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The church and social justice, 1930.

# A MESSAGE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

TISHRI, 5691 - - SEPTEMBER, 1930

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Issued By The

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

OF THE

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBS



(Additional copies of this statement can be procured by applying to the chairman of the Commission, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Har Sinai Congregation, Boiton and Wilson Streets, Baltimore, Md.)

### A MESSAGE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. TISHRI 5691.

The cycle of religious calendar now drawing to a close has been, on its material side, one of recession. Our vaunted prosperity has forsaken us. On the proverbial wheel of fortune, we have been in the descent. We trusted in our house, but it stood not; we laid hold of it but it endured not.

In these circumstances as on all kindred occasions, the poor have suffered acutely. Unemployment and destitution have become widespread, devastating homes and blighting human lives. The wealthy have likewise suffered. Great possessions have vanished in great losses. Dismal have been the results in anguish, despair, mental breakdown and suicide.

From lack of material means, many a worthy project has been abandoned. Grievous especially has been the curtailing of our benevolences precisely at a time when the need for benevolence is keenest.

Much has been said and written about the cause and the cure of these ills, yet thus far without much avail. The wisest have been as without knowledge and the men of understanding without discernment.

We yearn for the speedy dawn of a brighter day, when as so often in the past, prosperity will revive. But the present is a day of adversity in which we can but consider.

Our attention should turn in the perplexities of the hour to those factors which belong to the realms of mind and spirit, the realms in which religion holds sway. Want has come upon us not because nature has grown chary or human labor frail. Fears and hesitancies in human hearts have retarded the flow of commerce and slackened industry's whir. It was also the expectations and avidities in those same unseen depths that precipitated the rash speculative dealings whose aftermath we are now reaping. Indeed the very measure of the pair caused by our reverses is determined not by those reverses themselves but by the extent to which we are spiritually prepared or unprepared to meet them. Profound is the admonition of our sages: "Above all that thou guardest, keep thy heart; for out of it are the issues of life."

Another lesson of religious import to be derived from the present visitation is that of the sacred unity of all human life. Our afflictions have brought home to us the realization of the fact that none can suffer alone. When employers suffer, workers suffer. When consumers suffer, producers suffer. Each class needs the other for wages or for patronage. The riches of the rich are jeopardized by the poverty of the poor as the

hopes of the poor are memaced by the blunders of the rich. We who have so long declared that God is one are now taught by hardship that humanity is one.

Then, the spectacle which has been unfolding before us of the deadly effect of unemployment, not merely upon material possessions but upon all the values of life, raises the struggle against unemployment to a sacred Weighty is the obligation to consider the various expedients deemed helpful; for instance, the steady raising of the age below which children are kept in school and out of industry; mothers' pensions to reduce the number of women and of minors seeking work; old age pensions for those no longer acceptable to a machine industry which rejects age with its fidelity for youth with its vigor; a perfected system of employment exchanges eliminating waste, delays and errors in the linkage of workers needing situations with situations that need workers; unemployment insurance, already tried in foreign lands and in some American industries with good results; prosperity reserves on the part of the governments, and the planning of public construction in such wise as to offer a maximum of public employment when there is slackness of private employment; such bureaus of economic observations as will issue timely warning against the approach of economic decline, and counsel measures of forestalling it. Add to this ampler educational facilities and institutional care for those temporarily or permanently incapable of work.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis has commended the five day working week which has already been adopted in various industries with success. If our constantly improving machinery with its displacement of human workers is not to produce unemployment before it produces aught else, not only must the number of working days a week be reduced; there must also be a diminution of the number of working hours a day with corresponding increases of wage rates, enabling all workers to earn sufficiently.

Corollary to this is sympathy with the cause of organized labor, perhaps the most potent of all forces for securing hours and wages requisite for neutralizing unemployment and for the civic and spiritual development of the worker. The issue of organized labor brings to mind the disheartening developments at Elisabethtown, Marion and Gastonia as well as the spirit of social endeavor with which Jewish, Protestant and Catholic religious leaders have, during the past year, joined in applying to the turmoil their common principles of brotherly love. It is our profound hope that these principles may soon be accepted and applied in the southern textile situation and in all industry.

Following in the wake of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Universalists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Unitarians have, of late, resolved upon an intelligent attitude toward birth control. Birth is one of the many forces of nature which like steam, air, gravitation, electricity and chemical valence, succumb to human control as civilization progresses. Where the intelligent regulation of bith can avert suffering and degradation, the voice of mercy speaks. That voice should not go unheeded. It went not unheeded among the sages of the Jewish past.

The social creed of the Rabbis suggests yet other ways of aiding those who toil. It urges investors to put humanity first, not dividends first, when deciding which industries to favor. Investments should be withheld from enterprises in which reasonable standards of hours, wages and working conditions are ignored and should be directed to those whose standards are high. Attention should also be given the white lists provided for certain industries. By means of the white lists, we can, as consumers, bestow our patronage where humane conditions prevail and divert it from ventures which lack scruple in the matter of overwork, underpay and unhygienic shop conditions.

The days have now arrived on which we supplicate God's mercy. Our sages have said: "As one showeth mercy to God's creatures, one receiveth mercy from on high." Again, without love for humanity, love toward God is an empty phase. Our economic views may exhibit diversity. Yet, in the conviction that love is supreme, all of us can unite. Those who differ greatly may, in the spirit of love and social justice take fruitful counsel together. Where that spirit is absent, even small differences eventuate in conflict.

May the New Year be both a happy and a consecrated one. May there be inscribed anew upon our hearts the purpose to live for humanity and by living for humanity to live anew in God.



## "THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE"

It might perhaps be well at the outset to restate a truism oft overlooked - that church and religion are not synonymous, and that religion and morality, or more specifically, religion and social justice are not synonymous. They are organically related, but not identical. The church is the symbol and vehicle of religious idealism. Religion, at least to the religious, is the dynamics of social justice. But religion has other functions to perform in human life.

fellowmen. Feligion is concerned with the relations of man to his fellowmen. Feligion is concerned with the relations of man to the Universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions, touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to answer certain questions which men have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society; questions of why and whence and whither, - desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

The answers which religion gives to these questions lead to definite mental attitudes on the part of those who accept them, which manifest themselves in social conduct. Religion affirms that the Universe is essentially not a machine but a personality, and that the primary facts in nature are life and thought and purpose. Human life is eternally significant because it, too, is creative personality, the very image of that life and thought and purpose which throb through all things. He who

is persuaded by these heroic postulates of religion, ascertainable by faith but not demonstrable by reason, will find himself adopting those characteristic attitudes which we call religious, and which in turn lead to moral integrity. Religion is thus related to morals as sun and soil are related to the fruit of the tree.

