JEWS IN NAZI GERMANY

An opinion based on one month's study in
the Third Reich from June 1 to July 1, 1933

and

I REVISIT NAZI GERMANY (1935)

With Revisions, an Explanatory Introduction
and an Epilogue

by

FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN

RABBI OF TEMPLE ISRAEL

St. Louis, Missouri

1961



For additional copies contact Mrs. F. M. ISSERMAN

C/O Temple Israel

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INTRODUCTION

Ferdinand M. Isserman, Rabbi of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.

"Sentenced to Death the Jews of Nazi Germany" is an opinion of one month's stay in Germany from June 3 to July 3, 1933. I entered Germany just about three months after Hitler had come into power. When this material was assembled, there were still many Jews in Germany. I was compelled to conceal the names of the people I saw and the cities I visited, lest I create extra difficulties for my friends. The official book store of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi propaganda minister, ordered two copies of this pamphlet from me, but I did not send them.

Before going into Germany, I visited my old friend, Dr. Bernard Kahn, in Paris. He had been head of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Europe, with headquarters in Berlin, whence he had carried on throughout Europe vast relief work among Polish Jews and other peoples who were impoverished by World War I. I had frequently been on missions for the American Joint in Eastern Europe. When I arrived in Paris in the spring of 1933 and told Dr. Kahn that I planned to enter Germany to get a first-hand picture of the Jewish situation there, he tried his best to dissuade me. He himself had left Berlin hurriedly, fleeing for his own safety. He was concerned lest the people I see get into trouble, and lest I myself experience difficulties. He thought that the Jews of Germany would be hostile to me and would give me no information whatsoever. In Dr. Kahn's office, I had met a former room mate of mine, an intimate friend, Irving F. Reichert, who then was the Rabbi of Temple Emanuel in San Francisco. He had come to Europe with commissions from members of his congregation to look up some of their families in and around Baden in Germany. Rabbi Reichert and I decided to enter Germany together and then separate. He did not want me to embarrass his people, and I was determined equally not to embarrass my people. I thought if I found that no Jews would speak to me, nothing would be lost.

My first day in Germany was in Frankfurt am Main, and I registered at the Frankfurter-Hof Hotel. I had a few names to look up in the city. I decided that the first thing for me to do would be to eat at a kosher restaurant, towards evening, hoping there to find some people who would give me information and advice as to my mission in Germany. At the restaurant, by a happy circumstance, a young German came to me and said, "Aren't you Rabbi Isserman?" He had heard me speak the year before at the Youth Section of the World Union for Progressive Judaism meeting in London. He was Rabbi Vogelstein, whose uncle had been the head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York, and a very active leader in Temple Beth El, now merged with Temple Emanuel. Rabbi Vogelstein's father had been the Rabbi of Breslau in East Prussia. I discussed my mission with Vogelstein. He volunteered to help me,

and gave me the names of representative Jews in five major cities which I had planned to visit. Besides Frankfurt, these were Nuremberg, Leipsig, Berlin and Dresden. He gave me a note to his friends in all these cities, and thus encouraged, I set out. Vogelstein in Germany did not agree with Kahn in France. In the course of my travels, I was in Munich, and there met Cardinal Faulhaber. I asked Rabbi Baerwald in Munich how I would reach him. He informed me that the only thing to do was to take a taxi, go up to the Cardinal's palace, present my card, tell him that I bring greetings from Archbishop Glennon in St. Louis, and see what happens. The Cardinal admitted me to his presence immediately. I was accompanied by my successor as the Rabbi of Toronto, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath. In Berlin I met Bishop Dibelius. He deplored the anti-Semitism of the Nazis because the Nazis insisted that he expell from his church any members who were partially Jewish. The son of his Bishop, the grandson of a Jew, who had been practicing law had been disbarred by Nazi law, and he was forced to bar him from the church. He was not especially concerned about general anti-Semitism, which did not affect his church members.

The feeling among all the Jews with whom I discussed the situation was that they were very anxious that their story be told. Their views were just the opposite of those of Dr. Bernard Kahn. They felt that the world should know what was happening to the Jews of Germany. They did not believe that this crime against them should go by unnoticed. They were glad to see me and helped me in every way, because they wanted to alert the world to the evils of the Nazi machine. IF AT THAT TIME THE WORLD HAD TAKEN FULL NOTICE OF THE JEW'S TREATMENT IN GERMANY, IT COULD HAVE AVERTED THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPE WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK PLACE. A Jew in Berlin asked me what he ought to do. I told him that I had seen the hate for Jews in the eyes of Nazi youths, and I did not think that any Jewish children would have any future in Germany. He said, "My business is better than ever, and the Nazis continue to patronize me." He was the rubber king of Germany. I told him I was not giving any advice, but I repeated that I had seen the hatred for Jews in the eyes of Nazi youth, and I would not want my children to be brought up in a country where they would encounter such hatred. He told me that if he left, his material loss would be great, and to that I did not answer. He eventually left Germany, died in London, but his material losses were much greater than if he had gone in 1933.

In Berlin I saw also Rabbi Leo Baeck who was the Chief Rabbi of Germany. He had frequently gone to England to look after the treatment of Jewish refugees, but he insisted on returning to Germany. I invited him to come to St. Louis and become an associate rabbi. But he said, "When the ship is sinking, the captain's place is on the bridge." He did remain there throughout the war, although he could have escaped often. He finally was placed in a concentration camp at Theresienstadt. He was scheduled to be excuted, but by mistake a Rabbi Beck of Eastern Europe was sent to the gas chambers. I was partially instrumental in bringing Rabbi Leo Baeck over to this country to live at the Hebrew Union College where he

spent many happy years. I had been shocked to note that British Jewry had permitted this Jewish saint to live in a rented furnished room.

From Cardinal Faulhaber I learned that the Nazi attack on Jews also meant an attack on Christianity, because Jews had written the Old Testament and the New Testament. Therefore, the whole Bible was made by Jews. Christianity depended on both, so cold logic compelled Nazis to condemn Christianity as well as Judaism, and that they did.

In Berlin also, through Rabbi Vogelstein, I met Dr. Julius Tietz, a young physician who had been named head of the German Jewish youth. In between his medical practice he was trying to administer the organization training German Jewish youth for settlement in other parts of the world. It involved teaching them new languages, new vocations, and in other ways preparing them to migrate from the land in which some of their ancestors had lived for a thousand years. One morning I saw Dr. Tietz wearing a bandage around his head. He did not want to discuss what happened. When later on I brought Sherwood Eddy to see him, I insisted that he tell Sherwood Eddy exactly what happened, that Sherwood Eddy could inform the American press, and the American public what the truth was about the treatment of the Jews in Germany. Dr. Tietz had had a meeting with the Board of Directors of Germany's Jewish youth in the community building at Oranienburgerstrasse. A gang of Nazi youths wearing brown shirts broke into the hall, had beaten him, and other members of his board. This attack was accurately reported in the foreign press, but the German press wrote that patriotic Germans disbanded a group of hoodlums. The German government officially was denying that this group of prominent young Jewish youth leaders had been attacked, but here were the facts. In many instances, the Jews of Germany were forced to endorse such denials by Nazi officials. One Jew said, "What happened to me was not true." Sherwood Eddy gave forth his information at a reception at the Carl Schurtz Verein House in Berlin. The Nazis had welcomed Eddy's American party, and were entertaining them. They were shocked when with great moral courage Sherwood Eddy publicly stated that he had been a witness to their mistreatment of Jews, and warned them that this would not sit well with Americans. The report of Sherwood Eddy's address was printed on July 5, 1933 in the foreign press, among them the New York Times.

I had left Germany before Eddy spoke, as I did not want the Nazis to trace any source of information to me, and then perhaps to the people who had been my informants. Rabbi Baeck informed me that a united protest of the world against what the Nazis were doing would have been effective. He was particularly bitter against the British government, because it permitted the Germans to rebuild their navy up to one-third of British strength. That, Dr. Baeck said, was a moral crime. It was abetting Nazi power, and a day of reckoning would come, as it did. The German navy was rebuilt, and instead of turning its guns first against the Russians, they were turned against the British. If the Germans had been given no encouragement about re-armament in this instance, they would not have gone ahead with their complete plans of militarization. British permission for them to rebuild their navy was a green light that their re-armament

program would not be interfered with. So the Nazi plan of cruelty to mankind was launched. Wherever Nazi armies went, they spread Nazi policies. As the Napoleonic armies had spread French ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality, so the Nazi armies spread tyranny and despotism. In Berlin, I met Knickerbocker, who I think was at the time a reporter for the Hearst press. His father was a Methodist minister in Tennessee. Knickerbocker subsequently won the Pulitzer Prize. Together we walked down the Leipzigerstrasse in Berlin, and we saw marching before us two heavy-set athletic-looking young men wearing the brown uniforms of Nazi troopers. Knickerbocker prophesied that these people should not be under-rated, that they were destined to become the rulers of Europe. Hitler would become more powerful than Napoleon. Knickerbocker was prophetic. What he knew was common gossip among newspaper men, and was known by all the embassy staffs, but no united organization to stop Hitlerism was developed. Hitler's troops crossed into the Rhineland, and were unopposed. So Mussolini felt free to march into Ethiopia. The League of Nations did nothing. As a result, a green light was given for the subsequent terrorization of and the conquest of Europe. In 1933 the whole Nazi machine could have been stopped. The treatment of Jews was evidence of the ruthless barbaric character of the Nazi regime and their intention to carry out their immoral philosophy and their repudiation of all moral values. They meant what they had preached. Nazi action proved it. Yet Nazi propaganda masked it from the world. The leaders of the world saw through the mask, but they did nothing. So catastrophe marched on rapidly for Europe's Jews and for all of Europe. Many American boys lost their lives in World War II that could have been prevented in 1933. Our diplomats knew the bestial philosophy of the Nazi regime. Their protests were made difficult by our own Achilles heel, our treatment of the Negro. An American diplomat informed me that whenever our embassy would discuss with German officials the Nazi treatment of the Jews, their answer was that America's treatment of the Negro was just as bad. So the moral voice of America was silenced by its spiritual weakness.

While I sensed what was destined for the Jews of Germany, I had no intimation that it was prophetic of the Jews of Europe. They too were sentenced to death. While I could foresee Hitler's conquest, I could not foresee that his cruelty would go from the Jews of Germany to the Jews of Poland. Hitler did destroy the Jews of Eastern Europe, of Belgium, of Holland, of parts of France, and to a lesser extent of Italy and the Scandinavian countries. The latter's defense of Jews constitutes an epic. Even the King of Denmark during the occupation of his country identified himself with his Jewish subjects by wearing the Jewish star. As long as there was no effective protest about the treatment of the Jews of Germany, Hitler thought the world would be equally indifferent to the destruction of the Jews of Europe. Most people did not believe the truth about the fate of Jews, and others did not care. When General Eisenhower visited some of the concentration camps where the gas chambers had been in operation, he was shocked by what he saw, and gave the facts to the world. The St. Louis Post Dispatch made a series of photographs which were on exhibit for a while in Kiel Auditorium. St. Louis learned the tragic truth late.

Some of my own kin lost their lives in Nazi persecutions. Two sisters of my mother and one brother of my father were executed. One of my mother's sisters was over eighty years old. She had lived in Antwerp. German army force personnel had regard for her gray hairs, and spared her life, but when Hitler's elite storm troopers, the black shirts, came, they ignored her age. They arrested her, despite the protests of her Belgian neighbors. She could have saved her life by going into hiding, but she was sure no one would disturb her. My aunt was shipped to the East. A postal card which she had written in pencil which she supposedly threw from a train which was carrying her on to a rendezvous with death was found by someone who mailed it to her son in Brussels, serving at the time in the Belgian resistance forces. Nothing was heard of her since.

All countries that welcomed the Jews of Germany were blessed by them. Among them were many gifted and talented men with creative, scientific and technical abilities. They enriched the lands which gave them asylum. The greatest among these refugees who enriched his host country was Albert Einstein, the No. 1 scientist of the century. He was welcomed in America. His singular genius was placed at the service of the United States. It was he who alerted President Roosevelt about the importance of pursuing research into atomic energy so that Germany would not be ahead of us in that scientific field. If that had been so, it could have brought about our defeat in World War II. Many sons of refugees served in the armies of our country. Among them was my own cousin, Manfred Isserman, whose father was killed by the Nazis, as well as the parents of his wife. Young people like my cousin were anxious to do something to express their gratitude to the land which had given them an opportunity for a fresh start in life. Many of these refugees are now members of Temple Israel. Some have already served on the Board of our congregation; some are teaching at local universities, and there is one, a former patent lawyer from Vienna, whose hobby in Austria was horticulture, and now is a landscape architect. In front of Temple Israel he planted two trees as symbols of his gratitude to America for giving him another chance in life.

The present government of West Germany has tried to make some amends for the brutality of its predecessor governments, and has restored some of the confiscated property to refugees and their children. It has also given large sums which came from the sale of properties of Jews whose families were entirely wiped out to settle Jewish refugees in many parts of the world. Germany has repeated in our generation an old lesson of history, and that is that no country can persecute any minority and retain its greatness. Moral decadence invariably precedes material destruction. The Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492 when Spain was at the height of her great power and was the mistress of the seas. Shortly thereafter, the British Armada defeated the Spanish fleet. Slow decay and degeneration set in, and Spain became a third-rate power which she is in our time. The same is true of Germany. Thus does the justice of God work in history. I have been reading in Genesis the words addressed to Abraham, "Through thee and thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; those that curse thee will I curse; those that bless thee, I shall bless." The history of Nazi Germany in our time testifies to the basic truth

of these age-old statements in the book of Genesis. Even as plagues came upon ancient Egypt for its enslavement of its Jewish citizens, so they have come upon modern Germany. Germany was a civilized land. Its universities were the mecca of scientists. Its people succumbed to a tyrannical philosophy of life, because they lacked the spiritual strength to discipline their own souls. They failed to heed the Tenth Commandment to curb their own spirits. Envy and jealousy filled their souls, and so Nazi orators with great eloquence began to spin their emotional web, and they caught their victims. Anti-Semitism was a spiritual sickness of the German people, who, as they yielded to it, paved the way for their own destruction, the loss of their freedom and the desolation of their country. Subsequently, their sons were slain in battle; their cities were devastated, and the great contributions their nation made to civilization came to an end.

