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Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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176

Box
64

Folder
338

Anti-Nazi youth rally, 1934.

DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON
President

SALMON O. LEVINSON, Esq.
Chairman

DR. JAMES M. YARD
Secretary

DON M. PEEBLES, Esq
Treasurer

Chicago Committee
For the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism
THIRTY NORTH LA SALLE STREET
TELEPHONE STATE 6674-6675
Chicago, Illinois
April 12, 1934

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

May I express the gratification of the entire Youth Division of the Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism for your generous acceptance of our invitation to be the principal speaker at the Symposium, to be held on Wednesday, May 2, 1934.

We are certain that your sincere eloquence will stir Chicago Jewish Youth to self-sacrificing action for our people in times of distress.

Anticipating your visit and the profound and lasting effects of your message, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Israel H. Weisfeld
Rabbi Israel H. Weisfeld
Chairman Youth Division

IHW:EB

April 16, 1934.

Rabbi Israel H. Weisefeld,
30 North La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Rabbi Weisefeld:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of April 12th. I shall be very happy to be with your Youth Division on May 2nd. I hope that you will make the meeting worthwhile as I am coming to Chicago at considerable sacrifice.

With all good wishes and looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

April 20, 1934.

Dr. James M. Yard,
30 North La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Yard:

I noticed in this morning's Jewish Daily Bulletin an announcement of the Chicago anti-Nazi meeting on May 2nd. The meeting is announced as a symposium. I did not undertake to participate in any symposium and I have, in the last year, turned down two or three invitations from Chicago to participate in symposiums, a form of meeting which seems to be popular in Chicago. I was under the impression that meeting was a rally of the Jewish youth of the city to intensify the boycott movement and that I was to address it. I cannot undertake to participate in a symposium as I am too busy for that.

With all good wishes, and thanking you again for the service which you rendered us in Cleveland, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON
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THIRTY NORTH LA SALLE STREET
TELEPHONE STATE 6674-6675
Chicago, Illinois

April 23, 1934

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

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In reply to your letter of the 20th, I think that the word symposium is misleading. As a matter of fact, it is really a rally of youth with about four speakers. Your address will be the principal one. The others will be short messages of greetings, except one by Copeland Smith which may be a little longer.

All of publicity has centered about you, so that I hope that nothing will prevent your coming. This really is not a symposium but a mass meeting in my understanding of the term.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

James M. Yard
James M. Yard
Secretary

JMY
VK

DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON
President

SALMON O. LEVINSON, Esq.
Chairman

DR. JAMES M. YARD
Secretary

DON M. PEEBLES, Esq.
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Chicago Committee
For the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism
THIRTY NORTH LA SALLE STREET
TELEPHONE STATE 6674-6675
Chicago, Illinois

April 26, 1954

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Please let me know how and when you will
arrive next Wednesday. I should like very much to meet you.

We are all looking forward most eagerly
to that occasion and the young people are most enthusiastic.

I hope that Mrs. Silver has fully recovered
from her indisposition. Please give her my kindest regards.

Very sincerely yours,

James M. Yard
James M. Yard

JMY
VK

April 30, 1934.

Dr. James M. Yard,
30 North La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Yard:

I plan to arrive in Chicago Wednesday morning and go to the Stevens Hotel.

Looking forward with pleasure to seeing you, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

5-2-34

19

To Dr. James M. Yard

Street and No. 30 N. La Salle St.

Place Chicago, Ill

RABBI SILVER ARRIVING CHICAGO 8:30 P.M. VIA NEW YORK CENTRAL

Bessie Kline

Sec'y to Rabbi Silver

Sender's address
for reference

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS ARE APPROPRIATE GIFTS
FOR ALL OCCASIONS

Sender's telephone
number

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF CLEVELAND ON WEDNESDAY
EVENING, MAY 2ND AT THE SINAI CENTER, CHICAGO, ILL.

I made some notes, friends, on the long train ride coming here but I'm afraid that I shall have to depart from my notes as I want to dwell particularly on two matters which were forcibly borne in upon me this evening as I sat here and listened to the other speakers and thought of the purposes and the objectives of this meeting.

First of all, I should like to recall to you a bit of Jewish history; for it is amazing that a people as old as we are know our history so little. We are thus unable to envisage an episode such as has taken place in Germany against its true historic background. Because we do not possess the historic perspective, many of us become demoralized and lose our heads as though the thing that happened in Germany is a unique experience of our people, an isolated instance which has no precedence or antecedents, and for which we never had a strategy to combat it.

That's a great mistake. The apologies for the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany since the war and the attempted explanation of the rise of Hitler to power are also, in my humble judgment, far-fetched. Anti-semitism did not arise in Germany after the World War. The war was just an interlude in a continuous anti-Semitic campaign which had been going on in Germany for fifty years. It is not the Versailles Treaty which is responsible for this anti-Semitism. And it isn't Germany's defeat in the World War nor the suffering of the German people that made them anti-Semitic.

Modern anti-Semitism had its rise in Germany. Germany was its birthplace more than half a century ago. I say modern anti-Semitism. There has always been Jew-hatred in the world -- ever since the scattering of

our people over the world. There has always been tension and irritation between our group and other groups on religious, facial, social or economic grounds. And I'll let you in on a secret -- there will a measure of it for a long long time to come. The millenium, I am afraid, is a long way off. That condition towards which we are all striving when men will agree to disagree and will tolerate one another's differences is a long way off. I do not look forward to any quick liquidation of anti-Semitism in the world and I'm not frightened by any momentary increase of anti-Semitism here or elsewhere.

When I speak of modern anti-Semitism I have in mind this ideologically formulated, metaphysically-grounded, pseudo-scientifically established and propagated anti-Semitism which had its origin in Bismarck's Germany sixty years ago, and whence it spread like a plague to Austria, to France, to Poland, to Hungary, to the whole of Western Europe. In the Seventies, remember, Germany was not a defeated country bleeding from the wounds of a World War. In the Seventies Germany had emerged triumphant from the Franco-Prussian war. Germany was then swept by a chauvinism, an imperialism and a militarism from whose baneful incantation it has not been able to free itself to this day.

Bismarck began the new chapter of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. Bismarck, you will recall, began his career as a liberal. But, he soon changed. He broke with the liberals. He became a political and economic reactionary and he joined forces with all the reactionary elements in Germany. The signal was then given for a concerted attack upon the Jews in Germany -- first, because many Jews found themselves in the ranks of the liberals because it is to the Jewish interest, if for no other reason, to be liberal;

and, secondly, by arousing anti-Semitic agitation, Bismarck was able to drag a red herring across the trail of the real economic issues involved. He distracted the attention of the people from the economic problems of amelioration which clamored for solution to the exciting and diverting pursuit of Jew-baiting.

At a given signal preachers and theologians and journalists and professors began to publish articles, pamphlets, books, treatises to stimulate and to justify the anti-Semitic campaign which effectively covered up reactionary economic and political objectives. A vast, anti-Semitic movement was thus created in Germany in the Seventies which continued right up to the War.

Every argument which the Nazis employed in Germany from 1918 to 1934 is already found in complete detail in the writings of these Bismarck lackeys of the Seventies and Eighties, in Stoecker, Treitscke, Duering, ^{and} Marr or a hundred others. There isn't an argument which the Nazis exploited in order to inflame the youth of Germany that was not discovered for them fifty years ago. The whole program, the twenty-six points of the Nazi program, was ^{almost} lifted bodily from the writings of Marr and others. The whole methodology for squeezing the Jew out of German life was defined in detail in those days.

An anti-Semitic political party was organized fifty years ago in Germany, which in 1889 had sixteen members in the Reichstag. The first international anti-Semitic Congress was held in Dresden in 1881.

