



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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The morals of aid to refugees, 1939.

The Morals of Aid to Refugees

Across the face of the earth hundreds of thousands of people are wandering to-night in quest of new homes. They wander by land and by sea, along the highways and the lonely byways of the world. They wander ^{either} in groups, whole communities uprooted and driven before the storm, or alone, single human beings torn from home ^{and} dear ones - the sad flotsam of ~~broken~~ and scattered human families. They wander to known and ^{to} unknown destinations. Few doors are open to them. Few lands will welcome them. Sometimes they find themselves bogged down in misery and desolation in some no-man's land, or adrift mid-stream between two hostile river-^{banks} ~~lands~~, doomed human derelicts. ^{At} ~~Some~~ times their tragic Odyssey ^{tonies} ~~carries~~ them ^{about} from one forbidding shore to another, ^{for long weeks and months before they are allowed anchorage} ~~and casts them furiously about before finding rest~~ in some quiet harbor. ^{of these wanderers} Some ^{carry along} with them their few remaining possessions left to them ^{from} ~~after~~ the plunder and spoilation of theiving governments. Others are utterly impoverished, empty-handed, with nothing to show for a life ^{- this} of honest work and industry. Some ^{of them} bear the marks of physical torture, of months and years spent in concentration camps, the victims of an inordinate brutality and vindictiveness. Others ^{show the ravages} ~~bear the visible marks~~ of mental anguish, the sorrows of broken lives, of ruined careers, the deep, unutterable pain of humiliation. Many of them ^{had} held proud and honored positions in their former homes. Some ^{had} even achieved rare distinctions in their chosen fields. All ^{had been} ~~were~~ men and women of honest worth. They ^{had} served their countries well in peace and in war. None ^{had been} ~~was~~ guilty of any crime. Yet they are wandering to-night along the hard roads of ^{exile} ~~the earth~~. They are knocking at the gates of an alien world. They are young and old. They are Jews and Christians. They are Catholics and Protestants. They are the casualties of our world's great political and economic sins. They are the symbol of our age's degradation. They are the Refugees of 1939!

In a normal world, such innocent and helpless refugees would have been the first charge upon the solicitude and generosity of men and nations. There would have been a quick and ready response to their elementary human needs ^{for} ~~the~~ refuge, shelter and ^{help.} ~~sympathy~~.

{ Such needs and their answering response have
- This has happened more than once in the past
accrued more than once in our Western
world. }

Whenever

political or religious persecution forced a minority group into exile, somewhere in the world, there was a welcoming land to give them ^{chance to begin life} haven, and the ~~opportunity of~~ a new, ~~life~~. Our own country was built and made great by refugees, exiles, pilgrims and immigrants from all parts of the earth who were hard-driven by economic want or political oppression or religious intolerance ^{and found sanctuary here.}

But ours is not a normal world. It is a tragically abnormal world. All the primal ~~moral~~ ^{all} ~~sanities~~, the elementary decencies of civilized life, seem to have been lost. A quarter of a century of mass killings, of wars, revolutions, invasions, civil strife and bitter class struggle, has brutalized our world and rendered it callous and indifferent, not to say cynical, to human suffering, ^{and to the mandate} ~~as well~~ ~~of~~ human idealism. Out of the ten million graves of the needlessly slain in the last war, and the wars and revolutions which followed it, there have arisen the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, and a dread stampede towards ^{human} ~~force~~, violence and terror as the sole technique of life and progress. ~~Their ghosts are dancing today their "danse macabre" in the hearts of men and nations. Civilization has plunged into chaos. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity has engulfed the whole world.~~

So that nations today which own ~~and control~~ great parts of the earth, empires upon which the sun never sets, ^{peoples} ~~or nations~~ whose territorial ^{as are} ~~empire~~ truly continental in extent, containing vast empty spaces which can hold and sustain tens of millions, nay hundreds of millions of additional settlers, ^{either refuse or rather} ~~find it impossible~~ to admit ^{any} ~~a few thousand or a few tens of thousands of~~ ^{these who are} refugees, confronted with the desperate emergency of finding new homes or of perishing, ^{or judiciously and conditionally} ~~permit a pitiful few to enter.~~ ^(over) To suffer wrong is painful. To become inured to wrong is fatal. This grave danger now confronts ^{our civilization} ~~man~~ ~~and~~ Nations are inclined today to abdicate their high moral responsibilities and the immemorial mandates of human solidarity. Whether ^{through} ~~because of~~ spiritual weariness and exhaustion, ~~or~~ fear, ~~or~~ cowardice, or unconcern, the remaining free peoples of the earth are shutting themselves up in their own ^{inferior} and timorous ~~moral~~ isolation, ~~and are~~ content to echo Cain's guilt-laden

The Evian Conference on Refugees was a sad and disheartening
expose of the ^{hard and} insensate selfishness of governments to-day underlying
the same and formal attitude of ^{their} ~~surface~~ sympathies. Much
was said. ~~Nothing~~ ^{little} was done. Not a single nation rose
to the pathos of the hour, ^{not a single nation} ~~watched~~ watched the vast
human tragedy with a ^{corresponding} ~~an~~ ^{art} ~~possessing~~ of generosity and
compassion.