In the fate of Germany, we can see the psychological truth that hatred destroys those who harbor it. The victims of hatred first may be physically destroyed. Ultimately, hatred destroys the hater himself. How intensive this hatred is can be seen by this illustration. When a few weeks ago a local newspaper reprinted one of my utterances made more than twenty-five years ago on my return from my first visit to Nazi Germany, I received abusive telephone calls from a person living in St. Louis. To this very day, Nazi hatred still afflicts the souls of persons in many parts of the earth. The recent outbreak of swastika painting likewise demonstrated this. These are a warning to peoples in democratic countries to be on the alert lest the mental and moral illness of Nazi Germany break out again. So for all of us it is of educational value once more to read about how the Jews of Germany were sentenced to death, not to acquire the spirit of vengeance, but to understand the symptoms of mental, moral and spiritual illness. When these appear, they are a sign of inner decay and degeneration which will destroy the people itself and others who come into contact with it.

When this pamphlet first appeared, agents of the Nazi government and its friends said that I had spoken falsely. A number of such statements made their way to the press. Many of my friends were greatly disturbed when they read my pamphlet, "Sentenced to Death the Jews of Nazi Germany." They did not want to believe what I had to say. Alas, history has vindicated the truth of my story at terrible cost. I am republishing a revised edition of "Sentenced to Death" on the eve of the Eichmann trial, as I know the evidence of the trial will substantiate the story I told twenty-seven years ago. People must know the power of hatred to destroy, not only individuals but freedom and liberty, its power to bring wars, destruction and degeneration of character. Hatred is the devil incarnate. By enthroning him, we destroy ourselves. How true do we find that the verse from the Torah which the rabbis regarded as supreme of the six hundred and thirteen commandments, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and its companion verse, "Love the stranger as thyself," both to be found in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Leviticus. Love is the medicine against the corrosive processes of hate which destroy men and civilizations. The tragic fate of the Jews of Nazi Germany in 1933 and the six million European Jewish dead, testify to the potency and villainy of hatred. Their

suffering will not have altogether been in vain if mankind has been alerted to outlaw every manifestation of hatred. Hatred of the heart eventually finds expression in action of the hand. It first destroys the victims of hatred, but it also destroys the hater himself, the nation in which he lives, the freedom he enjoys, the civilization of which he is a part. To this, "Sentenced to Death the Jews of Nazi Germany" brings its eloquent testimony.

I visited Nazi Germany two other times. My second visit was made just prior to the plebiscite in the Saar, when that territory was to decide whether it was to go French or Germany. The Jewish residents were torn by their love for Germany and their desire for security in France. The Saarlanders chose Germany.

In 1935, I returned to Nazi Germany for the last time. The German Consul in St. Louis refused to issue a visa to me, and suggested that I see the German consul-general in Washington. He likewise refused to give me a visa. When I reached Paris that summer, I discussed my situation with Edgar Mowrer, who because of his book, "Germany Turns the Clock Back," and his candid and courageous reporting while president of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Berlin, was expelled from Germany. Mowrer suggested that I go to the American Express, give them my passport, and secure a visa, as they were doing for many tourists. This was done, and accompanied by Irving Edison, I went to Germany. In Berlin, Jacob Beam of the embassy staff advised us to leave. We visited a few cities, and followed his suggestion. I visited Germany after the war in 1945 with my son. We drove from one end of Western Germany to the other, and witnessed the devastation. In Aachen, a cyclist of whom I asked the way to Cologne and the whereabouts of any Jews said, "I am a little man. I could not voice a protest. I was glad to be left alone." So the little man who acknowledged no responsibility was still held responsible by God—Whose moral law operates in the universe.

My happiest moment in Nazi Germany occurred in my hotel room one day. I had had a difficult morning, and was worn out by the tragedies I had heard. As I sat in my chair, I fell asleep, and I dreamt. The content of my dream was that the reports of the Jewish tragedy that I had heard were but a nightmare and had no reality, and with a satisfying smile on my features, I awoke, again to be confronted with the truth. As I write this epilogue, the man who executed the "Sentence of Death" against the Jews of Germany and Europe sits in a heavily guarded prison in Jerusalem awaiting trial. In the intervening years, he has had little peace of mind. He was afraid of being captured, lived under false names, and over his head hung the dread of momentary discovery. It came. In these hours of penitence and remorse, he must be comforted by the fact that he is to be tried in Jerusalem—a city whose justice is noted, and which taught the world to temper justice with mercy, and its God, with which it blessed the world, is the God of Justice and the God who is the father of mercies.

PREFACE

For residents of Saint Louis, who are familiar with my views, and who know what I have advocated from pulpit and platform, some of these prefatory remarks will not be necessary.

Though a member of the United States Army in the world war, I have done all in my power to attempt to heal the wounds between my country and Germany. I have been a friend and not a foe of Germany. I have recognized the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles, and have urged and pleaded for its revision. I did so in Canada, when to speak a kind word for Germany was not too easy.

On November 11, 1930, while delivering the Armistice Day Sermon at the Community Services at Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, I pleaded for fair play to Germany, and I urged above all that the war-guilt clause in the Versailles Treaty was unfair and unjust. After that address, an old German-American came up to me and stated "Never in my life will I forget you for these words." I cite this to indicate that I was not anti-German, as I am not anti-any nation. I am anti-Nazi, not only because of the anti-semitism of the Nazis, but also because the philosophy of Naziism is a throw-back to primitive tribalism, ethically and spiritually indefensible, and as outworn as a weltanschauung today as the ox-cart is as a vehicle for transportation. I can conceive of no greater catastrophe for humanity than the spread of the Nazi point of view. It would result in aggressive militant nationalism, war, and then the end of our civilization.

I spent one month in Germany. A good deal of the time I was in Berlin. There I met government officials, Nazis, American and other newspapermen, university professors, religious leaders of all denominations. I also toured through the country and visited other communities. From all these sources, I came to the following conclusions:

1. That there is no hope for the Jews of Germany—that the government aim is their humane extirpation.
2. That atrocities were perpetrated on Jews, Catholics, Socialists, German Nationalists, and other dissenters, and that these atrocities are continuing.
3. That an economic death sentence has been passed upon the Jews of Germany.
4. That only the fear of public opinion, especially that of the United States and Great Britain, has and is preventing a pogrom of all Jews in Germany.
5. That the Jews of Germany live under a sentence of death.

I recognize the sufferings of the German people. These are largely due to the war, and indicate again the need for pacifism. What the war commenced, the depression continued. Being convinced by their present

leaders that they are a superior, the superior race; Germans cannot understand why such a race of Viking warriors should have lost the war. To this natural query comes the glib, fictitious Nazi answer—"Our soldiers won the war in the field of battle but were stabbed in the back by Jews, and hence glorious victory was turned into ignominious defeat." On my desk as I write, there is a text-book, issued by the Ministry of Education in Bavaria, detailing German history from 1914-1933, and used in the schools. The book is entitled "Aufruch der Nation," and on page 15, there is a cartoon showing a Jewish traitor stabbing the victorious German soldier in the back. German vanity is thus satisfied. German soldiers are still the best fighters, and the Jew is the scape-goat, and he must be sacrificed that the Prussian might continue to swagger. Thus people are encouraged not to face the harsh realities of the war and its aftermath, and, living in a world of illusion, believe that if only there had been no Jews in Germany; France, Belgium and Russia would today be German colonies.

The German people must face the grim facts. They have lost a war, and even their victors still suffer from it. From the depression that is world wide, they have not escaped. Facing the truth, unpleasant though it be, is the first step to reconstruction. By sacrificing a weak minority as a scape-goat, the Nazis do nothing except create another injustice, which some day will have to be rectified. But Nazi leaders, knowing nothing of economics, of diplomacy, of government, believe that they can substitute brutality to Jews for science of government. If Germany suffers from an injustice, she cannot be vindicated by perpetrating an injustice upon the Jew. By their treatment of the Jew, the Nazis have revealed to the world that they do not possess the courage of Vikings, for it does not require courage for a nation of 65,000,000 to crush a helpless minority of 500,000. They have only revealed that they possess the Viking's brutality, and that to Christianity they have not yet been converted.

SENTENCED TO DEATH! THE JEWS IN NAZI GERMANY

By Ferdinand M. Isserman, Rabbi of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.



Those concerned over the future of the Jews of Germany since the accession of the Hitler regime had hoped that its tenure in office would be brief, that counter-revolution would uproot it or dissension from within end it. To entertain such thoughts is to indulge in wish-thinking, the same sort of thinking that proved popular in the United States with reference to the reign of the communists in Russia. Few observers in Germany see the possibility of any speedy overthrow of Hitler. Even if that were possible, the Jewish position might not be appreciably improved.

The tragedy of Anti-Semitism in Germany is that it is popular, very popular, made so by 12 years of intensive propaganda. At a meeting held at the Kroll Opera, the temporary assembly hall of the Reichstag, on the anniversary of the signing of the Versailles Treaty or "Diktat", as the speakers called it, no statement received such spontaneous and tumultuous applause as did the vindication of the treatment of the Jews.

As a Jewish leader stated "Nazi speakers continue to bait the Jews, because Jew-baiting is most popular with the crowd".

Anti-Semitism has been proletarianized in Germany. Previously, it was inevitably linked with reaction. In Naziism it claims to be linked with progress, with the freedom and not the enslavement of the masses.

Though the German classes have a long Anti-Semitic history, the present Anti-Semitism comes largely from petty merchants, jealous of chain and department stores, from the army of unemployed, from mediocre professional men begrudging the superior talents of their Jewish colleagues, from disgruntled ex-army officers resenting Jewish leadership in pacific movements, from dyed-in-the-wool monarchists obsessed by Jewish influence in the republic, and from the small farmers convinced of the existence and tyranny of Jewish international finance. When the Nazis came to power the only plank in their hazy and still undefined program which could immediately and, as they thought, easily be executed, referred to the crushing of the Jews. From innumerable sources, I learned, so that I dare make this a positive statement, that a boycott against Jewish merchants and professional men to last at least for one month with unlimited license for Brown Shirts to pillage and to kill Jews had been part of the Nazi party plan. The plan miscarried only because Nazi diplomats had not reckoned on the voluminous protests on the part of the civilized world. They had not realized the international and moral ostracism which would follow in the wake of a pogrom of all the Jews of Germany. Before the world, Hitler attempted to defend the one-day economic boycott on the ground that it was a reprisal for the "atrocities campaign" carried on against Germany by the Jewish world press. Those on the inside know that there was no atrocities campaign carried on by Jews and that the world will never know even a fraction of one per cent

of the torture and brutality to which Jews were and **are** being subjected. With a boycott lasting for one month, accompanied by massacres, the Nazi party had hoped in a brief time completely to annihilate the Jews of Germany.

One individual, not a Jew, informed me that he was one of a group of men with international contacts who were aware that such brutal annihilation of Jews would stir up anti-German hatred throughout the world. These men, on the Friday before the boycott was scheduled, pleaded all day with Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Frick, to limit the boycott to 24 hours. Up until 11 o'clock on the evening before the boycott, their pleas seemed to have been futile. Then, Goering made a radio announcement that the boycott was to be limited to one day. This informant added that this policy of moderation was due to the personal intervention of Hindenburg, who insisted that the boycott be limited to one day. In some quarters, it is believed that among other reasons which led Hindenburg to make this imperious demand was the influence of Schacht's plea that the Deutsche Bank could not maintain itself without the daily deposits of large Jewish concerns. Incidentally, it is significant to note that rumors in Berlin indicate that radical elements of the Nazi Party are demanding Schacht's removal and imprisonment.

Though official orders called for the ending of the boycott on Saturday, April the 1st, actually the anti-Jewish boycott is **not over**. It goes on with increased intensity throughout the country. This is not a personal opinion. This is the unanimous verdict of everyone in Germany who dares to speak. No government official, no Nazi Party member, no recipient of a government pension, not even the recipient of unemployment relief may purchase anything from a Jewish merchant. To do so is to jeopardize position, pension or relief. In a city, women were threatened with imprisonment in a concentration camp if caught making purchases from Jews. In Dortmund and Ham, a short while ago, there was another public boycott of Jewish merchants which lasted 8 full days. During that time uniformed Nazis stood in front of Jewish stores and deterred by force and by threat prospective customers from entering them. In other small communities, photographers take snapshots of all who patronize Jewish shopkeepers. In such communities, though completely boycotted, Jewish merchants may neither diminish their staff of employees nor cut their salaries. One such department store owner informed me that he has 50 employees whose salaries he must pay, that his business is completely at a standstill, and that in three months time his capital would be exhausted and that he would stand on the verge of economic ruin. Then his business would pass into Nazi hands and the goal of the revolution will have been achieved. In addition to that, Jewish merchants are facing serious problems in the getting of credits. In small communities, all loans to Jews are being called in. It is only a question of a few months until the Jewish merchant will have completely disappeared from the small communities of Germany. To this rule, there are some exceptions, due to unusual friendliness on the part of Nazi leaders to Jewish individuals. How long this friendliness will be tolerated by the Party, no one knows.

