



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
178

Box
65

Folder
466

The rights of minorities and the next war, 1938.

I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "All men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty, - to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Abraham Lincoln

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF THE TEMPLE
ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET AT THE CITY CLUB ON SATURDAY,
FEBRUARY 26, 1938.

THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND THE NEXT WAR

Any government which in the twentieth century sets about singling out men, on account of their race or religion, for political disfranchisement, or economic discriminations, or social degradation, is prescribing its own doom. It is doing its best to raise, train, and equip the malcontents and revolutionaries of tomorrow who will destroy it root and branch. You can hold such persecuted people down for a time with bayonets, or what is more effective than bayonets, with lying propaganda. But propaganda, sooner or later, must succumb to truth, and as far as bayonets are concerned, it was Napoleon who declared that there is one thing you cannot do with them - you cannot sit on them....

Communists are not born. They are made - made by oppression, by unjust discrimination, by a sense of wrong, by intolerable economic and social conditions. The best ~~xxx~~ way to make Communists out of any people in this country is to single them out as a group for discrimination in employment, by restricting their opportunities in the quest of an education or a career, and by unwarranted abuse and attack. Men of spirit, of courage, and of character do not ~~xxxxxxxx~~ truckle under such abuse indefinitely.

Modern Europe has been bequeathed by history a most troublesome and dangerous minority problem. America has been more fortunate. It has inherited no such problem. But it is not immune from creating such a problem.

The genius of America, except in one instance where it failed disastrously, has evidenced itself in resisting the hard concentration and concretion of minority groups. It has averted a Balkanization of this country. It has manifested itself in slowly and steadily dissolving groups and reducing them

to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America with the rights of men. The allegiance of an American citizen to his country is direct and immediate, not through a group. Whatever other supplementary loyalties American citizens may have to their religions, or to the memories or cultures of their former homelands - and few men are without such subsidiary loyalties - their transcendent and basic loyalty is to America.

The American tradition confirmed the individual as an individual in his inalienable rights. It proclaimed that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness belonged to the individual not because he was a citizen of a state or a member of any particular group or community, but because he was a human being. These rights were given to him by his Creator. This is the most significant pronouncement of the Declaration of Independence and it constituted the most revolutionary political doctrine in the modern world. This doctrine, as long as it is adhered to, makes impossible the fragmentization of America into minority groups of varying status and degrees of rights and privileges.

In only one instance did the genius of America falter and fail. It permitted the existence in its midst of one legally disfranchised and socially and economically exploited minority - the negro. And this one failure embittered our national life from its very inception, snarled and tangled up our political processes for three quarters of a century and finally led to a tragic Civil War in which five hundred thousand men laid down their lives on the bloody alter of minority rightlessness. And that problem, as you know, is even now far from being liquidated.

Those people therefore who would break up American life into hostile racial and religious groups and who would teach their fellow men to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement

but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit and the genius of American people.

If we wish no minority problems to plague us in this country as they have abroad, let us be careful not to create them. They are easily created, just as Germany created a Jewish minority problem where none existed, but they are damnably hard to solve.

Such attempts have not infrequently been made in our country by men who never quite caught the spirit which was America.

Lincoln saw such an attempt being made in his own day. The "Know Nothing Party" sought to disfranchise and reduce to the status of a disfavored minority the newly arrived Irish and German immigrants and Catholics. Lincoln clearly saw in it a threat to America and denounced it:

"I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began ~~by~~ by declaring that 'all men are created equal'. We now practically read it 'all men are created equal, except negroes'. When the Know-nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics'. When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty - to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy".

A similar attempt was made not long ago in the Klan movement. The American tradition again resisted it.

It is cropping up ~~now~~ again today - as a result largely of the propaganda of subsidized alien Nazi agents representing a government which is the sworn enemy of all democracy but proposing in the United States to save our democratic

form of government for us by preaching hate against Jews, or labor organizations whom Fascists do not like. Americans will have to resist it again. Not for the sake of the Jews who are the targets at this particular moment - but for the sake of the spirit, the unity and the peace of mind of America!



City Club

Feb 26, 1938

The shot which rang around the world and killed ten million people in the World War was fired by a member of one of the minority peoples of the Dual Monarchy in an out-of-the-way town in Eastern Europe.

The shot ^{which} ~~that~~ will usher in the next World War will probably also be fired by some such an individual in the name of some oppressed minority people.

There are still some thirty millions living as minorities in Europe today. They live and ² ~~see~~ ^{live} in that age-old cauldron of strife and hate and intrigue - the lands lying between the Baltic and the Adriatic and between Russia and France - the lands of Central and Eastern Europe. Many of these minorities are unreconciled to their present status. Some of them suffer severe political, economic and cultural disabilities.

The dissolution of the empire of Austria-Hungary, ~~and~~ the territorial revision of the German and Russian empires after the war, and the setting up of a number of independent states in their place did not ~~do~~ fully solve the nettlesome nationality problem. In some instances this was quite impossible. The intermingling of nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe is so great that regardless of what political frontiers are established, some minorities would still have to live outside ~~of~~ their original homelands. In other instances the victors in the World War were not altogether scrupulous in following the strict ethnographic lines when they carved the succession states out of the territories of the defeated countries. Territories and their populations were not infrequently forcible and unjustly torn away from their mother lands and annexed to other countries.

Thus more than thirty percent of Poland is made up of non-Polish populations. They differ in race, religion, or nationality from the majority and ruling group. There are four million Ruthenians in Poland, three million Jews, one million Germans, one million White Russians and several other smaller nationality groups.

Out of a population of less than fifteen million in Czechoslovakia, more than three million are Germans. There are also hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, Ruthenians, Poles, and Jews, ~~in that country.~~

Ten million of the nineteen millions which constitute the present population of Rumania were annexed after the war. Among them are the Hungarians of Transylvania, as well as Russians, Germans, Poles and Jews.

In Yugoslavia, besides Serbs, Croates, and Slovenians, there are one-half million each of Germans, Hungarians, and Rumanians, besides smaller units of Albanians and Italians. Fifteen percent of the population of Bulgaria are non-Bulgarians. There are small minority groups even in such relatively homogeneous countries like Italy, Austria and Germany. Even in the petite states of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia there are ~~relatively~~ substantial minority groups.

The framers of the peace treaties following the World War clearly realized that the principle of self-determination would not or could not be applied in every instance to satisfy every nationality group. They recognized that minorities would continue to exist in every succession state. They knew the embittered relationships which existed between these minorities and the states which would now rule over them - the sense of ancient wrongs, of defeat and humiliation on the part of the incorporated minorities and of revenge and the settling of old scores on the part of the now dominant nationality^{ies}. They foresaw the attempts which would be made to suppress these minorities, and the consequently inflamed irredentist and revisionist movements which would develop among them, and which would endanger again the peace of Europe. They were not naive and did not expect that the newly created nations, which had themselves suffered for centuries, would be guided by any greater idealism than their former oppressors.

They therefore set about to ^{by international action} protect these minorities. They insisted, at times in the face of strong opposition on the part of the representatives of the newly constituted states, that there be written into the fundamental law of each of the ¹²

~~newly constituted~~ states provisions for full rights of citizenship, absolute equality before the law ^{and} ~~as well as~~ cultural autonomy for all racial, religious and linguistic minorities. The League of Nations was entrusted with the responsibility of supervising these treaties.

Thus the Polish Minorities Treaty which was signed by Paderewski and *Dmowski* on June 28, 1919, in a room adjoining the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, immediately following the signing of the German Treaty, and which Treaty served as a model for all the other minorities treaties, contains the following clauses:

"Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

"All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

"All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

"Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

"No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

"Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

"Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities

shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own languages and to exercise their religion freely therein.

"Poland agrees that these stipulations constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations."

Such provisions, if faithfully adhered to, would have been a boon to all the nations involved, and a supreme contribution to the pacification of Europe.

But they were disregarded in part or in the whole almost everywhere from the very beginning. These treaties were in some cases, particularly in the case of Poland and Rumania, accepted only under protest, upon the insistence or threat of a Wilson, or a Clemenceau. As long as the League was possessed of a degree of prestige and power, these treaties were partially enforced, or their violation was covered up or explained away. With the decline in the authority of the League, there ensued a flagrant disregard of these treaties in most of the states.

In 1934, Poland, through the mouth of its Foreign Minister Col. Beck, announced at Geneva that she no longer considers herself bound by the Treaty of 1919 which gave the League supervision over the rights of minorities in Poland. But, Col. Beck hastened to add, the minorities of Poland need have no fear. Their rights ^{were} ~~are~~ amply protected by law.

How amply protected these minorities are in Poland, the persecution of the Jewish group in recent years, the riots, the boycotts and the shameless harassment in the fields of economics and education, have fully demonstrated.

The prominence given in our public press to the frequent persecution of the Jewish minorities in Central and Eastern Europe may have overshadowed the fact that other minorities are also suffering today in Europe and are bitterly but helplessly complaining of the same treatment which is being meted out to the Jewish group. The Magyars of Transylvania, for example, complain of being driven from the public service, of being forced out of employment to make room for Rumanians, of being compelled to employ Rumanians up to 80% of their personnel in their business, of agrarian reforms carried out at their expense and of cultural persecution. *These complaints are heard from* ~~This is the case with~~ other minorities in Rumania and elsewhere.

The Jewish minorities, not having a national homeland *of their own* and therefore no government to champion their cause, are the most easily victimized. They are therefore the first to be attacked when minority guarantees begin to break down. Others soon follow.

Only a strong League, only a strong organization for collective security and for the defense of international law and treaties, could have maintained and enforced this system of minority protection in Europe on the basis of equality and cultural freedom. Only a strong League could bring about the gradual rectification of frontiers where such is clearly indicated and the satisfaction of the just complaints of one or another of these minorities. The break-up of the League leaves the problem of minorities in Europe in the same menacing status in which it existed in 1914. The minorities are again left completely at the mercy of the ruling nationalities. Bolder and still bolder attempts will now be made to *grind* ~~grind~~ them down, to exploit them, or forcibly to assimilate them, to Polonize, th Rumanize, to Italianize, or to Germanize them. They will again become the pawns of rival imperial ambitions in Europe which will incite and exploit their nationalist aspirations, and use them in their deadly games of diplomatic intrigue and conspiracy.