plea: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The initiative, the spiritual ~~slam~~ ^{and attack}, the stirring battle-cry, the crusading zeal, the element of heroic mission and destiny, once their proudest possessions, ~~have~~ ^{these free and democratic people} ~~fatuously~~ ^{have persuaded themselves that they} surrendered to their adversaries. ~~These~~ ^{and democratic people} must stand by and watch the outrages perpetrated by the dictators, the defilement of all the ~~sanctuaries~~ ^{sanctuaries} of mankind, and hold their tongues; for ~~they must not mix in~~ ^{these things are} the domestic affairs of ~~other~~ ^{over} nations. Thus if a government destroys the liberties of its citizens and ~~the~~ ^{rivets} shackles of ~~the~~ ^a most ruthless ~~tyranny~~ ^{dictatorship} upon them - why that is a domestic affair of no concern to ~~other~~ ^{any} peoples. If that same government, ~~deprives~~ ^{under some mad and shameful pretext} hundreds of thousands of its citizens of their ~~every~~ ^{denies} elementary human right, ~~deny~~ ^{can} them the right to ~~earn~~ ^{earn} a livelihood, robs them of their ~~possessions~~ ^{possessions}, tortures them in in prisons and ~~contraction~~ ^{concentration} camps, bombs and burns their places of worship, and through all ~~shameless~~ ^{in manner of} and unspeakable outrages drives them to suicide or exile, ~~that~~ ^{exclusively}, too, is a domestic affair. We must not criticize ~~it~~ ^{or denounce} it. We must not remonstrate. ~~There is no longer a~~ ^{no longer does to} universal heart of mankind ~~which~~ ^{beats} in sympathy with human suffering everywhere, ~~and no~~ ^{longer does to cry} ~~and~~ ^{cries} out in horror and ~~righteous~~ ^{the right of} indignation at the violation ~~and~~ ^{barbarism, the desecration of} infamous cruelty and ~~oppression~~ ^{which is never an attack upon one group alone, but upon} humanity as a whole, upon the spirit of man ~~and the~~ ^{and the} God in man.

Is it purely ^a "domestic Affair" of the Nazi regime when it forces hundreds of thousands of men into exile and compells other nations to provide asylum for them?

When ~~was~~ ^{were} tyranny and persecution, ~~the~~ ^{and} brutal torture of men and women in any land ever regarded by the conscience of mankind as a purely "domestic affair?" This is one of the blackest heresies of this ~~age~~ ^{gross} of apostasy. As long as ~~democratic~~ ^{the remaining free} peoples ^{of the earth} will seek to escape their ~~international~~ moral responsibilities by withholding ~~their~~ ^{in other lands} vital concern and help from persecuted groups ~~and peoples~~ ^{under the} ~~the~~ ^{spurious} plea of "domestic affair", ~~or as long as they will withhold the thunderbolts of their~~ ^{disapproval from} ~~or giving them the just~~ ^{of a few expressions} of sympathy, yielding to dictators under the pretext of "appeasement", so long will

"Great Tyranny! lay then thy basis sure,
For goodness dare not check thee!"



the world's swift descent into ^{moral} chaos and ^{anarchy} ~~international anarchy~~ continue.

The response which we will make to the plight of the world's refugees today will be the measure of our devotion to ^{a united} humanity, ^{of an recognition of human} ~~to the universal spiritual~~ ~~mandates of life, solidarity and interdependence.~~

Some day, there will be no refugees, ^{uprooted and cast out} ~~driven~~ from their native homes because of their race, nationality or religion. Some day an irrevocable law will be proclaimed by the nations of the earth and, by them, collectively enforced, that no man shall be deprived of ^{the} ~~his~~ right of domicile and of earning a living in the land where he was born. That ^{will be forever established as} ~~is~~ every man's inalienable birthright. Some day the persecution, exploitation or liquidation of unwanted minorities will be prohibited by international law. Some day ^{the rights of minorities — that} ~~the~~ saving truth of ~~the minority rights~~ which dawned upon the nations at the close of the World War ^{but} ~~and~~ which has since been sadly obscured ~~again~~, will be reaffirmed. ^{Some day it will be universally understood} that oppressed and unreconciled minorities are the breeding ground of international unrest, intrigue and war; that there are twenty-five millions of people living as minorities in Europe today; that the intermingling of nationalities has been so great that regardless of what political ^{finally} ~~are~~ frontiers are established, some ~~in~~ minorities would still have to live outside their original ~~homelands~~ homelands; that no country can solve its difficult economic problem by artificially reducing its population through the enforced emigration of its ^{unwanted} ~~minorities~~ or ^{through} ~~by~~ taking away the opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another; that only the granting of full rights of citizenship, and absolute equality before the law for all racial, religious and nationality minorities ^{about enduring} will bring peace and order in the world. Some day, when the now shattered and discredited international organization for collective security and the protection of minorities known as the League of Nations, will in ^{no other} ~~some form~~ be ^{reconstructed} ~~re-established~~, and the reign of international law will have supplanted the present reign of international anarchy, these things will come to pass. Some ~~ex~~ day! But today? Today the highways of the world are choked with refugees,

fleeing from terror and hatred, seeking new homes. Today men and women ^{II} must wander
witheringly in other lands to die, and where their fathers' ashes be, their
own may never lie. Today men and women are frantically begging at doors of consulates
for visas which will enable them to escape the hells ^{which} of their native lands, ^{have become} ~~now~~
~~ruled by mad men and gangsters.~~ Today by the thousands and the tens of
thousands they are ~~frantically~~ ^{with/only to relatives and friends, near and far,} appealing for affidavits and certificates
which will open to them some door of hope, and for means ^{wherever} to remove themselves
and their families.

These refugees are ^{now} the wards of all those who still believe in God ^{And in God's}
^{law} ~~land~~ of justice and love, ^{to those who still} ~~who~~ know compassion and pity, ^{to those} who see in the suffering and
privations of these wanderers the common tragedy of the whole of mankind today.
There is no security or peace for any one ^{us} ~~man~~, or group, or nation today except
in the pooled ^{responsibility} good will, the aroused moral conscience, the awakened sense
of ~~respectability~~ of all.

70 on 12

THE MORALS OF AID TO REFUGEES

AN EXCERPT from the

Address broadcast by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on
Saturday Evening, March 11, 1939.