In contrast to the smaller communities, the larger cities are a paradise. The vastness of the population of Berlin, for example, makes for a certain anonymity and renders it possible for Jewish merchants to retain their patronage. Of one Nazi in Berlin, it is said, that after guarding a Jewish store on the boycott Saturday, he doffed his uniform and made his Sunday shopping, as usual, from his Jewish friend. In Nuremberg, I saw stores clearly marked with the swastika and heralded as Deutsches geschäft. Even in the Freiderichstrasse in Berlin such a sign was displayed. In Frankfurt-am-Main, large swastika flags were prominently displayed on some stores. In Dresden, on the windows of many shops, were large streamers bearing the words "anerkennt fur deutsch-christliches geschäft". These streamers contained the stamp of the official boycott committee. I saw these as late as July 16th, over four and a half months after the boycott was officially declared to be over. Leaders are convinced that as the party entrenches itself more and more, it will more rigorously and with even greater German efficiency carry out the expulsion of the Jew from the economic life of Germany. Let me just cite this incident which was called to my attention:

In one of the large German cities, a Jewish miller was purchasing his flour sacks from a Jewish manufacturer. The competitor of this Jewish sack manufacturer had a brother who was the head of the bakers' division of the S. A. unit in the community. The Jewish miller was approached by this baker chieftain and ordered to cease buying his sacks from a Jewish manufacturer. Failure to do so would mean that the bakers of that city would cease buying their flour from him. The result was that this Jewish sack manufacturer was just driven out of business. Jews in export business have not been interfered with for obvious reasons. Daily the lot of the Jewish merchant becomes more difficult and in the future his position will become unbearable. For the time being he is the most fortunate of all.

THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES

Lawyers

Of the professional classes, the situation of the lawyers is by far the worst. Those who were not practicing in 1914, before the declaration of war, and those who did not see active service during the war, or whose fathers were not killed in battle, are completely disbarred. In Berlin alone, 800 of Berlin's 2,000 Jewish lawyers were immediately affected. This meant that young men under 35 who had just begun to establish themselves and to found families have now no economic basis upon which to continue. I spoke to one young fellow whose ancestors for three generations had graced the legal profession, and who now was expelled from it. What can these disbarred lawyers do? Practically nothing in Germany. They can secure no positions as Jews who have positions can not hold them in many cases. They cannot go into new businesses without government consent. Their condition is already precarious and will become more so in a few weeks, when their outstanding bills have been paid and their savings are exhausted. They are candidates for the bread and soup line. Their more fortunate colleagues, who saw active service, fought Germany's battles and were gassed and wounded, may **officially** continue to practice. **Actually**, most of them find that their clients have deserted them. With all the pressure of a relentless, efficient governmental machine, their Christian clients are being weaned away from them. One lawyer whom I visited was still permitted to practice, but already 20 corporations whom he had represented for years and from whom he received an annual retainer fee had cancelled their agreements with him, not because of dissatisfaction with his capacities, but because they were unable to resist the pressure of the party which is now the state in Germany. He informed me that he must find some other work, after years of distinguished service in the legal profession. He knows that before a Nazi judge, it is folly for a Jewish lawyer to attempt to plead any case. His Christian clients have deserted him and what Jew under those circumstances can dare to entrust any case to a Jewish lawyer? Frequently, I heard it said that no German Jew dares at the present time launch any law suit against any one. Though in its apologies, the administration will point out that Jewish lawyers in Berlin are still well represented in the profession and are able to carry on as usual, the facts are that these lawyers are losing their practices and are themselves standing under the shadow of the bread-line.

It is true that their lot is even made worse by the jealousy of Nazi competitors for the little practice that they still possess. In one large city, Jewish lawyers were warned not to appear in the courts on a certain day because some of their Nazi competitors had arranged for a demonstration of what is known as "the spontaneous expression of popular wrath." Forewarned that the "popular wrath" would erupt in the courts of justice, most Jewish lawyers did not appear in them. Six, however, had urgent business which could not be postponed. At the specified time, a mob of Brown Shirts, mostly unemployed and students, entered the courthouse, yelling madly "Juden heraus." The judge took the Jewish lawyers under his protection. One lawyer found in the law library was mercilessly beaten. This occurrence is not isolated. I personally heard

of two large communities in which such demonstrations of "popular wrath" were arranged.

Though statistically only about one-third of the Jewish lawyers are disbarred, actually all are slowly losing their livelihood. Perhaps this incident will dramatically sum up the situation of Jewish lawyers who were war veterans. I was ushered into the office of a very successful attorney, and after a brief interval was brought into his presence. He was about 42 years of age, had seen service in the German army for years, and was wounded. He was dressed in an oxford suit. His office was not an office but rather a tastefully furnished library with carpeted floors, with walls lined with books, with paintings and etchings. He himself sat behind an antique oak table. Calmly, he commenced to discuss the situation in his profession. As a lawyer he admitted he was through. He had had a good practice but it was all gone. What could he do, where could he go, how could he rear and educate his family? Palestine was overcrowded, perhaps Canada? He might become a farmer. He knew nothing about agriculture, but still, to live, he could learn. I looked at his hands and wondered how long it would take them to become hardened to the handling of a plough. While thus conversing and considering the possibilities of settling down somewhere on a farm, he stated that he must live among Germans, he must speak German, read German. He loves German culture. Then he broke down and began to weep and humiliated at this expression of weakness, he began hastily to puff at a cigarette to conceal his emotions. He is still faithful and patriotic and cannot consider a life divorced from German culture, the culture of Lessing. This lawyer was a leader in his profession. If that is the fate of a leading Jewish lawyer, what chance has the average mediocre lawyer?

Physicians

The medical profession is more difficult to interfere with than the legal, though less so in Germany than in any other country. In the last fifty years, Germany has developed an elaborate system of insurance among which are medical and legal insurance. Many people in Germany participate in some sort of Government medical insurance; others in some sort of private medical insurance. Almost 90% of a German physician's patients are apt to be beneficiaries of some insurance scheme. By excluding Jewish doctors, first from treating all recipients of government medical insurance, and then from treating recipients of private medical insurance, the ruination of the Jewish medical profession in Germany is being achieved. A profession which numbered among its sons Wasserman and Ehrlich, who rank among the eternal. Even as in the legal profession, Jewish war veterans as well as practitioners who were in practice when war broke out, have not been officially dismissed from the practice at the *kranken kasse* (government medical insurance). This was due, not because of an appreciation of the Jews' patriotism, but rather because thousands of Germans who, having confidence in the integrity and ability of Jewish physicians, and who had been treated by them for years, resented being placed in the position where they had to forego seeking the advice of the life-long family physician. The young Jewish physicians

are practically through, for in Germany no physician can maintain himself merely on a private practice. The Jewish physician who still has access to the *kranken kasse* finds that his patients are being subjected to the same pressure to desert Jewish physicians as are non-Jewish firms to desert their Jewish lawyers. The physician is, however, better off than the lawyer. A lawyer's work is of a semi-public nature. A physician's practice is private and more difficult to disturb. Patients come to him in the privacy of his office or he to them in the walls of their home. Yet a way has been found of disturbing even the medical practice of Jewish doctors. There are no limits to devilish ingenuity. Beneficiaries of government or of private medical insurance must bring the bills of their physicians to the offices of the agency where they are paid. Some of these agencies are now refusing to pay the bills of Jewish doctors. Officials and party members dare not patronize a Jewish physician even if they owe their lives to his kindness and skill. When we keep in mind how bureaucratic the German government is and that street car conductors and railroad engineers come in the category of government employees, we realize what this ban means to Jewish physicians. As the government increases its power, makes itself more and more the complete master of Germany, and melts, however crudely all parties into the Nazi Party, which is the State, the Jewish physician, though he be a war veteran, will gradually be deprived of his clientele and his livelihood will become more and more impossible. So alluring are the opportunities for young Aryan physicians to secure the patients of their Jewish colleagues that at one great university two research instructorships in medicine, formerly filled by Jews and always greatly sought after, are still vacant because the young Nazi doctors are out to build up their practices while the bewildered patients of Jewish physicians are forced to seek new healers.

To what depths professional rivalry can degrade human beings is revealed by the following incidents which can be verified in the press of Germany now entirely controlled by the government:

1. In one community the head of the local medical society for years had been a Jew, a distinguished specialist in his field, the local authority. His nearest rival was the head of the Storm Troops in that area. On the boycott day this medico and Nazi chieftain brought about the arrest of his Jewish colleague and competitor and secured his dismissal from government medical insurance practice, although legally he was qualified for it. The Jewish doctor's wife, unable to bear these misfortunes, committed suicide. He was then released from prison and through the intervention of Nazi friends in Berlin, he was readmitted to practice at the government *kranken kasse*. His old patients seemed to be returning to him and he seemed to be able to re-establish himself. His colleague specializing in the same field, still a Nazi chieftain, again ordered his arrest. This time no charge was placed against him. Today this Jewish physician is held in "protective custody" in order to be secure from the so-called wrath of the people against Jews. This doctor, I fear, will be held in prison until his practice will be hopelessly ruined.

2. An incident even more degrading occurred during the month of July in Berlin. I mention this incident specifically because it was pub-

lished in the government press. On Friday, July 7, the afternoon papers in Berlin and throughout the Reich in glaring headlines announced that through the diligence and patriotism of the physicians' division of the Brown Shirts of Berlin, a list of Marxist, Communist, and Anarchist physicians had been found. This queer group of doctrinaire physicians were said to be involved in a conspiracy against the government. To carry out their conspiracy, they had obtained an office in the building of the Jewish community of Berlin. As soon as the patriotic Brown Shirts had secured this list of traitors, they turned it over to the police, who prepared to act immediately. The police summoned all the Brown Shirt physicians to report at the police station on Friday morning at 6 A. M. To each physician was assigned two gendarmes and one automobile. With these gendarmes, he was ordered to proceed to the home of one of his Jewish colleagues whose name appeared on the traitors' list, to drag him from his bed and from the bosom of his family, and to bring him to an armory to be held incommunicado as a suspected felon. These men carried out their duty well and brought their prisoners, leaving behind them stunned and distracted families. I happened to be at the Jewish Community Building that morning and heard the distracted wives of several of these prisoners call and ask in vain for news about their husbands. For four days about forty men were kept in the Brown Shirt armory, among them men with international reputations. There they were compelled to submit to indignities, and some of them were beaten. All but two were then discharged and all their passports were cancelled. It was admitted by the police that the arrests were due to an error perpetrated by members of a profession, dedicated to save human life and to hold it sacred, upon their own colleagues.

What were the facts back of this episode? On what flimsy evidence were forty individuals humiliated and their families harrassed? As part of the attempt to salvage German Jewry and to fit the declassed professional and business men into new occupations where they might be self-sustaining, groups have been organized with meeting places in the Jewish Community Building to achieve this goal. A group of merchants seeks to aid merchants, a group of physicians, physicians, and a group of attorneys, attorneys. Leading men in these professions serve on such committees to assist their helpless colleagues. This physicians' committee had its office on the third floor of the Jewish Community Building. The door of the office was labelled as such with a large placard. Its work was performed openly, as is the work of all Jewish communities. It kept systematic records. It strove to make places for Jewish physicians the world over where medical men were needed. The list of anarchists, communists and socialists accidentally found by patriotic Brown Shirt physicians was nothing but the names of distinguished Jewish physicians who had agreed to serve on a committee to assist their brethren in the profession. As I write, the executive director of this committee still sits in prison and his work, of course, is temporarily disrupted. And this disruption was the goal of the Brown Shirts.

3. Even if a physician is a war veteran, if he has enemies who are powerful, he may be denied the privilege of functioning at the *kranken kasse*. One very successful practitioner told me the following experience:

Among his patients were many leading Nazis and city officials. On the day of the boycott, five Brown Shirts came to his home to get him. As he was being taken away, he asked his wife to telephone a patient of his, a Nazi leader. On hearing this request, the young Brown Shirt spoke out and said to his wife, "Never mind, before you can reach your friend, your husband will be in Egypt." (Dead.) Five hours later, this doctor, as a result of the intervention of his Nazi friends, was released. He had been taken to a Nazi armory. There he found himself with 5 other Jews in a small room. One by one, they were taken to a room on the other side of the large hall and beaten. Though the hall was crowded with carousing Nazis, over the din of their carousals could be heard the screams of the victims. I asked this physician to describe to me how he himself had been maltreated. He evaded my question. And when I pressed him to speak, his reply was "I can not tell you what happened to me; I can only tell you of what happened to others." Apparently he had taken an oath not to divulge the details of his own mistreatment, though he did not deny being mistreated but rather affirmed it.

