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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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Anti-Defamation League, 1936-1937.

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August 26, 1936

Mr. Richard E. Gutstadt,
Director, Anti-Defamation League,
130 No. Wells Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gutstadt:

The most comprehensive reply to your two letters of August 20th and 24th respectively would be to send you a report of my connection with the Asheville Conference in chronological sequence from the very beginning. I have shown this to several people in New York, so a copy is available for your perusal.

My definite feeling is that Nollner's Group is at present on its good behavior. In fact, I strongly suspect that he was given orders from higher up to tone down the anti-Semitic racket in favor of more immediate and at present more important aims. Furthermore, it would not surprise me to learn that some co-operation is being worked out between his conference and the rump convention leaders such as Winrod and others.

The question is should we play along with Nollner in order to force him into decency, or should we definitely denounce even the so-called purified organization that he heads at present? There is no doubt that some of his ministers are sincere, earnest, God-fearing men who would like to be friendly with Jews as long as they are not Communists. Heretofore, there is no doubt, Communism and Judaism have been identified in their minds. I believe I did something to dispel that notion.

On the other hand, by giving Nollner's Group our moral support, we might be strengthening a weapon that will be used against us later.

A great deal of pressure was brought to bear on me since my return from Asheville to make public statement denouncing Nollner's Conference as a political maneuver and as genuinely, if not ostensibly, anti-Semitic. I have, however, finally and definitely refused to go on record. Such action would be unwise, I believe. After all, my only interest is in protecting Jews - not in any political controversy. Whatever is best for our people will be my guide as regard to this and everything else, especially when I realize, as anyone would who had gone to Asheville, how serious the whole situation is.

Of course, you will realize that at present I am in great favor with the Asheville Conference. My role was to accept implicitly the benevolent intention and the avowed aim of the Conference (afterwards freed from the notorious anti-Semitic sponsors). As a matter of fact, I do not believe any of us has a right to accuse Nollner's Conference of anti-Semitism until he has given us cause. Yet, why strengthen his hand? His record does not warrant absolute trust.

Very sincerely yours,

(S) Abraham L. Feinberg

ALF: PCK
Enc.



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'Nai B'Rith'
130 N. Wells St.

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Chicago, September 9, 1936

Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg,
130 West 79th Street
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Feinberg:

Thank you for yours of recent date with the complete record of correspondence in connection with the Asheville conference. We are also grateful for the copy of the very effective address which you delivered at the conference. I am certain that it must have made a profound impression upon all who heard it.

You are correct in assuming that copy of the original call was in our possession. As a matter of fact, it was this one document which made it possible for us to reach a number of the Christian ministers who went to Asheville determined that it should not prove an anti-Semitic gathering.

Nollner was in Chicago last week. He came to confer with Dr. Evans, religious editor of the Chicago Tribune. Evans had previously discussed the whole situation with us. By reason of the several conferences, we feel that the situation is now well in hand. While we will not go out of our way to help promote the conference, we have agreed to advise somewhat on the program in order to assure Mr. Nollner of that information which will enable him to avoid, through lack of knowledge, the inclusion of any interest which we deemed prejudicial.

We did not overlook the consideration which you expressed, namely, that by giving even moral support, we might be strengthening a weapon to be later used against us. The facts are clear. A Chicago meeting of this group will be held whether we like it or not. We can render it innocuous by guiding it intelligently or we can steer clear of it and thus, perhaps, permit it to get into very dangerous waters. When I say "we" I do not refer to the League as a body; I mean the influence of intelligent Jews. Rabbis Felix Levy and Solomon Goldman are acquainted with the program which is contemplated, and I think will go along with us, thus assuring intelligent regulation.

As you say, we have no authentic information upon which to charge Nollner with anti-Semitism. It may be true that he was unaware of the nature of many people who had joined with him in the original call. We know how easy it is for people to accept suggestions in compiling a list of names -- suggestions which may prove to be very badly made.

The National Conference of Jews and Christians had discussed with us the advisability of holding a meeting to rival that of the anti-Semites scheduled for Washington. We conferred on this matter with Dr. Clinchy and Roger Strauss. We reached the conclusion that for them to schedule a meeting at Washington simultaneously with the anti-Semitic crowd would be unwise. The very publicity which we desire to withhold from that group might ensue as a result of some reckless attack which anti-Semites might make by way of crashing the meeting of the National Conference group.

Likewise, we believed it inadvisable for Nollner's group and Clinchy's group to hold competitive meetings. We felt that it were better to bring the two in cooperation because then Clinchy's group could always maintain a supervision over the others and be an assurance against their going astray. Furthermore, the greater cooperation that could be evoked between these two bodies, the less chance would there be for destructive doctrines to penetrate their deliberations.

It was finally concluded that there would be no Washington meeting. The National Conference will hold no meeting of this character at all. The Nollner group will hold additional meetings, but promises to consult with us on each occasion. It is altogether likely, according to my present advice, that the next meeting will be postponed until after the election. Thus will the political coloration with which many seek to influence these gatherings be disassociated from it. I had urged this point in the belief that if the movement were truly predicated upon altruistic purpose, then every effort should be made to divorce it from the Hearst-McCormick political complexion.

I will be very grateful, Rabbi Feinberg, if you will keep me advised of any further approaches which will be made to you by this group. On our part, we will be happy to communicate with you similarly as matters progress.

Very sincerely yours,

(S) Richard E. Gutstadt
Director

REG:EF

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October 28, 1936

Mr. Morris D. Waldman,
The American Jewish Committee,
461 Fourth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Waldman:

Your letter of October 23rd is before me. It gratifies me very much to know that my presence and talk at the Asheville Conference were helpful to the Jewish cause.

One part of your letter interests me particularly - that is, your statement to the effect that co-operation with the America Forward Movement is unobjectionable provided I agree with its general policies. As I indicated to you in your office, I am quite certain now that the motives of this organization are contrary to the principles of liberalism that have always been my guide. In fact, I suspected that from the very beginning. Furthermore, as I pointed out to you, my chief consideration in accepting the invitations to speak, not only in Asheville, but in New York as well, was the hope that by so doing, I might check the America Forward Movement's activities, divert them definitely away from Anti-Semitism and keep informed of its plans and methods. The Anti-Defamation League, the National Conference of Jews and Christians and, to some extent, you, yourself, were especially interested in those considerations.