Strong nations on the continent seeking expansion will attempt to disrupt the

states which lie across their path by agitating revisionism and by fomenting disloyalty among the minorities within their borders. This, you will recall, led to the War of 1914.

Pan-Germanism in its "drang nach osten", - in its thrust towards the Near East, - and Pan-Slavism, in its drive towards the Adriatic and Constantinople, enmeshed all the nationalities of the Dual Monarchy and the Balkans in their propaganda, inflamed their nationalist hopes and made of them blind tools for their imperial schemes.

Europe is heading back to 1914. The same desperate game of Empire is being played again - in the same area of friction and conflict - and in this game, the minorities are again being used as pawns.

Hitler is leading in this game. In his last speech before the Reichstag, he announced himself as the protector of all the German minorities in Europe, even as the Czar had announced himself as the protector of all the Slavs. This is the same old adroit dodge. It works - but it works - war!

Hitler is not interested in the protection of minorities as such. He is interested in using the German minorities in adjacent lands for political and economic penetration, to expand the Reich, to establish its hegemony in the Danubian basin and to dismember countries like Czechoslovakia which block the way of the old, but as yet unrealized, Germanic dream of "drang nach Osten", - the imperial thrust if not towards the Near East, then towards the rich lands of the Ukraine.

In the pre-war days, the Kaiser ranted: "God has called us to civilize the world: we are the missionaries of human progress." Today Hitler rants about the God-appointed mission of the German people to save the world from Communism. It is the same old shabby device. Under the guise of world mission and rescue, it is hoped surreptitiously to extend the German Reich; for it is only through political action and conquest that such noble rescue work is possible. If there were no Communism in the world today, some other slogan would have been invented. Mission is a good thing in the pulpit and in the study. It is dangerous

when it enters the Foreign Office.

In the pathway of the Reich's imperial march are nations which contain German minorities. Hitler purports to play upon them, to propagandize and Nazify them, and to incite them against their governments. They will become, he hopes, his stepping stones to ^{empire.} ~~imperial greatness~~. But there are other minorities in these countries which have not forgotten the pre-war years of German domination, and their experience under Austria and Hungary. They will bitterly resist a renascent Pan-Germanism. And they will have strong neighbors to help them. This means War!

I said that Hitler is not interested in the problem of minorities per se. In his last speech he made a passionate plea for the rights of minorities. He quoted Wilson and the Fourteen Points. He shed copious tears over "the unnecessary tormenting of national minorities", over "adding suffering of persecution because of racial allegiance to suffering of separation."

And this man, this sanctimonious and altruistic champion of minority rights, took a racial minority living ^{within} in his own Reich, which felt so much at home, politically, culturally, socially and economically, that it never dreamed of asking for minority rights at the Peace Conference - which had lived there for a thousand years - and which had integrated itself so completely in the total life of the nation - serving it with distinction in peace and in war, and in every field of human endeavor - and broke it, crushed it, degraded it, robbed its members officially of all rights of citizenship, subjected ^{them} ~~it~~ to all the indignities of the Nuremberg laws, and drove tens of thousands of them into exile! This man talks of the rights of minorities! He is so dull mentally and spiritually that he cannot even sense the shocking incongruity between his protest against unnecessary tormenting of German national minorities and his own cold, persistent, sadistic tormenting of a helpless minority in his own country.

The same spiritual callousness accounts for his verbal volcanic eruption against what he calls the intolerable press campaigns against Germany, ~~the~~ so-called

slanders and lies which generate hatred against his nation. He declares that the most important thing is to prevent poisonous, insidious articles in the press. And this from a man whose own controlled press in Germany has been pouring out vials of poison daily against democratic governments and democratic institutions, whose campaign against the Soviet Union has been the most shameless and unscrupulous in the annals of journalism. This from a man in whose country and under whose patronage such shameless, vulgar and indecent sheets like the pervert Julius Streicher's "Der Stuermer", are allowed to appear - papers whose sole aim is to incite to intolerance and cruelty and whose contents are so filthy and *poruographic* in their unbridled attacks upon the Jewish people - that even he, Hitler, is ashamed to have them seen outside of Germany and has prohibited their being sent abroad!

Hitler today is the arch-exponent in Europe of the persecution or liquidation of unwanted minorities, and of the exploitation of minorities for imperial purposes. Others will follow suit. Others have followed suit. Poland, for example, and Rumania, less drastically and somewhat more hesitatingly, but quite definitely.

These last two countries have suddenly hit upon the slogan of surplus populations as a camouflage for ~~their~~ intolerance of the minorities in their midst. *It is implied* Poles do not belong to the surplus population of Poland - but Jews do, and Ruthenians and other nationality groups.

It is hoped that by forcing a minority group to emigrate, room will be made for the unemployed members of the remaining population. The jobless intellectuals in those countries have whipped up national ideologies and chauvenism as an excuse for driving minorities from jobs *in the hope of rescuing themselves in their places.*

This is another one of those crazy economic panaceas proposed by governments or parties in a blind effort to defeat the operations of economic law, to deflect relentless economic processes and to avoid the necessity of making ~~the~~ the necessary radical changes in their national economy.

It is clear that you cannot solve the economic problem of a country by artificially reducing its population through emigration. Such drastic surgery frequently leads to a country's impoverishment. No essential relationship ^{as} has yet been established between population and prosperity. We experienced disastrous economic depressions in our own country when our population was one-half, one-third and one-fourth its present size. And we enjoyed periods of prosperity when immigrants were pouring into our country by the hundreds of thousands.

It is just as logical for Poland to try to solve its economic^c problem by compelling three million Jews to emigrate, as it would be for the United States to attempt to solve its present depression by sending back to Poland the 1,400,000 foreign-born Poles who are here, and to Germany the 1,600,000 foreign-born Germans who are here, and to Italy the 1,800,000 Italians who are here, and to Great Britain the 1,000,000 foreign-born Englishmen who are here, and to Ireland the 800,000 Irish foreign-born who are here. There are fourteen million of such foreign-born in the United States, not to speak of the twenty-five million more of foreign or mixed parentage. Would such a forcible emigration set the wheels of our industries running again?....

Again, you do not solve the economic problem of a country by taking away opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another. By so doing, you succeed only in diminishing or destroying opportunities for all. It is only by a sound reorganization of its economic life, and by the creation of new opportunities through more intelligent planning that an economic solution can be approximated.

Poland will have to reconcile itself to its Jewish minority of three million and to its other minorities. They cannot be evacuated. It is impossible, under present conditions, with the doors of the world closed, to effect the transference even of a million people at a rate fast enough to overcome the normal increase in the population through births. Even if there existed the facilities and opportunities for moving fifty thousand Jews annually out of Poland, after a generation of such enforced emigration, Poland would still

have three million Jews.

and
In Poland, for that matter, in Rumania and in all Eastern European countries, the Jews will continue to remain, as they have for centuries - whether they are made to suffer or not, whether they are pogromized or not, for the simple reason that they cannot go elsewhere. The question then arises: Is it more statesmanlike for these countries to allow the Jews full political and economic equality so that through their talents and abilities and services they may help to develop and enrich the economic life of those countries - or will they remain an harassed and discriminated minority group, a source of constant conflict and embitterment and the breeding centers of revolution.

For these three million Jews in Poland and the one million in Rumania, even as all underprivileged minorities, will not forever take it lying down. It is not human nature. They will seek to undermine the governments which oppress them and in the long run they will succeed even as they succeeded in Czarist Russia.

I sometimes hear men wonder at the fact that there were so many Communist Jews in Russia. The number has, of course, been grossly exaggerated by Anti-semites. The overwhelming number of Jews in Russia were democratic, constitutionalists or Social Democrats. But all of them wanted the Czarist regime destroyed. Is there any wonder? Think of the life of degradation and infamy and disabilities under which they were compelled to live! Can you find it in your heart to blame if many of them were driven into the most extreme revolutionary movements? Would you act differently? Not if you are a man and not a coward!

Any government which in the twentieth century sets about singling out men, on account of their race or religion, for political disfranchisement, or economic discriminations, or social degradation, is prescribing its own doom. It is doing its best to raise, train, and equip the malcontents and revolutionaries of tomorrow who will destroy it root and branch. You can hold such persecuted people down for a time with bayonets, or what is more effective than bayonets, with lying propaganda. But propaganda, sooner or later, must succumb to truth,

W Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own languages and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations."

The Right of men
to be treated as

11
12

City Club Feb 24, 1939

and as far as bayonets are concerned, it was Napoleon who declared that there is one thing you cannot do with them - you cannot sit on them...

Communists are not born. They are made - made by oppression, by unjust discrimination, by a sense of wrong, by intolerable economic and social conditions. The best way to make Communists ^{out} of any people in this country is to single them out as a group for discrimination in employment, by restricting their opportunities in the quest of an education or a career, and by unwarranted abuse and attack. Men of spirit, of courage, and of character do not truckle under such abuse indefinitely.

Modern Europe has been bequeathed by history a most troublesome and dangerous minority problem. America has been more fortunate. It has inherited no such problem. But it is not immune from creating such a problem.

The genius of America, except in one instance where it failed disastrously, has evidenced itself in resisting the hard concentration and concretion of minority groups. It has averted a Balkanization of this country. It has manifested itself in slowly and steadily dissolving groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America with the rights of men. The allegiance of an American citizen to his country is direct and immediate, not through a group. Whatever other supplementary loyalties American citizens may have to their religions, or to the memories or cultures of their former homelands - and few men are without such subsidiary loyalties - their transcendent and basic loyalty is to America.

The American tradition confirmed the individual as an individual in ~~the~~ inalienable rights. It proclaimed that the right to ~~life~~ life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness belonged to the individual not because he was a citizen of a state or a member of any particular group or community, but because he was a human being. ^{these rights} They were given to him by his Creator. This is the most significant pronouncement of the Declaration of Independence and it

constituted the most revolutionary political doctrine in the modern world. This doctrine, as long as it is adhered to, makes impossible the fragmentization of America into minority groups of varying status and degrees of rights and privileges.

In only one instance did the genius of America falter and fail. It permitted the existence in its midst of one legally disfranchised and socially and economically exploited minority - the negro. And this one failure embittered our national life from its very inception, snarled and tangled up our political processes for three quarters of a century and finally led to a tragic Civil War in which five hundred thousand men laid down their lives on the bloody alter of minority ^{persecution} ~~rightlessness~~. And that problem, as you know, is even now far from being liquidated.