Nazi apologists in discussing the proportion of Jewish physicians in Germany invariably distort figures. They are notoriously skillful in juggling statistics to suit their arguments. Especially do they ply this art upon gullible Americans. I attended a lecture given by Van Leers, an understudy of Goebbels, and well known as a leading anti-Semite of Germany, to a group of Americans. To the Americans, he stated that there were five hundred thousand Polish Jews in Germany. Inasmuch as the total registered Jewish population of Germany approximated 600,000, an informed group would have scoffed at such an obvious misstatement. This Nazi leader dared to make it before Americans who are less informed on European politics and therefore more gullible. When some one in the audience asked the lecturer to verify the statement about a half million Polish Jews, he flushed and replied: "I meant that a half million Polish Jews passed through Germany on their way to Paris, London and to the U. S." Now what significance could a statement about the number of Jews passing for a few fleeting hours through Germany have upon the present burning question which he was discussing? None. Except that the speaker was brazenly trying to poison the minds of his American hearers. Most statistics about Jews voiced by Nazi apologists are as reliable as was that statement. I heard one important leader state publicly that 90% of Berlin's physicians were Jews. An obvious inaccuracy. What this official had reference to but did not state, was that 90% of certain types of medical officials in one Berlin hospital were Jews, but certainly not 90% of the physicians of Germany. Jewish physicians are not in as precarious a state as are lawyers. Yet as the government extends its power, it will slowly and gradually and completely eliminate Jews from the medical profession and thus close another avenue of support.

Artists

From the artistic and theatrical life of Germany, Jews have been excluded by government decree. To be denied the opportunity of participating in theatrical and concerts sponsored by the State means to be

shut out of the artistic life. If Bruno Walter and Max Reinhardt, of international repute, were forced into exile, what chances have lesser lights to continue to function? Recently, the government ban has been extended to include stage mechanics and even operators of motion picture machines. So that, Jews are shut out of the theatrical life of Germany. The ban applies not merely to Jewish performers, but also to Jewish masterpieces. An American composer and conductor informed me that a concert program for which he had contracted and which contained Goldmark's "Gettysburg Address", was changed by the authorities without his consent because Jewish music bears the Jewish racial taint. When he did not readily yield to their demands that the program be eliminated, he was threatened with physical harm.

Even the attic-starved painter or sculptor has not been spared. No Jewish artist may exhibit at any public exhibit or may remain a member of any academy of art. This ban, as in all other professions, includes baptised Jews as well as Christians who have one Jewish grandmother. In order to maintain in a measure the creative abilities of Jewish artists, Jews have begun to arrange their own artistic programs. A few such functions have already been held in Berlin and in other communities before crowded houses and before audiences that were not limited to Jews. Plans are on foot for future concerts and theatricals to be given by Jewish artists in Jewish communal institutions in order that the culture of the German Jew may be maintained. Whether this cultural endeavor is to continue is unknown. In everything the Jew does in Germany, the future is uncertain as no one knows whether the government will permit or prohibit.

Academicians and Office Holders

The fate of Jews holding academic and government posts is like that of their legal and medical professional brethren. A professor or official whose tenure of office was for life and who had a guaranty of a permanent and regular definite income, could plan his life accordingly. Because a retirement pension was part of his contract, he was under no compulsion to save. Some of these dismissed officials are being pensioned, but how long their pension will last no one knows. Others were summarily dismissed. This blow caught them unprepared as they had no savings. One in the latter category, a collector of antiques, was living on the sale of his household furniture. When that is gone, he is through, and must take his place in the breadline. The number of Jewish academicians and officials in Germany is greatly exaggerated. If the Jewish quota among government officials is to be 1.5%, the net quota probably was never equalled for all of Germany. It is possible that in some localities it was for a time exceeded, but in all of Germany the proportion of Jewish officials did not equal one-half of a per cent. Of the 500 cabinet officials which have functioned in the government since the formation of the republic, not one dozen were Jews. And these officials who can be counted on the fingers of two hands are said to have ruled and ruined Germany. It is true that some Jewish officials, like Rathenau, stood out, but there was only one Rathenau, and he was murdered. And to the memory of his murderers, cowardly assassins, now German heroes, and

Nazi idols, a memorial tablet was recently unveiled by responsible party leaders.

A few of the most distinguished academicians like Einstein and Wolfers, director of the Hoch Schule for Politics, engaged by Yale University for next year, are provided for. But the majority are helpless and at the caprice of the government whose proclaimed goal is their ruination. Where officials or academicians, qualify for their posts under government regulations, attempts are nevertheless made to dislodge or to discredit them. In the case of professors, that is easy. Student boycotts can be arranged and riots can be staged so that professors are compelled to go on what is politely known as a leave of absence. Where that is not possible, innuendoes about inefficiency and dishonesty furnish moral grounds for dismissal. When the distinguished head of Berlin's museum was recently "beurlaubt" (sent on a vacation), the insinuation was that he used his standing as an art connoisseur to gain fraudulent profits. The academicians who were the pride of the German Jewish community find themselves in a pitiable plight.

Employees

Just as dark as is the future of the professional classes, so hopeless is that of the employees. Fully two-thirds of the Jewish bread winners of Germany work for others. What is their present status? Those who worked for the government and did not qualify as war veterans were immediately dismissed. An anti-Semitic Nazi speaker addressing a group of Americans stated that he himself had made a desperate plea to permit 200 Jewish widows, widowed by the war, to retain their government positions; that thus far his plea had proved futile, but that he still hoped to win his colleagues over. Keeping in mind how much of German life is dominated by the government, such as insurance, railroads, street cars, etc., the dismissal of Jewish employees from these fields of work must have been serious. In addition, the official policy is to reduce the number of Jewish employees in any single concern, irrespective of its ownership, to 1.5%. The internationally known Tietz firm which operates a chain of department stores throughout Germany refused to consent to the paritisation of its help (parity with Jews being the slogan of Nazi speakers). Tietz insisted that without his tried efficient aides, with their years of invaluable experience, he could not carry on. Rather than accede to the government orders, he would close the doors of his firm. His protest was effective, but temporarily. As a result of the boycott pressure, Tietz' firm sustained heavy economic losses and its life hung in the balance. To go on, a loan of millions of marks was required. Without government consent, that loan could not be obtained. Such consent was given on the stipulation that on the first of July many Jewish employees be dismissed in the Berlin store. And so, on that date, several hundred more Jewish bread winners were set adrift. On the same day, several hundred Jewish clerks of the Dresdener Bank met a similar fate. In connection with the Tietz store, it is interesting to note that at a Nazi meeting the question of the relationship between Jewish and Nazi employees was discussed. Inasmuch as Nazis are expected to have no contacts with Jews,

not even that of perfunctory greetings, some extremists insisted that Nazi employees should neither greet nor speak to their Jewish co-workers. To this decision one saner party member answered "To be able to ostracize the Jews would be Utopia, but alas for that Utopia we are not yet ready at Tietz's."

The dismissal of Jewish employees goes on regularly and systematically. The head of an American firm which does its business in Europe and had headquarters in Berlin was asked to pare down his employees to the 1.5% Jewish quota. He stated that he required skilled and trained men. Refusing to yield to Nazi exhortation, he found himself boycotted by many of his patrons, upon whom the party had exerted its influence. Rather than surrender to this infraction upon his liberty, this business man is moving his office to another country, but his Jewish employees will be turned out. For all types of workers guilds are being formed. From these Jews are excluded. Without membership cards in them, the obtaining of work is practically impossible.

In the newly organized guild of agents or salesmen, only Aryans have been accepted. This means that no Jew will be able to represent any firm in Germany. With tears in his eyes, an old man informed me that he was not even permitted to sell matches on the streets. Jewish street peddlers belong to the past in Germany. In the cities, they cannot get licenses and in the rural districts they dare not venture. Where then are they to go? What are they to do? With thousands of Jewish employees losing their positions, positions they have held for years and with no opportunity of hurdling government bans and of securing new work, for all new jobs go only to Nazis, these jobless Jews have only one future, and that is to stand in the breadline or beg in the streets. This condition will grow worse as with the passage of time German efficiency and thoroughness does its work.

Jewish Youth and Jewish Children

With a seemingly inhuman, heartless vise slowly squeezing Jews out of every field of economic endeavor in Germany, it becomes evident that there is no future for the Jewish youth. In Jewish circles one often hears it said philosophically that the old will have to die in the new German ghetto but the youth must migrate. Jewish children are still admitted to the elementary schools, attendance at which is compulsory for all Germans. But in the higher schools the 1.5% is to be rigidly applied. This means that for most Jewish youth the avenues for higher education in Germany are closed. Even in the primary schools the lot of the Jewish child is unenviable. With the propaganda genius which has characterized their rise to power, the Nazi leaders are indoctrinating the children of Germany with the virus of their Weltanschauung. No sooner was the government in power than it placed in the hands of all children a textbook giving the Nazi interpretation of German history, and which details the narrative of Hitler's rapid rise to power and the chief planks of his program. In that narrative the Jew is the symbol of all evil. Copious illustrations fill the pages of these history text-books illustrating vividly this thesis. The Jew is held responsible for the World War. His treason

to Germany turned glorious victory on the field of battle into disgraceful defeat. He was the advocate of parliamentary democracy, the cause of much suffering in Germany. A Jew, Preuss, sinned against Germany by drafting the too democratic Weimar Constitution. A Jew conceived of Marxism, the worst of all human plagues; Jews made the infamous Treaty of Versailles; Jewish bankers plotted the inflation which ruined the middle class; and the Jew sought to complete his mastery over Germany by foisting communism upon it. The Jew generates all these evils because he is cursed, cursed with tainted Semitic blood, cursed with the stigma of being born from an inferior, Asiatic race. These fanatic and fantastic accusations are found in the new German text-books which are intended to implant upon the plastic minds of children the glory of the new Germany. Teachers are forced to teach these untruths to their children. Jewish children are compelled to sit in on these lessons. What is bound to be the effect upon the psychology of the Jewish child from hearing himself and his elders continually cast in the most villainous of roles? What is bound to be the resulting attitude of German children to their Jewish classmates? But contempt, scorn and vicious hatred. In one school, a Jewish child was accused by some of its Nazi playmates of having scoffed at Hitler. The child denied the charge. The principal put that child through a third degree to secure a confession from it. The child persisted in its denial. It was grilled until it became unconscious. With tears in his eyes, the principal informed the child's parents that he would lose his position unless he forced a confession from the child. In another school, a Jewish boy was accused of scoffing at Nazi power. Because his father was a war veteran, he had not been dismissed from the high school and could continue his course. For this reported indiscretion, the boy was immediately expelled from school. Jewish children, who, by law, may continue in the schools may and are being expelled upon the flimsiest of pretexts. But in the case of this particular boy, the design was more machievellian. His father was one of the few judges in the community, who, because of his brilliant war record, had not been removed. That he remained on the bench irked some rabid Nazis. Therefore, the expulsion of his son from school was connived at. Now his son's scoffing at Nazi principles is to be blamed upon the father and thus a valid excuse will have been fabricated to justify the father's removal from public office.

In some Berlin schools, teachers in calling upon Jewish children, referred to them as Jew Goldsmith or Jew Cohen. In other schools there are benches in which Jewish children are segregated. In one of the big cities, a large school distributed folders to its pupils announcing a gala picnic to commemorate a patriotic holiday. At the foot of the announcement was the statement in capital print that Jewish children were to be excluded from the festivity. In Berlin, an annual field day marks the closing of the public schools. From it all Jewish children were banned this year. One principal invited a Jewish boy, an athlete of exceptional skill, to participate because he was especially needed to win a trophy for his school. The agreement of the German Olympic Committee to make no racial or religious distinctions in making its selections for the Olympic team is farcical, because no Jewish athlete in Germany is permitted to

train on public tracks or to compete in events and thus be able to qualify for the Olympic team. From all playgrounds, public tennis courts, parks, camps, recreational facilities, Jewish children are banned. In Berlin, a rich Christian lady offered her large estate for the use of Jewish children's sports. In the primary schools, the practice is to give text-books free to needy children, but not to children of the Jewish poor. Even Jewish orphans are compelled to pay for their books. To all vacationing school children the government offers large railroad rebates, but not to the Jewish school children. All these instances could be multiplied a thousand-fold and indicate that the life for the Jewish child in Germany will be a psychological burden which no child should be asked to bear. In such an atmosphere of hatred and contempt, ingenuously fostered and nourished, only dwarfed and embittered souls can develop. Only cowardly weaklings or unscrupulous revolutionists, sworn foes of society, will emerge. While serious thought is being given by Jewish leaders to the possibilities of developing a Jewish school system, the government has not stated its attitude on the subject. It has given no opportunity to Jewish leaders officially to discuss this problem. With the road to the professions barred, with schooling rendered intolerable, with positions closed, what chances are there for the Jewish youth—none in Germany. Unanimous was the cry, the youth must migrate. But wohin? Whither?

An example of Nazi harshness to Jewish children, this incident will illustrate. On or near the boycott day, the reform school, maintained in Berlin by Jews for juvenile delinquents, was seized by members of Hitler's private army. All its inmates and their leaders were put into a concentration camp. After three weeks the youthful delinquents were released, but they found that all their personal belongings had been stolen. The Nazis still hold the building, and the Jewish community has an additional problem of housing these young people.

Jewish Communities

Jewish communal, like Protestant and Catholic communal life in Germany, was maintained by a tax collected through the government which amounted to about 10% of the income tax. With this tax the Jewish community maintained hospitals, old folks homes, orphanages, cemeteries, schools, synagogues, libraries, museums and other community activities. The plight of these Jewish communities is rapidly becoming desperate. Many of their rich members have already taken refuge in other countries and no longer contribute their share of communal support. The professional classes are struggling to maintain themselves and many of them will soon become public charges. Employees are increasingly losing their positions. The result is that the income even of large and rich Jewish communities has been decimated. Without foreign assistance, Jewish communal life in Germany will soon collapse, and with its collapse will disappear the rallying ground of the stricken Jews of Germany. No matter what organizations the government is suppressing, and in communities like Munich most Jewish organizations have been suppressed, the Jewish community organizations have not been tampered with. How serious their financial predicament is can be seen in the decision of the Berlin

Jewish Community to abandon its hospital. This decision was arrived at because the government no longer will pay for free patients in the Jewish hospitals, as it has paid in the past, and as it pays to all other hospitals. No other funds being available, the Jewish hospital will have to be abandoned. What this may mean, this little incident will illustrate. In a very large community, a Jewish merchant was badly beaten by a group of Nazis. Unconscious, they left him at the police station. There, though in great pain and ministered to by his cellmates, he was kept for one week, while his family was informed that the police knew nothing about him. When the police saw that he was fatally wounded, they sent him home. His family summoned a physician, an Aryan physician, who upon recognizing the case, refused to treat the patient because he stated it would mean the ruin of his medical career. He, however, urged that the wounded man be taken to a hospital as he needed immediate and serious attention. Two private hospitals refused to accept this dying Jew. He finally was admitted to the public ward of a city hospital, where he died from a dislocated kidney. This information I secured from an American official, who has no interest in spreading any propaganda, a lover of German culture. One-third of the Jewish deaths in a community since April 1, have been suicides.