Now, however, as agreed upon in your office, my procedure will be to exert every possible bit of pressure on the America Forward Movement in order that it might carry on the battle against Fascism with as much energy and determination as it is employing against Communism. That will be the test of the sincerity of its platform, which is ostensibly Americanism, democracy, etc.

Mr. Wallack stated that the literature of the American Jewish Committee showing the absurdity of the so-called Jewish-Communist link has been sent to Mr. Nollner. If he really spreads it around among his constituents, that might be accepted as some testimony, at least, to his honesty. Furthermore, I have already begun to indicate to Mr. Nollner and his associates that Fascism is just as subversive to Americanism as Communism and it must be fought bitterly. We shall see the results.

This is all in line with our conversations and with your letter. I am very grateful to you for the interest you have shown and for the counsel you have given.

The America Forward Movement will reveal itself

definitely, I believe, after the election. My own feeling is that it will then become frankly and increasingly pro-Fascist and Anti-Semitic. Of course, this prophesy is made to you in strict confidence. I hope I am wrong.

Sincerely yours,

(S) Abraham L. Feinberg

ALF:PCK



OFFICE OF THE
RABBI
ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG

MT. NEBOH TEMPLE
130 WEST 79TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Nov. 2, 1936

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
E. 105th St. and Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

On Tuesday, October 20th, I delivered an address before the National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, under the auspices of the America Forward Movement. Last August, I spoke to the same organization in Asheville, North Carolina. Since both of these appearances entailed problems of considerable delicacy and importance to American Israel, I first received the counsel and full cooperation of several "key" Jewish and Christian organizations.

Herewith is enclosed a copy of the New York speech. I believe it expresses the essentially Jewish attitude towards Americanism, "subversive propaganda", Communism, Fascism, etc. Please read it through, and let me know what you think. I am anxious to have the opinion of my colleagues for future reference, because I realize that in these tense times the public expressions of an individual rabbi before national Christian groups are interpreted as representative.

You may have read portions of my address in the News Letter of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. In any event, I am sending you the complete text.

Sincerely,

ALF:PCK
Enc.

A. L. Feinberg

November 2, 1936

Richard E. Gutstadt, Director,
Anti-Defamation League,
130 N. Wells St.,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Gutstadt:

I am enclosing a letter which I thought
would be of interest to you. You have probably
seen the "ticket" before.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

November 2, 1936

Mrs. Suggs Garber,
806-7 Hippodrome Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mrs. Garber:

Let me thank you for bringing to my attention the "yellow ticket" which has been distributed on the campus of the University of Chicago. I am this day taking the matter up with Mr. Gudstadt of the Anti-Defamation League whose headquarters are in Chicago.

With best wishes, permit me to remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

November 4, 1936

Mrs. Suggs Garber,
806-7 Hippodrome Bldg.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mrs. Garber:

I received the enclosed letter from
Mr. Gutstadt this morning.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

AN ANSWER
IS EXPECTED

BY THE SENDER OF THIS
MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE
IT TO THE MESSENGER
OR TELEPHONE IT TO

WESTERN UNION

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SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NM = Night Message
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

Received at 2016 East 105th St., Cleveland, Ohio. Telephone Cedar 1867

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RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE:

=JOHN S MOORE DIRECTOR OF OHIO BRANCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS
ASSOCIATION SCHEDULED TO TALK ON ECONOMIC CRISES IN
GERMANY BEFORE ROTARY CLUB IN PENNSYLVANIA STOP CAN YOU
FURNISH US ANY INFORMATION ON THIS PARTY =PLEASE WIRE=
RICHARD E GUTSTADT.



Miss Chadsey answering wire

THERE IS NO DEPENDABLE SUBSTITUTE FOR WESTERN UNION TIME

November 16, 1936

Richard E. Gutstadt, Director,
Anti-Defamation League,
130 N. Wells Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Gutstadt:

The enclosed will be of interest to
you.

With best wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



EXECUTIVE OFFICES
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
130 N. WELLS ST. SUITE 1415
PHONE FRANKLIN 2221

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON.
CHAIRMAN
RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
DIRECTOR AND SECRETARY
MILES M. GOLDBERG.
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

CHICAGO, November 17, 1936

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

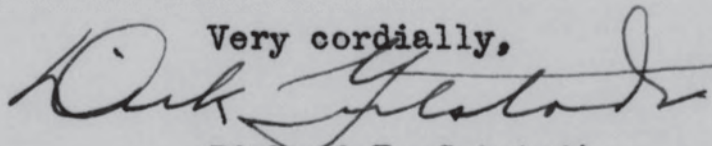
My dear Rabbi:

The American Beauty Products Company, copy of whose letter you recently transmitted, is a German owned concern. Its main office is in the heart of the Nazi section.

It is today a very unhappy firm. We were cognizant of its attitude, and as a result, its exhibit was forcibly removed from the recent Cosmeticians' Show at the Sherman Hotel. Several of the firms from which it has been securing important commodities are breaking, or have broken off trade relations. The national officials of the cosmeticians' organization and the editor of their national magazine have been contacted, and are with us a hundred percent. I think I may conservatively say that the firm will soon learn that it has injured itself infinitely more than it has hurt our people.

Thank you for bringing it to our attention, and with my personal regards, I am,

Very cordially,



Richard E. Gutstadt
Director

REG:rs

November 17, 1936

Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg,
Mt. Neboh Temple,
130 West 79th St.,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Feinberg:

Thank you for your letter of November 2
and for the copy of your speech. I read it with
considerable interest.

I am enclosing herewith a brief abstract
of an address which I delivered two weeks ago on
the subject "Should the Church and Synagog Fight
Communism?" I think it will give you my view of
this subject. I do not believe that the Jewish
people, as such, or the Jewish synagog ought to be
"tricked" into a concerted crusade against Communism
because that is playing directly into the hands of
Fascists who are basically enemies of our people.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'Nai B'Rith
130 N. Wells St.

Chicago, November 19, 1936

Rabbi Abraham Feinberg
130 West 79th Street
New York, New York

My dear Rabbi Feinberg:

I have very carefully read your letter of November 17th and I shall very carefully read your address as delivered before the "America Forward" organization on October 20th. I am contemplating mimeographing your address for a number of reasons. Frankly, we are fearful of "America Forward". While Rev. Nollner appears to be "on the square", he has very unholy associates. In Texas, one of his coadjutors is Vance Muse, whose record is not at all encouraging. The Catholic leaders, whom he has allied with him, in some places, have been almost vicious in their statements. You now advise me of the need of circumspection with regard to Rev. John Evans of the Tribune, since he is not to be trusted. You may be sure that any dealings that I had with him were very circumspect, but I think your advice is sound.