The only difference between then and now is that in those days these anti-Semitic objectives had not been achieved or written into the statute books of the country. The political party which advocated these anti-Jewish

regulations had not become powerful enough to write them into the constitution of the land, but as far as objectives, methods and technique are concerned, it was all there.

The World War was just an interlude. Naturally in war time you want every citizen to be patriotic and to fight for ^{his} the country. And so the anti-Semitism agitation was, for the time being, squelched. But immediately after the war it was resumed again with increasing tempo and vigor because of the defeat and humiliation and suffering of the German people.

Why do I dwell on all this? To indicate that the cause of anti-Semitism in the modern world is primarily an economic one. Whenever reaction gets into the saddle you have an anti-Semitic movement. Whenever the entrenched and privileged classes find that their rights and privileges are endangered by liberal, democratic sentiment, or by a strong labor movement, they will resort to anti-Semitism as a means of befuddling the masses and beclouding their judgments. And if anti-Semitism will increase in this country, it will be due to the self-same cause. The privileged classes in this country, too, when they will become frightened by the rising power of labor or Socialism or Communism, will not hesitate one moment to use anti-Semitism as a device by which to make these movements hateful and anathema.

When you bear this fact in mind you gain a true approach to the problem of anti-Semitism in the modern world. Hitler's backers were the Thyssens and the Krupps, the big industrialists, the great financiers who financed his reactionary anti-democratic movement in order to destroy trade unionism and socialism in Germany. Hitler showed those people how they can obtain their objectives by setting in motion an anti-Semitic agitation.

The struggle in the world today, my friends, -- and of tomorrow -- is between Fascism and Socialism. Fascism stands in need of some ideological basis. Communism has one. Communistic dictatorship has an ideal of economic justice and equality to give to its people in compensation for the liberties of which it deprives them. The Communist tells the Russian folk: "We have denied you a free press and free speech and the right of free assembly. We have regimented you it is true, but why? In order to establish a society of absolute economic equality and justice so that you will be the equal of everybody else in Russia." That, in the minds of many people, is adequate compensation for the liberties of which they are deprived.

But what compensation can Fascism offer to its people? It offers them an intensive, aggressive, belligerent nationalism as in the case of Italy and Austria, and an exclusive, arrogant racialism as in the case of Germany.

Both of these are hostile to the Jew. A hundred percent nationalist is invariably an anti-Semite. You can count on it. The love of country is a natural thing. Patriotism is instinctive, just as the love of home, but the nationalism which is synonymous with chauvinism and egoism and militarism is intolerant and invariably anti-Semitic. Wherever such a nationalism is preached, there the Jew is disadvantaged.

The Jew cannot fit into that type of nationalism -- and I thank God that he cannot. Some people speak of the Jew as the international Jew. I say Yes! the international Jew -- God be praised for it. Nationalism is ~~the~~ only a recent concept of Western Europe and clearly an inadequate concept.

Nationalism is the minimum requirement -- not the maximum program. Beyond the nation there is humanity. The Jew, because he ^{has} wandered over the face of the earth, because his intellectual world has stretched to the ultimate horizons, because he realizes that the good of only one nation isn't enough, that there must be good for all peoples through international cooperation, peace, and good will is an internationalist.

Internationalism is not the antithesis of nationalism. It is the antithesis of chauvinism. Internationalism is the ultimate ideal of humanity. In the 18th Century and early 19th Century that was indeed the ideal which enkindled the imagination of the finest thinkers and writers and poets and philosophers of Europe. They dreamt of one federated world. It's only in the last few years that internationalism has become a word of contempt and opprobrium. It is only in recent years that pacifism has become a word of shame and mockery. The great religious teachers of the world and the great ^{thinkers} leaders of the world were pacifists, from Isaiah through Jesus to the last great spiritual leaders of our day. All of them hated war. They saw the stupidity and the brutality and the jungle bestiality of war.

So that when men taunt you with the words "International Jew", do not apologize. Do not try to retort by showing how nationalistic you are. Say, "Yes, I am an internationalist." For the time being internationalism is unpopular. So be it. Say, "I have lived through two thousand years of unpopularity."

We Jews are in for hard times because in this struggle between Fascism and Socialism we are going to be made the scapegoat. Every Fascist movement is anti-Semitic. The only reason why Italian Fascism is not is because there are only some 50,000 Jews in Italy -- a negligible number.

Racialism is

~~This was~~ a fine compensatory ideal to give to the people for the ruthless suppression of their freedom and for the denial of elementary human rights. "What do you want rights for? ~~Why~~^{What} do you want labor unions^{for}? What do you want free speech for? Why, you're a Teuton! You belong to the noblest race on earth! Isn't that enough for you? And we'll make you proud of the fact that you belong to this noble Teutonic race. We'll take the members of the Semitic race living among you and we will degrade them and humiliate them so that you will feel how nice and lovely it is to belong to the Teutonic race."

That, you will recall, was what the Church did to the Jew in the Middle Ages. His ghettotized life of misery and poverty was pointed to as proof of how good it is to be a Christian.

The Semitic idea is that all men are God's children because God is the Father of all. "God created only one Adam," declared one of the Rabbis, "in order that in future times nobody should have the right to say 'I come from better stock than you do'."

In Germany, if you belong to the non-Aryan, Jewish group, if you are a young Jew or Jewess in Germany, you will be denied the right to higher education; you will be denied the right to choose your own career; you will be denied the right to enter a profession; you will not be permitted to graduate from a professional school. You will be denied the right to hold any public office or to teach in any school or in any institution of higher learning; you will be denied the right to own land and to till the soil. Every method will be used to squeeze you out of the economic life of the country and to reduce you to that condition of defencelessness which our people occupied in the Middle Ages when all the avenues of economic enterprise

which were open to ^{them} ~~us~~ were those of dealing in second-hand clothes and usury.

That's why it is so important that you young people should envisage the problem for what it is and in self-defense to fight not merely for the Jewish group but for the progressive ideals of mankind, for our fortunes are by-products of the fortunes of the world. Whenever there was a republican movement towards democracy, towards liberalism, we profited from it. Whenever there was a movement away from them and towards reaction we were the greatest sufferers. The 19th Century was our golden age in Western Europe because that was the century which witnessed the triumph of liberalism. Liberalism means each man on his own merits. A man is judged not on the basis of his religion or his race or his antecedents but on the basis of his capacities. In such an age the Jew could hold his own vis-a-vis another individual. But under dictatorship that is destroyed. No man has rights. Not merely the Jew -- no man has any inalienable rights. In their place is the whim or will of the dictator or the dictatorial class. What they decree at any given moment is law against which there is no appeal.

People have become rightless under dictatorship. Now if you happen to belong to the majority in this rightless world you are bad off, *to be sure,* but not as bad off as if you belonged to a disfavored minority. Under a democracy a man belonging to a minority group could appeal to the fundamental law of the land. There is a Constitution, there is a charter and ~~the pursuit of~~ *liberty* ~~of happiness.~~ Under a dictatorship the minority is absolutely helpless and defenseless.

Therefore, it is your task, my dear young friends, to fight for the perpetuation of these principles in our own country as the best method of checking and crushing anti-Semitism. If you ask me what is the best method of checking

anti-Semitism in this country I would say that it is through fighting incessantly, strenuously, relentlessly, each man in his sphere of influence, for the basic principles upon which our American government stands...

When these go under it will not be the Jew alone who will suffer. Remember that! It isn't merely 600,000 Jews in Germany who are being degraded. It is 65,000,000 Germans who are being degraded. Their educational system which was the pride of Germany has been regimented to such a degree that in a few years there will not be a foreign student who will wish to visit a German University. Their intellectual life has been shackled. Woman has been driven back to the Middle Ages. The labor movement has been crushed under the iron heel and by the mailed fist. Don't think for a moment that Jews are the only people in German concentration camps! Jews suffer along with the rest of the German people. The whole country has been defeated. When that country is saved, when it is permitted to express itself again through its best minds and not through its worst, the Jewish group too will be restored to the position of equality and worth which it occupied before.