The danger that threatens Jewish communities is real, and when these are disrupted and rabbis become beggars and Jewish communal life ceases, then darkness indeed will brood over the deeps of Jewish life.

Atrocities

Just a brief word about atrocities. They are serious, but in view of the economic paralysis which is creeping slowly upon the Jews of Germany, individual atrocities become pygmy and insignificant. Atrocities have occurred in the past and are occurring at the present moment. During the period that I was in Germany, reports that atrocities were occurring regularly reached me from all sources. They seemed to increase in intensity rather than to diminish. They seemed to be breaking out in sections of Germany which had hitherto been free from them. During the months of June and July, they were going on continuously. Nor were Jews the only victims. All political dissenters are feeling the wrath of the Nazi judgment, also Catholic priests. As one individual remarked "This so-called bloodless revolution has already been one of the bloodiest in history." From the Nazi press alone one can read the severest indictment of Brown Shirt cruelties. Daily announcements are made in official newspapers of men shot fleeing from concentration camps. Some of these men, having been shot in the foreheads, must have been running backwards. This June, 3 Nazis were killed in Berlin while endeavoring to rifle a home in the middle of the night, and in retaliation, hundreds of human beings were beaten and 20 important labor leaders have disappeared. One of these was a former cabinet minister, an international personality whose mangled remains were recovered in a small creek. From foreign newspapermen, from consular officials, from employees of various embassies, from various individuals came continuous reports of violence to enemies of the government, while the Nazi press was scoring

the atrocity accounts as part of old anti-German war propaganda. Nazis are having a chance to pay off old grudges to their enemies and they are doing it with a vengeance. Mussolini's Fascisti were humane and meek as lambs in comparison with the frenzied sadism of Hitler's private soldiers. Apologists for the government state that the leaders can not control their unruly followers, to whom they have painted glorious pictures of the Elysian fields which would be theirs when political victory was to crown their efforts? To their followers for 12 years with ceaseless, ingenuous, unscrupulous propaganda, they have promised a paradise of booty, of private vengeance and of murder. Goebbels' own words damn the government for which he speaks. While a member of the cabinet, in an address quoted in all German papers, including his own, he is reported to have said "We have been accused of being ruthless to Jews. When did we say that we would be anything but ruthless to them? They say that we show them no sympathy, when did we promise to show them any sympathy?" Goering made the statement that "We have no police to protect Jews." With such brutally frank utterances coming from men who have ceased to be irresponsible leaders of the opposition, who are charged with the responsibilities of government, what can be expected of a turbulent mob? Because of the threat of reprisals to relatives, the world will never know, as one German put it, one hundredth of one per cent of the atrocities. When an article in the New York Times by as distinguished a German as Philip Scheidemann leads to the arrest and imprisonment of five of his relatives in Germany, among them two grandchildren, how dare a humble Jew tell the story of his maltreatments? How then do accounts of violence reach the attention of people? From wives who have seen the mutilated bodies of their husbands. From physicians who were called in to treat them, from neighbors and friends who have seen men well one day, appear swathed in bandages the next. **I have spoken personally to half a dozen Jews who have been beaten.** I have spoken to men whose nephews have been murdered. I have been in communities where dozens of men were in the hospital as the result of Nazi brutality. But stirring and challenging as are these continued acts of violence, they are incomparable to the slow process of crushing economically the Jew of Germany.

Jewish Denial of Atrocities

When the moral indignation of the world was aroused over the accounts of atrocities which came practically from all foreign newspaper correspondents in Berlin, reported by them with courage, at personal risk which merits them the gratitude of civilized people everywhere, there appeared denials by Jewish leaders. A whole book has been published containing these. This book is being distributed by Nazi propagandists and freely given to American travelers. Even I received one gratis. Men from all walks of life informed me that these statements were white lies which Jewish leaders were compelled to utter in order to save their communities and themselves from even worse fury. Those which were not forced were told by super-patriotic German Jews who preferred to suffer in silence rather than to have the name of their beloved country tarnished. The pathetic patriotism of these German Jews! I heard one say at a

public meeting "We live near an erupting volcano. It pours forth its molten lava about us. The lava covers the land. We must not forget that beneath the lava is German soil, the soil we love, the soil for which, and on which, our fathers have died for more than ten centuries." These patriotic Germans who are no longer Germans by government decree, who weep because they are second class citizens, perjure themselves to uphold the glory of their country which its mad leaders have dragged into the dust. Professor Norlin, President of the University of the State of Colorado, and Roosevelt exchange professor at the University of Berlin for the year ending June, 1933, was asked by Berlin Nazis to sign a prepared telegram denying the occurrences of atrocities. He had the moral courage to refuse to do so and was compelled to resist much pressure in order to persevere in his refusal. Others, lacking his moral courage, succumbed and hence Americans were overwhelmed with tales of how bloodless this bloody revolution was. I can not blame individuals for believing this new German propaganda. It seems so impossible that in the twentieth century, in a country as civilized as Germany, such cruelties could be countenanced by men who presume to rule and to deal with leaders of civilized people. Not infrequently, while in Germany, I wondered whether all I had heard and seen was not a part of a dreadful nightmare. It was difficult to believe that in this land of Lessing and of Goethe, of Einstein and of Mann, such barbarous passions could be permitted to run amuck. Americans who received word to the contrary must know that a reign of terror exists in Germany, that no German dare publicly speak the truth, that every German who aspires to anything must feign acceptance of Nazi doctrines. Even the societies consecrated to such battlers for liberty as Carl Schurz and Baron von Steuben have become naught but spawning ground for Nazi bacteria and their hireling leaders are contaminating with their poisonous germs the societies named after these heroes throughout the United States. How Carl Schurz, the rebel of 1848, the leader of a host of rebellious spirits who found shelter on the shores of America, the pleader for human rights and privileges, how he would rise out of his grave to voice his repudiation of the organizations conceived to honor him in which the spirit of liberty has been perverted to advance the cause of tyranny and racial oppression. The best evidence of the hollowness of Jewish protests against the existence of these atrocities is in my hand. On March 16th, a Jewish periodical published in Germany, in screeching headlines which marred its otherwise sober news columns, declared that atrocities were occurring throughout Germany. It cited specific instances of several murdered Jews and other acts of brutality and vandalism. Three weeks later, in the same periodical, with headlines even larger, there appeared the denial of the occurrence of any atrocities in Germany and the statement that these atrocity tales were fomented by enemies of the Germans as propaganda against the legitimate aspirations of the third Reich.

The Army

In all phases of German life, the Nazi steamroller is reducing the Jewish proportion to 1.5% except in the army. The Ministry of War has refused to allow the Nazi leaders to tamper with the army. He has

insisted that it must have the ablest men in the most important positions. Fourteen Jews are being retained in the army in the departments of physics, mathematics and chemistry because they are irreplaceable. The same is true of Jewish chemists in important industries who possess valuable secrets and who are carefully watched lest they flee from Germany taking their secrets with them. Report has it that 80% of Germany's army officers have, as one gentleman put it, Jewish aunts, that is, have Jewish ancestors.

The Church

Strange to say, the evangelical church of Germany, like the army, has many important officials of Jewish descent. Many missionaries are tainted with Semitic blood. Some of Germany's most famous missionaries have been Jews. The predecessor of one of the most distinguished churchmen, the General Superintendent Dibelius (now on an enforced vacation), was the son of a converted Jew. That bishop's son, for a general superintendent is a bishop, a lawyer, has been thrown out of his profession. Thousands of Protestants and Catholics who have one Jewish grandparent are forced to share the lot of Jews with whom they have never had any contacts. According to one leading clergyman, the church in Germany was fighting for the same privileges that the army had secured, the privilege of keeping its best men in their positions. But this faction has lost its battle. The German Christians have triumphed and the church will be Aryanized. A new group will now again appear in Germany, even as it existed in the first days of the Christian Church, a group of Christian Jews. Thousands of Catholics and of Protestants who have Jewish grandparents will gradually become a separate sect in the German state.

Defenders of Jews

Have no Christian voices been raised on behalf of Jews in Germany? They have. Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich sent a pastoral letter to his bishops urging them to champion religious tolerance and combat race prejudice. In a broadcast to America on Easter Sunday, a German Catholic prelate raised his voice on behalf of religious freedom and racial tolerance and Catholics too have suffered from brutality and humiliation, as have Jews. Individual Protestant preachers have risked their positions and have denounced from their pulpits the unfair discrimination against Jews. In one community, a group of Christians banded together and determined to go out of their way to patronize Jewish merchants and to go only to Jewish professional men. In some communities, Christians have secretly contributed to Jewish relief funds. Individual artists have insisted on keeping Jewish aides. A distinguished physician refused to dismiss his Jewish assistants and was himself dismissed. These courageous acts of kindness are the rays of light in an otherwise drab situation.

Propaganda in America

All the arts of skillful Nazi propagandists are to be launched in a desperate effort to win public opinion in the U. S. to the cause of Hitler.

In this campaign fact and truth will yield to falsehood and fiction. Although Hitlerism flaunts democracy, liberty, the separation of state and church, the right to religious worship, the freedom of the press, and its program and practice constitute a challenge to those cherished American principles for which our sons have died on a hundred battlefields, the bold Nazis are nevertheless going to woo the good will of Americans by the plea that Hitler saved Europe from communism. Foreign observers in Germany scoff at that plea. They contend that Hitler created the communist bogey in order to stampede the people to elect him. They contend that the burning of the Reichstag was part of the campaign to frighten the German voter. They insist that many brown shirts have red linings; that many secret communists hold strategic positions in the Nazi party, and that Hitler, now that he has disposed of the conservative Hugenberg elements, may be the agency to bring the communism which the unemployed and disgruntled elements in the brown army desire. European nations closer to the German scene know the facts and did not believe that Hitler saved the German government from anything except an orderly government and from peace with its neighbors. Yet Americans are to be won by having Hitler pose as the world's saviour from communism. It must not be forgotten that the Nazi flag is red, with a black swastika; that its platform is called national socialism, and that the difference between socialism and communism is that socialism seeks to establish its social order through parliamentary process, while communism seeks to gain the same ends through violence and a dictatorship. The ends that Hitler intends to use he has proclaimed to the world. If he lives up to his socialist promises, he will bring communism to Germany. The treatment of Jews will be justified on the ground that most Jews are communists. In Germany, as in other lands, many Jews being merchants are conservatives, and not communists. It is true that there were a few Jewish communist leaders in Germany, but for every single Jewish communist leader in Germany, there were scores of Jews who were leaders in all other political parties.

The Polish Jews

Nazi apologists who can not before the world deny the contribution of the Jews to German history will state that they had no quarrel with the German Jew, but that their venom is directed against Polish Jews. Anti-Semitism existed in Germany long before Polish Jews appeared on the scene in Germany. Only 72,000 Polish Jews altogether entered Germany. Among these are many who in a brief time made significant contributions to German life. The irony of fate is that the Polish Jews who are not naturalized Germans are protected by Polish passports and by the Polish Government. The Polish Government has threatened to commit reprisals upon Germans living in Poland for every Pole harmed in Germany. The result is that the stores of Polish Jews were not boycotted, and that the children of Polish Jews may in the schools enjoy all the privileges. The victims of Nazi wrath are the old German Jewish families whose traditions center about Germany and into whose fabric their lives have been woven for centuries. No German Jew with whom I spoke believes that the Polish Jews are responsible for Nazi anti-Semitism.

The Protest Meetings

From all sides I learned that the protest meetings arranged and held under Jewish auspices were considered to be of little value. They harmed rather than helped. The protests, however, arranged under Christian auspices, such as the protest of American university professors, or the protests in which the Archbishop of Canterbury took part, as well as the protests in the House of Parliament in England, and in our Senate, to these the Nazis pay attention, and only such protests, indicating the outraged conscience of humanity, if anything can save the Jews of Germany.

The Casual Traveller in Germany

The casual traveller in Germany may never have any inkling of what is transpiring behind the scene, nor of the reign of terror which exists. Outwardly everything seems calm and serene. Stores and shops are open. People are going about their business, seemingly, in the normal way. No evidences of disorder, no signs of brutality are to be seen in the streets. The sun still shines in Germany. The wheat ripens. The flowers bloom.

But the tragedy of blighted lives cannot be seen by the tourist. He knows nothing about the silent boycott. He knows nothing about the midnight raids and arrests. He cannot peer into the cellars or armories of the Brown Shirts. He hears no screams. He sees no tortured bodies brought home in sealed caskets. He does not learn what is transpiring in concentration camps. He cannot feel the anguish of ostracized children or the hurt pride of devoted Germans, who now bow their heads in humiliation, because they are second-class citizens. He does not know that even in sumptuous offices, lawyers receive no business. Nor can he perceive how the savings of individuals slowly dwindle.