Thus, for example, the religious man will be reverent. In the mystic presence of circumambient divinity, in a world suffused with the glory of unfolding life and purpose, the religious man stands rapt in adoration. His spirit reveres all the manifestations of nature, all the outpourings of the mind and soul of man. This mood of reverence is rich soil for moral idealism. Herein do the boundaries of faith and morals meet.

Again the religious man will think of life and personality and human relationships in terms of holiness; for God, the Supreme Personality, is holy. Holiness is transfigured morality, — morality touched with the eastasy of absolute perfection. The religious man, in his halting and finite way, will aspire to imitate this divine perfection: "Be ye holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy". He will not be content with the mere formal observance of the accepted moral code. He will seek to cleanse every fold and crease of his spiritual being. He will go behind acts to motives, and will set new goals for his life's motivations. He will be more than a moral man. He will be a moral pathfinder. Here, again, the boundaries of religion and ethics touch.

The religious man will regard his life and that of his neighbor as holy and inviolable, for every life is a reflex of divinity and is justified of itself. Every act of wrong and injustice desecrates life, mars and defaces the image of God.

Oppression and exploitation are more than violations of the laws of society. They are sacrilege and blasphemy. They thwart life - God's

life in man; they distort and mutilate that which is the end and goal of all being - the free, untrammeled unfoldment of personality.

Hence it is that the profoundly religious men of all times were the mightiest spokesmen of social justice, the uncompromising champions of absolute righteousness. It was from the lips of men touched with the burning coal of divine afflatus, from the lips of the prophet, the seer and the man of God, that the first great cry for justice leaped out upon the world. They who knew God most intimately spake of human rights most fearlessly. It was in the name of God, the stern and righteous Judge, that those Titans of the Spirit wielded the scorpion whip of their fury upon those who ground the faces of the poor and turned aside the way of the humble. It was in the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful, that they pleaded the cause of the orphan and the widow, the beaten and the broken of life. It was in the name of God, the Father of all, that they espoused the cause of a universal brotherhood, which over-leaping all ancient boundaries erected by fear and selfishness, turned swords into plowshares and enmity into fellowship.

The first great service which religion, through its historic agency, the church, has rendered and can continue to renier the cause of social justice, is that it can function as the motive power of enthusiasm for all programs of social amelioration.

It can be the dynamo of spiritual energy for every great enterprise. Speaking betimes and oft of a God Whose ways are justice and truth. Whose worship is goodness, and upon whose

high alters only the sacrifice of righteousness are acceptable, religion and the church can so sensitizie the minds of men to moral values, that when a situation confronts them, involving a clear moral issue, whether in their private life, or in their social, political or industrial life, they will be moved to choose the good and eschew the evil.

I am speaking now, of course, of those religions only which believe in human progress. I am speaking only of those religions which are concerned with the development of human personality, not with its annihilation. There are Oriental faiths or systems of metaphysics tinged with a mystic pessimism, which regard the human craving for growth and progress as the source of all suffering, and the disintegration of personality as the goal of all existence. Such faiths are foreign to the Occidental temperament, and we are not here concerned with them.

There are other religions which stress the total and irremediable depravity of this world, and which, therefore, urge men to seek personal salvation in escape and in preparation for an hereafter wherein all wrongs will automatically be righted, and all frustrated ideals glorously realized. The religion of the European peoples has had a considerable element of this other-worldliness in it. But it is fast abandoning it. The Western mind loves life, its high adventure and its promise, and it hungers after the life more abundant. It refuses to assume that the world is irrevocably lost. Rather it entertains an active faith in the life ascendant, rising through defeat and failure to ultimate harmony and well-being.

The religion of the Western world is therefore fast shifting

to God, to the earth, which God gave to the children of man; from the realm of human conjecture and imagination to the realm of reality, where men live and toil and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness. In this earthly realm of tangled lives and purposes, still so sadly disfigured by poverty and hate and ignorance and wrong, in the midst of this communion of saints and sinners which we call humanity, religion, deriving wast power from its mighty convictions, and capable of creating moods and attitudes among men which are most congenial for moral idealism, can serve the cause of struggling mankind in a marvelous manner.

The first great service which the church, the effective arm of religion, can render the cause of social justice, is to galvanize by education and inspiration the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it. It can enkindle a crusading zeal for the Kingdom of God, which will be decidedly a kingdom of this world, fashioned out of the lowly clay of this life, but after the pattern and grace of highest perfection.

The church, however, must not remain content to speak
of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy
for speculative sciences. It is a dynamic agency equipped for
social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do
battle for its sanctities.

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system as against another.

It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestive and authority. The church would be compelled either to champion

an existing order, in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or an imaginary order, which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The church is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake in each, and the church must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system is adequate guarantee.

Nor should the church be called upon to play the roll of arbiter in the numerous minor economic disputes which daily arise in our society, concerning which only the expert economist can today speak with any degree of wisdom or authority. Numerous labor controversies, for example, occur today which do not at all involve such clear-cut moral issues which would warrant the church in throwing the weight of its influence on one side or the other. The church ought not to fritter itself away by introducing itself into every minor economic wrangle which may possess little or no social significance.

There are, however, problems in modern society of wast social import, reaching to the very heart of our civilization and affecting the whole structure of society, concerning which the church must speak, and in no uncertain terms. Conditions of palpable and wast wrong persist throughout the world, which thwart the rich promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat, and fill the habitations of men with anguish and sorrow. Greed and lust and oppression devastate

life. Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our woman-hood. Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of justice and opportunity fully obtain which would make possible the free, untrammeled unfoldment of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's children according to the measure of their capacities.

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not, remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must life up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the dispossessed of the earth. Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the creations and wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees! It must demand the application of their best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' ksepers", and drive them on to ever new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which Man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitmate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

Above all, it must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncompromising loyalty to social ideals. The church must be feared and revered for its dauntless proclamation of truth. It must rise above the state, not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of all the political programs and policies of the state. It dare not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking, in doctrinaire fashion, to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an alliance which might compel it to play the role of defender and apologist. The church must be free, fearless and autonomous. It must be the guide, the critic, the censor of state and society. It must never be the tool of propaganda or the channel for reaction.