Those people therefore who would break up American life into hostile racial and religious groups and who would teach their fellow men to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit and the genius ^{and the peace of the} of American people.

If we wish no minority problems to plague us in this country as they have ^{plagued} ~~the nations~~ abroad, let us be careful not to create them. They are easily created, - just as Germany created a Jewish minority problem where none existed, - but they are damnably hard to ~~solve~~ ^{end}.

Such attempts have not infrequently been made in our country by men who never quite caught the spirit which ^{is} ~~was~~ America.

Lincoln saw such an attempt being made in his own day. The "Know Nothing Party" sought to disfranchise and reduce to the status of a disfavored minority the newly arrived Irish and German immigrants and Catholics. Lincoln clearly saw in it a threat to America and denounced it:

"I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes

of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal'. We now practically read it 'all men are ~~xx~~ created equal, except negroes'. When the Know-nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics'. When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty - to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

A similar attempt was made not long ago in the Klan movement. The American tradition again resisted it.

It is cropping up again today - as a result largely of the propaganda of subsidized alien Nazi agents, representing a government which is the sworn enemy of all democracy but proposing in the United States to save our democratic form of government for us by reaching hate against Jews, or labor organizations whom Fascists do not like. Americans will have to resist it again. Not for the sake of the Jews who are the targets at this particular moment - but for the sake of the spirit, the unity and the peace of mind of America!

1) The shot - 30 M. - unreconciled
Dissolution - impossible -

Thus > 30% - Poland - Cz - Rumania

2) The framers - They knew embittered
They foresaw - irredentist - naive
They \therefore set about - insisted
Thus the Polish (quote)

3) Had these provisions -
But - disregarded - under protest
As long as League.
In 1934 - Poland - bound by
Hastened to add - amplify
How amplify.

4) The prominence given - Jews
The Magyars
The Jew. minorities - no homeland

5) Only a strong League -
The break-up of League leaves - 1914
The minorities are again left - mercy
Bolder - ground - assimilate - Polonize
Pawns

Strong nations - expansion - disrupt
this 1st - war of 1914.

{ Pan-Germanism in its "drang
Europe is heading back - 1914"
The same desperate game -

6) Hitler is leading in this game
In his last speech - announced
Same old, admit dodge. It works -

7) Hitler is not interested
using Ger. minorities in adjacent -
penetration.

8/ In the pre-war days. the Kaiser railed
"God has called us to civilize the world;
"We are the missionaries of hum. progress"

To-day, Hitler railed -
Mission is a good thing
Same old, shabby device
Under guise

9/ In the path-way of the Reich's imperial
Hitler purports to play -
But there are other motives -

10/ I said that Hitler is not interested
In his last speech - passionate plea

He quoted - Shed -

"the unnecessary tormenting"

"adding suffering of persecution bee

And this man - Sanctimonious

He is so dull mentally - tormenting
the same spirit. Callousness - accounts
prevent poisonous, vicious articles.
And this from a man whose own

11). Hitler, today, is the arch-exponent of
persecution-liquidation. Appetition
Others will follow suit - Have
Poland, Rumania - less drastically

12). These last 2 countries - "surplus
population"

Poles, it is implied, -

It is hoped that by foreign-
the jobless intellectuals

13). This is another - crazy - defeat
deflect - avoid.

It is clear - You cannot solve -
- artificially reducing
Such drastic surgery
No essential relationship -
We experienced

14). It is just as logical for Poland -
- wheels -

15). Again, you do not solve - taking away
It is only by sound -

16). Poland will have to reconcile -
evacuated -
It is impossible - under present
Even if there existed -

17). The Jews will continue to remain
Suffer or not - for simple
The question, then arises -

18). For these 3 M- lying down.
Human nature - destroy - Suicide

19). I sometimes hear men wonder -
But all of them - Any wonder?
Think of the life - Blame -
Would you act differently?

20). Any Gov't which is the 20 Cent -
It is doing its best -
You can hold such persecuted

21). Communists are not born -
The surest way
Men of Spirit -

22). Modern Europe -
America has been ~~for~~ unfortunate
But it is not unwise

23/ The Genius of America, except in -
evidenced - in resisting
Balkanization

It has manifested - in slowly
~~* Europe is concerned with~~

The allegiance of an Amer. citizen
Whatever other supplementary loyalties

24/ Europe is concerned - Rights
The Amer. Tradition confirmed the fact
This is most sig pronouncement
This doctrine - as long as it is added

25/ In only one instance -
It permitted the existence -
And this one failure, embittered
And the problem -

26/ Those people \therefore who would break -

27/ If we wish no minority - plague
Easily created -

28/ Such attempts have not infrequently
failed - Know-Nothing (Jests)

29/ A similar attempt - Klean

30/ It is cropping up again -
as a result

THE CITY

Volume XXIII

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1938

Number 26

Saturday Noon

Club Dining Room

February 26

Cityzen Rabbi A. H. Silver

WILL DISCUSS

"The Rights of Minorities and the Next War"

Please Reserve

Eloquent and Forceful Rabbi Silver Again Graces Forum

**"The Rights of Minorities and the Next War" Will be Subject
of Liberal Spiritual Leader Saturday**

A MAN of vision —
A "prophet recognized in his own home" —

An undeniable force —

A humanitarian —

Similar descriptive ideas could be put on paper here indefinitely to praise in superlative fashion Saturday's forum speaker, one of the outstanding Cityzens of this community — Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

But words, no matter in what fashion or in what combination put together, never will convey his influence and his intrinsic importance to Cleveland and to the social forces in this country — nation-wide.

For 21 years Rabbi Silver has been the spiritual head of The Temple. During that time, aside from his rabbinical duties, he has been a champion of man.

In the storm and stress of these furious currents in the life of the world, the rabbi has sought to raise his voice in behalf of the rights of the individual.

In an interview on the occasion of his 20th year in Cleveland he said "today, with the growth of totalitarian states, the individual is in danger of becoming a robot. It is important for mankind that we re-assert in this age the inalienable rights of man, that certain rights belong to man because he is made in the image of God."

* * *

The American Way

He points out, rightly, that the American people have tried to teach this lesson to the world. He told of the revolutionary war days and after when the American people were afraid of too much government and they established the system of checks and balances in their ruling bodies.

"But today we are facing a different problem," he emphasized. "The laissez faire policy is no longer possible in economic affairs. We must find the gold

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

Mid-week Meeting

THURSDAY NOON

February 24

Hear **OSCAR VITT**

New Manager of Cleveland Indians

Story on Page 3

THE CITY

Published weekly except June, July and August by
THE CITY CLUB OF CLEVELAND

712 Vincent Avenue
Telephone, Main 0082

Entered as second-class matter, September 20, 1916, at
Cleveland, Ohio, under the act of March 3, 1879.
Price, 30 cents a year.

OFFICERS

George B. Harris, *President*
Lockwood Thompson, *Vice-President*
Fred P. Stashower, *Treasurer*
J. J. Lafferty, *Secretary*

DIRECTORS

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Morris A. Black | George B. Harris |
| Chester C. Bolton | Marvin C. Harrison |
| H. M. Buckley | Charles A. Otis |
| A. T. Burch | Philip W. Porter |
| Arthur Fiske | Fred P. Stashower |
| Marc J. Grossman | Lockwood Thompson |

Editorial Committee

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| A. G. Henry | Milton Widder, <i>Chairman</i> | E. T. Randall |
| Russell T. Herrick | | H. S. Tannenbaum |

Advisory Members

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|------------------|
| Carl D. Friebohn | I. L. Kenen | Nosman Krichbaum |
|------------------|-------------|------------------|

Believe It or Not

Last Thursday night's Cityzens' Town Hall looked like Feather Night. Anyway, Bill can put one in his cap. But, really, it was Editors' Night.

* * *

Ex-Prex Dan E. Morgan, presiding, said it: Seldom anywhere will you find all of the editors of the City's newspapers come to a party and take it — and give it. Where have you seen more sportsmanship?

* * *

It was, as Cityzen Mayo (City Club Papa) Fesler remarked: "An epochal event in City Club history."

* * *

It might be noted, also, that of the Editors, one, Paul Bellamy, was ex-president of the City Club; another, A. T. Burch, is a director, and another, Nat Howard, is on the Public Affairs Committee.

* * *

Not the least contribution by any means was the unannounced little speech of Carlton Matson, now of Toledo and formerly one of our scintillating Cityzens.

* * *

The chief supporter of the motion to continue the party another week was Cityzen E. S. Byers. He wanted time for research in order to get his question framed to fit the facts.

Now that William Feather has done it, ably parodied by Cityzen Nat Howard, we're thinking up a questionnaire: Has this sheet too many columns? Which department treats you the fairest in matters of which you have personal knowledge? Are we a menace or a menace?

* * *

One of the Junior Members, Cityzen M. J. Reigert, comes to lunch all the way from Hanna Company and sits at the Anvil Revue Table just so he can read a newspaper in peace and comfort. That's the worst slam we've heard against the table — and we've heard plenty.

* * *

On the other hand, one of our rejoining members of years ago, Cityzen Fred P. Rankin, comes miles to sit at the Soviet Table so he can revive his drooping spirits for the afternoon's business. You know: *De gustibus . . .*

* * *

Chairman Karl Heyner, of the 1938 Anvil Revue Committee, is perking up. He has a new colored shirt and tie. He found out, last night, that there is *going to be a show* this year.

* * *

And Ex-Prex Marcellus (Divvy) De-Vaughn is even more cheerful. As Chairman of the Dinner Committee of Nisi Prius, he has everything set for the Annual Festivities on March 5th. He says that Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs will take a licking that night.

* * *

Cityzen Herbert (Abstractor) Hollander may be called upon to testify for his brother, Cityzen S. (Doc) Hollander, if Doc's glee club experience is to count in securing a solo in the City Club Show.

* * *

Flanked by Ex-Prex Winfred (W.R.U. Pres.) Leutner and Dr. W. E. (Case School Pres.) Wickenden, a packed dining room at last Saturday's Forum heard Dr. James Rowland Angell, formerly president of Yale and now educational counselor of N.B.C. He made a personal hit.