Hitler has not written the last chapter of Jewish history in Germany. The Jews have lived in Germany for a thousand years and they endured the Crusades!.. Do you know the story of the Crusades as they affected the German Jews? Read it. What is happening in Germany today is nothing compared to that. Jews lived in Germany during the Black Plague, during the riots and the massacres. They lived there in the most miserable ghettos of Europe. Yet they endured!

Do you think that such a people is going to be licked by one year of Hitler? Goering a year ago said that he had wiped out the communists in Germany. Today he is saying that next year he is going to wipe them out... Hitler similarly declared that he has liquidated the Jewish question in Germany. He now knows that he has liquidated nothing but the world's good will.

The reason I am for the boycott and why I raised my voice in favor of the boycott from the very beginning is because that is our way of helping to destroy Naziism. It is the most effective weapon we can use to undermine the regime.

I say to you young people: Go into the struggle with your eyes open and your courage high. You are fighting not for Jewish interests alone but for those indispensable rights which are vital to Jew and non-Jew alike. In this struggle you will have the help of all those who still believe in liberalism and cherish democracy and peace and good will and tolerance.

Patience, stoic patience, fortitude -- as becomes a great and old people, that is possessed of ancient wisdom -- and confidence in our future should be our spiritual weapons in this crisis. The future belongs, my friends, not to Naziism but to Democracy. The future belongs not to militarism but to peace. The future belongs to tolerance, to good will, to freedom, to justice, to the rights of men. Don't be stampeded by what has happened in this age. Especially you, my young friends, don't be frightened by what your elders are saying. Your elders are a shell-shocked generation. Don't be swept off your feet by the intellectual and spiritual aberrations that are now sweeping over the world. They shall not abide. We of the older generation have been caught in a trap of circumstances which we cannot break and which will break us. We are tired. But the new world belongs to you. Fight for it -- it's worth fighting for. Fight for the enduring precious ideals of mankind. Cooperate with every movement that makes for social righteousness, for economic justice, for freedom, for tolerance, for religious and racial good will. Build your own world on the ruins of our world. Fight hopefully and fight aggressively. Don't waste your energies upon apologetics.

RABBI SILVER

I made some notes, friends, on the ~~train~~, a long train ride coming here ~~this evening~~ but I'm afraid that I shall have to depart from my notes as I want to dwell particularly on two matters which were forcibly ^{borne in upon me} ~~imprinted on my mind~~ this evening as I sat here and listened to the other speakers and ~~as I sat here and~~ thought of the purposes and the objectives of this meeting.

First of all, I should like to recall to you a bit of Jewish history, for it is amazing that a people ^{as} ~~so~~ old as we are know our history so little, ~~that~~ ^{thus} we are unable to envisage an episode such as has taken place in Germany ~~last year~~ against its true historic background. ~~And~~ Because we do not possess, ~~many of us~~, the historic perspective, many of us become demoralized and lose our heads, as though the thing that happened in Germany is a unique experience of our people; ~~as though it's~~ an isolated instance which has no precedence or antecedents, and for which we ~~have~~ never had a ^{strategy} ~~technic~~ to combat it.

That's a great mistake. ~~And these~~ apologies for the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany since the war and ~~this~~ attempted explanation of the rise of Hitler to power are also, in my humble judgment, ~~rather~~ far-fetched. Anti-Semitism did not arise in Germany after ~~the defeat of the German people in the~~ World War. The war was just an interlude in a continuous anti-Semitic campaign which ~~has~~ been going on in Germany for ~~over~~ fifty years. It ^{is not} ~~wasn't~~ the Versailles Treaty which is responsible ^{this} ~~their~~ anti-Semitism. And it ^{isn't} ~~wasn't~~ Germany's defeat in the World War ^{nor} ~~and it wasn't~~ the suffering ^{of the German} people ~~in Germany~~ that made them ~~inclined towards~~ anti-Semitism.

baneful incantation
whose ~~triumphant melodies~~ it has not been able to ~~liberate~~ *free*
itself to the ~~present time~~. *This day.*

Bismarck began the new chapter of anti-Semitism in Western Europe, ~~and why?~~ Bismarck, you will recall, began his career as a liberal ~~almost socialistically inclined there for a time~~. But, he soon changed. He broke with the liberals; ~~He~~ became a reactionary -- political and economic; and he joined forces with all the reactionary element in Germany, ~~and then~~ *then* the signal was given ~~to launch~~ *for* a concerted attack upon the Jews in Germany -- first, because many Jews found themselves in the ranks of the liberals because it is to the Jewish ~~self~~-interest, if for no other reason, to be a liberal; and, second, by ~~arousing~~ *arousing* anti-Semitic agitation ~~in Germany~~. Bismarck was able to drag ~~a~~ *the* red herring across the trail of the real economic issues involved. He distracted the attention of the people from ~~the~~ economic problems of amelioration, ~~of in~~ *which clamored* ~~in solution~~ *for solution*, from the demands of labor to ~~this~~ *the* exciting and *diverting* ~~easily agitating and beclouding issue of the Jew in their midst~~ *pursuit of Jew-baiting.*

~~At a given signal (and I go into detail here because I believe we Jews ought to begin to learn, chapter by chapter, our history or we shall not be able to orientate ourselves in a situation such as is confronting us today) at a given signal preachers and theologians and journalists and professors and a whole slew of henchmen began to~~ *publish* ~~write magazine articles, pamphlets, books, scientific treatises of all kinds to justify this policy of anti-Semitism which Bismarck created in Germany to serve economic and political objectives; and a vast anti-Semitic movement was~~ *thus* ~~created in Germany in the Seventies,~~

which continued right up to the War.

~~and it lasted through the Seventies, Eighties, and Nineties.~~

~~And every argument~~ ^{which} ~~the Nazis used~~ ^{employed} in Germany from 1918 to 1934 ~~every argument~~ is already found in complete detail in the writings of these Bismarck lackeys of the Seventies and Eighties, ^{in Stoecker, Treutcke} ~~whether it is Strieker, or Muesen, or Duering, or Marr, or a thousand others.~~ ^{hundred} There isn't an argument which the Nazis ^{applied in order} ~~used~~ to inflame the youth of Germany.

~~And I listened at many of their meetings for I spent a considerable time in Germany last year -- there isn't a single argument which they employed that was not~~ ^{discovered} ~~created~~ for them fifty years ago, ~~in Germany.~~ The ~~whole~~ program, ~~in~~ the ~~two or~~ twenty-six points of the Nazi program -- was lifted bodily from the writings of Marr and other ~~people in Germany a half century ago.~~ ^{The whole methodology for} ~~All the methods to be used in~~ squeezing the Jew out of German life ^{was} ~~were~~ defined in detail in those days.

^{anti-Semitic} A political party was organized fifty years ago ~~-- an~~ ^{in Germany} ~~anti-Semitic party.~~ ^{which in 1889 had sixteen} They had ~~sixty~~ members in the Reichstag ~~in 1889.~~ Newspapers were founded. The first international anti-Semitic Congress was held in Dresden in 1881. ~~And this anti-Semitism was continued in its propaganda from through the Seventies, through the Eighties, through the Nineties, into the first fourteen years of the Twentieth Century up to the War. There was no let down.~~

The only difference between then and now is that in those days these anti-Semitic objectives had not been ^{achieved} ~~written~~ into the statute books of ^{the country} ~~Germany.~~ The political party which advocated these anti-Jewish regulations had not become powerful enough to ^{write} ~~put~~ them into the constitution of the land, but ~~otherwise,~~ as far as objectives ~~and purposes and~~ methods and

~~are concerned~~
technic ~~as~~ it was all there. ^{IP} The ^{world} war was just an interlude.