When Mr. Nollner is in New York, he emphasizes that the battle is against Communism and Fascism; down in Texas it is against Communist, alienism, with very slight emphasis on Fascism. I recently wrote a long letter to Morris Stern of San Antonio, one of our very estimable Jewish leaders. I pointed out to him that despite protestations to the contrary, Fascism was being practically ignored in the program of "America Forward". There was a constant reiteration of the fight against Communism, but it was almost impossible to find any implication of American danger from Fascism.

I had shared your thought that if cooperation of our people would help maintain a genuine American foundation and purpose in that movement, that perhaps cooperation would be advisable. We had our first interview with Rev. Evans, who represented McCormick and Nollner, and Rabbis Solomon Goldman and Felix Levy were present. I had conferred with Rev. Nollner, I believe, a couple of days earlier, at the office of Chairman Livingston of the League. Nollner disavowed anti-Semitism and roundly condemned those allegations of certain Texas anti-Semites which made it appear that his own earlier record was not above reproach on this score. We permitted him to believe that we accepted his avowals. He was going to Omaha; we gave him contact with Henry Monsky. The ministry of Omaha, however, did not accept Nollner very enthusiastically.

Rev. Evans wanted to get going here, and I permitted him (for obvious reasons) to have Dr. Horace Bridges, Professor Gault of Northwestern University, a Lutheran leader, and the two above mentioned Rabbis meet in my office. The matter was discussed, and it was agreed that statements be drawn up by the several participants in our conference in order that the ministry and the laity might know the purpose of "America Forward", as

we in the Chicago area conceived it. A later meeting was called in my office, and the statements were compared. Very little reference to Fascism appeared in any statements other than those of the two Rabbis. We were quite insistent that we could cooperate only upon the basis of defense of thoroughly American precepts, and that as far as we were concerned, Fascism had to be condemned just as emphatically as Communism. Dr. Bridges agreed with this; the others were evasive. This all transpired in late September. We haven't heard from these gentlemen since, though the newspapers carry some slight publicity with regard to the contemplated meeting for December 8-10.

We shall not attempt to intrude ourselves, but we will know what is being said and what is being done. I can assure you, Rabbi Feinberg, that if the occasion then seems to justify, these men will know where we stand and the public will know where they stand.

I have written you thus fully because I appreciate the interest which you have taken. Dr. Lefkowitz and Dr. Ettlinger of Dallas, Mr. Morris Stern and others suspect this movement. They are very uneasy about its possible ulterior Fascist purpose. It will be important for us to go very slowly because neither you nor I desire later on to be under the compulsion of explaining a Jewish association with a suppressive Fascist purpose. It is worthy of note that in Texas the privilege of speaking on a moderately liberal topic was effectively fought by some of the very men who are leading the "America Forward" program. This is too significant not to be mentioned.

As stated above, I contemplate mimeographing your address. We will discuss the advisability of circulating it to some of the Jewish press, for it would be unwise, I think, to have it appear simultaneously in all the Jewish press, particularly where there is more than one Jewish medium in a community.

With personal regards and assuring you of my appreciation for your proffered cooperation, I am

Very sincerely,

(S) Richard E. Gutstadt
Director

REG:rs

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Nov. 23, 1936

Mr. Richard Gutstadt,
Anti-Defamation League,
130 No. Wells St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gutstadt:

Your letter of November 19th aroused a great deal of interest in me. For some time I have wondered at what I thought was your stamp of approval on Nollner and the America Forward Movement. Now, I realize that, in accordance with your past policy, you have been very thorough and circumspect, and I am more ready than ever to follow your guidance.

One bit of information particularly intrigued me, namely, that Nollner has avoided even the mention of Fascism. It was my hope that we could force the America Forward Movement into a definite and uncompromising opposition to Fascism. Indeed, I had even begun to feel that we were making headway in that direction because of the fact that Nollner has agreed to print and distribute my address of October 20th, in which I devoted most of my thunder to Fascism.

Now, it appears that, as you say, we still have reason to be very uneasy about the "possible ulterior Fascist purpose" of the America Forward Movement. It seems to me that unless we have absolute assurance within a short time that the America Forward Movement will fight Fascism without restraint, we should cease to support it directly or indirectly. As you say "neither of us desires later on to be under the compulsion of explaining a Jewish association with a suppressive Fascist purpose".

Up to this time the activities that have identified me with the America Forward Movement have not been especially helpful to my reputation as a Rabbi or as a liberal. A great many people haven't the time nor the inclination to dig deeper and find out the possible motivation for a man's public activities, and are not only ignorant of the reasons underlying my association with Nollner, but are actually suspicious, if not hostile. As you know, I have continued that association because I felt that it was to the best interests of American Israel that I do so, and you have agreed with me. The National Conference of Jews and Christians, the American Jewish Committee and a representative of the American Jewish Congress are all convinced that so far at least, my work inside the America Forward Movement and on its platform has been extremely helpful to Jews in America.

Neither of us, I am sure, is in sympathy with what we suspect are the actual and ultimate objectives of the America Forward Movement. We have been close to it and worked with it in order to check, observe, and, if possible, shape its policies. When we discover that those policies are not being improved upon

by our presence, when we realize that the America Forward Movement is basically Fascist, we should repudiate it without question. Once we know that we can't liberalize its purposes, our further association with it would simply add strength to our enemies. I firmly believe that Fascism cannot be other than Anti-Semitism eventually. The two things are identified. One is the road to the other.

In other words, I am willing to pay the price of misunderstanding if, as a return, I am aiding Israel in its battle for self-preservation. If, however, the America Forward Movement is inevitably tending to Fascism, as your letter seems to indicate, I would be paying such a price and American Israel would not be benefited. On the contrary, we would then be aiding and abetting those who are basically hostile to American Judaism and to all forms of good will and liberalism.