THE "Message of Israel" hour

Across the face of the earth hundreds of thousands of people are wandering to-night in quest of new homes. They wander by land and by sea, along the highways and the lonely byways of the world. They wander either in groups, whole communities uprooted and driven before the storm, or alone, single human beings torn from home and dear ones - the sad flotsam of scattered human families. They wander to known and to unknown destinations. Few doors are open to them. Few lands will welcome them. Sometimes they find themselves bogged down in misery and desolation in some no-man's land, or adrift mid-stream between two hostile river-banks -- doomed human derelicts. At times their tragic Odyssey tosses them about ^{for long weeks and months} from one forbidding shore to another, ~~and~~ ^{after} before they are allowed anchorage in some quiet harbor. Some of these wanderers carry with them ^{the meager} ~~few remaining~~ possessions left to them ~~from~~ the plunder and spoliation of the ~~giving~~ governments. Others are utterly impoverished, empty-handed, with nothing to show for a life-time of honest work and industry. Some of them bear the marks of physical torture, of months and years spent in concentration camps, the victims of an inordinate brutality and vindictiveness. Others show the ravages of mental anguish, the sorrows of broken lives, of ruined careers, the deep, unutterable pain of humiliation. Many of them had held proud and honored positions in their former homes. Some had even achieved rare distinctions in their chosen fields. All had been men and women of honest worth. They had served their countries well in peace and in war. None had been guilty of any crime. Yet they are wandering to-night along the hard roads of exile. They are knocking at the gates of an alien world. They are young and old. They are Jews and Christians. They are Catholics and Protestants. They are the

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casualties of our world's great political and economic sins. They are the symbol of our age's degradation. They are the Refugees of 1939!

In a normal world, such innocent and helpless refugees would have been the first charge upon the solicitude and generosity of men and nations. There would have been a quick and ready response to their elementary human needs for refuge, shelter and help. ^{In the past} Such needs and their answering response have occurred more than once in our Western world. Whenever political or religious persecution forced a minority group into exile, somewhere in the world there was a welcoming land to give them haven, and the chance to begin life anew. Our own country was built and made great by refugees, exiles, pilgrims and immigrants from all parts of the earth who were hard-driven by economic want or political oppression or religious intolerance and found sanctuary here.

But ours is not a normal world. It is a tragically abnormal world. All the primal sanities, all the elementary decencies of civilized life seem to have been lost. A quarter of a century of mass killings, of wars, revolutions, invasions, civil strife and bitter class struggle, has brutalized our world and rendered it callous and indifferent, not to say cynical, to human suffering, and to the mandates of human idealism. Out of the ten million graves of the needlessly slain in the last war, and of the wars and revolutions which followed it, there have arisen the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, and of dread stampede towards force, violence and terror as the sole technique of human life and progress. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity has engulfed the whole world.

^{Just} So that nations today which own great parts of the earth, empires upon which the sun never sets, peoples whose territories are truly continental in extent, containing vast empty spaces which can hold and sustain tens of millions, nay, hundreds of millions of additional settlers, either refuse altogether to admit any of these refugees who are confronted with the desperate emergency of

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finding new homes ^{or} of perishing, or grudgingly and conditionally permit a pitiful few to enter ^{an} The Evian Conference on Refugees was a sad and disheartening expose of the hard and insensate selfishness of governments to-day ^{which underlies} underlying the suave and formal attitude of their surface sympathies. Much was said. Little was done. Not a single nation rose to the pathos of the hour. Not a single nation matched the vast human tragedy with a corresponding outpouring of generosity and compassion.

To suffer wrong is ^{enter} painful. To become inured to wrong is fatal. This grave danger now confronts our civilization. Nations ^{and individuals} are inclined today to abdicate their high moral responsibilities and the immemorial mandates of human solidarity. Whether ^{out of} through spiritual weariness and exhaustion, fear, cowardice, or unconcern, the remaining free peoples of the earth are shutting themselves up in ^{an} their own inglorious and timorous isolation, content to echo Cain's guilt-laden plea: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The ^{spiritual} initiative, the ~~spiritual~~ ~~clan~~ ~~and~~ ~~attack~~, the stirring battle-cry, the crusading zeal, the element of heroic mission and destiny, once their proudest possessions, these free and democratic peoples have ~~fatuously~~ ^{still free} surrendered to their adversaries. These peoples have persuaded themselves that they must stand by and watch the outrages perpetrated by dictators and witness the defilement of all the sanctuaries of mankind, and ^{must} hold their tongues; for these things are the "domestic affairs" of nations. "Great Tyranny! lay thou thy basis sure, for goodness dare not check thee!"; Thus if a government destroys the liberties of its citizens and rivets the shackles of a most ruthless tyranny upon them - why that is a "domestic affair", of no concern to any other people. If that same government, under some mad and shameless pretext, deprives hundreds of thousands of its citizens of their elementary human right, denies them the right to earn a livelihood, robs them of their possessions, tortures them in prisons and concentration camps, bombs and burns their places of worship, and through all manner of ~~shameless and~~ unspeakable outrages drives them to suicide or exile, that, too, ^{is} exclusively ~~is~~ a "domestic affair". ~~It~~ must not criticize, ~~or denounce it.~~

Other people

notwithstanding the fact that these refugees would be great
human assets to them, bringing with them, as they do, the
skill, hand, the wealth of heart and mind, and the
spirits tempered by suffering, prepared for great
sacrifice and patriotic loyalty.



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^{They} ~~he~~ must not remonstrate. The universal heart of mankind ^{must} no longer ~~dare~~ to beat
 — in sympathy with human suffering everywhere, and ^{must} no longer ~~be able~~ cry out in
 — horror and indignation at the sight of infamous cruelty and ^{barbarism} ~~barbarism~~, the desecration
 of the spirit of man and ^{of} the image of God in man.

When were tyranny and persecution and the brutal torture of men and women
 in any land ever regarded by the conscience of mankind as purely a "domestic
 affair"? This is one of the blackest heresies of this gross age of apostasy.

Is it purely a "domestic affair" of the Nazi regime when it forces hundreds
 of thousands of men into exile and compels other nations to provide asylum for
 them?

As long as the remaining free peoples of the earth will seek to escape
 their moral responsibilities by withholding vital concern and help from persecuted
 groups in other lands, under the spurious plea of a "domestic affair", or as long
 as they will withhold the thunderbolts of their disapproval of dictators ^{and their shameless oppressions} under
 the pretext of ^{general} "appeasement", so long will the world's swift descent into moral
 chaos and anarchy continue.

The response which we will make to the plight of the world's refugees today
 will be the measure of our devotion to a united humanity, of our recognition of
 human solidarity and inter-dependence.