No American tourist can express any opinion about Germany, that has any value, if he has been chaperoned by Nazis and has not received the confidence of the natives, who could, if they dared, speak the truth. The tourist enters no homes. He sees no windows closed, lest spies listen in. He sees no nervous movements when the sounds of crackling paper disturb the silence of the night.

He cannot feel the anguish of parents whose sons have been assaulted and who fear that these assaults may at any time be repeated.

Only by prodding beneath the surface can one learn the truth, and no tourist can do that.

The Ignorance Even of Germans About the True State of Affairs

Many Americans with friends or relatives in Germany have undoubtedly received word from them denying the reported cruelties and that anything untoward is happening in Germany. Some of these denials were undoubtedly inspired by the government and were made mandatory. At one time, individuals mailing letters to foreign countries had to bring them unsealed to the postoffice so that their contents could be read.

But there are in Germany many sincere people who believe that nothing unusual has happened to their Jewish neighbors. I spoke to

several prominent clergymen, who seemed to feel that the Jewish problem was not acute, and that with minor restrictions Jews could carry on as usual. The very day that I spoke to these men, I had seen Jewish leaders, who were expecting pogroms, who reported more and more brutality and who stated that there is no future for Jews in Germany. How account for these contradictory views? That is simply done.

Because of press censorship, only approved government news appears in the daily newspapers. Most of the news emanates from government headquarters in Berlin, and its publication is mandatory. By merely reading the newspapers, the average German will not know what is transpiring in his country, and in addition, no German will receive any inkling of the truth from any Jew, because of the fear of the espionage system.

A man sees his Jewish neighbor go to his store as usual, wear the same suit, and live in the same house. That his business is ruined, his practice disrupted and he himself maltreated, this neighbor cannot know and will not know unless the Jew will speak and the Jew fears to speak.

Men are taken from their homes in the night, are maltreated behind the walls of the Brown House and are sent home before daybreak, or else ostensibly go to a sanatorium for a rest-cure.

Germans in small towns will know what is happening, but in a large city, like Berlin, they may know nothing. An American journalist, realizing that many Germans do not know what is happening to Jews, suggested that one hundred Jews begin a hunger strike on "Unter Den Linden", Berlin's principal thoroughfare, in order that the German people may know what is happening to them.

The Press of the World

The foreign news correspondents of Germany have rendered the world a great service in telling the truth about the German revolution. To do so, they forfeited the favor of the government, subjected themselves to inconveniences, if not physical danger and even braved imprisonment. To attack their integrity is to attempt to besmirch the character of courageous soldiers in the army of truth.

Because of stringent laws, failure to be accurate is dangerous. Newspapermen must be able to prove everything they write, else they are liable to long terms of imprisonment. Whatever, therefore, American newspapermen living in Germany have written, is truth, which they can substantiate. Their telegrams and articles are frequently censored. They send important messages by phone to London and Paris and though records of these conversations are kept by political police, they cannot be interfered with, for by the time the interference could be effective, the news has been received on the other end.

American journalists know much more than they have reported. They cannot write all the news because to prove its truth they would be compelled to violate the confidence of their informants and would compel these to testify, publicly, about their mistreatments, with disastrous results for themselves and their families. Therefore, the world has only heard a fraction of the brutalities, because the victims must be silent.

I met many American correspondents. They are a fine lot. They are upholding the noblest ideals of their great profession and are giving

the American public the truth, which they frequently gather at personal risk. The newspapers which maintain them have merited the gratitude of Americans.

Hostages

The silence of many Jews in America about the situation in Germany may be due to the fact that they have relatives there, and that they fear reprisals upon them. American Jewish leaders, too numerous to mention, have such hostages in Germany, and their timidity in the face of the great Jewish calamity may be due to their concern for their own kin. This timidity has played right into the hands of the Nazis. The Nazis fear nothing except force, brute force stronger than their own. Such force exists only outside of Germany. It is the force of nations as big or bigger than Germany. The only factor which may lead the Nazis to mitigate their treatment of Jews is the public opinion of other nations and the pressure of that public opinion made manifest through diplomatic, economic and publicity channels. Especially do the Nazis value British and American public opinion. The Jews of Germany are lost. They can be saved, if at all, through letting the Nazis know that the world will ostracize Germany if it brutally destroys one-half million of its citizens. American Jews who hesitate to expose Naziism in Germany are not helping but harming their relatives. German Jews recognize that only the voice of an outraged humanity can save them from pogroms.

Then, too, the fate of all Jews in Germany transcends the fate of any individual. Jewish leaders should not be deterred by their hostages. During the world war, President Masaryk was agitating in England for a free Czech republic. In order to silence him, his daughter in Prague was seized by the militarists and sentenced to death. Word was sent to Masaryk that his daughter would be spared if he ceased to agitate for the freedom of his people. Masaryk refused to be restrained by his hostage. His answer was "If they kill my daughter, it will just be too bad, but I must continue to fight for the liberty of my people."

Jews of German descent in America may well emulate the example of Masaryk. The hostages in Germany should not prevent the Jews' exposure of the brutality of Naziism.

The Future

For the Jew there seems to be little chance of the lessening of his burden. The recent statement of Goebbels and Goering indicate where they stand. A Canadian newspaper man had received an appointment for an interview with Goebbels. He was asked to submit seven questions, to which Goebbels would prepare an answer. Two referred to the future of Jews. Goebbels cancelled the interview because of the Jewish questions, which he did not care to answer.

Hitler refused to see a British member of Parliament to whom he had given an appointment when he learned that one of the M. P.'s grandparents was Jewish. From both a journalist and a government official, I was informed that Hitler stated that for him the Jewish question was closed and that he no longer cared to discuss it. Recently, a German newspaper which suggested that General Balboa, Italy's hero, was a

baptized Jew, was suspended for three months by order of Goering. Its editor was arrested and put in a concentration camp. To call a heroic Italian a Jew, Goering considered an insult to Italy, and hence, the editor responsible for that insult, had jeopardized Germany's foreign policy. This illustrates the intense hatred against Jews in government circles.

The government will not see or deal with Jewish leaders. The men to whom I brought letters of introduction all promised to arrange interviews for me, but never did. A Nazi leader can only lose status by discussing the Jewish problem. If he is disposed to ameliorate conditions of Jewish life, he will lose popularity with the rank and file of the party. If he appears relentless to the Jewish question, he must face the criticism of public opinion and of the press of the world. The result is that the Jewish question is the quilled porcupine which no Nazi leader cares to touch. One Nazi leader stated that for 12 years the Nazi Party had spoken about the fruit of victory that they all would enjoy. Now that victory has been achieved, what can the party offer them but the Jews. He added that the November revolution of 1918 gave the people peace and the men in the trenches clean beds to sleep on. What can the Nazi Party give to its victorious troops? Only the Jews. As an American journalist said "To the hungry lions they are casting the Jews." To my utter amazement, Nazi leaders shunned me and were afraid, honestly and frankly to discuss the problems of the Jews. I was promised many interviews, only one was kept and that one was kept because I refused to allow it to be cancelled. An American newspaper man informed me that it was his conviction that all Jews should leave Germany at once. And if need be, even become beggars. To him that fate seems preferable to life in Germany as members of a race of helots. A distinguished American informed me that if the anti-Jewish teachings in the schools continue for 2 years longer and children's minds continue to be poisoned against Jews, there is no tolerable life possible for the next generation of Jews in Germany, even if Hitlerism is overthrown. When I asked a Nazi leader about the future of the Jews, he stated that at best it would be most difficult.

A Catholic leader informed me that Jews in Germany must bear a sore burden and that their lot is tragic. A Nazi naively stated that it is hell to be born a Jew. Many German Jews who do not hesitate to face reality, recognize that for the time being German-Jewish history is closed. As one put it, "The old will die here. The youth must migrate. One hundred thousand Jews may be able to settle in other countries. Another one hundred thousand will, by October first, be standing in breadlines. Three hundred thousand will, for a short time, be able to eke out an existence. Above all the children must leave Germany speedily. Thus will the Jew be liquidated in Germany."

A professor, an intellectual apologist for Hitler, stated that the aim of the present government is "the humane extirpation of the Jews." These exact words were phrased by one of the most important Nazis in Germany. Initially, the inhuman extirpation of the Jews was part of the Nazi policy and a pogrom of all Jews was initially contemplated. Only the public opinion of the world prevented that plan from being executed. Humane extirpation is the new goal. The cold pogrom is on. A paralysis creeps slowly over Jewish life and the shadow of Ghetto memories

casts its pall of gloom over the tents of Israel. Without the outraged conscience of humanity, especially of England and of the United States, it is my conviction that today there would not be a single Jew alive in Germany.

If the government changes, will the Jewish lot improve? To believe that it will be changed, is to yield to wish-thinking. If the government changes, it will only change midst violence. During that period of violence, the Jews will be the first victims. If Hitler succeeds, his ideology will be established and anti-Semitism is the keynote of that ideology. Again, to quote an American observer: "This is the third Reich. In the fifth Reich the lot of the Jew will be tolerable."

What are the Jews of the world to do? Altogether, there are sixteen million of them; the five million who live in Poland and Russia are helpless. That leaves eleven millions. Can these eleven million Jews pit themselves against a nation of sixty-five million Germans, an able nation aided and abetted perhaps by thirty-five million Germans living all over the world? This pan-Germany, which Hitler claims, is just as international as Jewry, and ten times more numerical. Can the Jewish David prevail against the German Goliath by picking up arms against him? To talk of world Jewry through a parade and the blare of trumpets and a noisy congress declaring an economic war on Germany is childish prattle and is playing with tinsel and toys. It is perhaps the vainglorious boasting which conceals a great inferiority complex. The Jew has no such world-power. The power of the international Jew is a myth. Nor is warfare the Jewish way. "Not by might and not by strength, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." The internationalism, the democracy, the pacifism, the world fellowship, and the social justice of the David of history must triumph over the militarism, the chauvinism, the race prejudice, the autocracy of the German Goliath. Israel lies prostrate on the field of battle in Germany, routed by the age-old enemies of man, ignorance, darkness, fear. The storm blows and before its fury the tallest of trees must bend or be broken. But storms pass and in their wake comes the sunshine and the quiet calm. The diseases of nationalism, of racial arrogance, of militarism, born from hungry bodies in disordered minds, in maddened souls, will be healed by the spirit of the Great Healer, and only then will Jew and German acknowledging their common humanity embrace once more in fellowship beneath the radiance of the Shekinah.

The New Germany and the Peace of the World

Perhaps the worst blow struck at the peace of Europe, since the beginning of the world war, was the accession to power of Hitler and his national socialists.

Mussolini, on his assumption of power in Italy, was bellicose and militant and imperialistic, like Hitler, but Italy is a nation of forty million and Germany is a nation of sixty-six million. Europe was alarmed over the entrance of Mussolini. It is frantic over the rise to power of Hitler. For twelve years his followers and he have nourished a militant spirit in Germany. They have held out dreams of conquest. They have revived the tales of victorious Vikings, and sought to stir the fighting

spirit of the youth of Germany. They have preached a doctrine of narrow nationalism. They have inculcated hatred against French and Poles. They have falsified science to prove that theirs is a superior race and hence entitled to mastery over other inferior peoples. They have drilled a political army of hundreds of thousands. They have encouraged military sports. They have declared themselves the foes of internationalism, of pacifism. They have kept alive the desire for vengeance against French and Poles. Now that they are in power, what can Europe expect but war—terrible war, as soon as Hitler's Germany is ready.

Against this logical conclusion of Nazi preachments, the friends of Hitler will argue that on May 17, in the Reichstag, and to the world, he declared the pacific intentions of his government. This declaration fooled no one. Despite it, troops are drilling nightly in the school yards of Berlin. Children from the age of six upwards are to be seen in uniform being prepared for the next war. Boys of ten are taught to throw hand grenades by a party whose spokesman has declared its pacific intentions. Drills, drills, drills everywhere in Germany. Between the hours of six and eight, young people are drilling in vacant spaces all over the country. Weapons are everywhere in evidence. Children glory in them. Hatred for other peoples, for foreigners fills the youthful masses. Europe, knowing this, is concerned. It remembers the Germany of 1914, its war-machine. It knows the resourcefulness, the scientific ability, the industrial power of Germany. Because it knows, it trembles.

Europeans thank God for the existence of the French Army. It alone stands as a wall to prevent an invasion of Europe by these young barbarians. The old generation in Germany is war-weary. The Nazi propaganda urges the youth to revolt against the cowardliness of the old generation. When their young generation comes into full control, war in Europe is inevitable. One of Germany's leading religious teachers expects a war when the youth of Germany, fed up on hate, nourished on the thesis that right can be achieved by might, comes to power. When that war breaks, it will mark the end of European civilization—for Europe cannot survive another war. America, too, may be engulfed.

What then of the disarmament conference! Henderson goes from capital to capital hoping to save it. His efforts must be futile. For Europe is afraid—afraid of the militarism of which Hitler is voice. When Europe, in addition, sees the fugitives of Nazi fury, some maimed for life, when it sees that these victims increase instead of decrease, it trembles more and grips its weapons with grimmer determination.

Until there is a spiritual disarmament in Germany, Geneva conferences must fail. To look for such a disarmament while the Nazis reign is to hope for the impossible. War may not be imminent in Europe because nations are bankrupt. Only the depression compels peace. Let Germany recover economically, and let Hitlerism flourish and European war is inevitable, as inevitable as the ebb and flow of the tides. The peace of the world has been irreparably retarded by the rise of the Nazis.