I wish we could discuss this thing personally some time. I have a number of documents which might be of interest to you. So far, my observation has been that Nollner and his associates are very anxious to escape the charge of Anti-Semitism. They are almost neurotic about it, and they are taking every possible means to white-wash themselves. Perhaps that very extremity - that very process of bending over backwards, is psychological testimony to the fact that they are contemplating some dirty work; and if the history of reactionary and Fascist movements in the past has anything to tell us at all, we might well prepare ourselves for an out and out battle with the America Forward Movement. It may be that we should wait no longer and repudiate it at once before it can make any further use of our names and presence.

The willingness of Nollner to print and distribute my attack on Fascism might be an indication of his real attitude. Is there any way of checking up on the actual distribution of that speech? According to my latest information, it is being printed now. Can we find out just how widely it will be distributed? In other words, can we learn definitely whether his promise to circulate the address was made in good faith or not? His actual treatment of that speech may give us a clue. I should like very much to have the matter investigated after the address is printed.

Please keep me in touch with further developments. I really must know what is going on in order to determine my own course. Your letter of November 19th was a revelation to me.

Very sincerely yours,

(S) Abraham L. Feinberg

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'Rith
130 N. Wells St.

Chicago, November 25, 1936

Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg
130 West 79th Street
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Feinberg:

I was glad to receive yours of the 23rd instant. I want to reiterate that while we have hesitated to unnecessarily arouse the antagonism of Mr. Nollner and his associates, we have viewed this movement with grave apprehension. I hasten to answer your letter because of developments within the last forty-eight hours. My earlier statements were correct that Nollner's associates in certain localities had apparently desired to sidestep, as much as they could, the Fascist activities in this country.

We are in accord with you that there is reason to be uneasy unless the America Forward Movement evinces a determination to fight Fascism with equal directness and vigor to that which it employs in fighting Communism and irreligion.

I am not unmindful of the somewhat delicate position in which your activities have placed you. As you say, superficial observers lacking an understanding of your inner purpose, might easily misconstrue your efforts. Your motivations have been similar to our own. We believe that could we direct the activities of this group and make it a genuinely American endeavor, it might inure to the advantage of our people throughout the country. A seeming co-operation might enable us to do this. A complete disassociation from the movement would render such influence impossible.

Nollner has just been to Chicago. He spoke to me over the 'phone, urging my attendance at a luncheon next Monday when the Chicago program for the meetings of December 8-10 will be discussed. I shall attend, but solely with the thought in mind of eliciting a positive statement of purpose with regard to all un-American movements. He assured me over the 'phone that some of the people who had been associated with him were reluctant to attack Fascism at this time. He said that his present purpose is to "shake the nuts and bolts out of the movement". I assume he particularly meant the "nuts". He assured me further that Fascism would receive equal attention with Communism. This we ought to establish definitely within the near future.

You are correct in stating that Nollner and his associates are anxious now to escape the imputations of anti-Semitism. I have my own views as to why this is so. The stimulation for the movement was originally political. For various reasons it failed miserably to accomplish the purpose of those who supplied the original finance. Nollner has a pleasing position. He has never been affluent and a good job means much to him. He understands that Jews are interested in fighting anti-Semitism. If he can give his movement this aspect, he believes it possible to tap some Jewish financial resources. For this reason we will be particularly wary.

I shall endeavor to ascertain how wide a distribution he gave to your address. When he notifies me of the agencies through which it is supposed to have been distributed, I will make a check-up. Any information which I can gather will be transmitted to you.

I am deeply grateful for your expression of confidence and for your willingness to cooperate with us. We feel that coordination of policy and effort in these directions may be of vital importance to the whole Jewish community.

With personal regards, I am

Very sincerely,

(S) Richard E. Gutstadt
Director

REG:rs



MT. NEBOH TEMPLE
130 WEST 79TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

OFFICE OF THE
RABBI
ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG

Dec. 16, 1936

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street at Ansel Rd.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Your letter of November 17th with enclosure deserved a much prompter reply than it is receiving. The fact is that in order to give you a coherent and complete picture of my relations with the America Forward Movement, I ~~will~~^{would} have to ignore all limitations of time and space. Suffice it to say that from the middle of last August, when I delivered an address before that organization in Asheville, North Carolina, until today, I have devoted a good deal of time and energy to that group. It will interest you to know, I think, that I have been very circumspect and have worked in close cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the National Conference of Jews and Christians, and with a representative of the American Jewish Congress.

So far, we have deemed it necessary that I remain in contact with the America Forward Movement in order to watch its activities and to force it into a stand against Fascism.

As you might guess, its sponsorship and spirit are not at all to my liking. I agree in toto with the attitude you express in the address which you delivered on the subject: "Should the Church and Synagogue Fight Communism?" In fact, my experience with the America Forward Movement has only deepened and intensified my conviction that Anti-Communism is sheer camouflage for reaction and incipient Fascism. In associating with the America Forward Movement, I have made a deliberate sacrifice and have compromised myself with liberal groups to some extent. During the last few months, nevertheless, I have made it a point to acquaint liberal church leaders with the inside story. I have kept a carefully documented and comprehensive record of everything from first to last. The next time you are in New York, I shall be very glad to show all this to you. It would be not only interesting, but it might even be a thriller in spots. In Asheville, for example, I had to have the protection of a Deputy Sheriff for a few days.

In order to give you some inkling, however, of the various ramifications of my reluctant activity, I am sending you a copy of some of the correspondence between myself and Mr. Gutstadt and Mr. Waldman.

MT. NEBOH TEMPLE
130 WEST 79TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

OFFICE OF THE
RABBI
ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Dec. 16, 1936

Page -2-

It is important to realize that up to this time at least, I have no definite and conclusive evidence that the America Forward Movement intends to favor or promote Fascism. Of one thing I am sure: It has assumed an almost pathological attitude towards Anti-Semitism and seems almost neurotically fearful of any entanglement with such a program. You may be sure that as soon as any definite proof comes to light that the Movement has an ultimately Fascist purpose, I shall be the first to repudiate it. In fact, such action on my part would bring profound relief to me.

Permit me to state that I do not even remotely suggest a Synagogue crusade against Communism. I do feel, however, that a Movement which is suspect should not be allowed to go its way unwatched and unheeded until it has shown its colors one way or the other.

I hope I ~~could~~^{may} tell you the entire history, because I am very anxious that you should understand what is behind all this. Let me repeat; the next time you are in New York, please phone me so that I might put the confidential material into your hands.

With all good wishes, I am

Very cordially,

A. L. Feinberg

ALF:PCK
Enc.