Naturally in war time you want every citizen to be patriotic and to fight for the country. And so the anti-Semitism agitation was, ^{for the time being} ~~by order of the authorities higher up,~~ squelched. ^{But} ~~And~~ immediately after the war it was resumed ^{again} and, of course, ~~resumed~~ with increasing tempo and ^{vigor} ~~vigor~~ because of the defeat and ~~because of humiliation and because of the terrible~~ ^{suffering} conditions in which the German people ~~found themselves.~~

Why do I dwell on all this? To indicate that the cause of anti-Semitism in the modern world is primarily an economic one. Whenever reaction gets into the saddle you have an anti-Semitic movement; ~~Wherever~~ ^{and} the entrenched privileged classes find that their rights, ~~their~~ ^{and} privileges are endangered by the rising tide of liberal, democratic sentiments, or by ^{growing} ~~labor~~ movements, ~~or by social movements,~~ immediately they will resort to anti-Semitism as a means of befuddling ^{the masses} and beclouding ~~and~~ ^{their} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~disfranchising the masses of the people.~~ ^{Anti Semites will increase} And if ~~it~~ ^{it} should rise in this country, ~~and it may,~~ it will be due to the self-same cause. The privileged classes in this country, ^{too when they will} ~~who have become~~ ^{frightened} or ~~will become disgruntled~~ ^{by} with the rising power of labor, or ~~frightened by the rising power of the Socialists or Communists~~ ^{by} will not hesitate one moment to use anti-Semitism as a ^{device} ~~weapon~~ ^{by which} to make ^{these movements and anathema.} ~~hateful liberalism and democracy or socialism -- or~~ whatever other movement they do not approve. And these seventy-five executives that Dr. Smith has spoken of are, to my mind, clearly symbolic of just that type of movement. Undoubtedly, they are reactionary. Undoubtedly they are opposed to trade unionism. Undoubtedly they are opposed to the New Deal in its

advanced forms -- and they will blame the Jew for it. There is no question about it -- just as Father Coughlin who was caught gambling in Wall Street found no other excuse but to say that silver was the international currency and that the only people who are opposed to the remonetization of silver are the Jewish International bankers. Silver is Gentile. Gold is, presumably, Jewish metal. The Jewish international banker is gaining control of the world and, therefore, Father Coughlin, in order to save the world, is gambling in silver in Wall Street.

When you bear this fact in mind you gain a ^{true} ~~different~~ approach to ^{the} ~~this~~ problem of anti-Semitism. ^{in the modern world} Hitler's backers ~~were not the Lausbusson. They were the Dukes. Hitler's backers~~ were the ^{Rhysseus} ~~Rhysseus~~ and ^{the} ~~Krupps~~ in Germany -- the big industrialists, the ^{great} ~~financiers~~ who ^{financed his} ~~find a~~ reactionary ^{anti-democratic} movement in order to destroy trade unionism and socialism in Germany. ~~And~~ Hitler ^{showed} ~~told~~ those people how they can obtain their objective by ^{setting in} ~~arousing the~~ anti-Semitic agitation.

The struggle in the world today, my friends, and of tomorrow is between ² ~~Faci~~ism and Socialism. ^{stands in need of} ~~That's the coming~~ struggle all over the world. Faciism ~~needs~~ some ideological basis. ~~Communism~~ has one. Communist dictatorship has an ideal of economic justice and equality to give to ^{the} ~~the~~ people in compensation for the liberties of which it deprives them. The Communist tells the Russian ^{folk:} ~~lord,~~ "We have denied you ^{the} ~~the~~ free press and free speech and the right of free assembly. ^{in order} ~~We have~~ regimented you it is true, but why? ^{we are helping} ~~We are~~ to establish a ^{society} ~~condition~~ of absolute ^{communist equality and} justice so that you will be the equal of everybody else in Russia." ~~and~~ That, in the

minds of many people, is adequate compensation for the liberties of which they ~~have been~~ ^{are} deprived.

But what compensation can Facism offer to its people? [?]
~~whether it's in Italy, or Germany, or Austria, or elsewhere~~
~~for depriving them of the liberties, their inalienable human~~
~~rights? It has to find a positive ideology and it finds it~~ ^{offers them}
~~in Natziism~~ ^{in an intensive, aggressive, ~~ingrown~~ ^{bellicent} nationalism}
as ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the case of Italy, ~~as in the case of Dollfuss in Austria,~~ ^{and}
and ~~in the~~ ^{an} exclusive, ~~intolerant~~ ^{arrogant} racialism as in the case of
Germany.

Both of these are hostile to the Jew. A hundred percent
Nationalist ~~is invariably~~ ^{is invariably}
~~Natziistic usually~~ an anti-Semite. You can count on it.
The love of country is a natural ~~love~~ ^{thing}. Patriotism is ~~a human~~ ^{instinctive}
~~instinct~~, just as the love of ~~one's~~ home, but ~~this type of the~~
Nationalism which is ~~used to fan the flames of Chauvinism, and~~ ^{sympathetic with}
egoism, ~~and~~ ^{and} militarism ~~that inevitably leads to anti-Semitism~~ ^{is intolerant and invariably}
and wherever such a Nationalism is preached, there the Jew is
~~at~~ disadvantaged

The Jew ~~is not~~ ^{cannot fit into} that type of Nationalist ^{see} -- and I thank
God that he ~~isn't~~ ^{cannot. Some}. People speak of the Jew as the international-
~~ist~~ Jew. I say "Yes, the international Jew -- God be praised
for it." Nationalism is ^{only} a recent concept of Western Europe. ~~and~~
Clearly an inadequate human concept. Nationalism is the mini-
mum ~~human~~ ^{program} requirement -- not the maximum. Beyond the nation
there is ~~humanity~~. The Jew, because he has ~~traveled~~ ^{wandered} over the
face of the earth, because his intellectual world has stretched
to ^{the} ultimate horizons; ~~the Jew~~ because he realizes that ^{the} good ~~for~~ ⁷
~~the groups in one nation isn't enough, because his brothers~~

~~live all over the world~~ ^{that} and there must be good for all ^{people through}
~~nations~~, international cooperation, ~~and~~ peace, and ^{God will} ~~prosperity~~,
~~for all. The Jew is not ashamed of the word Internationalist.~~ ^{an internationalist}

Internationalism is ^{not} the ~~the~~ antithesis of the nations. ^{alism}
It is the antithesis of ^{an} ~~ch~~ovinizism. Internationalism is the
ultimate ideal of humanity. In the 18th Century and early
19th Century that was indeed the ideal which enkindled the
imagination of the finest thinkers and writers and poets and
philosophers of Europe. They dreamt of one federated ~~people of~~
~~the~~ world. It's only in the last few years that international-
ism has become a word of contempt and ~~approbrium~~. It is only
in recent years that pacifism has become a word of shame and
mockery. The great religious teachers of the world and the
great leaders of the world were pacifists, from Isaiah through
Jesus to the last great ^{spiritual leaders} ~~man~~ of our day. ^{all of them} ~~They~~ hated war. They
saw the stupidity and the brutality and the jungle ^{bestiality} ~~psychology~~
of war.

^{So that when men}
~~When they~~ taunt you with the words "International Jew"
^{do not} ~~don't~~ apologize. ^{Do not} ~~And don't~~ try to ^{retort} ~~answer it~~ by showing ~~how~~
~~how~~ nationalistic you are. Say, "Yes, I am an international-
ist." For the time being internationalism is unpopular. So
be it, ^{Say}, "I have lived through two thousand years of un-
popularity."