Some day, there will be no refugees uprooted and cast out from their native
 homes because of their race, nationality or religion. Some day an irrevocable
 law will be proclaimed by the nations of the earth and, by them, collectively
 enforced, that no man shall be deprived of the right of domicile and of earning
 a living in the land where he was born. That will be forever established as
 every man's inalienable birthright. Some day the persecution, exploitation or
 liquidation of unwanted minorities will be prohibited by international law. Some
 day the rights of minorities - that saving truth which dawned upon the nations at
 the close of the World War but which has since been sadly obscured - will be

To Have
 Stop!

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re-affirmed. Some day it will be universally understood that oppressed and unreconciled minorities are the breeding grounds of international unrest, intrigue and war; that there are twenty-five millions of people living as minorities in Europe today; that the intermingling of nationalities has been so great that regardless of what political frontiers are finally established, some minorities would still have to live outside their original homelands; that no country can solve its difficult economic problem by artificially reducing its population through the enforced emigration of its unwanted minorities or through taking away the opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another; that only the granting of full rights of citizenship, and absolute equality before the law for all racial, religious and nationality minorities will bring about enduring peace and order in the world. Some day, when the now shattered and discredited international organization for collective security and the protection of minorities known as the League of Nations, will in some form or other be reconstructed, and the reign of international law will have supplanted the present reign of international anarchy, these things will come to pass. Some day! But to-day? To-day the highways of the world are choked with refugees, fleeing from terror and hatred, seeking new homes. To-day men and women "must wander witheringly in other lands to die, and where their fathers' ashes be, their own may never lie." To-day men and women are frantically begging at doors of consulates for visas which will enable them to escape the hells which their native lands have become for them. To-day, by the thousands and the tens of thousands, they are appealing pitifully to relatives and friends, near and far, for affidavits and certificates which will open to them some door of hope, and for means wherewith to remove themselves and their families.

These refugees are now the wards of all those who still believe in God and in God's law of justice and love, ^{of} ~~to~~ those who still know compassion and pity,

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to those who see in the suffering and privations of these wanderers the common tragedy of the whole of mankind today. There is no security or peace for any one of us, or for any group, or any nation to-day except, in the pooled good will, the aroused moral conscience, the awakened sense of responsibility of all.





THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

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

Announcing

39-6

FOUR BROADCASTS OF UNUSUAL SIGNIFICANCE

By special arrangement with the National Broadcasting Company, four radio broadcasts of the "Message of Israel" hour will be devoted to discussions by the National Chairmen of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs on American Jewry's responsibility in the present emergency for Jews abroad.

SATURDAY EVE., MARCH 4, 7 P.M. THE ETHICS OF AID TO REFUGEES

RABBI JONAH B. WISE, Speaker

SATURDAY EVE., MARCH 11, 7 P.M. THE MORALS OF AID TO REFUGEES

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Speaker

SATURDAY EVE., MARCH 18, 7 P.M. AMERICAN ISRAEL—A Spiritual Back- ground to American Jewry

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Speaker

SATURDAY EVE., MARCH 25, 7 P.M. NEW LIVES FOR OLD—"Can Man Be Reborn?"

RABBI JONAH B. WISE, Speaker

(All times listed is Eastern Standard Time)

These broadcasts will be carried over the stations affiliated with the National Broadcasting Company

YOU ARE URGED TO LISTEN IN!

**UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FOR REFUGEES
AND OVERSEAS NEEDS**

342 Madison Avenue, New York

39-6

The TEMPLE BULLETIN

THE TEMPLE

East 105th St. and Ansel Rd.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.
RABBI

MELBOURNE HARRIS
Assistant-Rabbi

Volume XXV

March 19th, 1939

No. 22

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

10:30 O'CLOCK

PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN

Famed Catholic Exile from Nazi Germany

will speak on

"NORDIC NONSENSE"

Friday Evening Services
5:30 to 6:00

Saturday Morning Services
11:20 to 12:00

Nazi
The Gangster Unmasked -

THE TEMPLE BULLETIN, published weekly, except during the summer vacation, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, East 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, O. Rabbi Melbourne Harris, Editor; Harry A. Levy, Sec'y. Subscription price, 50 cents per annum.

Entered as second-class matter Nov. 12, 1931, at the Post Office in Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Prince Loewenstein

The Temple pulpit will be occupied this Sunday by Prince Hubertus Zu Loewenstein, exiled Catholic from Nazi Germany. A direct descendant of one of the royal families of Europe, Prince Loewenstein broke away from the feudal tradition and threw himself into the struggle to build a new and democratic Germany.

Prince Loewenstein is the author of numerous articles for magazines and newspapers published in America and abroad. His books "Tragedy of a Nation", "After Hitler's Fall", and "Conquest of the Past" have been most favorably received. His newest book "A Catholic Looks at his Church" will soon be published. Realistic and unemotional in his discussion of political events, his restrained and courageous analyses have won him recognition as one of the foremost interpreters of conditions in Europe. Prince Loewenstein will speak on the subject "Nordic Nonsense".

Rabbi Silver will address the opening banquet of the United Jewish Appeal in Boston this Sunday Evening.

Hear!

RABBI SILVER

Saturday Evening March 18th

7:00 - 7:30 o'clock

On The Message of Israel Hour

This broadcast will be carried over WHK and the coast-to-coast NBC network.

Congregational Seder

The feast of Passover, which commemorates Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage, begins this year on Monday evening, April 3rd, and continues through Tuesday, April 11th. The Seder on the first night of the holiday is primarily a home service. For those who do not have such a service in their homes, The Temple, as in previous years, will conduct a Temple Seder in Mahler Hall on the first night of Passover, Monday evening, April 3rd. Rabbi Silver and Rabbi Harris will conduct the Seder. The Temple Choir will chant the traditional music during the reading of the Haggadah. The cost of the Seder dinner will be \$1.50 per plate for adults and \$1.35 per plate for children under fifteen years of age. Reservations may be made at The Temple Office.

Haggadahs containing the Passover ritual may be procured at The Temple Office at fifty cents per copy.