130 N. WELLS ST. SUITE 1415
PHONE FRANKLIN 2221

MILES M. GOLDBERG,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

CHICAGO.

Dear Colleague:

Hundreds of such talks have been given. More are planned. Duplication is to be avoided, so that no communities shall be surfeited. Your thoughtful co-operation will assist in making this possible. Will you therefore, at your earliest convenience, please advise me of:-

1. Your talks to non-Sectarian groups, given in January 1937.
 - a. Include date, place, group addressed, subject, size of attendance.
2. Talks you are scheduled to give (Jan. Feb. Mar. 1937)
 - a. Date? Place? Group? Subject?
3. Are you a member of a Service Club? Which?
 - a. Could you procure an open date in your club for an address by a nearby colleague?
4. Would you accept invitations to address such a group in another city or town? (Expense of trip to be borne by us.)

Your prompt response will be appreciated.

Warmest personal greetings.

Cordially yours,

L. Elliot Grafman

Director
Speakers Bureau

LEG:EBF

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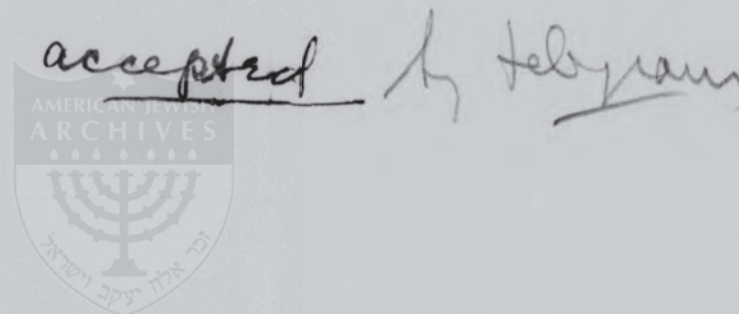
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MAY 28 1937

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

:CARE DESHLER HOTEL=



:CHICAGO CITYWIDE DEMONSTRATION SCHEDULED EVENING JUNE
THIRTEENTH STOP IF YOU ACCEPT INVITATION YOU WILL DELIVER
HALF HOUR ADDRESS STOP BISHOP SHIEL SPEAKING TEN MINUTES STOP
ANTICIPATE BROADCASTING ADDRESSES PLEASE SIGNIFY IF AVAILABLE

=RICHARD E GUTSTADT

944A.

BETTER UNDERSTANDING FOUNDATION, INC.

48 WEST 48th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Office of the
Executive Director

June 22, 1937

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
East 105 St. and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

The Better Understanding Foundation has been organized for the development of projects which will actively promote good will among races and creeds in America and will seek to coordinate the work of local and national movements for amity. It aims at practical objectives - heretofore untried - and will seek to eradicate, in the crucial years to come, the roots of discrimination and ill will, whereas present endeavors, with the best of intentions, can but palliate effects of the evil.

Properly to guide this vital potent movement, we require the counsel of thinking, public spirited citizens of national repute. Projects of major importance will be embarked upon only after the vote of the guiding members. Occasional luncheon or dinner meetings will be called for formulation of general policies. For the development of immediate and far-reaching plans we require the advice and counsel of men like you.

Understanding, as we do, the exactions of urgent public affairs with which you are already identified, we will avoid unnecessary calls upon your time, and we will eschew controversial matters that might jeopardize the cause of amity.

Membership of the Board will be drawn from among Catholics, Protestants and Jews.

May this brief note, then, serve as an invitation to you to serve as a member of the Board of Directors. There will be no obligations attached to this service other than counsel and your general support in your community of the causes contemplated by The Better Understanding Foundation. Its purposes, stated in the certificate of incorporation, are as follows:

"To foster actively and unceasingly the cause of religious and interracial concord; to stimulate and pursue educational endeavors with a view towards enlightening the public mind concerning the mutuality of Protestant, Catholic and Jew; to appeal to ministers, priests and rabbis, colleges, intermediate schools, editors, libraries, lecturers, and all other forums of constructive public opinion - aiming thereby to bring about a better understanding and closer cooperation among Americans of all faiths, whether the same be local, national or international."

I shall be happy to send you further information immediately if we can count upon your interest in our project of good will.

Very truly yours,

William W. Lundell
William W. Lundell
Executive Director

WWL:ES

June 24, 1937

Dr. Richard Gutstadt, Director,
Anti-Defamation League,
130 N. Wells Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Gutstadt:

I received a letter from a Mr. William W. Lundell, Executive Director of the Better Understanding Foundation, Inc., 48 West 48th Street, New York City, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. What do you know about this organization? And do you think that I ought to lend my name to it?

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
130 N. WELLS ST. SUITE 1415
PHONE FRANKLIN 2221

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON,
CHAIRMAN
RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
DIRECTOR AND SECRETARY,
MILES M. GOLDBERG,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

CHICAGO, June 25, 1937

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
East 105th St. at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

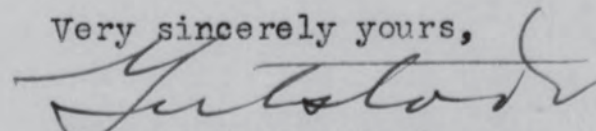
Upon receipt of yours of June 24th, our very extensive list of organizations was checked, but we found no reference to the Better Understanding Foundation, Inc. of 48 West 48th Street, New York City. I have instituted an inquiry and should be able to give you reliable information by the middle of the coming week. May I suggest that in the interim you hold the letter up, a delay which, of course, could easily be explained by reason of the many matters which engage your attention.

We are somewhat apprehensive about many of these organizations. The general atmosphere has led to a pretty thorough exploitation of prominent and well-to-do Jews. Many agencies spring up on every side in the assurance that Jews are so interested in self-defense that they will subscribe liberally to all movements which appear to be promoting good-will. If only a couple of good positions are created, the effort is not considered lost.

Inquiry in Chicago reveals no knowledge of this agency at all. It may be that its purposes are truly beneficial. It would be hard for me to believe this, however, since there are several important agencies engaged in this work which are recognized as being bona fide in every way. People who were truly interested in the cause of good-will and better understanding, therefore, would, it appears to me, find it possible to contribute their services to one or the other of the groups currently working upon these matters.

You will receive further word from me within the next few days. In the meantime, Rabbi, I have notified the Chairman of the Committee here of the expense involved in your visit to Chicago, and a check will be forwarded to you very shortly.