Dr. Smith is perturbed that seventy-five executives
hated the Jews. To me it's nothing -- or that some people
threw a brand at somebody's door. To him, being a "goy" he's
scared by it; he's frightened for America. But we're not a
people easily scared and I would rather make my appeal to you
fellow Jews to give money to fight Natziism, not on the basis

of fear, but on the basis of your strength and power.

~~I go back.~~ ^{Jews} We are in for hard times ~~we Jews~~ because we in this struggle between ~~Facism~~^{Fascism} and Socialism we are going to be made the scapegoat, ~~in many parts of the world.~~ Every ~~Facism~~^{Fascist} movement is anti-Semitic. ~~Every one.~~ The only reason ^{why Italian} ~~that Mussolini~~^{Fascism} is not is because there are only ^{some 50,000} ~~45,000~~ Jews in Italy -- a negligible number. ~~They are overlooked~~ and Mussolini himself hasn't entirely forgotten his broad, almost socialistic background. He's a gentleman. I had the pleasure of meeting Mussolini last year. We had a pleasant afternoon together. And, by the way, he discussed the Jewish problem with me.

Every Facism movement is anti-Semetic. We now have three- The teutonic, the Italian and the Anglo-Saxon. We have Musso- lini's, Hitler's and Mosely's and they're all anti-Semetic.

Germany added something to this superheated Natziism. Racialism. That's Germany's contribution to the problem -- Aryanism. And, by the way, Hitler didn't discover, Aryanism. That was discovered by this fellow Marr over sixty years ago. He wrote the first brochure on it -- he said that all the good people of the world were Aryans and all the bad people were Semites. Now of course Aryan is not a racial term at all. Hitler doesn't know that Aryan is linguistic -- has nothing to do with race. And the Germans are not Aryan and they are not even largely Teutons.

~~This was~~ ^{But there was} a fine compensatory ideal to give to the people for the ruthless ^{sup} oppression of their freedom and the denial of ~~the basic~~ and elementary human rights. "What do you want rights for? Why do you want labor unions? Why do

Germany added to the ideas of Italian Fascism
the idea of race. Super-bated nationalism was
not enough for the Germans. They added arrogant
racism.



you want free speech? ⁱⁿ Why, you're a Teuton! You belong to the noble ~~Germanic race~~. ^{it now on earth!} ~~That should be~~ enough for you? And we'll make you proud of the fact that you belong to ~~that~~ ^{this} noble Teuton ^{is} race ~~because~~ ^{members of the} alongside we'll take the Semitic race ^{living among you} and degrade ~~it~~ ^{them} and humiliate ~~it~~ ^{them} and break it so that you will feel ^{how nice} ~~exalted and proud of belonging~~ to the Teutonic race."

That, you will recall, was ~~the argument~~ ^{what} of the Church ~~as did~~ to why it ~~tolerated~~ ^{to} the Jew in the Middle Ages, -- ~~so that his~~ ~~abject condition,~~ ^{his} ghettotized life of misery and poverty ^{was} ~~pointed to as proof of~~ and want would be a standing example of how good it is to be a Christian.

^{The Semitic idea is}
~~We Jews taught the world~~ that all men are God's children because God is the Father of all. ~~Have we not all one faith? Hath not God created us all? That was a Semitic idea.~~

^{I'm always fond of telling that famous saying of the}
~~Rabbi as to why God created only one Adam,~~ ^{declared one, the Rabbi} ~~While he was at it he could have created half a dozen. And the answer that this Rabbi gave many hundreds of years ago was that God created only one Adam so that in the future nobody~~ ^{in order} ~~shall~~ ^{times} ~~shall~~ ^{should} have the right to say "I come from better stock than you do." ~~But that's Semitic -- that's not Teutonic.~~

^{non-Aryan,}
In Germany, if you belong to the Jewish group, -- ~~the non-Aryan group so-called~~ -- if you are a young ~~man~~ ^{Jew} or a young ~~Jewess~~ ^{to} ~~woman~~ in Germany, you will be denied the right of higher education; you will be denied the ^{right} ~~fight~~ to choose your own career; you will be denied the right to enter a profession, ~~because~~ you will not be permitted to graduate from a professional school. You will be denied the ~~fight~~ to hold any public office or to teach in any public school or in any institution of ^{higher} learning;

you will be denied the right to own land and to till the soil,
~~And every indirect~~ method will be used to squeeze you out of
 the economic life of the country and to reduce you to that
 condition ^{of defenselessness} which our people occupied in ~~our defenseless years~~
~~during~~ the Middle Ages when all the avenues ^{of economic enterprise which} that were open to
 us were ~~the avenues~~ ^{those} of dealing in second-hand ~~goods~~ ^{clothes} and ~~in~~
 usury, ~~is an attempt to re-ghettotize our people.~~

That's why it is so important that you young people should
 envisage the problem for what it is ~~is~~ ^{and} in self-defense to fight
 not merely for the Jewish group ^{for the progressive ideals, wanted for} but ~~because~~ our fortunes are
~~the~~ by-products of the fortunes of the world, ~~always~~. Whenever
 there was a republican movement in the world in the last 100
 years; a movement towards democracy, ~~a movement~~ towards liber-
 alism, we profited from it. Whenever there was a movement away
 from the ~~reactionary~~ ^{reactionary} movements we were the greatest sufferers.
 The 19th Century was our golden age in Western Europe because
 that was the century which witnessed the triumph of liberalism.
 Liberalism means each man on his own merits. ~~And a~~ man is judged
 not on the basis of ^{his} religion or ^{his} race or ^{his} antecedents but
 on the basis of his capacities. In such an age the Jew could
 hold his own ^{vis a vis} ~~versus~~ ^{any other} individual. But under ~~the ideal-~~
~~ogy of dictatorship that is destroyed. No man has any rights.~~
 Not merely the Jew -- no man has any inalienable rights. ^{In their place}
~~sole right is vested in~~ the whim or ^{will} ~~will~~ of the dictator, or
 the dictatorial class. What they decre^e at ^{any} given moment ~~at a~~
~~given date~~ is ~~the~~ law against which there is no appeal.

People have become rightless under dictatorship. Now if
 you happen to belong to ^{the} majority in this rightless world
 you are bad off but not as bad ^{off} as if you belong to a disfavored

minority, ~~in this rightless world~~. Under a democracy a man belonging to a minority group could appeal to the fundamental law of the land, ~~as his defense~~. There ~~was~~ ^{is} a Constitution, there ~~was~~ ^{is} a ~~Magna Carta~~ ^{charter} of human rights. There ~~were~~ ^{are} inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. ~~You had recourse. You had defense.~~

Under a dictatorship the minority is absolutely helpless and defenseless. ^{Therefore}, it is your task, my dear ~~young~~ friends, to fight for the ~~conservation~~ ^{perpetuation} of these principles in our own country as the best method of checking and crushing ~~the~~ Anti-Semitism. ^{is} And ~~if~~ you ask me what is the best method of checking ~~or crushing~~ Anti-Semitism ~~in this country~~ ^{none of these destroy or kill} -- I have no such delusion or illusion, I know Jewish history too well. But the best way to keep anti-Semitism ~~from enforcing itself up on our people through law is for you~~ ^{I would say that it is through} in your several spheres of influence to fight ^{each man in his sphere of influence} incessantly, strenuously, relentlessly, for the basic principles upon which our American government stands..