Religion has not always been faithful to its informing purpose. When the first great impulse which creates a religion embodies itself in an institution, it loses much of its daring and courage. All religions at the first moment of their revelation, when they leap hot and frenzied from the soul of some God-intoxicated seer, are purging fires, consuming flames. They speak in thunder and sweep life with a "besom of destruction". They possess the dynamics of prophecy. They are "set over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build anew and to plant". The world stands aghast and frightened. It turns upon the prophets of the new revelation and crucifies them, only to kneel a moment later in adoration and worship them.

But soon the hot coals of religious passion cool off. The heroic mood vanishes. Loyalties lose their sacrificial quality. The voice crying in the wilderness becomes an echo, faint and timid. Enthusiasm is quenched in habit. Feligion becomes institutionalized. Hierarchy and vested interests appear. The church becomes an end in itself. When its interests are at state it will compromise and yield and ofttimes betray men in their direct needs.

This danger, of course, is inherent in all organization. Whetever moral progress has been achieved in the world has been largely the work, not of groups, but of individual spiritual adventurers, rebels and non-conformists. Revelations seldom come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely the monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only as the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of reality, that

prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The church, therefore, freighted down with organization, must constantly war against itself to save its soul. The church must protect itself against the downward drag of institutionalism, and the paralysis of will which results from over-organization and prosperity. The church triumphant often spells the faith defeated. It is not so difficult after all to be a voice crying in the wilderness. It is far more difficult to be a voice - clear and courageous - crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a Temple or a Cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the "via dolorosa" - the hard road of conflict and persecution.

Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere; and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant.

The church is a fellowship of the servants of God. The mission of God's servant was long ago defined by a prophet in exile: "He shall make the right to go forth according to the truth. He shall not fail or be crushed until he have set the right in the earth."

#### ORGANIZED RELIGION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

BY

#### RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Lord Macaulay began his famous address before the House of Commons in 1833 on the Removal of Jewish Disabilities, by quoting a friend of his who declared "that the strength of the case of the Jews was a serious inconvenience to every advocate, that it was hardly possible to make a speech for them without wearying the audience by repeating truths which were universally admitted."

I experience the same inconvenience in discussing this subject of Organized Religion and Social Justice. For the things of which I shall speak are bordering on platitudes. There are however, some "luminous platitudes", to use a happy phrase, which needs must be repeated, else their very custom and usage might enfeeble the patent truth which they express.

It might perhaps be well at the outset to restate a truism oft overlooked - that religion and morality are not synonymous. They are organically related and interdependent, but not identical. Religion may or may not be the dynamics of morality; it may or may not derive its optimism from ethical idealism, but it has other functions to perform in human life.

Morality is concerned largely with the relation of man to his fellowmen. By morality I mean more than the minimum rules of conduct which social experience has evolved and declared to be indispensable. I do not refer to the unconscious ethical precipitates of the ages which because of their inevitableness may be said to be almost instinctive. Group life is predicated upon certain habits of conduct on the part of the members of the group

which we call moral because they are fundamental. These habits of conduct may be of universal and enduring validity. On the other hand they may be fundamental only to a given social stage and age and are therefore transitional. Again moral evolution like biclogic evolution seems to be following a definite upward curve, guided by definite principles of progress. It is not sporatic or unintelligent or capricious. It is therefore scientifically inaccurate to speak of all morality as mere social custom, which one age accepts and another may reject with impunity. Even in the so-called automatic and customary morality these principles are at work; for such morality is grounded in the nature of man and of his universe. They are his reflexes to the desperate needs of his life. The racial experience and wisdom speak through them. They are customary not in the sense of being superficial but in the sense of having been accepted out of conformity and not as a result of judgment and appraisal.

The definite upward curve moves in the direction of the twingoals of freedom and responsibility. These ideals, which embrace
all others have beckened the race continuously along the long,
hard ascent from its primordial jungle life. How to be free in
a world of necessity, how to be autonomous in a society of other
autonomous personalities, how to adjust the one to the many these ancient problems have been the fooi of the moral reflections
and adventures of the race. On the basis of a happier solution
of these problems only can a moral code or a social institution
be challenged. Morality may therefore be defined as the best
judgments of the best minds of the race which hold the promise of
the soundest solutions of these problems. Such judgments are at
best approximations, but until the logic of other judgments becomes
more cogent and inviting, they are binding and authoratative.

In speaking of morality, therefore, I have in mind the highest ideals of which the human heart and mind of our day are capable, - ideals which have been crystalized in thought and time and which, if not attested by experience, are yet not contradicted by it.

This morality is concerned largely with the relation of man to his fellowmen.

Religion is concerned with the relations of man to the Universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to answer certain questions which men have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society; questions of why and whence and whither, - desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

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they will be moved to choose the good and eschew the evil.

I am speaking only of those religions only in which the ethical motif is paramount. Before religion climbed the plane of moral idealism it was essentially pessimistic. It accepted the inevitableness of all things and proceeded to adjust man, through an increasingly involved and refined ritus, to the desperate finalities of existence. There is little joy in primitive religions. The dominant theme is rather one of fear, resignation, stress, terror, and an unutterable sadness. The more advanced a-moral religious of Egypt, Babylon, India, Greece and Rome are also overcast with gloom, and speak of tragedy and death. Even the tempestuous orgies which attended the celebrations of the Gods and Godesses of fertility carried with them a note of horror and pathos. For the religious of antiquity were naturalistic. They were man's efforts to attune himself to the rhythm of the physical world, to understand it, to control it, to protect himself against it. The physical world yields but little to man's importunities. Its laws hold man as in a vise and they make man to suffer hunger, and pain and bereavement and decay. To the God of the physical world man can be nothing but subservient. It was but yesterday that man discovered a scientific idealism based on an increasing mastery of the physical world. But even now - and for all time to come - man may be beguiled by this sense of power and freedom but he cannot escape the inescapable - the ring of physical limitations with which life has girded him. Scientific idealism leads at best to a noble and somber stoicism.

It is in the realm of the inner spiritual life and in the shared moral life of the group that man first discovered his freedom and his hope. There man could set definite goals and attain them, or approximate them. There he could vindicate his will and increase his domain.