Very sincerely yours,



Richard E. Gutstadt
Director

REG:rs

RABBI ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG.
130 West 79th. St.,
New York, N.Y.
EN.2-8140
SU.7-0221
SU.7-7113

[undated]

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG
OF MT. NEBOH TEMPLE, BEFORE NEW YORK CONFERENCE
OF CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN, TUESDAY EVENING, OCT.
20TH, 1936, AT HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA UNDER THE
AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN FORWARD MOVEMENT.

- - - - -

We are gathered here to reason together for the defense of America against subversive propaganda. That aim impels all loyal citizens, whatever be their faith or birth, and to it no group is more profoundly dedicated than American Israel. During the 2000 years since the destruction of the Jewish state, complete and unequivocal loyalty to the land of one's citizenship has been a basic principle of Jewish life. From Jeremiah on, down the centuries, our teachers have adjured us to seek the peace and prosperity of the country wherein we dwell.

We Jews have nothing to conceal or justify, despite the vicious campaign of slander and suspicion levelled against us by men who would clamber up to despotic power over the scapegoat corpse of my people. It is a horrible irony that the chief perpetrator of these calumnies against the patriotism of Jews should be the Nazi government of Germany, which has been immeasurably and eternally enriched by the energies of Jews in the laboratory, the marketplace, the workshop and yes, on the battlefield. The thrust at Jewish loyalty, moreover, is made by the very government whose spokesmen have declared that every person of German ancestry, no matter where he may dwell, is bound only to serve his German fatherland. A direct incitement to treason! Yet such a coterie accuses Israel of disloyalty, Israel, which has spilled the blood of her sons under every flag, and has given the finest resources of mind and body to every land that has welcomed her into its community!

Of all these places of our habitation, America has come nearest to our heart of hearts. Here we have tried our best to contribute our best. Under the aegis of a sky more free than any we have ever known, we have placed upon the altar of the American spirit the products of our being and our working. In peace and in war, we have joined ourselves to America's destiny. Into this mother-loam, we have poured our sweat, our hopes and our dreams, side by side with the scions of other creeds.

That is why I am glad to occupy this platform tonight. Wherever men are assembled to safeguard the traditions of American liberty, there is the focal point of Israel's existence, and there is our place of holiness. The heritage of human freedom bequeathed by a century and a half of struggle and groping on the sacred soil of America is no more precious to any faith than it is to that faith which stems from Abraham. The destiny of America is the destiny of Israel. For centuries to come, the future of Jews in the world will be shaped by what the average, every-day American thinks about freedom, equality, and human rights. The slogan of the American Forward Movement falls like a plummet into the very heart of American Israel, and tingles like a tonic in its blood.

Why is the participation of a rabbi in this Conference especially appropriate? Because of its basically religious background. This is a Conference of Clergymen and Laymen. America, my friends, was begotten by religion. The War of Independence would have merely added another bit of bunting to the flags of the nations if it had not been waged in the name of a spiritual concept. Before the embattled farmers looked into the whites of British eyes on Bunker Hill, they looked into their own Bibles. The Puritan fathers yearned to build a theocracy, a God-ruled commonwealth, wherein every human being would stand equal and unafraid, and none but God would be king. They found the pattern and formula of that system in the ancient Hebrew theocracy as described in the Old Testament.

It is fitting, therefore, that clergymen should be summoned to ponder on the fate of the American experiment in democracy.

A famous cleric, not long ago, declared that in a certain emergency he would prefer bullets to ballots. I feel sure that the great church of which he is an accredited spiritual representative does not deem itself other than discredited by such a non-Christian provocation to violence and war as a means of settling differences of opinion. Good will towards men is not an ecclesiastical vestment, to be worn only on the altar. Turning his collar, instead of the other cheek, does not confer on any preacher the right to forget that even those who do not follow his leadership are yet the children of God.

Our present crisis does not require the medicament of clergymen who stir up racial prejudices, class hatreds, and sectional ambitions. It does not beg the pulpit to add its mite of ugly names to an atmosphere already charged with

political bitterness. No! It asks the cloth to be an agency of dignity and moderation. Our task, as guardians of God's teachings, is to further the love of man for his fellows, to bring hostile forces into closer understanding, and to condemn ruthlessly those who promote hatred and uncharitableness for any motive whatever, be it economic, theological or political. We are assembled tonight, as ministers and laymen, to reason, not to fight. We want to view Americanism as a religious ideal. How shall the word of God become the pillar of fire to lead us out of confusion? We have seen that religious teaching presided at America's birth and nurtured her. In this hour of confusion, we must return to the fountainhead. We must draw our counsel from religion. Not ballots, and surely not bullets, but tenets - the eternal verities - they are our concern.

More than ever before in the history of America, there rests upon its clergymen the inescapable duty to assist in salvaging those values which have been the source of our greatness and the source of hope for fettered peoples throughout the world. In preserving true Americanism, we preachers serve humanity and God.

The world today is rapidly aligning itself under two opposing banners. One is dictatorship, which is the direct antithesis of all that America stands for. Whatever may be the blandishments of regimentation and enforced discipline and super-nationalism, there can be no traffic or compromise with that doctrine. On the other banner is inscribed democracy. Its devotees are being pushed back ever deeper into their own defenses. Everywhere the iron fist of autocratically-governed states is being lifted. Perhaps America will, before long, be the only stronghold left against their might.

I believe that when we uphold the hard-pressed standard of democracy, we are glorifying God. Why? Because God is not worshipped only by rituals and creeds, but also by a decent, just and harmonious society among men. Of such a society dictatorship is the sworn, unscrupulous enemy - for dictatorship means oppression, injustice, war! Those who sincerely pray in church and cathedral and synagog must strive to the end that democracy will be spread throughout the earth. If necessary, they will die in its behalf. Whether in neo-pagan Germany or in atheistic Russia, the organized and embodied word of God is being submerged in the raucous shouts of super-demagogues. When the authority of the sole King of the Universe is being challenged by little men with big voices and infinite delusions of God-like grandeur, we will not merit the reproach of Elijah, when he thundered, "How long will ye halt between two opinions?" Our answer will be immediate and unflinching. A clergyman who utters the notion, as the leader of the so-called Oxford Movement did some time ago, that a dictator can be the instrument of God, is a blasphemer of the Holy Spirit and denies the fundamental teaching of all Western religions, that every man is equal before God.