Don't worry that here and there is a cell of anti-Semitism. They've been there before. A decade ago there was the Ku Klux Klan and forty or fifty years ago there was a similar movement, and following the Civil War there was still another and today there are many more of them because today we have in this country many and many a German who, for political reasons, finds it advisable to instigate anti-Semitism. But don't be worried about them. They may grow but as long as our fundamental constitution of our several states and of our Federal Government remain in power they will have no power over us. And

~~And~~ ^R When these go under it will not be the Jew alone who will suffer. Remember that! It isn't merely 600,000 Jews in Germany who ~~have been~~ ^{are being} degraded. It is 65,000,000 Germans who ~~have been~~ ^{are being} degraded. Their educational system which ~~has been~~ ^{was} the pride of Germany has been ~~degraded and regimented~~ ^{to such a degree that} until in a few years there will not be a foreign student who will ~~even~~ ^{wish to} dream of visiting a German University. Their intellectual life has been shackled. Woman has been driven back to the Middle Ages. The labor movement has been ~~destroyed~~ ^{crushed} under the iron heel and ^{by} the mailed fist. ~~What has happened to those~~ 8,000,000 Socialistic Germans and 5,000,000 Communists and 7,000,000 trade union people in Germany today. Do you think they are happy over what has happened. ~~You think~~ ^{Don't think for a moment that} Jews are the only people in ^{German} concentration camps! Get yourselves out of this defeatist attitude, this frightened frame of mind. ~~We Jews~~ ^{alone} suffer ^{with the} German people. The whole country has been defeated. ~~And when that country is saved, when that country~~ is permitted to express itself again through its best minds ~~and not through~~ ^{its worst} the Jewish group in ~~Germany~~ ^{too} will be restored to ~~its~~ ^{the} position of equality ~~and with which it occupied before,~~ ^{and with which it occupied before,} of prominence and worth in German life.

Hitler has not written the last chapter ^{of Jewish history} ~~on the Jews~~ in Germany. The Jews have lived in Germany ^{for} a thousand years and they ~~have witnessed~~ ^{endured} the Crusades. Do you know the story of the Crusades as they affected the German Jews? Read it. What ~~is~~ ^{is} happening in Germany today is nothing compared to that. ~~They Jews~~ lived in Germany during the Black Plague, ^{during} the riots and ~~during the~~ massacres. They lived ^{there} in the most miserable ghettos of Europe, and they were in Germany. Yet, ~~they lived~~, they endured. ~~And~~ when the French Revolution came and the occupation of the

Southern Rhine district began. The Jewish position after centuries of degradation began to rise and for half a century the Jews in Germany fought every inch of their way for their freedom -- occasionally moving forward, frequently thrown back but always moving forward again until toward the end of the 19th Century. At the beginning of the 20th Century the Jewish group in Germany rose to such a position of eminence and importance and influence in every department of Germany that it became the admiration of Jewish people throughout the world.

And do you think that such a people is going to be licked by one year of Hitler? ~~-- or five years of Hitler. Don't you believe it.~~ Goering said ^{a year ago} ~~six months ago~~ ^{that he had cut} ~~he~~ wiped ~~all~~ the communists ~~out~~ in Germany. Today, he ^{is} ~~says~~ that next year ~~he~~ is going to wipe them out... Hitler similarly ^{declared} ~~feels~~ that ~~he has~~ ~~solved~~ the Jewish question, that he has liquidated the Jewish question in Germany. ~~He should live so long.~~ ^{He very much knows that he has liquidated nothing but the Jewish people.} And the reason I am ^{for} the boycott and the only reason I ^{why} raised my voice in favor of the boycott from the ^{very} beginning ~~and~~ very early in the game is because that is our way of ^{helping to} ~~destroying~~ Nazism. It is the most effective weapon we can use, ^{living} ~~thousands of miles away from the scene of action.~~ ^{to undermine the regime.} ~~That is our effective way of undermining whatever the position is of Nazism in Germany -- to make economic conditions so bad that we can help the crisis after crisis in Germany and so ultimately when the real crisis arrives the suppressed will, along with the subdued masses of Germany, will rise up and rend Hitler in pieces. That is why I have always been in favor of the German Jew staying in Germany. Those that want to leave or that have~~

~~to leave should~~ go. But I am not in favor as many frightened Jews are that just because they are being persecuted over in Germany as they were for five hundred years in Palestine that we should send them passports and tickets to leave Germany. Why shouldn't they stay there and fight it out -- at first silently and unobtrusively, boring from within, joining with other forces until the day arrives as it always arrives, perhaps sooner than we dare to hope, until they join all the other unhappy groups and overthrow the regime.

And if the German youth today is suffering as I know it is suffering; if it is enduring humiliation and sorrow and sadness, why, that's exactly what the Jews in Poland and in Russia endured generation after generation and we didn't go under. That didn't break our backs.

They should stay on and they will stay on back in Germany and these young people who find rightful opportunities denied them, walls built against them -- they will become centers of irritation and unrest in Germany -- all of which will contribute to the ultimate overthrow of this iniquitous barbaric mediaeval regime.

~~Therefore~~, I say to you ^{young} people: Go into the struggle with ^{and your courage high} your eyes open. You are fighting not for ^{Jewish interests} the Jews alone but ~~you're fighting~~ for those indispensable and valuable rights which are ^{vital to} ~~a blessing and a benefit to the~~ Jew and non-Jew ~~like~~. ~~And in~~ this struggle you will have the help ~~as you always have~~ ~~the help~~ of all those who still believe in liberalism and ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ democracy and ~~in~~ peace and good will and ~~in~~ tolerance. ~~Naturally~~ ~~they can't be as active as we are. Ours is a double hurt be-~~

the Jew in Germany has been doubly attacked and doubly made to endure. Therefore, naturally, we must take the leadership in the work. But we are not fighting alone.

A few days ago I had the pleasure of spending a long time with the President of the American Federation of Labor, a man profoundly moved at what happened to the marvelous labor movement in Germany. What have they done to those people. Do you know what's happened to the working man in Germany? He is in exactly the same position as the serf was in the Middle Ages. The owner is the leader and the worker is the follower. He has to follow. That was exactly the way it was in the days of vassalage in the feudal ages; and if he doesn't like what the leader is doing he can't appeal to his own organization because there is no labor organization left in Germany. He has to appeal to some courts of the Nazi. You can imagine how much Nazis are interested in the welfare of the laboring man. Mr. Green was very much perturbed and he and his organization are in their own way prosecuting very effectively in this country.

And this is not only in the United States but all over the world. There is a rallying of forces to circle the present regime of Germany with an iron wall of resentment and righteous wrath.

I want to conclude because it's late and I may have to catch a train for home this evening. I want you to go into this work with confidence and I hope -- I always tell my people I am a great believer, strange for a Rabbi. But I am a believer because I know that a prophecy which was pronounced 2500 years ago for our people has held true for 2500 years of

the strangest vicissitudes that any people were ever subjected to: When thou go through the waters I will be with thee; when thou wilt go through fire thou wilt not be burnt; no fire will ever be kindled against thee.