He could project ideals which far outdistanced him and his world, ideals of justice and love and holiness, a kingdom of moral values, almost beyond his ken, certainly beyond his ascertained knowledge and acquired experience - and then proceed to realize them. He never fully realized them - but the vivid sensation of progressive realization gave him a joyous sense of victory and vindication. In his inner life he knew himself to be less inhibited, less frustrated, more the master and the lawgiver. To the God of the moral world man is a coworker, " a little lower than the angels. Hence those religions which were early transformed from the naturalistic to the moral unmistakeably take on a brighter hue. The song comes readily to the lips of those faithful ones whose religion is one of doing justly and loving mercy and walking uprightly with God! It is no accident of style or temperament that the pages of the literature of Israel, of the Old and the New Testaments, ring with song and exalted hopefulness. A Hundred times over and over again an unbounded optimism bursts forth from them: "I will sing of mercy and judgment" "My tongue sings of Thy righteousness" "But the righteous doth sing and rejoice" "Behold my servants shall sing for joy of heart" "It is joy to the just to do judgment" "The Kingdom of God is joy" "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, and peace" "Shout for joy all ye that are upright in heart."

Religion therefore derives its hopefulness from its moral motif.

It is only as religion overflows into ethical aspiration that it
inspirits life and makes it lyrical. The supreme value of religion
to life is just this contribution to the creative joyousness of human
existence, this sense of moral freedom, this impulsive urge to surmount
scientific uncertainty, logical perplexities, the defeatism of
rationalism and apparent mortality.

Again I am speaking now only of those religions which believe in human progress and which are concerned with the development of human personality, not with its annihilation. There are Oriental faiths or systems of metaphysics tinged with a mystic pessimism, which regard the human craving for growth and progress as the source of all suffering, and the disintegration of personality as the goal of all existence.

Such faiths are foreign to the Occidental temperament, and we are not here concerned with them.

There are other religions which stress the total and irremediable depravity of this world, and which, therefore, urge men to seek personal salvation in escape and in preparation for an hereafter wherein all wrongs will automatically be righted, and all frustrated ideals gloriously realized. The religion of the European peoples has had a considerable element of this other-worldliness in it. But it is fast abandoning it. The Western mind loves life, its high adventure and its promise, and it hungers after the life more abundant. It refuses to assume that the world is irrevocably lost. Rather it entertains an active faith in the life ascendant, rising through defeat and failure to ultimate harmony and well-being.

The religion of the Western world is therefore fast shifting its center of emotional gravity from the heavens, which belong to God, to the earth, which God gave to the children of man; from the reals of human conjecture and imagination to the reals of reality, where men live and toil and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness. In this earthly reals of tangled lives and purposes, still so sadly disfigured by poverty and hate and ignorance and wrong, in the midst of this communion of saints and sinners which we call humanity, religion, deriving wast power from its mighty convictions, and capable of creating moods and attitudes among men which are most congenial for

moral idealism, can serve the cause of struggling mankind in a marvelous manner.

The first great service which the church, the effective arm of religion, can reader the cause of social justice, is to galvanize by education and inspiration the will of men so that they will seek freedom and responsibility, that is to say justice and pursue it. It can enkindle a crusading zeal for the Kingdom of God, which will be decidedly a kingdom of this world, fashioned out of the lowly clay of this life, but after the pattern and grace of highest perfection.

The church, however, must not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy for speculative sciences. It is a dynamic agency equipped for social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do battle for its sanctities.

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system as against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. The church would be compelled either to champion an existing order in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or an imaginary order, which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The church is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake in each, and the church must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system is adequate guarantee.

Nor should the church be called upon to play the role of arbiter in the numerous minor economic disputes which daily arise in our society, concerning which only the expert economist can today speak with any degree of wisdom or authority. Numerous labor controversies, for example, occur today which do not at all involve such clear-cut moral issues which would warrant the church in throwing the weight of its influence on one side or the other. The church ought not to fritter itself away by introducing itself into every minor economic wrangle which may possess little or no social significance.

There are, however, problems in modern society of vast social import, reaching to the very heart of our civilization and affecting the whole structure of society, concerning which the church must speak, and in no uncertain terms. Conditions of palpable and vast wrong persist throughout the world, which thwart the rich promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat, and fill the habitations of men with anguish and sorrow. Greed and lust and oppression devastate life. Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood.

Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of justice and opportunity fully obtain which would make possible the free, untrammeled unfoldment of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's children according to the measure of their capacities.

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not, remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the disposeessed of the earth. Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the greations

or wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees. It must demand the application of their best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' keepers", and drive them on to ever new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which Man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

It is therefore gratifying to witness the establishment by the great communions of our land, of commissions on social justice which, singly or cooperatively, are defining in specific terms the position of their churches on the great industrial problems of our day and which are attempting to study fairly and impartially these industrial conditions which require study, to concentrate public attention upon them, to proffer the service of counsel or mediation and to carry on an educational propaganda until the desired ends are attained.

Industrial conflicts in which moral values are involved no longer find the churches totally unprepared or unwilling to assume the role of leadership. Some churches are now equipped adequately to investigate the facts involved in a given industrial situation and are possessed of vehicles for broadcasting their findings to the public. The ultimate effectiveness of the church in such social emergencies will depend upon the quality of its leadership, upon its competence, knowledge, fairness and courage.

Above all the church must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncompromising loyalty to social ideals. The church must be feared and revered for its dauntless proclamation of truth. It must rise above the state, not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of all the political programs and policies of the state. It done not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking, in doctrinaire fashion, to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an allience which might compel it to play the role of defender and apologist. The church must be free, fearless and autonomous. It must be the guide, the critic, the censor of state and society. It must never be the tool of propaganda or the channel for reaction.

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In the last war church and synagogue hired themselves out to the State as trumpeteers and apologists; and their choicest spirits stood in the midst of a crumbling world shaken by the pentecostal wail of perishing peoples helpless, silent and confused.

When the first great impulse which creates a religion embodies itself in an institution, it loses much of its daring and courage. All religions at the first moment of their revelation, when they leap hot and frenzied from the soul of some God-intoxicated seer, are purging fires, consuming flames. They speak in thunder and sweep life with a "besom of destruction." They possess the dynamics of prophecy. They are "set over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build anew and to plant." The world stands aghast and frightened. It turns upon the prophets of the new revelation and crucifies them, only to kneel a moment later in adoration and worship them.

But soon the hot coals of religious passion cool off. The heroic mood vanishes. Loyalties lose their sacrificial quality. The voice crying in the wilderness becomes an echo, faint and timid. Enthusiasm is quenched in habit. Religion becomes institutionalized. Hierarchy and vested interests appear. The church becomes an end in itself. When its interests are at stake it will compromise and yield and ofttimes betray men in their direct needs.