The exponents of the three dominant faiths in America are seeking here a common spiritual approach to the problems besetting our country. Here it is, in the absolute insistence on the equality of every man before his Maker. Communism lauds its popular front. Fascism is trying to create a common bloc out of the unrest and discontent in Central Europe. Tonight we can truly proclaim a Religious Front, of Catholics, Jews and Protestants, bound together by an unswerving faith in the divinity of man.

It is rank and utter folly for religions to waste their resources in fratricidal strife when they all are being harrassed by the common enemies - atheism, materialism, paganism, as championed by their twin offspring, Fascism and Communism. Unless the religious bodies of America patch up their quarrels for mutual preservation, they are together doomed. What injures one is the foe of all.

There is evidence, for example, that religious bigotry is being used by political propagandists to influence the forthcoming election. This may or may not be known to the responsible leaders of the political parties concerned. Ignorance is no excuse for such flagrant violations of our country's honor. When professional promoters seek to advance the "American way" by exploiting human prejudices and superstitions, eternal vigilance is the duty of those for whom they dare to speak. And unstinting condemnation may well be the considered duty of this Conference.

Let us go on record unequivocally against any form of religious intolerance in this election, no matter against whom it is used. Candidates for office should state without hesitation that a ballot cast for them as a result of religious or racial animosity is an insult. A vote registered even for the right man will, in the end, entangle his footsteps, if it emanates from a wrong impulse. As representatives of diverse creeds here assembled, we must affirm that when one faith is maligned for political profit, the safety and dignity of all of them are jeopardized.

Our purpose here this evening is to combat "subversive propaganda". What propaganda is more subversive of American institutions than the kind which seizes upon an election, the very symbol of a free government by universal suffrage, and converts it into an excuse for the exhumation of putrid religious and racial lies?

One of these deliberate falsehoods is the claim that Jews are Communists. At the Asheville Conference last August, I was highly gratified at the response to my statements in this regard. In fact, the impact of the data I presented upon the minds of my audience was so surprising that I realized the wide-spread acceptance of the bogey I attacked. Why, the vast majority of those earnest, fair-minded men in Asheville actually went to the Conference with the assumption that Jews are the forefront of the Communist movement. You will forgive me, then, if I repeat the argument I delivered there.

The official figures of the Petrograd Communist party in 1918 gave the Jews a percentage of 2.6. Neither Lenin nor Kalinin nor Stalin derived from Jewish ancestry. Even the Jewish laboring class organized a Bund to fight the Reds.

What about Germany? There the majority of Jews voted for the liberal bourgeois parties against both extremes, Naxism and Communism. Such affiliation was natural. My co-religionists in Germany were chiefly engaged in the professions, arts and commerce, whose interests were diametrically opposed to Communism. Yet, suppose that, by some wild notion, every German Jew had cast a ballot for the Red candidate! That would have accounted for only 7% of the total. In the Reichstags of 1932, when the Communist party held 89 and 100 seats respectively, not a single Jewish deputy sat among them.

We are naturally more interested in our own country. Definite statistics indicate that the proportion of Jews in the American Communist party is less than 1.10th of 1% of the Jewish population.

When we glance at the trend from coast to coast, one inescapable fact strikes us. Communism is drawing its recruits from basic industries, such as coal, steel, automobile and shipping. In the South it has spread among fruit-pickers and share-croppers. You might travel from New York to California, and from Maine to Mexico, and you will find scarcely a single Jew in all those fields combined.

Indeed, the rolls of the Communist Party speak for themselves. More than 50% of those lists are native born, many of them deriving from good old Yankee stock. The three outstanding leaders are all native, old-line, Americans. Figures could be cited from every state in the Union to prove that Jewish names on both candidate and membership lists are negligible. Even in New York City, where Communism is most vocal, the proportion of Jewish adherents is less than the proportion of Jews in the general population.

These are the unassailable statistics that were brought to the attention of the Asheville Conference a few months ago. And they constitute but a small portion of the vast array of facts at the disposal of anyone seeking the truth. The charge of a Jew-Communist link, if persisted in despite such easily-procured data, reveals itself as a downright, deliberate libel utilized for self-interest. Among the delectable bits of subversive propaganda a religious Conference should shatter, this one clamors for immediate despatch.

We Jews are not linked with any political party, Communist or otherwise. There never has been and never will be a "Jewish Vote". Group political action runs absolutely contrary to our tradition. Not once in American history have Jews thought about government, or shared in it, unless they did so, not as Jews, but as Americans. We are no different from other religious groups. No man in this country can "deliver", or predict, the Jewish electorate. The same intense conflict of political opinion and interest, the same incisive divisions of economic and social interest, that occur in America as a whole, split up American Israel. Ours is a collective entity in virtue of religion, and religion alone. We are a faith, not a political party.

Last week a Nazi-controlled society declared in favor of certain candidates. It was amusing to note with what meticulous care that society eliminated all Jewish aspirants for office. But despite such tactics, despite the provocation of our detractors who place their own narrow prejudices above the welfare of America as a unified complete whole, American Israel adheres to one principle as the undeviating course of genuine patriots - we vote, not as a group within the state, but as free, individual Americans!

The alleged identification of Jews and Communists, nevertheless, is not my only concern tonight. Since last August, when I appeared before the Conference in Asheville, another type of "subversive propaganda" has begun to make serious inroads upon American life and thought. This undercurrent rose to a dramatic surge at a meeting held in Madison Square Garden on October fourth. Twenty thousand Americans of German birth or descent were assembled, under the auspices of a committee dominated, temporarily I hope, by the American-German Bund. After addresses by the German Ambassador and the Mayor of Stuttgart, which were received with moderate applause, the audience rose cheering to its feet, in response to a speech by

Avery Brundage, chairman of the American Olympic Committee. What did Mr. Brundage do to arouse such a fever? Did he affirm American principles? Did he praise American achievements? He said this: "We can learn much from Germany. We, too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out Communism". Then he went on to extol the Nazi regime.