Spencer Irwin to Address Alumni Forum

Spencer Irwin, foreign editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, will be guest speaker at the Temple Alumni Forum on Sunday evening, March 26th at 8:00 P.M. in Mahler Hall. Mr. Irwin is one of the best informed columnists on current world events, and will discuss the present European situation.

As a special feature of the meeting there will be a Hobby Exhibit, participated in by members of the Association. Members who are interested in entering their particular hobby are asked to communicate with Mr. Robert Meisel, 2164 Grandview, Yellowstone 1275. The Alumni Forums this year have been of outstanding quality. The Forums are part of the cultural program of the Alumni Association. The meeting will conclude with a social hour and refreshments.

DR. SOLOMON B. FREEHOF

will review

The Four Outstanding Novels of the Year

Friday Afternoon

MARCH 24th

2:00 O'clock

Under the Auspices of

The Temple Women's Association

- Dr. Freehof is Rabbi of Congregation Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh. His book reviews are so popular in Pittsburgh that hundreds of listeners crowd his Temple each week to hear him.
- Special attention is called to the fact that the meeting will be held on Friday instead of Wednesday.

Admission by Membership Card

Non-Members, 50c.

Mahler Hall

Social Hour and Tea

Items of Interest

- A large group of students from Baldwin-Wallace College attended the service last Sunday morning, after which the symbols and ceremonies of Judaism were explained to them. Recently other Christian groups have visited The Temple: The Friendship Club, consisting of a group of more than fifty girls from various High Schools, under the auspices of the YWCA; and a Hi-Y group of boys from Rocky River.
- The Temple High School Debating team was awarded the decision last Sunday in their debate with the team from the Euclid Avenue Temple. The debaters for The Temple were Alan Gordon, Robert Koblitz, and Leonard Ronis. Next Sunday the team will debate at the Temple-on-the-Heights.
- The children of the Elementary Department provided Purim gifts for all the children at Mount Sinai Hospital.
- Miss Curtis's fourth grade class has undertaken the project of caring for a sick refugee child now living in Cleveland.
- The following students were declared winners of the Purim Quiz Bee Contest: Herbert Ascherman, Howard Markowitz, and Jean Jaffe.
- During the week Rabbi Harris was guest speaker at the March open meeting of the Jewish Center Sisterhood. He also addressed an adult discussion group at Lyndhurst Town Hall.

THE MORALS OF AID TO REFUGEES

An Excerpt From the Address Broadcast by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the "Message of Israel" Hour, Saturday Evening, March 11, 1939

Across the face of the earth hundreds of thousands of people are wandering to-night in quest of new homes. They wander by land and by sea, along the highways and the lonely byways of the world. They wander either in groups, whole communities uprooted and driven before the storm, or alone, single human beings torn from home and dear ones—the sad flotsam of scattered human families. They wander to known and to unknown destinations. Few doors are open to them. Few lands will welcome them. Sometimes they find themselves bogged down in misery and desolation in some no-man's land, or adrift mid-stream between two hostile river-banks—doomed human derelicts. At times their tragic Odyssey tosses them about for long weeks and months from one forbidding shore to another, before they are allowed anchorage in some quiet harbor. Some of these wanderers carry with them the meager possessions left to them after the plunder and spoliation of thieving governments. Others are utterly impoverished, empty-handed, with nothing to show for a life-time of honest work and industry. Some of them bear the marks of physical torture, of months and years spent in concentration camps, the victims of an inordinate brutality and vindictiveness. Others show the ravages of mental anguish, the sorrows of broken lives, of ruined careers, the deep, unutterable pain of humiliation. Many of them had held proud and honored positions in their former homes. Some had even

achieved rare distinction in their chosen fields. All had been men and women of honest worth. They had served their countries well in peace and in war. None had been guilty of any crime. Yet they are wandering to-night along the hard roads of exile. They are knocking at the gates of an alien world. They are young and old. They are Jews and Christians. They are Catholics and Protestants. They are the casualties of our world's great political and economic sins. They are the symbol of our age's degradation. They are the Refugees of 1939!

In a normal world, such innocent and helpless refugees would have been the first charge upon the solicitude and generosity of men and nations. There would have been a quick and ready response to their elementary human needs for refuge, shelter and help. In the past such needs and their answering response have occurred more than once in our Western World. Whenever political or religious persecution forced a minority group into exile, somewhere in the world there was a welcoming land to give them haven, and the chance to begin life anew. Our own country was built and made great by refugees, exiles, pilgrims and immigrants from all parts of the earth who were hard-driven by economic want or political oppression or religious intolerance and found sanctuary here.

But ours is not a normal world. It is a tragically abnormal world.

All the primal sanities, all the elementary decencies of civilized life seem to have been lost. A quarter of a century of mass killings, of wars, revolutions, invasions, civil strife and bitter class struggle, has brutalized our world and rendered it callous and indifferent, not to say cynical, to human sufferings, and to the mandates of human idealism. Out of the ten million graves of the needlessly slain in the last war and of the wars and revolutions which followed it, there have arisen the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, and of dread stampede towards force, violence and terror as the sole technique of human life and progress. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity has engulfed the whole world.

So that nations today which own great parts of the earth, empires upon which the sun never sets, peoples whose territories are truly continental in extent, containing vast empty spaces which can hold and sustain tens of millions, nay, hundreds of millions of additional settlers, either refuse altogether to admit any of these refugees who are confronted with the desperate emergency of finding new homes or of perishing, or grudgingly and conditionally permit a pitiful few to enter, notwithstanding the fact that these refugees would be great human assets to them, bringing with them, as they do, the skill of hand, the wealth of heart and mind, and spirits tempered by suffering, prepared for great sacrifice and grateful loyalty. The Evian Conference on Refugees was a sad and disheartening expose of the hard and insensate selfishness of governments today which underlies the suave and

formal attitude of their surface sympathies. Much was said. Little was done. Not a single nation rose to the pathos of the hour. Not a single nation matched the vast human tragedy with a corresponding outpouring of generosity and compassion.