This danger, of course, is inherent in all organization.

Whatever moral progress has been achieved in the world has been largely the work, not of groups, but of individual spiritual adventurers, rebels and non-conformists. Revelations seldom come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely the monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only

as the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of reality, that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The church, therefore, freighted down with organization, must constantly war against itself to save its soul. The church must protect itself against the downward drag of institutionalism, and the paralysis of will which results from over-organization and prosperity. The church triumphant often spells the faith defeated. It is not so difficult after all to be a voice crying in the wilderness. It is far more difficult to be a voice - clear and courageous - crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a Temple or a Cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the "via delorosa" - the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere; and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant.

The church is a fellowship of the servants of God. The mission of God's servant was long ago defined by a prophet in exile: "He shall make the right to go forth according to the truth. He shall not fail or be crushed until he have set the right in the earth."

Lord Macauley began his famous address before the House of Commons in 1833 on the Removal of Jewish Disabilities by quoting a friend of his who declared "that the strength of the case of the Jews was a serious inconvenience to every advocate, that it was hardly possible to make a speech for them without wearying the audience by repeating truths which were universally admitted."

I experienced the same inconvenience in discussing this subject of Organized Religion and Social Justice. For the things of which I shall speak are bordering on platitudes. There are however, some "luminous platitudes", to use a happy phrase which needs must be repeated, else their very custom and usage might enfeeble the patent truth which they express.

It might perhaps be well at the outset to restate a truism oft overlooked - that religion and morality are not synonymous. They are organically related and interdependent, but not identical. Religion may or may not be the dynamics of norality; it may or may not derive its optimism from ethical idealism, but it has other functions to perform in human life.

Morality is concerned largely with the relation of man to his fellowmen. By morality I mean more than the minimum rules of conduct which social experience has evolved and declared to be indispensable. I do not refer to the unconscious ethical precipitates of the ages which because of their inevitablesess may be said to be almost instinctive. Group life is predicated upon certain habits of conduct on the part of the members of the group

which we call moral because they are fundamental. These habits of conduct may be of universal and enduring validity. On the other hand they may be fundamental only to a given social stage and age and are therefore transitional. Again moral evolution like biologic evolution seems to be following a definite upward curve, guided by definite principles of progress. It is not sporatic or unintelligent or capricious. It is therefore scientifically inaccurate to speak of all morality as mere social custom, which one age accepts and snother may reject with impunity. Even in the so-called automatic and customary morality these principles are at work; for such morality is grounded in the nature of man and of his universe. They are his reflexes to the desperate needs of his life. The racial experience and wisdom speak through them. They are custom ry not in the sense of being superficial but in the sense of having been accepted out of conformity and not as a result of judgment and appraisal.

The definite upward curve moves in the direction of the twingoals of freedom and responsibility. These ideals, which embrace all others have beckened the race continuously along the long, hard ascent from its primordial jungle life. How to be free in a world of necessity, how to be autonomous in a society of other autonomous personalities, how to adjust the one to the many these ancient problems have been the foci of the moral reflections and adventures of the race. On the basis of a possible solution of these problems only can a moral code or a social institution be challenged. Morality may therefore be defined as the best judgments of the best minds of the race which hold within them the promise of the soundest solution of these problems. Such

judgments are at best approximation, but until the logic of other judgments becomes more cogent and inviting, they are binding and authoratative.

In speaking of morality, therefore, I have in mind the highest ideals of which the human heart and mind of our day are capable, - ideals which have been crystallized in thought and time and which, if not attested by experience, are yet not contradicted by it. This morality is concerned largely with the relation of man to his fellowmen.

Religion is concerned with the relations of man to the Universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions, touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to answer certain questions which mer have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society; questions of why and whence and whither, - desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

The answers which religion gives to these questions lead to definite mental attitudes on the part of those who accept them, which manifest themselves in social conduct. Religion affirms that the Universe is essentially not a machine but a personality, and that the primary facts in mature are life and thought and purpose. Human life is eternally significant because it, too, is creative personality, the very image of that life and thought and purpose which throb through all things. He who

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is persuaded by these heroic postulates of religion, ascertainable by faith but not demonstrable by reason, will find himself adopting those characteristic attitudes which we call religious, and which in turn lead to moral integrity. Religion is thus related to morals as sun and soil are related to the fruit of the tree.

Thus, for example, the religious man will be reverent. In the mystic presence of circumambient divinity, in a world suffused with the glory of unfolding life and purpose, the religious man stands rapt in adoration. His spirit reveres all the manifestations of nature, all the outpourings of the mind and soul of man. This mood of reverence is rich soil for moral idealism. Herein do the boundaries of faith and morals meet.

Again the religious man will think of life and personality and human relationships in terms of holiness; for Coa, the Supreme Personality, is holy. Holiness is transfigured morality, — morality touched with the scatasy of absolute perfection. The religious man, in his halting and finite way, will aspire to imitate this divine perfection: "Be ye holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy". He will not be content with the mere formal observance of the accepted moral code. He will seek to cleanse every fold and crease of his spiritual being. He will go behind acts to motives, and will set new goals for his life's motivations. He will be more than a moral man. He will be a moral pathfinder. Here, again, the boundaries of religion and ethics touch.

The religious man will regard his life and that of his neighbor as holy and inviolable, for every life is a reflex of divinity and is justified of itself. Every act of wrong and injustice descrates life, mars and defaces the image of God.

Oppression and exploitation are more than violations of the laws of society. They are sacrilege and blasphemy. They thwart life - God's

life in man; they distort and mutilate that which is the end and goal of all being - the free, untrammeled unfoldment of personality.

Hence it is that the profoundly religious men of all times were the mightiest spokesmen of social justice, the wncompromising champions of absolute righteousness. It was from the lips of men touched with the burning coal of divine afflatus, from the lips of the prophet, the seer and the man of God, that the first great cry for justice leaped out upon the world. They who knew God most intimately spoke of human rights most fearlessly. It was in the name of God, the stern ani righteous Judge, that those Titans of the Spirit wielded the scorpion whip of their fury upon those who ground the faces of the poor and turned aside the way of the humble. It was in the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful, that they pleaded the cause of the orphan and the widow, the beaten and the broken of life. It was in the name of God, the Father of all, that they espoused the cause of a universal brotherhood, which over-leaping all ancient boundaries erected by fear and selfishness, turned swords into plowshares and enmity into fellowship.