Why do I take issue with that statement? Because it urges the elimination of Communism from our national life? No. I adhere to that with all my heart. Because he dared to suggest that America still can learn from another country? No. America has not yet reached a stage of omniscience or perfection. Because it seemed in bad taste to reward so sensationally the head of the American Olympic Committee for taking the games to Germany? No! it was natural and gracious for Germans to adore the man who made Berlin the center of the world's athletic interest last summer. Do I take issue with the statement because a man nurtured on the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights, taught to revere freedom and liberty, and dedicated to the finest traditions of American sportsmanship therein abrogated them all in favor of a regime that has branded democracy as a disease? The news of such betrayal horrified me, but it is still not the nub of my disgust..... I take issue with the statement of Mr. Brundage because it implied that the only alternative to Communism is Fascism, that we can fight one kind of dictatorship only by embracing the other, that if we don't accept Moscow as our mentor, we must accept Berlin. I object to that with all my soul.

The Spanish peninsula is being furrowed with hatred and drenched with blood, because the inhabitants of that ancient land have been ranged behind the two extremes of Communism and Fascism. All of Europe is teetering on the edge of war between the two opposing brands of Totalitarianism. A subtle, but powerful, effort is being made by both camps, in America also, to convince mankind of the inescapability of the choice of one or the other. The Communist writers cry "Come to us or those wicked Fascists will get you!" The Fascists blazon across their shields - "We will save you from the menace of Communism!" Their combined campaign of fear has been so successful that a man who dares to attack one is labelled as a proponent of the other. But I declare unto you, my friends, "A plague on both their houses!"

If Fascism is the price for the destruction of Communism, I am not sure that the cure is not worse than the affliction. The only alternative I know of to the advent of Communism is the return to Americanism. A brown shirt or a black shirt is no better substitute for the red, white and blue than a red flag.

In the Statement of Objectives as prepared by the Chicago committee of the American Forward Movement, Communism and all other forms of the Totalitarian State are in toto abjured. This cannot be too emphatically reiterated. On pain of general misunderstanding, we must definitely and unequivocally indicate that anti-Communism is not a preliminary to Fascism. Avery Brundage may be dazzled by the showmanship and pomp of Nazi mass-meetings. This Conference clings to old-fashioned Yankee democracy. A cracker-box political pow-wow in a country store does not elicit the gasp of a theatrical producer or press agent, but it affirms the right of each individual to share in the policy of his country without dread of secret police or a concentration camp.

It is and must ever remain our abiding faith, that America's destiny will be unfolded, not under the mountaineous violence and tyranny of godless Communists or equally godless Fascists, but on the broad, sunny, beneficent plains of democracy. The moment has come for Americans to re-affirm their confidence in the technique of democracy. And what is democracy but the political version of faith in the possibilities of man? Democracy means that people have the ability, intelligence and will to govern themselves.

The warfare between dictatorship and democracy is nothing but the conflict between those who have faith in the masses of mankind and those who transfer that faith to a miracle-mongering dictator in order to escape responsibility for their decisions. When a man would rather be a goose-stepping, well-fed robot than a human being obligated to choose his own course, he is lost.

This world-wide itch to escape responsibility constitutes the real challenge. Huge groups of people, bewildered by economic depression incited to delusions of grandeur, enraptured by racial idolatry have sold their freedom for a parade, a uniform, and someone to think for them. The dictators of Europe have substituted cannon-fodder for human souls.

What is happening in America? Alien forces are diluting democratic ideals. The horrible passions that pit nation against nation, creed against creed, race against race, passions that are converting Europe into a cauldron of hate and disaster, passions that emanate from men drunk with arrogance, are growing like weeds in our sanctuary. The air is black with strange and raucous doctrines. The

very banners for which America bled over a period of 150 years are all too often shields for bigotry. The visions which brought hither millions of the oppressed, from the far reaches of the earth, are endangered. And above the melee of political doctrines and interests, like carrion buzzards poised for their harvest, hover the rabble-rousers, the baby Hitlers, waiting to devour the remains of American democracy. Their weapons are racial hatred, religious intolerance, omniscient, impossible promises, and fear of economic insecurity.

We must decide, once for all, whether to struggle for our sustenance as free men or to wallow in the trough of mass-glorification wearing the golden chains of a dictator. The spiritual drama of mankind, as revealed in the two Bibles of the western world, began by creating man in the image of God. Inspired by that consciousness, man strives to realize the divinity within him. This is our true work on earth. But when dictators convert men into bits of mechanism, and brand them only as stuffed animals primed for slaughter on the battle-field, they are thereby not only an obstacle to civilization - they are sworn enemies of all RELIGION.

The injunction, "Make the world safe for democracy", is more urgent today than in the time of Wilson. We can fulfill it not by waiting until democracy must be saved with blood on the battle-field, but by refusing to hand over our problems to a super-man. The very essence of religion is that man, the child of God, must be brave enough to retain the mastery of his own soul, and the very essence of democracy is faith in the ultimate benefits of that mastery.

Faith in the ideals of democracy is essential to faith in God. Without it, theism is but a futile phrase. The most immediate task of religious teachers today is to fuse indissolubly the belief in God and the belief in the potentialities of free government. We clergymen must testify once for all that religion is on the side of the masses of mankind. God is worshipped best through man.

This principle operates not only in the political but in the social sphere. Religion cannot ignore the need for changes in our social structure. It is impossible to erect a vital religion on a crumbling social order. When people are torn by economic discontent, they are contemptuous of the consolations of religion. And as long as these discontents can be tapped by restless or self-seeking elements, revolt is a constant threat. In the face of the challenge thundered by poverty and injustice, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen must forget their theological differences. Stone to stone, the church, cathedral and synagog can be welded into a mighty fortress where the best energies of our people will be devoted to the task of social reconstruction. Communism and Fascism feed on social wrongs. Correct the wrongs, and the central nerve of these destroyers will be cut in twain.

Now my friends, a final word. This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island. During the half century, thousands of my people have crowded the decks of incoming steamers as they approached the harbor of this fair city, to see the great figure of stone that proclaimed liberty and hope to every hamlet in Europe - to see it with their own eyes. As they peered, tense and anxious, into the fog, their hearts filled with new courage, and they thanked God for America.

We Jews have not lost that faith in America, and we never shall. Though Communists and Fascists assail this land with every resource of wit and gold, we know that America will stand fast to its traditions. The miasma of the present moment will vanish, and Israel, with other creeds, will continue to cooperate towards the vision that nestled in the minds of my forefathers and yours - the vision of a land free of religious prejudice, consecrated to religious faith and embodied in a religious form of government, which is none other than democracy.