* * *

We were surprised that no one asked the Doctor whether N.B.C. would give Harvard an even break.

Discuss Building Costs at Thursday Evening Meeting

"CAN Cleveland Building Costs Be Reduced?"

That's the subject for discussion at the Thursday night (February 24) "Town Hall" series of the City Club.

The subject has been bandied about the town for nearly a decade now. Some of the discussion has been by the word of mouth, enhanced by rumors; some of it has been printed in the newspapers from time to time, and most of it has been talked about when builders, architects and contractors (as well as prospective home owners) have gotten together.

This is the first time the subject of building costs will get a thorough public going-over.

It took the aggressive and far-sighted chairman of the Town Hall meeting committee (Cityzen Morris Black) to nail the thing to the board. His excellent management procured for the Club the past discussions on newspapers as well as annexation, and he must be given due credit for arranging this third very interesting meeting.

The men who will talk on the building cost problem will include:

W. T. Rossiter, president of the Cleveland Builders' Supply Company and E. S. Barkwill from that firm;

Albert Dalton, president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, and head of "Build America" a new building-promotion outfit, as well as James G. Caffrey, special deputy administrator for the Federal Housing Administration, now on leave of absence to aid "Build America," and,

Walter McCornack, nationally known architect who planned the Cedar-Central slum elimination project in Cleveland

The program includes the serving of a buffet supper from 5:30 to 6:20 p.m. for which *reservations must be made*; the discussion period from 6:30 to 8 p.m.

The chairman of the meeting will be Marc J. Grossman, head of the Cleveland Housing Authority and time-keeper will be Ralph Shurtleff.

Oscar Vitt Talks Here Thursday Noon

OSCAR VITT, the Cleveland Indians' new pilot — who hopes to bring a championship to this baseball-hungry town — will be the special guest of the City Club, Thursday noon.

Pilot Vitt, just in from sunny California, will be ready to give City Clubbers some inside baseball dope.

Faced with a tough season on the diamond, Mr. Vitt is now engaged with Cityzen Alva Bradley in making preparations for the southern (Florida) training trip.

His talk before City Clubbers tomorrow noon (Thursday) will be informal, of course. But here is an opportunity to meet the new manager of the Indians first hand and civic as well as baseball-minded members are urged to attend the meeting.

Sotto Voce

Those co-ed programmes do have their appeal.

* * *

Unfortunately the question period was

hardly up to par. What's that about "Angells fearing to tread?"

* * *

Cityzen Artist Moulton did a little drawing for his Sanhedrin friends, last week. Outstanding work, we calls it.

* * *

"The Cleveland Heights school tax rate was one-third more than the Cleveland school tax rate." (Mayor Cain) Some kids seem to educate easier than others.

* * *

The newspaper boys didn't suffer much Thursday night. Castigated with a Feather.

* * *

To Anvil Revue Committeemen Heyner and Friebolin, minor: What is a "nominal head" anyway?

To: J— R—

You've heard of this fellow named Raper Who writes for a cheap evening paper.

He attacks all the bunk

With vigor and spunk —

No bushel hides his shining taper.

— Anonymous.

Rabbi Silver Graces Forum

(Continued from page 1)

mean between private and public control of life."

Yet Rabbi Silver is no pleader for "rugged individualism." He says he is as much opposed to rugged individualism as he is opposed to rugged Communism. He says he does believe that when the individual is "goose-stepped" the end of human culture is reached.

He ended that particular interview with the thought:

"In all my labors I have championed those causes which strengthen the rights of the individual."

* * *

Fought For His Beliefs

AND that's the key to his liberalism. He has fought mightily for those things that he believes in.

He has fought for the rights of free speech and free assembly; for the furtherance of educational opportunity and for the wise use of leisure time; for social security and unemployment insurance.

Men of his generation will recall that in the months following the war hysteria when "red baiting" was the chief cry of the jingoists and political opportunists he (with Cityzen-Judge Bradley Hull) re-established this city's leadership in regards to freedom of speech by establishing the forum on the square under the auspices of this City Club.

And that is one of the many reasons why Rabbi Silver is so dear to the hearts and feelings of City Clubbers. He expresses in person the ideals on which this Club was founded.

We'd like to pluck from a sermon delivered in early 1932 by the rabbi, these few telling thoughts, that will express best his social wisdom. At that time he said:

"If I were dictator I would initiate a vast construction program to put men to work, reduce hours of labor for all workers, and introduce compulsory unemployment insurance . . . I would have

Pocket Forum

Morris Black's Thursday simposiums are popular — they'll put on bank night soon — pro and con on Union Trust (or will they?).

* * *

Saturday was Ladies' Day at the bull game.

the government advance credit to counties and municipalities for construction programs . . . I would concentrate on giving people work. . . ."

That was before the Roosevelt era.

* * *

His Accomplishments

IN the field of community and social service, Rabbi Silver fathered the unemployment insurance movement. He was named by past president Hoover, in 1931, to serve on the national Unemployment Relief Commission.

He also was one of the active leaders in the movement for Cleveland's defunct city manager plan and has been especially active in the Cleveland Community Fund Campaigns.

In the Jewish field he has been one of the international leaders of the Zionist movement. He has traveled through the nation, visiting hundreds of communities and has been responsible for the raising of millions of dollars for the relief of distressed Jews throughout the world.

Discussing the present turmoil, the future war, and the part of the world's minorities are to play in it should be particularly interesting for Rabbi Silver has had some definite ideas on the subject. Once, when he was talking about armament races (now indulged in in this country) he said:

"Unless the race of the nations to constantly arm is effectively halted, there can be but one end — that is war."

A thinker — certainly.

A prophet — undoubtedly.

A man to hear — most assuredly.

Here 'Tis — The Date of the Anvil Revue

SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1938

At Music Hall of Public Auditorium

Matinee for women only — Evening for men only

Watch for announcement of ticket sale. NO ADVANCE RESERVATIONS

The Rights of Minorities and the Next War

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver



An address delivered before the City Club of Cleveland, Ohio

February 26, 1938

Price—twenty-five cents

The Rights of Minorities and the Next War

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

THE shot which rang around the world and killed ten million people in the World War was fired by a member of one of the minority peoples of the Dual Monarchy in an out-of-the-way town in Eastern Europe.

The shot which will usher in the next World War will probably also be fired by some such an individual in the name of some oppressed minority people.

There are still some thirty millions living as minorities in Europe today. They live and seethe in that age-old cauldron of strife and hate and intrigue—the lands lying between the Baltic and the Adriatic and between Russia and France—the lands of Central and Eastern Europe. Many of these minorities are unreconciled to their present status. Some of them suffer severe political, economic and cultural disabilities.

The dissolution of the empire of Austria-Hungary, the territorial revision of the German and Russian empires after the war, and the setting up of a number of independent states in their place did not fully solve the nettlesome nationality problem. In some instances this was quite impossible. The intermingling of nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe is so great that regardless of what political frontiers are established, some minorities would still have to live outside their original homelands. In other instances the victors in the World War were

not altogether scrupulous in following the strict ethnographic lines when they carved the succession states out of the territories of the defeated countries. Territories and their populations were not infrequently forcibly and unjustly torn away from their mother lands and annexed to other countries.

Thus more than thirty per cent of Poland is made up of non-Polish populations. They differ in race, religion, or nationality from the majority and ruling group. There are four million Ruthenians in Poland, three million Jews, one million Germans, one million White Russians and several other smaller nationality groups.

Out of a population of less than fifteen million in Czechoslovakia, more than three million are Germans. There are also hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, Ruthenians, Poles, and Jews.

Ten million of the nineteen millions which constitute the present population of Rumania were annexed after the war. Among them are the Hungarians of Transylvania, as well as Russians, Germans, Poles and Jews.

In Yugoslavia, besides Serbs, Croates, and Slovenians, there are one-half million each of Germans, Hungarians, and Rumanians, besides smaller units of Albanians and Italians. Fifteen per cent of the population of Bulgaria are non-Bulgarians. There are small minority groups even in such relatively homogeneous countries like Italy, Austria and Germany. Even in the petite states of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia there are substantial minority groups.

The framers of the peace treaties following the World War clearly realized that the principle of self-determination would not or could not be applied in every instance to satisfy every nationality group. They recognized that minorities would continue to exist in every succession state. They knew the embittered relationships which existed between these minorities and the states which would now rule over them—the sense of ancient wrongs, of defeat and humiliation on the part of the incorporated minorities and of revenge and the settling of old scores on the

part of the now dominant nationalities. They foresaw the attempts which would be made to suppress these minorities, and the consequently inflamed irredentist and revisionist movements which would develop among them, and which would again endanger the peace of Europe. They were not naive and did not expect that the newly created nations, which had themselves suffered for centuries, would be guided by any greater idealism than their former oppressors.

They therefore set about to protect these minorities by international action. They insisted, at times in the face of strong opposition on the part of the representatives of the newly constituted states, that there be written into the fundamental law of each of these states provisions for full rights of citizenship, absolute equality before the law and cultural autonomy for all racial, religious and linguistic minorities. The League of Nations was entrusted with the responsibility of supervising these treaties.

Thus the Polish Minorities Treaty which was signed by Paderewski and Dmowski on June 28, 1919, in a room adjoining the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, immediately following the signing of the German Treaty, and which Treaty served as a model for all the other minorities treaties, contains the following clauses:

"Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

"All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

"All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

"Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public em-

ployments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

"No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

"Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

"Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own languages and to exercise their religion freely therein.

"Poland agrees that these stipulations constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations."

Such provisions, if faithfully adhered to, would have been a boon to all the nations involved, and a supreme contribution to the pacification of Europe.

But they were disregarded in part or in the whole almost everywhere from the very beginning. These treaties were in some cases, particularly in the case of Poland and Rumania, accepted only under protest, upon the insistence or threat of a Wilson, or a Clemenceau. As long as the League was possessed of a degree of prestige and power, these treaties were partially enforced, or their violation was covered up or explained away. With the decline in the authority of the League, there ensued a flagrant disregard of these treaties in most of the states.

In 1934, Poland, through the mouth of its Foreign Minister

Col. Beck, announced at Geneva that she no longer considers herself bound by the Treaty of 1919 which gave the League supervision over the rights of minorities in Poland. Col. Beck hastened to add, however, that the minorities of Poland need have no fear. Their rights were amply protected by law.