Patience, stoic patience, fortitude, as becomes a great ~~and~~ ^{is possessed by} old people, that ~~has~~ ^{is possessed by} ancient wisdom and confidence in ~~the~~ ^{our} future ~~belongs to the ideals for which we stand; for the ideals for~~ ^{should be our spiritual weapons in this crisis.} ~~which any great people or religion stands --~~ The future belongs, my friends, not to Nazism ^{but to democracy,} or the Hitler variety but to the internationalism of the Albert Einstein variety. The future belongs not to militarism but to peace, ~~and it shall come~~ to pass in the end of days that the mountain of the Lord's house will be established at the top of the mountain and all nations will go unto it and they will say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their knives into crooks and nations shall not learn war. The future belongs to that. The future belongs to tolerance, to goodwill, to freedom, to justice, to the rights of men. Don't be stampeded by what has happened in this ~~crazy~~ age. Especially you, my young friends, don't be frightened by what your elders are saying. Your elders are a shell-shocked generation ~~that have come out of the battle spiritually~~ ^{intellectual and spiritual} mutilated by the world war. Don't be swept off your feet by these aberrations that are now sweeping over the world. ~~That is~~ ^{They shall not} a passing phase. ~~Perhaps~~ ^{abide} ~~we~~ of the older generation have been caught in a trap of circumstances which ^{we cannot break and which will break us} ~~may break us. Certain-~~ ly it has made us unhappy. We are tired, ~~and sad.~~ But the new world belongs to you. ~~to you.~~ Fight for it -- it's worth ~~white~~ fighting for. Fight for these ^{enduring} precious ^{of mankind} ideals. ~~Join up with~~

~~Cooperate with movement~~
every organization that makes for social righteousness ~~or for~~
economic justice, for freedom, for tolerance, for religious ~~and racial~~
~~cooperation.~~ ^{God will.} Become active. Build your own world ~~which~~ ^{as the ruins}
^{of our world} ~~we have so miserably and fatuously destroyed.~~ Fight ~~passively~~ ^{bravely}
~~tively~~ ^{and} fight aggressively. Don't waste your energies upon ~~apologetics~~
~~and warring antitheses~~ ^{and}

~~Build -- build your own world.~~



34-8

SYMPOSIUM

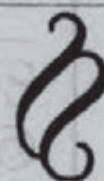
"NAZIISM--A Menace to Youth"



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Wednesday, May 2nd, 1934, 8 P. M.

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YOUTH DIVISION

Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism

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Address Delivered by
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
of CLEVELAND, OHIO

at YOUTH MEETING of the
Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 2nd, 1934, SINAI TEMPLE, CHICAGO, ILL.

I MADE some notes, friends, on the long train ride coming here but I'm afraid that I shall have to depart from my notes as I want to dwell particularly on two matters which were forcibly borne in upon me this evening as I sat here and listened to the other speakers and thought of the purposes and the objectives of this meeting.

First of all, I should like to recall to you a bit of Jewish history; for it is amazing that a people as old as we are know our history so little. We are thus unable to envisage an episode such as has taken place in Germany against its true historic background. Because we do not possess the historic perspective, many of us become demoralized and lose our heads as though the thing that happened in Germany is a unique experience of our people, an isolated instance which has no precedence or antecedents, and for which we never had a strategy to combat it.

That's a great mistake. The apologies for the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany since the war and the attempted explanation of the rise of Hitler to power are also, in my humble judgment, far-fetched. Anti-Semitism did not arise in Germany after the World War. The war was just an interlude in a continuous anti-Semitic campaign which had been going on in Germany for fifty years. It is not the Versailles Treaty which is responsible for this anti-Semitism. And it isn't Germany's defeat in the World War nor the suffering of the German people that made them anti-Semitic.

Modern anti-Semitism had its rise in Germany. Germany was its birthplace more than half a century ago. I say modern anti-Semitism. There has always been Jew-hatred in the world—ever since the scattering of our people over the world. There has always been tension and irritation between our group and other groups on religious, racial, social or economic grounds. And I'll let you in on a secret—there will be a measure of it for a long, long time to come. The millenium, I am afraid, is a long way off. That condition towards which we are all striving when men will agree to disagree and will tolerate one another's differences is a long way off. I do not look forward to any quick liquidation of anti-Semitism in the world and I'm not frightened by any momentary increase of anti-Semitism here or elsewhere.

When I speak of modern anti-Semitism I have in mind this ideologically formulated, metaphysically-grounded, pseudo-scientifically established and propagated anti-Semitism which had its origin in Bismarck's Germany sixty years ago, and whence it spread like a plague to Austria, to France, to Poland, to Hungary, to the whole of Western Europe. In the Seventies, remember, Germany was not a defeated country bleeding from the wounds of a World War. In the Seventies Germany had emerged triumphant from the Franco-Prussian war. Germany was then swept by a chauvinism, an imperialism and a militarism from whose baneful incantation it has not been able to free itself to this day.

Bismarck began the new chapter of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. Bismarck, you will recall, began his career as a liberal. But, he soon changed. He broke with the liberals. He became a political and economic reactionary and he joined forces with all the reactionary elements in Germany. The signal was then given for a concerted attack upon the Jews in Germany—first, because many Jews found themselves in the ranks of the liberals because it is to the Jewish interest, if for no other reason, to be liberal; and, secondly, by arousing anti-Semitic agitation, Bismarck was able to drag a red herring across the trail of the real economic issues involved. He distracted the attention of the people from the economic problems of amelioration which clamored for solution to the exciting and diverting pursuit of Jew-baiting.

At a given signal preachers and theologians and journalists and professors began to publish articles, pamphlets, books, treatises to stimulate and to justify the anti-Semitic campaign which effectively covered up reactionary economic and political objectives. A vast, anti-Semitic movement was thus created in Germany in the Seventies which continued right up to the War.

Every argument which the Nazis employed in Germany from 1918 to 1934 is already found in complete detail in the writings of these Bismarck-lackeys of the Seventies and Eighties, in Stoecker, Treitschke, Duering, Marr and a hundred others. There isn't an argument which the Nazis exploited in order to inflame the youth of Germany that was not discovered for them fifty years ago. The whole program, the twenty-six points of the Nazi program, was lifted almost bodily from the writings

of Marr and others. The whole methodology for squeezing the Jew out of German life was defined in detail in those days.

An anti-Semitic political party was organized fifty years ago in Germany, which in 1889 had sixteen members in the Reichstag. The first international anti-Semitic Congress was held in Dresden in 1881.

The only difference between then and now is that in those days these anti-Semitic objectives had not been achieved or written into the statute books of the country. The political party which advocated these anti-Jewish regulations had not become powerful enough to write them into the constitution of the land, but as far as objectives, methods and technique are concerned, it was all there.

The World War was just an interlude. Naturally in war time you want every citizen to be patriotic and to fight for his country. And so the anti-Semitic agitation was, for the time being, squelched. But immediately after the War it was resumed again with increasing tempo and vigor because of the defeat and humiliation and suffering of the German people.

Why do I dwell on all this? To indicate that the cause of anti-Semitism in the modern world is primarily an economic one. Whenever reaction gets into the saddle you have an anti-Semitic movement. Whenever the entrenched and privileged classes find that their rights and privileges are endangered by liberal, democratic sentiment, or by a strong labor movement, they will resort to anti-Semitism as a means of befuddling the masses and beclouding their judgments. And if anti-Semitism will increase in this country, it will be due to the self-same cause. The privileged classes in this country, too, when they will become frightened by the rising power of labor or Socialism or Communism, will not hesitate one moment to use anti-Semitism as a device by which to make these movements hateful and anathema.

When you bear this fact in mind you gain a true approach to the problem of anti-Semitism in the modern world. Hitler's backers were the Thyssens and the Krupps, the big industrialists, the great financiers who financed his reactionary anti-democratic movement in order to destroy trade unionism and socialism in Germany. Hitler showed those people how they can obtain their objectives by setting in motion an anti-Semitic agitation.

The struggle in the world today, my friends,—and of tomorrow—is between Fascism and Socialism. Fascism stands in need of some ideological basis. Communism has one. Communistic dictatorship has an ideal of economic justice and equality to give to its people in compensation for the liberties of which it deprives them. The Communist tells the Russian folk: "We have denied you a free press and free speech and the right of free assembly. We have regimented you it is true, but why? In order to establish a society of absolute economic

equality and justice so that you will be the equal of everybody else in Russia." That, in the minds of many people, is adequate compensation for the liberties of which they are deprived.

But what compensation can Fascism offer to its people? It offers them an intensive, aggressive, belligerent nationalism, as in the case of Italy and Austria, and an exclusive, arrogant racialism as in the case of Germany.