The Eternal Conflict—Judaism and Naziism

While Jews of the world are greatly concerned over the determination of the Nazis to exterminate them, it seems as if no finer compliment

has been paid to Jews and Judaism than the fact that they and it have been singled out for an attack by the present rulers of Germany.

The Nazis, by public confession, are the acknowledged foes of the finest things in American civilization. Instead of democracy, they favor a dictatorship. Instead of government by the people, they favor government by supermen, by leaders miraculously and romantically chosen. Instead of believing in the equality of races, they blare forth the superiority of their own race. Instead of recognizing the interdependence of all nations, and the kinship of all men, they champion an arrogant tribalism. Instead of recognizing the rights of the individual to freedom of worship, to freedom of thought, to justice and to fair play, they state that an individual has no rights which interfere with the rights of the state. Justice to them is whatever advances the welfare of their tribe. Individuals of other tribes need receive no consideration whatsoever. The Nazis are the pronounced foes of pacifism. They have proclaimed their opposition to universal religion, and have nationalized the leading church of Germany. They scoff at parliamentary government. Those great ideals, without which surely Americans cannot conceive life to be worth while, have been cast into the scrap heap. The Nazis insist that their conception of the state will eventually supplant democratic and parliamentary government. They are the outspoken foes of the ideals of liberty, of equality and of fraternity.

Against this Nazi philosophy, which is in reality an ancient form of tribalism dressed in modern garb, Judaism has always protested. Judaism teaches the belief in God, as the Creator of all men. Democracy, which is naught but an expression of faith in humanity, faith in the common man, faith in his essential nobility and beauty is a corollary which flows logically from the belief in one God. Judaism is interested not in the welfare of one nation, but in the welfare of all nations. It is international and universal in its aspirations. Judaism believes in the brotherhood of man and in the equality of races. Judaism maintains that peace among the nations is not merely a Utopian vision, but can be made a blessed reality. Judaism and Naziism, therefore, are anti-thetical philosophies.

It is interesting to note that some of the German-Christians, who have recently taken control of the Protestant Church in Germany, have advocated the elimination of the Old Testament from Christianity. There is some justice to that suggestion. The Old Testament contains the teachings of the prophets of Israel and these with their insistence upon social justice, upon the sacredness of human personality, upon the equality of races, upon the necessity of peace do contradict and clash with the philosophy of Naziism. To that extent the elimination of the Old Testament is justifiable. It must, however, be noted that when these prophetic elements found in the Old Testament are removed from Christianity, the finest sections of the New Testament are likewise automatically eliminated. The Jesus of the New Testament taught the Judaism of the Old. To eliminate from the New Testament, the prophetic idealism of the Old would mean to strip Christianity of its ethical and spiritual kernels and to leave naught but empty theological shells. There is logic, therefore, in the Nazi aim to eliminate the Old Testament from their religion.

There are some reasons why it should be retained. For it is the irony of history that much of the Nazi idolatry is the ideology of the Old Testament. The belief in the sacredness of one nation. The belief in a national God. The belief in a people chosen for conquest, the belief in an ethical code which, applied only to members within a tribe, have striking parallels in Old Testament literature. The Nazi philosophers have revived the crudest, most primitive elements of the Old Testament, and have made a modern religion of them. They have set up as an ideal for modern man the tribalistic, nationalistic primitive ideal of ancient semitic tribes. That ideal is chronicled in the Old Testament. But against that primitive semitic ideal, the prophets of Israel arose in protest. Against it, they led a spiritual revolution. The result of their revolution is Judaism and Christianity. Judaism must not be confused with semitism. Frequently it is, unfortunately. Judaism is a protest against the tribalism, the primitive ethics of ancient semitic tribes. The internationalism, universalism, love and justice, humanitarianism of Judaism challenged and many believe doomed forever the primitive ethics and religion of ancient semitic people. In that sense, Judaism is anti-semitism. Naziism which seeks to revive for the modern world the tribal ideals of primitive semitic tribes, though it professes to be anti-semitic, is actually semitic.

Even as the prophets of old warred against semitism, so the heirs and descendants of the prophets in the modern world must take arms against Naziism. These critical days are challenging the character and idealism of the Jews. We are accused of being internationalists, of being interested in the welfare of all people. God forbid that the day ever dawn when we shall be interested only in one people. To that accusation we plead guilty, and in the face of the new tribalism, let us hurl the universalism of Isaiah and of Jesus. We are accused of being the champions of democracy. To that charge let us plead guilty, and God forbid that the day ever dawn when we shall cease to champion democracy, or when we abandon our faith in the masses of men. Against the philosophy of dictatorship, we advance the ideals of liberty, of freedom, of democratic government. We are accused of being lovers of peace by the Nazis. To that charge we too plead guilty. And may the day never dawn when the sons of Israel will cease to love peace.

The Nazis have declared war upon Judaism, upon democracy, upon internationalism, upon human brotherhood. At our feet they have hurled the gauntlet. That challenge we must accept. Between Judaism and Naziism, even as between the prophets and semitism, there must be eternal, perpetual conflict. Between them there can be no compromise. Naziism may be temporarily triumphant, but Naziism is due to ultimate defeat, because God is on the side of humanity, of liberty, of democracy. Edgar Maurer said "Germany has turned the clock back a few centuries." Others say that the Nazis are plunging Germany back into the dark ages. What the Nazis are doing is to retrace the steps of civilization for the past 20 centuries, to ride rough shod over the ethical ideals which Judaism and Christianity have proclaimed, and thus to bring the German people back to the level of primitive semites and primitive Teutons. They may succeed for a brief time, but they will ultimately be defeated. Even the stars will war against them.

Will Anti-Semitism Spread?

Not infrequently, while discussing their problems with them, German Jews were concerned lest anti-semitism, like a contagious plague, spread to other countries. It is tragically true that anti-semitic tendencies are latent in many countries, and that these tendencies have become more vocal in the years of depression following the World War. In some European countries, and also in the United States, the triumph of the Nazis in Germany may give fresh impetus to leaders prepared to exploit anti-semitism for their own selfish ends. Already I have seen "The American Observer"—an English supplement of the "Deutsche Post" of New York, which seeks to stir up anti-Jewish animosity in the United States. It seems unthinkable that any virulent anti-semitism will spread in countries with great democratic traditions like France, England and the United States. If bad times continue, if in America the NRA were to fail, the masses would become more resentful and more sullen than they are. They would seek and demand a scape-goat, and it might not be impossible that the Jew might once more be elected to be that scape-goat. While this possibility seems utterly remote, it ought to be faced and faced courageously. To the German Jews, their present status seemed impossible, utterly impossible. This is no time for frenzied fears or for panicky hysteria.

What can we do to arrest the rise of anti-semitism? If prejudice were a matter of reason, it could be combatted with arguments, with facts. But prejudice is not born of the mind. It is the fruit of blind emotions. Neither the patriotic record of the Jews of Germany, nor the twelve thousand who fell on the field of battle, nor the Jewish contribution to literature, to art, to the theatre, to pure science, to medical science, to government, to the law, to the humanities, mattered in Germany. The saint was made to suffer with the criminal. Where prejudices raise their shadows, the light of reason is darkened.

We, Jews, in these critical days must not be stampeded into taking refuge in a counter-chauvinism as distasteful spiritually as the chauvinism of the Nazis. We must not allow ourselves to reply to the Nazi philosophy with a Naziism of our own. For us Jews there is this challenge: to articulate our spiritual traditions, anew to inscribe the prophetic ideals upon our banners. If we must go down, let us go down with world peace, internationalism, human brotherhood, social justice, inscribed upon our standards, proudly unfurled to the breezes. If men are to abandon justice, fair play, decency, consideration for human beings, love for one's neighbor, if savagery and barbarism and brutality and oppression and tyranny are to prevail, then we Jews will have to suffer. Such suffering will not be a novel experience in the history of our people. We can prepare to meet it like servile whimpering hirelings or like prophetic, courageous spirits. If we are to be destroyed, we know that we can only be destroyed when civilization is destroyed. A nation which destroys its Jews destroys itself, perhaps materially but surely spiritually. Such is the inexorable moral law which governs the universe. Such seems to be the will of God.

I REVISIT NAZI GERMANY (1935)

Two years ago, six months after Hitler had become chancellor, I visited and spent one month in Nazi Germany. In the summer of 1935, though refused a visa in Saint Louis and Washington, I secured one in Paris, and revisited Nazi Germany. Two years ago, a speaker addressing a group of Americans at Die Hochschule fur Politik, and representing the official Nazi point of view, stated that one of the aims of the national socialist party is "the humane extirpation of the Jews in Germany." My observations then, plus my confidential contacts with hundreds of persons in Germany convinced me that the Nazis were deadly sincere about their Jewish policies, and that, therefore, the Jews of Germany were condemned to death. After another stay in Nazi Germany, it is my belief that the sentence of death has not been suspended, but is slowly and with ruthless efficiency being executed. Even if the brave men of the foreign press, hamstrung and fettered can no longer record many of the dramatic acts of brutality that still continue, the world must know that the process of the extirpation of the Jews goes on apace. It goes on as planned, with one exception, and that is that it is not humane. The uprooting of a settled people cannot be humane. I have read and wept over Longfellow's poem describing the extirpation of the Arcadians from Nova Scotia to Louisiana. Even though carried out humanely, the very act of forcibly uprooting a people is cruel and brutal. I have seen in my own community families evicted by order of the court, though I knew they would find a home in the next block, though I realized that governmental or charitable agencies would provide the rental, though I knew that they could pitch a tent on a hundred vacant lots, and that they would yet remain citizens with rights, living in their own country, speaking the native language, familiar with its customs, yet my heart bled over their unfortunate plight and my indignation had risen against the circumstances which made such eviction possible. Even this legal uprooting of a family from a temporary abode stirs human sympathies, because of the concomitant suffering. How then can men speak of the humane extirpation of Jews from Germany, Jews whose written records go back to a thousand years in that country, who have been identified with it since the days of the Romans, who were as German as the Germans, speaking the German tongue, writing Germany's literature and its lyrics, composing the music of its ballads and the melodies of its symphonies, framing its laws, establishing the science that made it world-famous, fighting for it, living for it, dying for it. These can no more be uprooted humanely than an arm can be torn off humanely from the body of a living person. If the extirpation of the Jews from Germany was being carried out by an army of saints, it could not be humane.

And Nazis are not saints. Their schools for adult education they call concentration camps. In these, more rigorous than medieval prisons, they educate decent men and women, who were their political opponents, with the steel rod, and with every form of human bestiality. They seek to convince their former opponents not with the light of a new truth, but with the fear of a devastating terror. Only a naive child can expect that such educators could do anything humanely, let alone the extirpation of a

group of their countrymen. The laws on the statute books of the third Reich are sufficient to bring about the uprooting of the Jews by strangling them economically. These laws have served to drive Jews from the great professions, have practically made it impossible for them to secure employment, and have terminated the career of most Jewish students in German universities. But the tempo of the execution of these laws is slow, so slow that they tax the patience of anti-semitic leaders, so slow that they become undramatic, and failed to furnish the diversion made mandatory by a drastic economic situation and a continuous lowering of the level of living. So der Fuhrer whistled for his faithful Lieutenant, Julius Streicher, to make it interesting for the German populace, to let loose his furious anti-semitic blasts throughout the land, and to post his foul and filthy sheet "Sturmer," in every market-place. From Nuremberg to Berlin was Streicher promoted, so that the anti-semitic policies established by him in Franconia might be instituted throughout the Reich. Streicher is not a powerful feudal-lord before whom Hitler trembles in fear. Streicher is a friend of the fuhrer (my secretary accidentally spelled fuhrer furore) and his coming to Berlin to intensify anti-semitism in Germany is part of the Nazi plan to accelerate "the humane extirpation of Jews." The first fruit of Streicher's new strategy were the Kurfurstendam riots of last summer. Ostensibly, they were caused, as explained in the official press of the Nazi party, by the reawakened insolence of Jews who had taken advantage of the sweetness and mercy of Nazis, and who had dared to hiss an anti-semitic film in Berlin. Actually the Kurfurstendam riots, and now it can be told, represented an attempt on the part of Nazi leaders to stampede the German people into a frenzy of anti-Semitism. It was to have been a little Reichstag fire. The facts are that the showing of the anti-semitic film which led to the riots was under the auspices of important national socialist leaders of Berlin who had invited members of the diplomatic corps of various nations to attend its premiere. If among these invited guests of Nazi leaders there had been any Jews, then the Nazis were false to their own Aryan principles. If there had been Jews there foolhardy enough to hiss in such an assembly, they could easily have been apprehended and have been brought to concentration camps. The conviction prevails in informed circles in Berlin that the hissing, if it took place at all, was carried out by Nazi minions, that the riots were carefully planned in order that an anti-Semitic tidal wave might inundate Germany and wipe out of the memory of the German masses the realities of the ghastly economic plight for which Nazi policies are responsible. To attempt to achieve this, Streicher was called to Berlin. Instead of bread, Hitler was going to give the people anti-Semitic circuses.