How amply protected these minorities are in Poland, the persecution of the Jewish group in recent years, the riots, the boycotts and the shameless harassment in the fields of economics and education, have fully demonstrated.

The prominence given in our public press to the frequent persecution of the Jewish minorities in Central and Eastern Europe may have overshadowed the fact that other minorities are also suffering today in Europe and are bitterly but helplessly complaining of the same treatment which is being meted out to the Jewish group. The Magyars of Transylvania, for example, complain of being driven from the public service, of being forced out of employment to make room for Rumanians, of being compelled to employ Rumanians up to 80 per cent of their personnel in their business, of agrarian reforms carried out at their expense and of cultural persecution. These complaints are heard from other minorities in Rumania and elsewhere.

The Jewish minorities, not having a national homeland of their own and therefore no government to champion their cause, are the most easily victimized. They are therefore the first to be attacked when minority guarantees begin to break down. Others soon follow.

Only a strong League, only a strong organization for collective security and for the defense of international law and treaties, could have maintained and enforced this system of minority protection in Europe on the basis of equality and cultural freedom. Only a strong League could bring about the gradual rectification of frontiers where such is clearly indicated and the satisfaction of the just complaints of one or another of these minorities. The break-up of the League leaves the problem of minorities in Europe in the same menacing status in which it existed in 1914. The minorities are again left completely at

the mercy of the ruling nationalities. Bolder and still bolder attempts will now be made to grind them down, to exploit them, or forcibly to assimilate them, to Polonize, to Rumanize, to Italianize, or to Germanize them. They will again become the pawns of rival imperial ambitions in Europe which will incite and exploit their nationalist aspirations, and use them in their deadly games of diplomatic intrigue and conspiracy.

Strong nations on the continent seeking expansion will attempt to disrupt the states which lie across their path by agitating revisionism and by fomenting disloyalty among the minorities within their borders. This, you will recall, led to the War of 1914.

Pan-Germanism in its "drang nach Osten"—in its thrust towards the Near East — and Pan-Slavism, in its drive towards the Adriatic and Constantinople, enmeshed all the nationalities of the Dual Monarchy and the Balkans in their propaganda, inflamed their nationalist hopes and made of them blind tools for their imperial schemes.

Europe is heading back to 1914. The same desperate game of Empire is being played again — in the same area of friction and conflict — and in this game, the minorities are again being used as pawns.

Hitler is leading in this game. In his last speech before the Reichstag, he announced himself as the protector of all the German minorities in Europe, even as the Czar had announced himself as the protector of all the Slavs. This is the same old adroit dodge. It works — but it works — war!

Hitler is not interested in the protection of minorities as such. He is interested in using the German minorities in adjacent lands for political and economic penetration, to expand the Reich, to establish its hegemony in the Danubian basin and to dismember countries like Czechoslovakia which block the way of the old, but as yet unrealized, Germanic dream of "drang nach Osten" — the imperial thrust, if not towards the Near East, then towards the rich lands of the Ukraine.

In the pre-war days, the Kaiser ranted: "God has called us to civilize the world: we are the missionaries of human progress." Today Hitler rants about the God-appointed mission of the German people to save the world from Communism. It is the same old shabby device. Under the guise of world mission and rescue, it is hoped surreptitiously to extend the German Reich; for it is only through political action and conquest that such noble rescue work is possible. If there were no Communism in the world today, some other slogan would have been invented. Mission is a good thing in the pulpit and in the study. It is dangerous when it enters the Foreign Office.

In the pathway of the Reich's imperial march are nations which contain German minorities. Hitler purports to play upon them, to propagandize and Nazify them, and to incite them against their governments. They will become, he hopes, his stepping stones to empire. But there are other minorities in these countries which have not forgotten the pre-war years of German domination, and their experience under Austria and Hungary. They will bitterly resist a renascent Pan-Germanism. And they will have strong neighbors to help them. This means War!

I said that Hitler is not interested in the problem of minorities *per se*. In his last speech he made a passionate plea for the rights of minorities. He quoted Wilson and the Fourteen Points. He shed copious tears over "the unnecessary tormenting of national minorities", over "adding suffering of persecution because of racial allegiance to suffering of separation."

And this man, this sanctimonious and altruistic champion of minority rights, took a racial minority living within his own Reich, which felt so much at home politically, culturally, socially and economically, that it never dreamed of asking for minority rights at the Peace Conference, which had lived there for a thousand years, and which had integrated itself so completely in the total life of the nation — serving it with distinction in peace and in war, and in every field of human endeavor — and broke it, crushed it, degraded it, robbed its members officially of all rights of citizenship, subjected them to all the indignities

of the Nuremberg laws, and drove tens of thousands of them into exile! This man talks of the rights of minorities! He is so dull mentally and spiritually that he cannot even sense the shocking incongruity between his protest against unnecessary tormenting of German national minorities and his own cold, persistent, sadistic tormenting of a helpless minority in his own country.

The same spiritual callousness accounts for his verbal volcanic eruption against what he calls the intolerable press campaigns against Germany, and the so-called slanders and lies which generate hatred against his nation. He declares that the most important thing is to prevent poisonous, insidious articles in the press. And this from a man whose own controlled press in Germany has been pouring out vials of poison daily against democratic governments and democratic institutions, whose campaign against the Soviet Union has been the most shameless and unscrupulous in the annals of journalism. This from a man in whose country and under whose patronage such lying, vulgar and indecent sheets like the pervert Julius Streicher's *Der Stuermer*, are allowed to appear — papers whose sole aim is to incite to intolerance and cruelty and whose contents are so filthy and pornographic in their unbridled attacks upon the Jewish people — that even he, Hitler, is ashamed to have them seen outside of Germany and has prohibited their being sent abroad!

Hitler today is the arch-exponent in Europe of the persecution or liquidation of unwanted minorities, and of the exploitation of minorities for imperial purposes. Others will follow suit. Others have followed suit. Poland, for example, and Rumania, less drastically and somewhat more hesitatingly, but quite definitely.

These last two countries have suddenly hit upon the slogan of surplus populations as a camouflage for intolerance of the minorities in their midst. Poles, it is implied, do not belong to the surplus population of Poland — but Jews do, and Ruthenians and other nationality groups.

It is hoped that by forcing a minority group to emigrate,

room will be made for the unemployed members of the remaining population. The jobless intellectuals in those countries have whipped up national ideologies and chauvenism as an excuse for driving minorities from jobs in the hope of esconcing themselves in their places.

This is another one of those crazy economic panaceas proposed by governments or parties in a blind effort to defeat the operations of economic law, to deflect relentless economic processes and to avoid the necessity of making the necessary radical changes in their national economy.

It is clear that you cannot solve the economic problem of a country by artificially reducing its population through emigration. Such drastic surgery frequently leads to a country's impoverishment. No essential relationship has as yet been established between population and prosperity. We experienced disastrous economic depressions in our own country when our population was one-half, one-third and one-fourth its present size. And we enjoyed periods of prosperity when immigrants were pouring into our country by the hundreds of thousands.

It is just as logical for Poland to try to solve its economic problem by compelling three million Jews to emigrate, as it would be for the United States to attempt to solve its present depression by sending back to Poland the 1,400,000 foreign-born Poles who are here, and to Germany the 1,600,000 foreign-born Germans who are here, and to Italy the 1,800,000 Italians who are here, and to Great Britain the 1,000,000 foreign-born Englishmen who are here, and to Ireland the 800,000 Irish foreign-born who are here. There are fourteen million of such foreign-born in the United States, not to speak of the twenty-five million more of foreign or mixed parentage. Would such a forcible emigration set the wheels of our industries running again? . . .

Again, you do not solve the economic problem of a country by taking away opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another. By so doing, you succeed only in diminishing or destroying opportunities for all.

It is only by a sound reorganization of its economic life, and by the creation of new opportunities through more intelligent planning that an economic solution can be approximated.

Poland will have to reconcile itself to its Jewish minority of three million and to its other minorities. They cannot be evacuated. It is impossible, under present conditions, with the doors of the world closed, to effect the transference even of a million people at a rate fast enough to overcome the normal increase in the population through births. Even if there existed the facilities and opportunities for moving fifty thousand Jews annually out of Poland, after a generation of such enforced emigration, Poland would still have three million Jews.

In Poland, and for that matter, in Rumania and in all Eastern European countries, the Jews will continue to remain, as they have for centuries — whether they are made to suffer or not, whether they are pogromized or not—for the simple reason that they cannot go elsewhere. The question then arises: Is it more statesmanlike for these countries to allow the Jews full political and economic equality so that through their talents and abilities and services they may help to develop and enrich the economic life of those countries — or will they remain an harassed and discriminated minority group, a source of constant conflict and embitterment and the breeding centers of revolution?

For these three million Jews in Poland and the one million in Rumania, even as all underprivileged minorities, will not forever take it lying down. It is not human nature. They will seek to undermine the governments which oppress them and in the long run they will succeed, even as they succeeded in Czarist Russia.

I sometimes hear men wonder at the fact that there were so many Communist Jews in Russia. The number has, of course, been grossly exaggerated by anti-Semites. The overwhelming number of Jews in Russia were democratic or constitutionalists. But all of them wanted the Czarist regime destroyed. Is there any wonder? Think of the life of degradation and infamy and disabilities under which they were compelled to live! Can

you find it in your heart to blame if many of them were driven into the most extreme revolutionary movements? Would you act differently? Not if you are a man and not a coward!

Any government which in the twentieth century sets about singling out men, on account of their race or religion, for political disfranchisement, or economic discriminations, or social degradation, is prescribing its own doom. It is doing its best to raise, train, and equip the malcontents and revolutionaries of tomorrow who will destroy it root and branch. You can hold such persecuted people down for a time with bayonets, or what is more effective than bayonets, with lying propaganda among the enclaving majority. But propaganda, sooner or later, must succumb to truth, and as far as bayonets are concerned, it was Napoleon who declared that there is one thing you cannot do with them — you cannot sit on them . . .

Communists are not born. They are made — made by oppression, by unjust discrimination, by a sense of wrong, by intolerable economic and social conditions. The surest way to make Communists out of any people in this country is to single them out as a group for discrimination in employment, by restricting their opportunities in the quest of an education or a career, and by unwarranted abuse and attack. Men of spirit, of courage, and of character do not truckle under such abuse indefinitely.