The first great service which religion, through its historic agency, the church, has rendered and can continue to render the cause of social justice, is that it can function as the motive power of enthusiasm for all programs of social amelioration.

It can be the dynamo of spiritual energy for every great enterprise. Speaking betimes and oft of a God Whose ways are justice and truth, Whose worship is goodness, and upon Whose

high alters only the sacrifice of righteousness are acceptable, religion and the church can so sensitize the minds of men to moral values, that when a situation confronts them, involving a clear moral issue, whether in their private life, or in their social, political or industrial life, they will be moved to choose the good and eschew the evil.

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A SECTION AND ASSESSMENT

I am speaking of those religions only in which the ethical motif is paramount. Before religion climbed the plane of moral idealism it was essentially pessimistic. It accepted the inevitableness of all things and proceeded to adjust man, through an increasingly involved and refined ritus, to the desperate finalities of existence. There is little joy in primitive religions. The dominant theme is rather one of fear, resignation, stress, terror, - and an unutterable sadness. The more advanced a-moral religions of Egypt, Babylon, India, Greece and Rome are also overcast with gloom, and speak of tragedy and death. Even the tempestuous orgies which attended the celebrations of the Gods and Godesses of fertility carried with them a note of horror and pathos. For the religions of antiquity were naturalistic. They were man's efforts to attune himself to the whythm of the physical world, to understand it, to control it, to protect himself against it. The physical world yields but little to man's importunities. Its laws hold man as in a vise and they make man to suffer hunger, and pain and bereavement and decay. To the God of the physical world man can be nothing but subservient. It was but yesterday that man discovered a scientific idealism based on an increasing mastery of the physical world. But even now - and for all time to come - man may be beguiled by this sense of power and freedom but he cannot escape the inescapable - the ring of physical limitations with which life has girded him. Scientific idealism leads at best to a noble and somber stoicism.

It is in the realms of the inner spiritual life and in the shared moral life of the group that man first discovered his freedom and his hope. There man could set definite goals and attain them, or approximate them. There he could vindicate his

will and increase his domain. He could project ideals which far outdistanced him and his world, - ideals of justice and love and holiness, a kingdom of moral values, almost beyond his ken, certainly beyond his ascertained knowledge and acquired experience and then proceed to realize them. He never fully realized them but the vivid sensation of progressive realization gave him a joyous sense of victory and vindication. In his inner life he knew himself to be less inhibited, less frustrated, more the master and the lawgiver. To the God of the Moral World man is a co-worker, "a little lower than the angles". Hence those religions which were early transformed from the natural to the moral unmistakeably take on a brighter hue. The song comes readily to the lips of those faithful ones whose religion is one of doing justly and loving mercy and walking uprightly with God! It is no accident of style or temperament that the pages of the sacred literature of Judaion of the Old and the New Testaments, ring with song and exalted hopefulness. A hundred times over and over again unbounded optimism bursts froth from them. "I will sing of mercy and judgment" "My tongue sings of thy righteousness" "But the righteous doth sing and rejoice" "Behold my servants shall sing for joy of heart" "It is joy to the just to do judgment" "The Kingdom of God is joy" "The fruit of the Spirit'is love, joy, and peace" "Shout for joy all ye that are upright in heart."

Religion therefore derives its hopefulness from its moral motif.

It is therefore only as religion overflows into ethical aspiration that it inspirits life and makes it lyrical. The supreme value of religion to life is just this contribution to the creative joyousness of human existence, this sense of moral freedom, this impulsive urge to surmount scientific uncertainty, logical perplexities, the defeatism of rationalism and apparent mortality.

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which believe in human progress, I am speaking only of those and moligious which are concerned with the development of human personality, not with its annihilation. There are Oriental faiths or systems of metaphysics tinged with a mystic pessimism, which regard the human craving for growth and progress as the source of all suffering, and the disintegration of personality as the goal of all existence. Such faiths are foreign to the Occidental temperament, and we are not here concerned with them.

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WRITS
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these services of counsel and mediation and to carry on the
educational propagands until the wrongs are righted.

Industrial conflicts in which moral values are involved no longer find the churches totally unprepared or unwilling to assume the role of leadership. Some churches are now equipped adequately to investigate the facts involved in a given industrial and are possessed of vehicles for broadcasting their findings to the public. The ultimate effectiveness of the church in the social emergencies will depend upon the quality of its leadership, upon its competence,

The Church and Social Justice. 1. It mught perhaps he well at the outset to re-state a truster of one listed that the church and religion are not myunique ous and order that religion and social justice are also not squary uses, they are dismitted, but not sentime! Idealism, so is religion, at least to the religious, the ofgranines of social justice. But it is But religion hors other frenchous to perform in human life. Morality is shippy concerned with the relations of men to his fellowmen . Religion is also concerned with On relations of moun to the universe, and to relievate reality. Moralety of bosic convictions touching the Elemental facts of Existence. Morality aims to severality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The sain of religion is also to suscen certain their material reflection less and which they will constrius to and under the runt perfect order of society: questions of Whey and whence and who Ther?

2. The ausways which religion gives to their questions beauty to definite at the ten at part of them who ascept them while manifest themselves in social conduct. Religion declares that the universe is just a mashin but a personality that the primary fact, in nature are life and thought and purpose. Human life is chernally nips from the less many to che in personality and that the primary fact, in nature is principled to personality and the life and their course of, too, is personality, and not more many to all therips, and are all through all their who account they have a less than the less than the primary fact there is the personality and the personality and the personality all their the many hall there are all through all their the members and the personality will find the themselves have the personal to the theory have a deptor there characterists attached while we call religious:

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# A CRUSADE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

## By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

THE first great service which the can inder the cause of social justice is to great se by education and inspira-

ation the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it. It can enkindle a crusading zeal for the Kingdom of God which will be decidedly a kingdon of this world, fashioned out of the lowly clay of this life, but after the pattern and grace of highest perfection.

The church, however, must not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy for speculative sciences. It is a dynamic agency equipped for social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do valiant battle for its sanctities.

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system as against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmat.sm. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. The church would be compelled either to champion an existing order in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or an imaginary order, which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. church is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best

meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake in each, and the church must

> under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system holds adequate guarantees.

> There are however, ciety of vast social import, reaching to the very heart off our civilization and affecting the whole structure of society, concerning which the church must speak, and im no uncertain terms. Conditions of palpable and vast wrong persis: throughout' the would, which thwart the rish promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat, and fill the habitations oil men with anguish and sorrow. Greed and lust and oppression devastate life.

Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually frained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels off industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood. Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of justic; and opportunity fully obtain which would make possible he free, untrammeled unfoldment of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's ellildren according to their capacities.

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not, remain silent,

for social justice.

It must civ aloud It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the dispossessed of the earth, Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the creations and wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of sevurity.

The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees. It must demand the application of ,heir best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' keepers," and drive them on to ever new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth. in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which some shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

Above all, it must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncompromising loyalty to social ideals. The church must be

feared and revered for its dauntless proclamation of truth. It must rise above the state, not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of all the political programs and policies of the state. It -lare not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking, in doctrinnaire fashion, to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an alliance which might compel it to play the role of defender and apologist. The church has often been intrigued into casting the muntle of its sanctity over the corruptions of an unjust society. The church must be free, fearless and autonomous. It must be the guide, the critic, the censor of state and sceiety. It must never be the tool of propaganda or the channell for reaction.

# Better Times

New York's Welfare Magazine invites you and your friends to its

### EIGHTH ANNUAL DINNER

to be held on

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER SIXTEENTH at the

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA

#### PROGRAM

This Business of Giving and Getting FREDERICK P. KEPPEL

The Crusade for Social Justice DR ABBA HILLE SILVER

Presentation of the Better Times Medals for Distinguished Social Service to the City of New York

> GEORGE J. HECHT will preside

Mrs. Danforth Geer, Ja.

Tickets \$3.00 Informal Reception 6:30 to 7 Tables Seat ten Dinner will be served at ' promptly

Reservations will be limited to the capacity of the Grand Ballroom Reservation blank and further information about the dinner and the speakers will be found within.

#### THE PURFOSE OF THE DINNER

The annual dinners of Better Times are gatherings of its subscribers and friends and of the board members and staff workers of the various charitable and social agencies in and out of New York City. The dinners are not organized for profit and no appeals for funds are made. The discussion is always of some subject of vital interest to those who are striving in a multitude of different ways, to make New York City a better place to live in.

#### THE SPEAKERS

Prederick P. Keppel will speak on "This Business of Giving and Getting." As the President of the Carnegie Corporation, that vast foundation "for the diffusion of knowledge and understanding," he holds a strategic position at the cross road where those who give meet those who seek. Mr. Keppel was for eight years Dean of the College at Columbia University and was the first Executive Secretary of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs,

Dr. Abba Hilel Silver, of The Temple, Cleveland, O., will speak on "The Crusade for Social Justice." Rabbi Silver is widely known as a brilliant orator and as a profound student of social problems. His address on "The Church and Social Justice" at the last National Conference of Social Work deeply moved an audience which for size and enthusiasm broke every conference record. This is the first time Rabbi Silver has spoken in New York on a subject related to social welfare.

Mrs. Danforth Geer, Jr., who will, in behalf of Better Times, present three medals for Distinguished Social Service to the City of New York, is the President of the New York City Conference of Charities and Corrections and of the Association of Volunteers in Social Service. She is a member of the Junior League and is actively interested in the philanthropic program of that organization.

### DISTINGUISHED SOCIAL SERVICE MEDALS

To afford expression to public appreciation of the contribution to social progress made by individual men and women, Better Times has instituted a medal sward for "Distinguished Social Service to the City of New Work." The third annual awards will be made at this dinner. Three medals will be conferred.

## BETTER TIMES

BETTER TIMES is a magazine devoted to the interests of the charitable and social agencies in and about New York City. It is a non-commercial corporation controlled by the organization membership of a large number of tiese agencies. Associate membership is open to individuals.

# RESERVATION BLANK

(Please make reservations as early as possible. Late reservations will not appear on the seating list.)

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# The Church and Social Justice

Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

THE TEMPLE CLEVELAND, OHIO

# The Church and Social Justice

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the National Confesence of Social Work, held at Des Moines, Iowa.

I might perhaps be well at the outset to restate a truism oft overlooked—that church and religion are not synonymous, and that religion and morality, or more specifically, religion and social justice are not synonymous. They are organically related, but not identical. The church is the symbol and vehicle of religious idealism. Religion, at least to the religious, is the dynamics of social justice. But religion has other functions to perform in human life.

Morality is concerned with the relations of man to his fellowmen. Religion is concerned with the relations of man to the Universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions, touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to answer certain questions which men have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society; questions of why and whence and whither,—desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

The answers which religion gives to these questions lead to definite mental attitudes on the part of those who accept them, which manifest themselves in social conduct. Religion affirms that the Universe is essentially non a machine but a personality, and that the primary facts in nature are life and thought and purpose. Human life is eternally significant because it, too, is creative personality, the very image of that life and thought and purpose which throb through all things. He who is persuaded by these heroic postulates of religion, ascertainable by faith but not demonstrable by reason, will find himself adopting those characteristic attitudes which we call religious, and which in turn lead to moral integrity. Religion is thus related to morals as sun and soil are related to the fruit of the tree.

Thus, for example, the religious man will be reverent. In the mystic presence of circumambient divinity, in a world suffused with the glory of unfolding life and purpose, the religious man stands rapt in adoration. His spirit reveres all the manifestations of nature, all the outpourings of the mind and soul of man. This mood of reverence is rich soil for moral idealism. Herein do the boundaries of faith and morals meet.

Again the religious man will think of life and personality and human relationships in terms of holiness; for God, the Supreme Personality, is holy. Holiness is transfigured morality,—morality touched with the ecstasy of absolute perfection. The religious man, in his halting and finite way, will aspire to imitate this divine perfection: "Be ye holy, for I, the Lord your God, am hely". He will not be content with the mere formal observance of the accepted moral code. He will seek to cleanse every fold and crease of his spiritual being. He will go behind acts to motives, and will set new goals for his life's motivations. He will be more than a moral man. He will be a moral pathfinder. Here, again, the boundaries of religion and ethics touch.

The religious man will regard his life and that of his neighbor as holy and inviolable, for every life is a reflex of divinity and is justified of itself. Every act of wrong and injustice descrates life, mars and defaces the image of God. Oppression and exploitation are more than violations of the laws of society. They are sacrilege and blasphemy. They thwart life—God's life in man; they distort and mutilate that which is the end and goal of all being—the free, untrammeled

unfoldment of personality.