Both of these are hostile to the Jew. A hundred per cent nationalist is invariably an anti-Semite. You can count on it. The love of country is a natural thing. Patriotism is instinctive, just as the love of home, but the nationalism which is synonymous with chauvinism and egoism and militarism, is intolerant and invariably anti-Semitic. Wherever such a nationalism is preached, there the Jew is disadvantaged.

The Jew cannot fit into that type of nationalism—and I thank God that he cannot. Some people speak of the Jew as the international Jew. I say Yes! the international Jew—God be praised for it. Nationalism is only a recent concept of Western Europe and clearly an inadequate concept. Nationalism is the minimum requirement—not the maximum program. Beyond the nation there is humanity. The Jew, because he has wandered over the face of the earth, because his intellectual world has stretched to the ultimate horizons, because he realizes that the good of only one nation isn't enough, that there must be good for all peoples through international cooperation, peace, and good will, is an internationalist.

Internationalism is not the antithesis of nationalism. It is the antithesis of chauvinism. Internationalism is the ultimate ideal of humanity. In the 18th Century and early 19th Century that was indeed the ideal which enkindled the imagination of the finest thinkers and writers and poets and philosophers of Europe. They dreamt of one federated world. It's only in the last few years that internationalism has become a word of contempt and opprobrium. It is only in recent years that pacifism has become a word of shame and mockery. The great religious teachers of the world and the great thinkers of the world were pacifists, from Isaiah through Jesus to the last great spiritual leader of our day. All of them hated war. They saw the stupidity and the brutality and the jungle bestiality of war.

So that when men taunt you with the words "International Jew," do not apologize. Do not try to retort by showing how nationalistic you are. Say, "Yes, I am an internationalist." For the time being internationalism is unpopular. So be it. Say, "I have lived through two thousand years of unpopularity."

We Jews are in for hard times because in this struggle between Fascism and Socialism we are going to be made the scapegoat. Every Fascist movement is anti-Semitic. The only reason why Italian Fascism is not is because there are only some 50,000 Jews in Italy—a negligible number.

Racialism is a fine compensatory ideal to give to people for the ruthless suppression of their freedom and for the denial of elementary human rights. "What do you want rights for? What do you want labor unions for? What do you want free speech for? Why, you're a Teuton! You belong to the noblest race on earth! Isn't that enough for you? And we'll make you proud of the fact that you belong to this noble Teutonic race. We'll take the members of the Semitic race living among you and we will degrade them and humiliate them so that you will feel by contrast how nice and lovely it is to belong to the Teutonic race."

That, you will recall, was what the Church did to the Jew in the Middle Ages. His ghettotized life of misery and poverty was pointed to as proof of how good it is to be a Christian.

The Semitic idea is that all men are God's children because God is the Father of all. "God created only one Adam," declared one of the Rabbis, "in order that in future times nobody should have the right to say 'I come from better stock than you do'."

In Germany, if you belong to the non-Aryan, Jewish group, if you are a young Jew or Jewess in Germany, you will be denied the right to higher education; you will be denied the right to choose your own career; you will be denied the right to enter a profession; you will not be permitted to graduate from a professional school. You will be denied the right to hold any public office or to teach in any school or in any institution of higher learning; you will be denied the right to own land and to till the soil. Every method will be used to squeeze you out of the economic life of the country and to reduce you to that condition of defenselessness which our people occupied in the Middle Ages when all the avenues of economic enterprise which were open to them were those of dealing in second-hand clothes and usury.

That's why it is so important that you young people should envisage the problem for what it is, and in self-defense to fight not merely for the Jewish group but for the progressive ideals of mankind; for our fortunes are by-products of the fortunes of the world. Whenever there has been a republican movement towards democracy, towards liberalism, we have profited from it. Whenever there has been a movement away from them and towards reaction we have been the greatest sufferers. The 19th Century was our golden age in Western Europe because that was the century which witnessed the triumph of liberalism. Liberalism means each man on his own merits. A man is judged not on the basis of his religion or his race or his antecedents but on the basis of his capacities. In such an age the Jew could hold his own vis-a-vis another individual. But under dictatorship that is destroyed. No man has rights. Not merely the Jew—no man has any inalienable rights. In their place is the whim or will of the dictator or the dictatorial class. What they decree at any given moment is law against which there is no appeal.

People have become *rightless* under dictatorship. Now if you happen to belong to the majority in this rightless world you are bad off, to be sure, but not as bad off as if you belonged to a disfavored minority. Under a democracy a man belonging to a minority group can appeal to the fundamental law of the land. There is a Constitution, there is a charter of liberties. Under a dictatorship the minority is absolutely helpless and defenseless.

Therefore, it is your task, my dear young friends, to fight for the perpetuation of these principles in our own country as the best method of checking and crushing anti-Semitism. If you ask me what is the best method of checking anti-Semitism in this country I would say that it is through fighting incessantly, strenuously, relentlessly, each man in his sphere of influence, for the basic principles upon which our American government stands.

When these go under it will not be the Jew alone who will suffer. Remember that! It isn't merely 600,000 Jews in Germany who are being degraded. It is 65,000,000 Germans who are being degraded. Their educational system which was the pride of Germany has been regimented to such a degree that in a few years there will not be a foreign student who will wish to visit a German university. Their intellectual life has been shackled. Woman has been driven back to the Middle Ages. The labor movement has been crushed under the iron heel and by the mailed fist. Don't think for a moment that Jews are the only people in German concentration camps! Jews suffer along with the rest of the German people. The whole country has been defeated. When that country is saved, when it is permitted to express itself again through its best minds and not through its worst, the Jewish group too will be restored to the position of equality and worth which it occupied before.

Hitler has not written the last chapter of Jewish history in Germany. The Jews have lived in Germany for a thousand years and they endured the Crusades! Do you know the story of the Crusaders as they affected the German Jews? Read it. What is happening in Germany today is nothing compared to that. Jews lived in Germany during the Black Plague, during the riots and the massacres. They lived there in the most miserable ghettos of Europe. Yet they endured!

Do you think that such a people is going to be licked by one year of Hitler? Goering a year ago said that he had wiped out the communists in Germany. Today he is saying that next year *he is going* to wipe them out. Hitler similarly declared that he has liquidated the Jewish question in Germany. He now knows that he has liquidated nothing but the world's good will.

The reason I am for the boycott and why I raised my voice in favor of the boycott from the very beginning is because that is our way of helping to destroy Nazism. It is the most effective weapon we can use to undermine the regime.

I say to you ^{my} young people: Go into the struggle with your eyes open and your courage high. You are fighting not for Jewish interests alone but for those indispensable rights which are vital to Jew and non-Jew alike. In this struggle you will have the help of all those who still believe in liberalism and cherish democracy and peace and good will and tolerance.

Patience, stoic patience, fortitude—as becomes a great and old people, that is possessed of ancient wisdom—and confidence in our future should be our spiritual weapons in this crisis. The future belongs, my friends, not to Naziism but to Democracy. The future belongs not to militarism but to peace. The future belongs to tolerance, to good will, to freedom, to justice, to the rights of men. Don't be stampeded by what has happened in this age.

Especially you, my young friends, don't be frightened by what your elders are saying. Your elders are a shell-shocked generation. Don't be swept off your feet by the intellectual and spiritual aberrations that are now sweeping over the world. They shall not abide. (We of the older generation have been caught in a trap of circumstances which we cannot break and which will break us. We are tired. But the new world belongs to you. Fight for it—it's worth fighting for.) Fight for the enduring precious ideals of mankind. Cooperate with every movement that makes for social righteousness, for economic justice, for freedom, for tolerance, for religious and racial good will. (Build your own world on the war-bred ruins of our world.) Fight hopefully and fight aggressively. Don't waste your energies upon apologetics.

— Issued by —

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