Modern Europe has been bequeathed by history a most troublesome and dangerous minority problem. America has been more fortunate. It has inherited no such problem. But it is not immune from creating such a problem.

The genius of America, except in one instance where it failed disastrously, has evidenced itself in resisting the hard concentration and concretion of minority groups. It has averted a Balkanization of this country. It has manifested itself in slowly and steadily dissolving groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America with the rights of men. The

allegiance of an American citizen to his country is direct and immediate, not through a group. Whatever other supplementary loyalties American citizens may have to their religions, or to the memories or cultures of their former homelands — and few men are without such subsidiary loyalties — their transcendent and basic loyalty is to America.

The American tradition confirmed the individual as an individual in inalienable rights. It proclaimed that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness belonged to the individual not because he was a citizen of a state or a member of any particular group or community, but because he was a human being. These rights were given to him by his Creator. This is the most significant pronouncement of the Declaration of Independence and it constituted the most revolutionary political doctrine in the modern world. This doctrine, as long as it is adhered to, makes impossible the fragmentization of America into minority groups of varying status and degrees of rights and privileges.

In only one instance did the genius of America falter and fail. It permitted the existence in its midst of one legally disfranchised and socially and economically exploited minority—the negro. And this one failure embittered our national life from its very inception, snarled and tangled up our political processes for three-quarters of a century and finally led to a tragic Civil War in which five hundred thousand men laid down their lives on the bloody altar of minority persecution. And that problem, as you know, is even now far from being liquidated.

Those people, therefore, who would break up American life into hostile racial and religious groups and who would teach their fellow men to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit and the genius and the peace of the American people.

If we wish no minority problems to plague us in this country as they have plagued the nations abroad, let us be careful not

to create them. They are easily created — just as Germany created a Jewish minority problem where none existed — but they are damnably hard to end.

Such attempts have not infrequently been made in our country by men who never quite caught the spirit which is America.

Lincoln saw such an attempt being made in his own day. The "Know-Nothing Party" sought to disfranchise and reduce to the status of a disfavored minority the newly arrived Irish and German immigrants and Catholics. Lincoln clearly saw in it a threat to America and denounced it:

"I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal'. We now practically read it 'all men are created equal, except negroes'. When the Know-nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics'. When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty — to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

A similar attempt was made not long ago in the Klan movement. The American tradition again resisted it.

It is cropping up again today — as a result largely of the propaganda of subsidized alien Nazi agents, representing a government which is the sworn enemy of all democracy but proposing in the United States to save our democratic form of government for us by preaching hate against Jews or labor organizations whom Fascists do not like. Americans will have to resist it again. Not for the sake of the Jews who are the targets at this particular moment — but for the sake of the spirit, the unity and the peace of mind of America!

38-6

Sinai Temple Lecture Forum

S. D. SCHWARTZ, Executive Director

TWENTY-FOURTH SEASON

Program 1937-1938

Lecture every Monday evening

8:15 o'clock

SINAI TEMPLE
4600 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

TICKETS

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Membership, Admitting One to the | |
| Entire Course of 18 Lectures..... | \$3.75 |
| Admission to Single Lecture..... | .50 |

Sinai Temple Lecture Forum

TWENTY-FOURTH SEASON

PROGRAM 1937-1938



SINGLE TICKETS WILL BE SOLD

COURSE TICKET HOLDERS MUST
NECESSARILY BE GIVEN PREFERENCE

Tickets to Single Lectures are Available
and may be purchased in advance



18 Outstanding Programs with 23 World-renowned Personalities — an Unequalled Array of Thinkers—Discussing Living Issues of Our Time. \$3.75 for the Series (less than 21c per program).

Sinai Temple Lecture Forum

A virile Forum motivated by an ideal to serve the needs of those who come within its influence is a powerful source of inspiration and enlightenment. Sinai Temple Lecture Forum has been for well nigh a quarter of a century a significantly vital factor in the formation of a sound public opinion. Its spirit of fair play and tolerance in discussion of those fundamental problems which bewilder our age and challenge mankind's newest thinking for a solution have contributed greatly in making the public mind receptive toward an open minded understanding of social and economic perplexities. Sinai Temple Forum has made a name for itself in the Forum movement in America.

Beginning in 1914, with only a handful present to welcome its opening, it has grown to large proportions, with an average weekly attendance of over 2000. Its method of technique has dominated Forum philosophy, particularly in the Middle West and West where it has served as a pattern for other forums and organizations which have leaned heavily on its assistance. Where caution has advised "stick to tradition" it has dared to speak out and fling tradition's challenge to the living; accepting Galileo's dictum "the earth does move," it places the living spirit before the dead hand of inertia. It has recognized the old values which our dead leaders and forefathers loved, but it has not been afraid to welcome the new values which free spirits seek to implant in the sympathetic hearts of those who do not fear the realities of their own age—the vision of a world to be.

Sinai Temple Lecture Forum invites all forward looking men and women, free souls who do not clutch to themselves the smooth-worn ideas of yesterday but belong to those choice spirits who would learn and understand and be bold in their thinking, to share in a truly genuine cultural enterprise.

S. D. SCHWARTZ

Lecture Season 1937-1938

October 18—SYMPOSIUM: "A CHALLENGE TO THE POLITICAL INTEGRITY OF AMERICA":

The Supreme Court—SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER, Statesman and Leading Opponent, Supreme Court Proposal.

The New Deal—SENATOR ALBEN W. BARKLEY, Majority Leader of Senate—Spokesman for the Administration.

October 25—GERALD P. NYE, Senator of North Dakota, "Neutrality — Keeping Out of Other Peoples' Wars."

November 1—RICHARD HALLIBURTON, Adventurer and Author, "Daring Experiences of a Modern Adventurer—The Romance of 'The Arabian Nights' Relived in the 20th Century."

November 8—DREW PEARSON, Author, *Washington Merry-Go-Round, Nine Old Men*, "Intimate Close-ups of the Washington Scene."

November 15—Symposium:

"Fire Over Asia — The Clash in the Pacific"

YUTAKA MINAKUCHI

Noted Japanese Orator

DR. NO-YONG PARK

Chinese Historian

November 22—DR. VICTOR G. HEISER, Author, *An American Doctor's Odyssey*, "Three Scourges of Man: Leprosy, Cancer and Common Colds—Conquests of Medical Science."

November 29—PROFESSOR FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Liberal Thinker, Author, "Was Europe a Success?"

December 6—NORMAN THOMAS, Leader, Socialist Party, "The Spanish Situation and Its World Significance—Intrigues Behind the Moving Forces of Europe's Chessboard."

December 13—DR. STANLEY HIGH, Former Presidential Advisor, "After Roosevelt—What?"

January 10—DR. FRANK KINGDON, President, Newark University, "When Half Gods Go—The Legacy of Superstition."

January 17—SIR CHARLES MORGAN-WEBB, Member, British Parliament, "England's Hour of Decision — What Lay Behind the Abdication of Edward VIII?"

January 24—COLONEL NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF, Former Chief of Police, New Jersey, "The Fight with Crime—Clues and Techniques—Tracking Down the Criminal."

January 31—A DIALOGUE:

"Science—Can It Solve Our Social Problems?"
A Philosopher and a Scientist Exchange Views:
PROFESSOR HARRY A. OVERSTREET, Noted Philosopher.

DR. JAMES SHELBY THOMAS, Director, Chrysler Institute of Engineering.

February 7—BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Former President, De Pauw University, "Youth Looks Ahead—To What?"

February 14—SYMPOSIUM:

"Nazism—An Assault On Religious Freedom!"
DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON—Protestant,
Editor, *Christian Century*.
PRINCE HUBERTUS Z. LOEWENSTEIN—Catholic,
Political Observer, Journalist.
DR. LOUIS L. MANN—Jew,
Rabbi, Sinai Temple.

February 21—DR. A. L. SACHAR, University of Illinois, "Lessons from the American Past—Inspiration, Imitation or Delusion?"

February 28—V. F. CALVERTON, Author, and Editor, *Modern Monthly*, "Architects of Modern Civilization—Marx, Freud, Einstein and Contemporary Leaders."

March 7—DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Rabbi, The Temple, Cleveland, "Palestine—Arab and Jew: Fulfillment of Historic Destiny—Will Great Britain See It Through?"



OCTOBER 18th
SYMPOSIUM:
**A CHALLENGE TO THE POLITICAL
INTEGRITY OF AMERICA:**

**The Supreme Court —
Senator Burton K. Wheeler**

*Statesman and Leading Opponent, Supreme
Court Proposal*

**The New Deal —
Senator Alben W. Barkley**

*Majority Leader of Senate — Spokesman
for the Administration*

SENATOR WHEELER, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has made a name for himself by his bold and fearless leadership. Among his notable achievements are his uncompromising prosecution of a former Attorney General of the United States, forcing him out of the Coolidge cabinet, and his recent powerful attacks on the proposal of President Roosevelt to change the Supreme Court.

Senator Barkley, the Chairman of the 1932 and 1936 Democratic Conventions, whose masterful keynote addresses confirmed his reputation as a statesman, is the strongest defender of the New Deal policies in the United States Senate. His recent election as majority leader of the Senate establishes him as an authoritative spokesman whose views on public questions and future Democratic policies bear great weight. He is one of the South's greatest orators and leading statesmen.

OCTOBER 25th



Hon. Gerald P. Nye

*United States Senator from
North Dakota*

NEUTRALITY—KEEPING OUT OF OTHER PEOPLES' WARS

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE has enjoyed a career which has been to some degree startling, though he is one of the youngest members in the United States Senate. He came to the Senate when thirty-two years of age. He has won national recognition in the prosecuting of the Senate investigations of the oil scandals, campaign funds, and the munitions industry. It was, in part, his work while chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands which brought out the sordid facts helping to establish a new day in the conduct of the Nation's management of its natural resources and bring about a house-cleaning in the oil industry itself. As Chairman of the Special Committee investigating the munitions industry, Senator Nye has won recognition as one of the most energetic men in public life today. He was honored by the University of Illinois with the Cardinal Newman Award for the most distinguished American service performed in 1935.

Senator Nye is a newspaper man by profession. He has been interested in politics all his life. To the national farm problem he has devoted much thought and time. He has presented some very uncomfortable truths concerning the munitions makers. Senator Nye's public addresses are models of clear and lucid factual discussions presented with force and brilliancy.