Hence it is that the profoundly religious men of all times were the mightiest spokesmen of social justice, the uncompromising champions of absolute righteousness. It was from the lips of men touched with the burning coal of divine afflatus, from the lips of the prophet, the seer and the man of God, that the first great cry for justice leaped out upon the world. They who knew God most intimately spoke of human rights most fearlessly. It was in the name of God, the stern and righteous Judge, that those Titans of the Spirit wielded the scorpion whip of their fury upon those who ground the faces of the poor and turned aside the way of the humble. It was in the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful, that they pleaded the cause of the orphan and the widow, the beaten and the broken of life. It was in the name of God, the Father of all, that they espoused the cause of a universal brotherhood, which over-leaping all ancient boundaries erested by fear and selfishness, turned swords into plowshares and enmity into fellowship.

The first great service which religion, through its historic agency, the church, has rendered and can continue to gender the cause of social justice, is that it can function as the motive power of enthusiasm for all programs of social amelionation. It can be the dynamo of spiritual energy for every great enterprise. Speaking betimes and oft of a God Whose ways are justice and truth, Whose worship is goodness, and upon Whose high altars only the sacrifice of righteousness are acceptable, religion and the church can so sensitize the minds of men to moral values, that when a situation confronts them, involving a clear moral issue, whether in their private life, or in their social, political or industrial life, they will be moved to choose the good and eschew the evil.

I am speaking now, of course, of those religions only which believe in human progress. I am speaking only of those religions which are concerned with the development of human personality, not with its annihilation. There are Oriental faiths or systems of metaphysics tinged with a mystic pessimism, which regard the human craving for growth and progress as the source of all suffering, and the disintegration of personality as the goal of all existence. Such faiths are foreign to the Occidental temperament, and we are not here concerned with them.

There are other religions which stress the total and irremediable depravity of this world, and which, therefore, urge men to seek personal salvation in escape and in preparation for an hereafter wherein all wrongs will automatically be righted, and all frustrated ideals gloriously realized. The religion of the European peoples has had a considerable element of this other-worldliness in it. But it is fast abandoning it. The Western mind loves life, its high adventure and its promise, and it hungers after the life more abundant. It refuses to assume that the world is irrevocably lost. Rather it entertains an active faith in the life ascendant, rising through defeat and failure to ultimate harmony and well-being.

The religion of the Western world is therefore fast shifting its center of emotional gravity from the heavens, which belong to God, to the earth, which God gave to the children of man; from the realm of human conjecture and imagination to the realm of reality, where men live and toil and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness. In this earthly realm of tangled lives and purposes, still so sadly disfigured by poverty and hate and ignorance and wrong, in the midst of this communion of saints and sinners which we call humanity, religion, deriving vast power from its mighty convictions, and capable of creating moods and attitudes among men which are most

congenial for moral idealism, can serve the cause of struggling mankind in a marvelous manner.

The first great service which the church, the effective arm of religion, can render the cause of social justice, is to galvanize by education and inspiration the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it. It can enkindle a crusading zeal for the Kingdom of God, which will be decidedly a kingdom of this world, fashioned out of the lowly clay of this life, but after the pattern and grace of highest perfection.

The church, however, must not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy for speculative sciences. It is a dynamic agency equipped for social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do battle for its sanctities.

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system as against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. The church would be compelled either to champion an existing order, in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or an imaginary order, which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The church is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake in each, and the church must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system is adequate guarantee.

Nor should the church be called upon to play the roll of arbiter in the numerous minor economic disputes which caily arise in our society, concerning which only the expert economist can today speak with any degree of wisdom or authority. Numerous labor controversies, for example, occur today which do not at all involve such clear-cut moral issues which would warrant the church in throwing the weight of its influence on one side or the other. The church ought not to fritter itself away by in roducing itself into every minor economic wrangle which may possess little or no social significance.

There are, however, problems in modern society of vast social import, reaching to the very heart of our civilization and affecting the whole structure of society, concerning which the church must speak, and in no uncertain terms. Conditions of pa'pable and vast wrong persist throughout the world, which thwart the rich promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat, and fill the habitations of men with

anguish and sorrow. Greed and lust and oppression devastate life. Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our woman-hood. Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of justice and opportunity fully obtain which would make possible the free, untrammeled unfoldment of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's children according to the measure of their capacities.

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not, remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the dispossessed of the earth. Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the creations and wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees. It must demand the application of their best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' keepers", and drive them on to ever new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which Man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

Above all, it must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncompromising loyalty to social ideals. The church must be feared and revered for its dauntless preclamation of truth. It must rise above the

state, not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of all the political programs and policies of the state. It dare not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking, in doctrinaire fashion, to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an alliance which might compel it to play the role of defender and apologist. The church has often been intrigued into casting the mantle of its sanctity over the corruptions of an unjust society. The church must be free, fearless and autonomous. It must be the guide, the critic, the censor of state and society. It must never be the tool of propaganda or the channel for reaction.

Religion has not always been faithful to its informing purpose. When the first great impulse which creates a religion embodies itself in an institution, it loses much of its daring and courage. All religions at the first moment of their revelation, when they leap hot and frenzied from the scul of some God-intoxicated seer, are purging fires, consuming flames. They speak in thunder and sweep life with a "besom of destruction". They possess the dynamics of prophecy. They are "set over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build anew and to plant". The world stands aghast and frightened. It turns upon the prophets of the new revelation and crucifies them, only to kneel a moment later in adoration and worship them.

But soon the hot coals of religious passion cool off. The heroic mood vanishes. Loyalties lose their sacrificial quality. The voice crying in the wilderness becomes an echo, faint and timid. Enthusiasm is quenched in habit. Religion becomes institutionalized. Hierarchy and vested interests apear. The church becomes an end in itself. When its interests are at stake it will compromise and yield and ofttimes betray men in their direct needs.

This danger, of course, is inherent in all organization. Whatever moral progress has been achieved in the world has been largely the work, not of groups, but of individual spiritual adventurers rebels and non-conformists. Revelations seldom come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely the monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only as the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own sclitary quest of reality; that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The church, therefore, freighted down with organization, must constantly war against itself to save its soul. The church must protect itself against the downward drag of institutionalism, and the paralysis of will which results from over-organization and prosperity. The church triumphant often spells the faith defeated. It is not so difficult afte: all to be a voice—clear and courageous—crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a Temple or a Cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the "via colorosa"—the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere; and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant.

The church is a fellowship of the servants of God. The mission of God's servant was long ago defined by a prophet in exile: "He shall make the right to go forth according to the truth. He shall not fail or be crushed until he have set the right in the earth".