To suffer wrong is bitter. To become inured to wrong is fatal. This grave danger now confronts our civilization. Nations and individuals are inclined today to abdicate their high moral responsibilities and the immemorial mandates of human solidarity. Whether out of spiritual weariness and exhaustion, fear, cowardice, or unconcern, the remaining free peoples of the earth are shutting themselves up in an inglorious isolation, content to echo Cain's guilt-laden plea: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The spiritual initiative, the stirring battle-cry, the crusading zeal, the element of heroic mission and destiny, once their proudest possessions, these free and democratic peoples have surrendered to their adversaries. These peoples still free have persuaded themselves that they must stand by and watch the outrages perpetrated by dictators and witness the defilement of all the sanctuaries of mankind, and must hold their tongues; for these things are the "domestic affairs" of nations. "Great Tyranny! lay thou thy basis sure, for godness dare not check thee!" . . . Thus if a government destroys the liberties of its citizens and rivets the shackles of a most ruthless tyranny upon them—why that is a "domestic affair", of no concern to any other people. If that same government, under some mad and shameless pretext, deprives hundreds of thousands of its citizens of their elementary human rights,

denies them the right to earn a livelihood, robs them of their possessions, tortures them in prisons and concentration camps, bombs and burns their places of worship, and through all manner of unspeakable outrages drives them to suicide or exile, that, too, is exclusively a "domestic affair." Other peoples must not criticize. They must not remonstrate. The universal heart of mankind must no longer beat in sympathy with human suffering everywhere, and must no longer cry out in horror and indignation at the sight of infamous cruelty and barbarism or of the desecration of the spirit of man and of the image of God in man.

When were tyranny and persecution and the brutal torture of men and women in any land ever regarded by the conscience of mankind as

purely a "domestic affair"? This is one of the blackest heresies of this gross age of apostasy.

Is it purely a "domestic affair" of the Nazi regime when it forces hundreds of thousands of men into exile and compels other nations to provide asylum for them?

As long as the remaining free peoples of the earth will seek to escape their moral responsibilities by withholding vital concern and help from persecuted groups in other lands under the spurious plea of a "domestic affair", or as long as they will withhold the thunderbolts of their disapproval of dictators and their shameless oppressions under the pretext of general "appeasement", so long will the world's swift descent into moral chaos and anarchy continue.

The Temple Gratefully Acknowledges the Following Contributions:

To the Scholarship Fund:

Mrs. A. E. Weinberg, in memory of Mrs. George Lomnitz.

Edna Siegel, in memory of birthday of father, Sam Sitzman.

To the Flower Fund:

Newton Mitzman, a donation.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Greene, in memory of father, Louis Neuman.

Mrs. M. J. Beatus and Miss Martha Silverbach, in memory of Mrs. Catherine Mandelkorn.

Better Gardens Club, in honor of the eightieth birthday of Benjamin Lowenstein.

To the Prayer Book Fund:

Rae and Hattye Dessauer and Mrs. D. L. Lauer, in memory of parents, Fannie and David Dessauer and brother, David.

Mrs. A. J. Miller and Mrs. Abram Buka, in memory of mother, Mathilde Danciger Goodman.

Celia Harris, in memory of sister, Janet Fishman.

To the Library Fund:

Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Kitay, in memory of Bernhard Siegel.

Rae and Hattye Dessauer and Mrs. D. L. Lauer, in memory of parents, Fannie and David Dessauer and brother, David.

The Morals of Aid to Refugees

TEXT OF RADIO ADDRESS

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
for Refugees and Overseas Needs*



Issued by

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FOR REFUGEES
AND OVERSEAS NEEDS

on behalf of

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, INC.
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL AND
NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE FUND, INC.

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

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By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ACROSS the face of the earth hundreds of thousands of people are wandering tonight in quest of new homes. They wander by land and by sea, along the highways and the lonely byways of the world. They wander either in groups, whole communities uprooted and driven before the storm, or alone, single human beings torn from home and dear ones—the sad flotsam of scattered human families. They wander to known and to unknown destinations. Few doors are open to them. Few lands will welcome them. Sometimes they find themselves bogged down in misery and desolation in some no-man's land, or adrift midstream between two hostile river banks—doomed human derelicts. At times their tragic Odyssey tosses them about for long weeks and months from one forbidding shore to another, before they are allowed anchorage in some quiet harbor.

Some of these wanderers carry with them the meager possessions left to them after the plunder and spoliation of thieving governments. Others are utterly impoverished, empty-handed, with nothing to show for a lifetime of honest work and industry. Some of them bear the marks of physical torture, of months and years spent in concentration camps, the victims of an inordinate brutality and vindictiveness. Others show the ravages of mental anguish, the sorrows of broken lives, of ruined careers, the deep, unutterable pain of humiliation. Many of them had held proud and honored positions in their former homes. Some had even achieved rare distinction in their chosen fields. All had been men and women of honest worth. They had served their countries well in peace and in war. None had been guilty of any crime. Yet they are wandering tonight along the hard roads of exile. They are knocking at the gates of an alien world. They are young and old. They are Jews and Christians. They are Catholics and Protestants. They are the casualties of our world's great political and economic sins. They are the symbol of our age's degradation. They are the Refugees of 1939!

In a normal world, such innocent and helpless refugees would have been the first charge upon the solicitude and generosity of

men and nations. There would have been a quick and ready response to their elementary human needs for refuge, shelter and help. In the past such needs and their answering response have occurred more than once in our Western world. Whenever political or religious persecution forced a minority group into exile, somewhere in the world there was a welcoming land to give them haven and the chance to begin life anew. Our own country was built and made great by refugees, exiles, pilgrims and immigrants from all parts of the earth who were hard-driven by economic want or political oppression or religious intolerance and found sanctuary here.

But ours is not a normal world. It is a tragically abnormal world. All the primal sanities, all the elementary decencies of civilized life seem to have been lost. A quarter of a century of mass killings, of wars, revolutions, invasions, civil strife and bitter class struggle, has brutalized our world and rendered it callous and indifferent, not to say cynical, to human suffering and to the mandates of human idealism. Out of the ten million graves of the needlessly slain in the last war, and of the wars and revolutions which followed it, there have arisen the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, and of dread stampede toward force, violence and terror as the sole technique of human life and progress. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity has engulfed our world.