NOVEMEER 1st



Richard Halliburton

*Notable Adventurer, Author,
Journalist and Lecturer*

DARING EXPERIENCES OF A MODERN ADVENTURER

The Romance of "The Arabian Nights" Relived in the
20th Century

RICHARD HALLIBURTON, author of the "Royal Road to Romance," "The Glorious Adventure," "New Worlds to Conquer," and "The Flying Carpet" (four books which together have sold nearly a million copies), during the past year has turned newspaper correspondent and has been writing for forty of the leading metropolitan papers in America. Free to roam the world, to go any place he chose, with an assignment to fill an entire page for forty newspapers every Sunday for 52 Sundays, such was the order given to him—probably the largest order ever given any author in the history of journalism.

To relive the ancient Carthaginian's immortal elephant march, he rode his famous elephant over the Alps into Italy and caused one of the greatest sensations of the year in Europe. He was the guest of Haile Selassie of Abyssinia for two months. Wherever adventure has beckoned, there has been Richard Halliburton.

While in Russia he secured the first eye-witness story of the assassination of the Romanoffs, the greatest journalistic scoop of the year. Disguised as a pilgrim, he attempted to enter the holy city of Mecca, turned back, and was later granted an interview with Ibn Saud, the giant King of Arabia. As a speaker and writer he has won national fame. His crisp and pungent delivery stirs his audiences with the romance, color and glamour of never forgotten adventures.

NOVEMBER 8th



Drew Pearson

*Brilliant Writer and Lecturer
and Noted Co-Author of*

*"The Washington
Merry-Go-Round"*

"The Nine Old Men"

*"The American Diplomatic
Game"*

INTIMATE CLOSE-UPS OF THE WASHINGTON SCENE

DREW PEARSON is a tall, slender, professional-looking individual whose prime amusement and occupation is observing the merry-go-round of national politics. He has had a chequered and colorful career. Formerly a teacher at the University of Pennsylvania, his travels have taken him to the Balkans in the service of the British Red Cross; to Siberia, Albania, and Montenegro as head of Quaker Relief work; as a seaman on the S. S. President Madison out of Seattle to Yokohama, thence north to Saghalien and back to Vladivostok; on to Japan, China, the Philippines, Australia, India, calling on Gandhi; back to Europe where he interviewed twelve of the outstanding European leaders.

Back in America, he once again resumed teaching, this time at Columbia, but travel called him again and he returned to Japan and China, crossing the Gobi Desert and visiting the border of Tibet. All this time he was writing for American magazines and newspapers. In 1927, he covered the Geneva Naval Conference. In 1928, he accompanied Secretary of State Kellogg on his trips to Paris and Dublin, and accompanied President Coolidge to Havana. In 1929, he joined the Washington staff of The Baltimore Sun and that year covered the London Naval Conference.

Mr. Pearson is one of the leading experts and writers on foreign affairs in the United States. His extensive contacts make him one of the greatest sources of public information in Washington.



NOVEMBER 15th

Dr. No-Yong Park

Noted Chinese Thinker and Historian

Dr. Yutaka Minakuchi

Authority on Japanese Problems and Civilization

A SYMPOSIUM:

**FIRE OVER ASIA—THE CLASH IN THE
PACIFIC**

DR. NO-YONG PARK is a recognized authority on Oriental questions. His Oriental background, his Occidental training, his keen sense of humor and gift of expression enable him to write and lecture on the subject as few men can. Dr. Park in his appearance at Sinai last season proved himself an accomplished lecturer. His fluency of speech, breadth of vision, richness of experience, wealth of information, and power of analysis make him a very popular speaker.

Dr. Yutaka Minakuchi is a native Japanese, a Christian and a brilliant scholar who was educated in four American Universities—Kentucky, North Carolina, Oberlin and Yale. For many years he has been a close student of the great racial and other problems of the Pacific, and how these problems affect world civilization. He is one of the ablest representatives of Christian Japanese in America, a scholar of deep philosophical insight and a powerful orator. He speaks with great force and earnestness and his message is one that grips as well as informs.

NOVEMBER 22nd



Dr. Victor G. Heiser

*Author—"An American Doctor's
Odyssey"*

*Associate Director, International
Health Division
of the*

Rockefeller Foundation 1915-1934

*President of the International
Leprosy Association*

THREE SCOURGES OF MAN: LEPROSY, CANCER AND COMMON COLDS

Conquests of Medical Science

DR. HEISER comes to the lecture platform not only as the author of a book which is being widely read in all parts of the world and was selected as the September Book-of-the-Month but as a distinguished doctor whose life has been dedicated to the saving of human life through the prevention of disease. Starting his medical career in the employ of the United States Immigration Service in this country, Dr. Heiser was soon sent to Europe to prevent the emigration of the unfit. He has devoted his life to the public health branch of the medical profession and served in almost every part of the world, contributing to medical service in more than forty-five countries. He has made sixteen trips around the world and all in the interests of his chosen life work—a record of outstanding achievement. As a "globe trotting drummer" (to quote his own phrase) for the Rockefeller Foundation, he visited the most out of the way forgotten places of the world, "selling" the idea of health to kings, queens, presidents, prime ministers, maharajahs, maharanis and world-famous figures of all degrees. It is a rare privilege for a lay audience to meet such an internationally noted character and authority in such a most important field of science as medicine.

NOVEMBER 29th



Professor Frederick L. Schuman

*Interpreter of Current
World Affairs*

WAS EUROPE A SUCCESS?

DR. SCHUMAN has been widely recognized as an outstanding teacher, lecturer, and writer on contemporary Europe and on current international problems. He was formerly professor of political science at the University of Chicago where his daring and original thinking brought him under the investigating scrutiny of the "super-patriots."

His academic attainments and his unusual grasp of current social and political questions have made him the recipient of numerous honors and distinctions by the Social Science Research Council and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has participated actively in the work of the Harris Foundation Institute, the American Political Science Association and the Williamstown Institute of Politics. Dr. Schuman has spent much time in travel and study abroad and in this country. He was an eye-witness of the Nazi Revolution in Germany in 1933.

Speaking of this eminent scholar who has impressed the genius of his personality on our current political and international thinking, the noted historian, Professor Charles A. Beard, has this to say:

"Professor Schuman is a pioneer in breaking from the solemn formalities of abstract international law and politics and daring to view realistically the moving scene as a whole and to present his interpretation of its choices to the judgment of mankind. I welcome this dynamic, ripping challenge to those who preside with feeble hopes over dust and ashes."

DECEMBER 6th



Norman Thomas

*Leader, Socialist Party
of America*

THE SPANISH SITUATION AND ITS WORLD SIGNIFICANCE

**Intrigues Behind the Moving Forces of Europe's
Chessboard**

IT is no indignity toward so distinguished a thinker and leader of liberal thought as Norman Thomas to say that he has done much to make the soap box a forum for dignified and intelligent discussion of public questions. Mr. Thomas commands in extraordinary measure the respect and esteem of even his opponents because of his fine attributes as a scholar, a fearless leader, a spokesman for the cause of brotherhood and humanity and, above all, as a man. Norman Thomas is head of the Socialist Party, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and contributing editor of "The Nation." At Princeton University he was valedictorian and a noted debater. Later he was associate pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City.

To a Sinai audience with its liberal tradition, Norman Thomas needs no introduction. He has appeared on its Forum platform for many seasons, and repeatedly has been asked to return again because his message was as revealing and concise as it was compelling in the forcefulness of its presentation. Mr. Thomas recently returned from a lengthy visit to war torn Spain. He saw the devastation wrought by men's passions aroused to fury; he knows what stakes the European powers have in this unhappy land which had but recently overthrown the shackles of mediaeval despotism.

DECEMBER 13th



Dr. Stanley High

*Former Member of the
"Brain Trust"*

AFTER ROOSEVELT—WHAT?

FOR many years Stanley High has been in the public eye as a commentator on world affairs. As organizer of the Good Neighbor League, Dr. High has been a frequent visitor to the White House during the past year. His article entitled "Whose Party Is It?", which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of February 6, 1937, aroused heated discussion throughout the nation and caused his dismissal from presidential favor.

Dr. High is forty-one years old, a graduate of Nebraska Wesleyan, and Boston University. He was a flier in the World War. In 1919, he went to China as a member of the Methodist Mission. He was subsequently a newspaper correspondent in China and in Russia. For some time, Dr. High was editor of the Christian Herald, and European correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor. Prior to his activities in Washington, Dr. High was associated with the National Broadcasting Company in New York. He is the author of a number of books including "China's Place in the Sun," "The Revolt of Youth," "Europe Turns the Corner," "Looking Ahead with Latin America," "A Walking World," "The Church in Politics," "The New Crisis in the Far East," etc.

With a mind alert to the fundamental issues in a world of ever-changing values, Mr. High, in his lectures, presents brilliant discussions of issues which we cannot dodge. As a platform personality he has few equals. Audiences await his appearance with eagerness.

JANUARY 10th



Dr. Frank Kingdon

President, Newark University

*Fearless Liberal and
Brilliant Orator*

WHEN HALF GODS GO—THE LEGACY OF SUPERSTITION

WHEN Dr. Kingdon appeared at an important conference held in Chicago last spring, he created a profound impression on the large and representative assemblage who heard him. He acquitted himself with extraordinary brilliance, which made his audience at once recognize him as a man of uncommon mental attainments and gifts. His charm of personality, his fluency of speech, his forceful convictions, all cast a spell over his listeners and mark this dynamic, youthful university president as a genuine leader among men.

Dr. Kingdon came to the United States, alone, in January, 1912, when he was seventeen years of age, his ancestors having lived for six centuries in South Molton, Devonshire. He was educated at Boston University, later receiving a Fellowship at Harvard for research in Philosophy. He did graduate work in Social Psychology at Michigan State College and obtained an LL.D. degree from Ohio Northern University.

Dr. Kingdon is now President of the University of Newark. He is also a Trustee of Drew University, of the Centenary Collegiate Institute of Hackettstown, N. J., and of Newark Museum. He has been a special lecturer at Williamstown Institute on Human Relations, Williamstown, Mass., and at many regional institutes. Sinai Temple Forum deems it a distinct privilege to be among the first to introduce to Chicago so distinguished a platform personality as Dr. Kingdon.