But the attempt has not succeeded. It has not succeeded because the Germans have become wise to Nazi propaganda. That it has failed is a tribute to the character of Jews of Germany and an indication of the restoration of sanity among the German populace. I rejoiced at Streicher's promotion, and at the fact that Nazi leaders ordered him to carry on a new anti-Semitic crusade. Not that I glory in fresh Jewish suffering, but because it is a public confession of Nazi weakness. First, the Nazis, conscious of their internal failure, having exploited every external policy for

pacifying Germans except war, are forced again to Jew-baiting. Second, despite possessing supreme power, despite continuous propaganda, despite the frothing of Nazi orators, despite the violence and terror, enough Germans have sufficiently resisted the anti-semitic virus so that fresh doses of it are necessary. I was astounded when a visitor in Germany informed me that he met an S.A. leader who was grumbling and dissatisfied. On being asked why he was dissatisfied, he answered, "All Hitler has done since he has been in power is to go after the Jews. He has driven them out of the national life. He has persecuted them continuously. With what result? That conditions in Germany are worse today than they were in 1932. I fought for the revolution. I suffered for it. I achieved victory. What is my compensation? Lower wages, higher cost of living, and unheard of taxation. I wish Hitler would let the Jews alone. They, it is evident, were not responsible for our woes. I wish he would go after those truly responsible for them." What an amazing statement. Here is one of Hitler's ward-healers, expressing dissatisfaction with the anti-Semitic policies of his boss, which have not helped him. He is beginning to realize that many of the Nazi slanders about Jews are false. Think of it, the anti-Jewish policies of Hitler have proved to this particular individual the falsity of the anti-Semitic charges. Hitler has tried to extirpate the Jews from German life, the Jews responsible for all of Germany's woes, and yet life in Germany, instead of becoming better has become bitterer, instead of improving has deteriorated.

If the unity the Nazis claim had been achieved by the German people, the Jews would have been extirpated. If all of the Germans were to boycott Jews, as party leaders advocate, overnight life would become impossible for them. The same violence with which other Nazi policies were advocated is being employed to further anti-Semitism. The bill-boards which one sees frequently on the outskirts of cities which proclaim "Jews are not wanted," and some of which show Jews with red ropes around their necks, do not of necessity represent the majority opinion of the men and women of these communities. They merely indicate that a group of aggressive Nazis are seeking to impose their will upon a terror-stricken population. Germans have to be driven, bribed and terrorized to anti-Semitism. The Nazi press is full of pictures of Aryan friends of Jews who still purchase from them, of names of philo-Semitic Aryans who still speak and associate with Jews. That anti-Semitism is a panacea is an exploded bubble in Germany, and only frenzied propaganda keeps anti-Semitism a live issue.

I write these lines with the greatest difficulty. If this article is seen by Nazi leaders, they must not be able to trace my journey. In order to make this difficult for them, I would register in one city and by day would make excursions by train to nearby towns so that the record of my hotel registry would tell nothing of my activities and contacts. That method, as well as the use of sleepers, I believe enabled me successfully to cover my tracks. Indubitably anti-Semitic propaganda is having effect. Signs "Jews are not wanted," like hideous scare-crows mar the German landscape. In some towns taxicabs bore placards "Jews undesired." In other towns, street cars shrieked similar information. In every German city that I visited, Aryan symbols bristled on the shops in the main streets. Whereas

two years ago one had to look carefully to find one anti-Jewish sign on the main street, now ninety percent of the business in many big cities display them. In one large community where the retail business was in Jewish hands, almost no Jewish merchants are left. There one could not buy a suit of clothes from a Jewish retail dealer, whereas previously the best men's furnishing shops were owned by Jews. What has happened to these Jewish businesses? Either their owners left and their Aryan clerks just seized the business, or their proprietors were forced to sell out to ambitious Nazis. Not infrequently these proprietors were to have been paid out gradually, but they have no methods of collecting such payments. One factory owner sold his business to a Nazi. The latter now rides around the town in two luxurious limosines and thus far has not paid one cent of his obligation. Sue him? No Jew dare prosecute a law suit in a German court. He would never be on hand to press the suit. Very likely he would end his days in a concentration camp, or would be shot trying to escape from it. What is the inevitable result? That the economic resources of Jews are being depleted. Their livelihood daily becomes more impossible and their contributions to communal causes which have been maintained in the Hitler regime perforce dwindle daily.

But the last blow has not been struck against the Jews. It is the plan of Nazi leaders to boycott the Jew completely, to buy nothing from him, to sell nothing to him, not even the necessities of life. In some communities, this means immediate exile or death by starvation. I knew of one man who was compelled to bring milk and bread to his mother in a small town because her neighbors no longer dared to sell it to her. It is such legislation that the Nazis are considering, and who knows when they will carry it out. It is unofficial Nazi policy, not yet legal. In a Nuremberg address, Hitler stated that if the present Jewish laws fail, then he would turn the Jews over to the party. Already foodstuffs are being shipped by Jews in the larger centers to Jews in the smaller centers. When services such as light, water, transportation and food will be denied to Jews in Germany, then they will have been extirpated.

Even more serious than these material difficulties are the psychological torture from which Jews suffer. One college graduate informed me that when his friends, Aryans, who went to college with him, see him coming on the street, they go into doorways in order to avoid meeting him. When they cannot do so, they look away from him and do not see him. In some cities all restaurants are closed to Jews, all recreational facilities except those arranged by the Jewish community. Non-Jews may not live in apartments with Jews, nor in apartments owned by them. Daily, new regulations come out to plague them. In one place, where rolls usually are made with milk, and bakers made some with water so that ritually observant Jews could use them, an order was issued forbidding the baking of rolls with water. This is comparatively a trivial matter, except insofar as it indicates the meanness of anti-Jewish policies. When such trivial difficulties multiply daily, one can appreciate the worry and irritation which is bound to embitter the life of Jews in Germany. Not only do such new rules come out constantly, but the suspense and uncertainty is harrowing. Big men informed me that they do not know whether they

"will be able to resist the next blow." Hitler, in his address in Nuremberg, pointed out that this is not the last word on Jewish persecution. If these policies fail, he said, the Jews will be turned over to the Nazi party. This means that all laws and all rights with respect to Jews will be suspended, and young Nazis fed on anti-Semitic poison will be permitted to do what they will with noble human beings. Knowing that, you can see how even where life is physically safe, it becomes psychologically impossible. Every new bit of cruelty devised in the sadistic mind of any Nazi spreads like a contagious plague to other Nazi groups who experiment with it. In one city, a seventeen-year old girl, head of a Nazi group, ordered the arrest of two Jewish children because they wore a white shirtwaist and a blue skirt, which she insisted was a Jewish uniform. She threatened the police who refused to make the arrest. The children were arrested and released. Yet, as news of this spread to other cities, Jewish girls fear to wear blue skirts and white waists lest they be arrested. As I tried to see a Jewish leader, who I was informed lived on the first floor of a certain house, I encountered difficulties. I forgot that when a European speaks of the first floor, he means what we Americans call the second. The tenant on the first floor was surly and scowled when I told him for whom I was searching. I thought to myself, what security can that leader have when the man who shares an apartment building with him is so hostile. What fute hope will that man have when Jews are turned over to the mercy of the Nazi party.

Two years ago the German Jews had hopes. They thought that the Nazi regime after its first excesses would moderate its policies. They had some confidence in the fact that the Nazi leaders were proclaiming to the world that the Jews had not been maltreated. They realized that life in Germany would be difficult, especially for adolescent children. They hoped that these children would be cared for by Jews of other lands, in schools of other lands, until such time as the Nazi fury would suspend itself.

My most humiliating moment in Germany was when a Jewish communal leader asked me why five million American Jews could not find homes for two hundred and fifty Hitler orphans. In his own community, two parents had decided to part with their two children, who were to have gone to America. They prepared them for the journey, exhausted their savings in equipping them properly, reconciled themselves mentally to entrusting their children to strangers, only to find then that no homes were open for them. When I was asked why we had not found two hundred and fifty homes in America, I thought of all the excellent rational and psychological reasons that my friends have given for not opening their homes to these waifs of destiny, these orphans of persecution. I could not utter them. They were so insignificant in the face of the calamity that faces the German Jew. How ashamed was I of myself, of my brethren in America! No Nazi placard, no vile Sturmer humiliated me as much as did my inability to answer the question why five million American Jews had not made room for two hundred and fifty German children.

Today, German Jews no longer speak of the migration of children as they did two years ago. They speak of the migration of all Jews, for

most of them life is rapidly and increasingly becoming impossible. But where are they to go? If they have capital, they cannot take it with them. What lands will receive them? What men will finance them? Pitiful, pathetic creatures whom no soil will accept, whom no land will shelter, who are as if chained in a dungeon and destined helplessly to perish.

I met a German friend whom I had seen two years ago. He could have escaped from Germany. He was prominent. He had wealth. He had many friends in the outside who would have welcomed him, but he remained to lead, to serve, to inspire. He was a tall man of powerful physique, of majestic bearing, of dignified appearance. Two years ago, I saw him at the height of his power, eager, resolute, fearless, determined. Just two months ago, I was shocked by his appearance. It seemed as if his face had shriveled up. His forehead was wrinkled. The bones of his cheeks protruded ominously. He seemed like a person afflicted with cancer who was slowly dying. I tried to be cheerful and pleasant with him in order to conceal the pain that was mine on seeing his changed appearance. I looked into his eyes. They were not the eyes of a dying man. In them I saw the fires of eternity, the flame of an indomitable spirit, of a courageous warrior. He spoke: "We are fighting for all humanity. We are encouraged to resist because we know that we are the sole spokesmen of civilization and of spiritual values in this land. We dare not surrender. Death would be easier for me than life, but I must live. I shall live for humanity's sake, for civilization's sake, for God's sake. What can you do? You, on the outside world, you must never let the world forget our plight. You must hammer and hammer away for our plight is but a symbol of the tragedy of moral values in this land. If the world forgets us, it may forget the barbarian philosophy of our oppressors and its menace to the civilization of the western world. The Jews are but an episode in the German debacle, but a significant episode. When mankind forgets us, it may forget the new tribalism of our oppressors." He kissed my hands in gratitude for having come to him. I left before he could see the tears, not of sympathy but of appreciation, in my eyes.

Only the outside world, only the public opinion of humanity has a restraining influence upon Naziism. When that influence goes, the Jews of Germany are lost, and the policy of humane extirpation will become a policy of public pogroms. Any government of the world which leans to Germany, like Poland commercially, or like England with its naval policy, strengthens the iron claw of the Nazis and accelerates the doom of western civilization. The holding of the Olympic Games in Germany would be interpreted by Nazi leaders as a moral white-washing for all of their sins. After the British naval treaty came the Kurfurstendam riots. Who knows what will come after the Olympic games? Only four hundred and fifty thousand Jews are left in Germany. Destiny has singled them out that through the stripes on their bodies and the lashes upon their souls humanity might learn the character and the temper of their oppressors.

The plight of the Jews of Germany is a warning to the civilized nations as to the fate that may overtake them if the Nazi spirit should prevail. We must render these holders of the front-line trenches ambulance

service. We must heal their wounds. We must build new homes for them, and above all, we must remind the world of their fate. Mankind can survive with half a million less Jews, but mankind cannot survive decently if the Nazi spirit triumphs. The sentence of death of the Jews of Germany must not be executed quietly. "Tell it in Gath and proclaim it in Ashkelon," that everywhere men may be warned and nations may understand of the demonic spirit which fills the rulers of the new Germany.

Six that I saw two years ago in Germany are dead. Only one was advanced in years, but he was in good health. He died of worry, care and anxiety. Prussian that he was, loving his country with an undying love, he died of a broken heart. Two in middle life could not stand the strain, and a cup of poison relieved them. Three died prematurely like brave warriors in the fray, beaten and buffeted by the barbarian tide. Their absence saddened me first, but then exalted and inspired me. They died to serve man and to glorify God. The spirit of heroism and martyrdom lives in Israel.



EPILOGUE

Rabbi Baeck's Analysis of the Cause of Jewish Suffering

Rabbi Leo Baeck who was Chief Rabbi of Germany during the Nazi regime refused to leave Berlin permanently. Very frequently, he went to England to help make plans for the migration of Jews, and always returned. He told me that when he was in a concentration camp at Theresienstadt, and knew that he soon would be slated for execution in the gas chambers, he pondered the question why this terrible fate was overtaking European Jewry, and asked himself, "What sins have the Jews of Europe committed that their fate is so tragic?" He came to the conclusion that the failure of Jews since the days of the Emperor Constantine, when Christianity became the official religion of Rome, to seek converts to Judaism was their great fault. It was his conviction that Judaism is a missionary faith. To declare that God is one carries with it the implication of bringing His message to all the peoples of the world. The biblical verses that Jews were to be a blessing to all mankind means carrying out a mission to men teaching them the theology of Judaism with its clear concept of one God, with its ethics affirming individual obligations, and the duty for action, with its faith in the goodness of man and his capacity to build the good society. Failure to disseminate these doctrines, Rabbi Baeck believed to be the sin for which God has allowed tragedy to overcome the Jews of Europe.

I once asked a sociologist what the effect would be if Jews were to embark on a vigorous campaign to win unbelievers to Judaism. His answer was, "It would tend to do away with anti-Semitism. It would prove that Jews did not desire to separate themselves from other peoples, that their life goal was the noblest, and that they wanted to share their religious heritage with others." For the modern era, one world has become essential. Because of the rapid methods of communication and transportation and an increasing closeness with all peoples, the Jewish concept of one God is tailor-made. One God means one world, one humanity, one human race. As I have met with American scholars at the universities of our country, many have indicated that in their thinking they have moved to the Jewish religious tradition of believing in one God and man's obligation and capacity to build a good society here. Some have asked me why they are not invited to affiliate with Judaism. We have no recent missionary traditions, nor do we have missionary techniques. We have no concept of how to approach converts. Perhaps we are having an influence in the religious world by our very presence which is justified by our loyalty to our faith in one God. But Rabbi Baeck thought that this was not enough.