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"Great Tyranny! lay thou thy basis sure, for goodness dare not check thee!" Thus if a government destroys the liberties of its citizens and rivets the shackles of a most ruthless tyranny upon them—why that is a "domestic affair," of no concern to any other people. If that same government, under some mad and shameless pretext, deprives hundreds of thousands of its citizens of their elementary human rights, denies them the right to earn a livelihood, robs them of their possessions, tortures them in prisons and concentration camps, bombs and burns their places of worship, and through all manner of unspeakable outrages drives them to suicide or exile, that, too, is exclusively a "domestic affair." The citizens of other nations must not criticize. They must not remonstrate. The universal heart of mankind must no longer beat in sympathy with human suffering everywhere, nor must it any longer cry out in horror and indignation at the sight of infamous cruelty and barbarism, or the desecration of the spirit of man and of the image of God in man.

When were tyranny and persecution and the brutal torture of men and women in any land ever regarded by the conscience of mankind as purely a "domestic affair"? This is one of the blackest heresies of this gross age of apostasy.

Is it purely a "domestic affair" of the Nazi régime if it forces hundreds of thousands of men into exile, and compels other nations to provide asylum for them?

As long as the remaining free men and nations of the earth will seek to escape their moral responsibilities by withholding concern and help from persecuted groups in other lands, under the spurious plea of a "domestic affair," or deny help to the refugee victims of such persecution, or arrest the thunderbolts of their disapproval of the ways of dictators and the enormity of

their offenses under the pretext of general "appeasement," so long will the world's swift descent into chaos and anarchy continue.

The response which we will make to the plight of the world's refugees today will be the measure of our recognition of the solidarity of the human race and the compelling obligations of human brotherhood. Our answer will either affirm the faith of men in a united world, and proclaim our resolve to reintegrate our broken and fragmentized humanity by an increased devotion to the ideals of mutual assistance, of all-embracing sympathy, and of justice and love which recognize no frontiers of race or creed or class, or it will deny this faith of men, and in so doing, still further consign men to narrow and hateful provincialism, and nations to a tribalism, which will keep them forever apart or, at best, drive them into temporary and regional alliances for war.

Some day, there will be no refugees, uprooted and cast out from their native lands because of their race, nationality or religion. An irrevocable law will be proclaimed by the nations of the earth and, by them, collectively enforced, that no man shall be deprived of the right of domicile and livelihood in the land in which he was born. This will be universally recognized as man's inalienable birthright. Some day the persecution or liquidation of unwanted minorities will be prohibited by international law. The rights of minorities—that saving truth which dawned upon the nations at the close of the World War but which has since been sadly obscured again—will be reaffirmed. Men will come to realize that oppressed and unreconciled minorities are the breeding grounds of international unrest, intrigue and war; that twenty-five millions of people live as minorities in Europe today and the intermingling of nationalities has been so great through the centuries that regardless of what political frontiers are finally established, some minorities would still have to live outside their original homelands. Some day all men will understand that no country can solve its economic problems by artificially reducing its population through the enforced emigration of some unwanted minority, or through taking away the opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another. Some day it will be fully accepted that only the granting of full rights of citizenship, and absolute equality before the law for all racial, religious and nationality groups will bring about enduring peace in the world.

When the now shattered and discredited international organization known as the League of Nations, which was established after the World War, to achieve collective security and the pro-

tection of minorities, will in one form or another be reconstructed, and the reign of international law will have supplanted the present reign of international anarchy, these things will come to pass. Some day! But today? Today the highways of the world are choked with refugees wandering from sea to sea, from land to land, fleeing from terror and hatred, seeking new homes. Today men and women "must wander witheringly, in other lands to die, and where their fathers' ashes be, their own may never lie." Today men and women are frantically begging at doors of consulates for a visa which will enable them to escape the hells which their native lands have become for them. Today, by the thousands and the tens of thousands, they are appealing pitifully to relatives and friends, near and far, for affidavits and certificates which will open to them some door of hope, some land of refuge. Today people, who never needed help before, are pleading for financial aid to transport their families to new homes.

These refugees are now the wards of all those who still believe in God and in God's law of justice and love, who still know compassion and pity, who see in the suffering and privations of these wanderers the common tragedy of the whole of mankind today. There is no security or peace for any one of us, or for any group, or any nation today, except in the passionate communion of all free peoples, in the pooled good will of all men, in the aroused moral conscience and the awakened sense of responsibility of all.

We who are at peace must know no peace until all these exiles "of the wandering foot and weary breast" shall have found peace.

March 11, 1939.

The Refugees

FOUR TALKS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER;
DR. JONAH B. WISE, NATIONAL CHAIRMEN,
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FOR REFUGEES
AND OVERSEAS NEEDS

1. The Ethics of Aid to Refugees *Jonah B. Wise*
 2. The Morals of Aid to Refugees *Abba Hillel Silver*
 3. Seeing Our Problem Against the
Larger Background *Abba Hillel Silver*
 4. American Israel—Spiritual Background . *Jonah B. Wise*
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ISSUED BY UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FOR REFUGEES
AND OVERSEAS NEEDS

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

On the following pages appear the texts of four addresses delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Jonah B. Wise, National Chairmen of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs, during a special series of broadcasts presented over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company during the month of March. The speeches appear in the order in which they were delivered. Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise made these addresses on the weekly programs of the "Message of Israel" hour, sponsored by the United Jewish Laymen's Committee.