JANUARY 17th



Sir Charles Morgan-Webb

Author of *"Britain's
Managed Currency"*

Editor of *"Empire Movement"*

ENGLAND'S HOUR OF DECISION:

What Lay Behind the Abdication of Edward VIII?

MUCH has been written concerning the abdication of Edward VIII, the "Hamlet of the House of Windsor," but little is known concerning the basic causes that motivated so unprecedented an action which future ages will regard as a saga in the drama of power and love and human destiny. Sir Charles Morgan-Webb, who is a most influential figure in important London circles, knows the inside story of the momentous renunciation of a British king, and has some exceedingly interesting knowledge thereof.

After a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, Sir Charles Morgan-Webb became Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, in 1918. He was first Chancellor of the University of Rangoon in 1920, and a year later the first Chairman of the Rangoon Development Trust, a body which transformed Rangoon from an over-crowded, unsanitary city hemmed in by swamps, into an expansive city on modern lines, and which owed its creation to the personal initiative of Sir Charles. He has played a very important part in the deliberations of the Monetary Commission of the English House of Commons. He is the author of *"The Rise and Fall of the Gold Standard"* (1934), *"The Money Revolution"* (1935), and *"The Currency Road to Prosperity."*

Sir Charles' lectures and radio talks in the United States and Canada in the Spring of 1936 aroused wide interest and press comment. He is an effective and most entertaining speaker.

JANUARY 24th



Colonel H. Norman Schwarzkopf

*Former Chief of Police
of New Jersey*

THE FIGHT WITH CRIME—CLEWS AND TECHNIQUES

Tracking Down the Criminal

COLONEL H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF'S career as a soldier and police officer, so notably shown in the famous Hauptmann case, has been an unusually eventful one. A graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, he saw active service in the Great War, participating in four major engagements as well as serving with the Army of Occupation in Germany. His excellent record as a military officer and his outstanding executive ability evidenced by his numerous experiences brought him, in 1921, the appointment of Superintendent of Police of the State of New Jersey.

In his task as police chief he again displayed an extraordinary ingenuity in the development of techniques and methods having to do with his work. He made a completely original re-organization of the Department of State Police, working out its myriad details so perfectly that it has been recognized far and wide and made to serve as a model for similar departments of other states. His remarkable contributions in the solution of the famous Lindbergh baby kidnapping case constitute an epic story in itself. This man knows whereof he speaks because he has had much to do with the evolution of modern police technique as a practical and workable science in the treatment of crime and the criminal.



JANUARY 31st

**A DIALOGUE:
SCIENCE—CAN IT SOLVE OUR SOCIAL
PROBLEMS?**

A Philosopher and a Scientist Exchange Views

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet

Prof. of Philosophy, College of the City of N. Y.

Dr. James Shelby Thomas

*Director, Chrysler Institute of Engineering, Detroit
President, Clarkson College of Technology, New York*

DR. OVERSTREET is one of the ablest interpreters of scientific psychology and constructive modern philosophy for the average man and woman. His charm, gentle humor, democratic spirit and gracious informality combined with real scholarship reveal his power as a writer and lecturer. His hearers and the readers of his many books gain impetus toward more effective living, whether in business or professional life, or just as human beings.

Dr. Thomas has done much to popularize his field of study. He has had an exceptional experience as student, traveler, teacher on faculties of several institutions of learning, and now, simultaneously, holds positions as head of two schools of scientific training. As a speaker on the scope and influence of science in our modern life he has few rivals. Beginning his active career as a teacher of history, he became an economist and then a scientist because he sought the reasons for things which as historian he knew happened.

FEBRUARY 7th



G. Bromley Oxnam

*Bishop, Methodist Episcopal
Church*

*Former President, De Pauw
University*

YOUTH LOOKS AHEAD—TO WHAT?

NOTED widely as a dynamic religious leader, an educator and an author, Bishop Oxnam has won national prominence by his unusually keen understanding of the basic and underlying forces—economic, political and social—at work today in transforming our contemporary society. He has traveled extensively throughout the world, covering Spain, Russia, Germany, Italy, India, China, Japan, France, Great Britain, and has had ample opportunity to study at first hand the clash of conflicting racial, economic and political interests which confuse and cause men to despair of cultural achievement and civilization.

Bishop Oxnam served as professor of Social Ethics at the University of Southern California and as professor of Practical Theology at Boston University. For eight years he was president of De Pauw University at Greencastle, Indiana, before he was elected a Bishop. Several universities have granted him honorary degrees in recognition of his scholarly attainments.

Dr. Oxnam's lectures command genuine interest. He has a delivery which resembles a machine gun in action, being able to talk with unusual rapidity and at the same time with clearness and conciseness. His humor is pungent, his remarks pertinent and his style original. He appeared in a symposium at Sinai Forum two seasons ago and received an overwhelming vote as one of the most popular speakers among a group of notable speakers. Here is one man with something to say and the ability to say it.



FEBRUARY 14th

SYMPOSIUM:

**NAZIISM—AN ASSAULT ON RELIGIOUS
FREEDOM!**

Catholic—Prince Loewenstein

Political Observer, Journalist and Editor

Protestant—Dr. Paul Hutchinson

Editor, Christian Century

Jew—Dr. Louis L. Mann

Rabbi, Sinai Temple

PRINCE LOEWENSTEIN, a direct descendant of twelve Roman-German Emperors and an exile from Germany, has won recognition as one of the most dramatic figures in the struggle against the Hitlerian madness. The Prince's engaging personality and a keen and incisive analytical ability made him a brilliant success on his lecture tour last season.

Dr. Hutchinson has made the periodical of which he is editor, "The Christian Century," a leading exponent of Protestant liberal thinking in America. He is a vigorous and fearless thinker and speaker.

Dr. Mann, leader of Sinai's distinguished pulpit, has won recognition for his outstanding contributions to the civic and communal thinking of our day. Every cause which has concerned itself with human welfare and progress has merited his wholehearted espousal and support. He has served his fellowmen with distinguished zeal.

FEBRUARY 21st



Dr. A. L. Sachar

University of Illinois

*National Director, B'nai B'rith
Hillel Foundations at American
Universities*

LESSONS FROM THE AMERICAN PAST—

Inspiration, Imitation or Delusion?

A GAIN voted first place in the list of notables for preference of speakers, Dr. Sachar returns to the Sinai Forum. This dynamic and youthful leader of youth has made an enviable reputation for himself. His is a popularity which has swept American audiences with its contagion and made him one of the ranking platform personalities of our country. He has the unique gift of impressing those who hear him with an enthusiasm and animation of spirit which amazes the most lethargic of listeners.

The average American looks to his past to give him standards by which to make his decisions. The heroes of other crises, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, are constantly referred to as oracles for contemporary problems. But can they still serve? Must the traditions of the past be faithfully imitated, as suggested by our conservatives? Must they be scrapped as outworn shibboleth, as suggested by our radicals? Or can the present generation distill from them the aspirations and idealism which are necessary ingredients in a credo for the children of our day? While the lecture is packed with dramatic content, it raises fundamental questions about the meaning of the American epic. It is an important story which makes one proud to share the American heritage.

FEBRUARY 28th



V. F. Calverton

Founder and Editor of
"The Modern Monthly"

American Editor of
"Le Paix Mondiale"

Architects of Modern Civilization: Marx, Freud, Einstein and Contemporary Leaders

V. F. CALVERTON is one of the few American authors and lecturers whose work is widely known and whose scholarship is acclaimed in Europe and the Orient as well as in America. Fortified by his wide studies in psychology, literature, sociology and anthropology, Mr. Calverton's discussions are genuinely brilliant and scintillating contributions to an understanding of contemporary problems.

Mr. Calverton first sprang into prominence through the publication of his critical works, "The Newer Spirit," "Sex Expression in Literature," "The New Ground of Criticism," and "American Literature at the Crossroads." Besides his numerous writings as a critic and sociologist, Mr. Calverton is the author of two volumes of fiction: "Three Strange Lovers," which made various Japanese and German critics describe him as the American Dostoevsky, and "Know Not Thyself," a novel dealing with personality in terms of the new psychology.

To quote "Social Forces," one of the leading sociological magazines in America, Mr. Calverton's position is given the following evaluation:

"For the sociologist, Calverton is indispensable. Through his books and the Modern Monthly he is making available an enrichment that sociology sorely needs at this time, shackled as it is between dry-as-dust pedantry and sentimentalized 'social work.' It may well be that sociology is the science of culture, in which case Calverton is for America of today beyond question the center of the stage."

MARCH 7th



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Rabbi, The Temple, Cleveland

PALESTINE — ARAB AND JEW

**Fulfillment of Historic Destiny
—Will Great Britain
See It Through?**

FEW men know the problem of Palestine, the issues involved as a compelling force in the contemporary international scene, as does the great American Jewish leader, Dr. Silver. He has been one of those foremost in the deliberations concerning its future. He participated actively at the recent World Conference held at Geneva and his contributions to the discussions which took place at that historic meeting were most significant. Dr. Silver was asked to speak on the subject of Palestine and its future because of his knowledge based on first-hand contacts and sources.

In each generation there loom up a few men who are recognized as the very embodiment of their chosen profession. Such a man is Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland. A scholar, learned in the lore of his people, the possessor of a keenly analytical mind sensitive to the beauty of language in which the profundities of thought may find expression, this master of eloquence and platform manner is looked upon as akin to the titans of the pulpit of yesterday, who swayed the minds of men to heroic issues of the spirit upon which our modern civilization is built.

Dr. Silver has been Rabbi of The Temple, in Cleveland, since 1917. He has made himself a constructive force in the religious and social life not only of his own community but in the country at large, serving with distinction and credit on many committees and commissions which have to do with the betterment of man. Thinker, orator, sage and mystic, to hear Rabbi Silver, is to hear one of the truly great preachers of our time.

SINAI TEMPLE LECTURE FORUM

4622 South Parkway

Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find self-addressed stamped envelope with check for \$.....for
.....memberships, at \$3.75 each, in the Sinai Temple Lecture Forum, for the entire course
of 18 programs.

Name.....

Address.....

Please make all checks payable to the Sinai Temple Lecture Forum

Note:—Stamped envelope must accompany remittance.

I should like to have you place the following names on your mailing list to receive your announcements:

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....