The Ethics of Aid to Refugees

By DR. JONAH B. WISE

WE CELEBRATE today the Festival of Purim. This festival is described in the Bible and is celebrated annually on the 14th day of the month of Adar according to the ancient Hebrew calendar. Purim means "lots" according to the explanation in the Book of Esther. It is so named because Haman and his associates cast lots to determine the day on which to slay all the Jews of the Persian Empire. It is customary on Purim to read the Scroll of Esther known as "The Megillah." There are five Megilloth or Scrolls in the Old Testament, but Esther is the outstanding one in Jewish tradition and life. In the Orthodox synagogue the Scroll is read with a special chant, and whenever the name of Haman is mentioned the children and others are allowed to make noises with rattles, whistles, and with the stamping of their feet. It is customary to give plays on this day because on this day Jewish men were allowed to wear women's clothes, and since only men acted on the stage—even in Shakespeare's day—women's clothes had to be worn by men in order to portray the feminine characters. Also on this day men were permitted to drink. The tradition was that it was permissible to become intoxicated on Purim, and this is a rather humorous reference to the fact that Jews are, as a group, notoriously temperate in the use of alcohol. Drunkenness is not one of their difficulties. Of all the observances which characterize the Festival of Purim the one with which the Megillah or Scroll is concluded is of the essence of Jewish life in that everyone is asked to send portions one to another.

There is an old text in the Book of Exodus, Chapter II, which says there arose a new king over Egypt who knew not Joseph, and this king said: "Behold, the people of Israel are too many and too mighty for us." He proceeded with the advice of his counsellors to enslave these people and finally to make life so difficult for them that they left Egypt in that famous flight known as the Exodus. Thousands of years have elapsed; for untold years human beings have struggled and have died; millions have faced

a world full of injustice and cruelty; myriads of lives have ended in the physical pain of death and in the spiritual pain of moral defeat. Man is still starving for salvation. In this search men grope like those who seek the fountain of youth or the Northwest passage. Among those who walk in darkness and grope for light and among those who seek to live in peace because they pray for peace for all men, walks a people who has faced this problem in every generation and in every civilization and that people is known as the Jews. I do not designate them as a race, as a nation or even as a religion. I designate them as the self-conscious heirs of much of human ill, which forces them to be among the foremost of those who earnestly seek for those things by which man may be redeemed. I think every generation has faced the problem of persecution of the Jews. Many, many thousands of good men and women have tried to hold back these brutalities and have suffered the fate of Moses, who was forced to flee because of his remonstrances, and the fate of a William Lloyd Garrison or a Roger Williams—that is to be pilloried by the mob because the mob did not wish to have its brutality either exposed or hindered, and because, as every demagogue knows, the gods of the mob can be placated by human sacrifice. Persecution is useful to those who mislead and cheat men—hence the persecution of the Jews. Against these persecutions we take our stand as members of a great humanitarian faith, and we point to their injustice, cruelty and cowardice as reasons for our stand.

I resent the complete injustice of every persecution under the sun. The first and primary injustice is that no persecuted group is ever afforded a fair and impartial trial. Today the persecuted people of the world have no tribunal and they never have had a tribunal in which they could uphold their rights and from which they could receive simple justice. No persecuted group has the opportunity of trial and judgment by its peers. Magna Charta guaranteed that justice should be sold to no one. Those who persecute minorities call no witnesses and stand before no judges. There is not even a fair appeal to public opinion but a tom-tom beat of lies and half truths and distorted facts are roared by the accuser over the radio, from the platform and in print. I, for one, am willing to stand as a witness in any court before any people to the injustice of the persecution of my people in Europe, and will answer any question on oath, and I am convinced that in the face of truth not one of the accusations against them can stand.

I resent the cowardice of the attacks. If you see a mob attacking one person, doesn't your blood rise and would you not wish to stand by that one person and help protect him against such overwhelming odds? No persecutor of minorities and especially

no anti-Semite expects odds of less than thirty to one. In Germany the odds are one hundred to one. Every Jew in Germany is expected to fight, completely unarmed, against one hundred inflamed, impassioned and armed individuals. Anti-Semitism is the safest form of man-hunting. Ordinary lynching is very dangerous in comparison with it. It is a piece of baiting of human flesh which has no parallel for cowardice and for degradation of the human spirit. For that reason, I say, we have to face the problem as one which concerns us as Americans and one which involves us at the source for the decency of the human race.

I resent the cruelties of these persecutions. One day I was in a railway station in Europe. I was told that there was a group of refugees from Germany in the station and I went to see them. Among these refugees was a middle-aged woman—a woman of refinement, obviously, although her clothes were shabby and her life had been lived with such obvious grief and terror that her face seemed almost more like a mask than a human face. Hearing who I was, she asked to speak to me and she told me her story. She was a widow. She had two sons. One of them had died in the war after three years of service. He had been shot and was so disfigured that there was no possibility of saving his body for burial by those who loved him—so he had been thrown into a shell hole on the Western front. The other son had served until the fourth year of the war when he was sent home shell-shocked and had become completely idiotic. This idiot was being led into exile by his own mother. They had been expelled from Germany with the group with whom they were waiting in the station in France and this woman's only concern at that moment was that she might carry her own grief and escape to some place where she might die. But before she died she wanted the assurance that care would be taken of her idiot child, whose idiocy had been brought on through fighting for Germany.

I see girls separated from their fathers and mothers in cold, furnished rooms, alone in the drab loneliness of strange countries and foreign tongues, crying for their mothers on whose bosoms they may never again lay their heads.

I see husbands separated from wives, and sons from parents, and brothers from sisters, and I say that any one of these hundreds of thousands of cruelties is sufficient to damn a system which either permits them to be or permits them to go unchallenged.

The system which hunts minorities with mobs, besmirches them with filthy lies; denies them a just day in a just court, hits them down with every cruelty, cannot abide in its monstrous self-approval that wholesome criticism which is essential to the preservation of liberty. Therefore, it destroys the press; it destroys the

free school; it destroys the pulpit; it destroys the rights of labor; it destroys the rights of capital; it deals treacherously with its neighbor states; it betrays the weak and inspires citizens to act as spies against their own kith and kin. It is mad and it has brought madness into the world. Because of this it is our duty to protect its victims and because of this we must find some answer for the madness, and while we are looking for the answer we must heal the wounds as well as we can of those who are beaten down in its progress.

The first victim of the madness of persecution of any and all minorities is democracy. Personally, I hold the democracy of these United States of America as dear as life itself. I believe this democracy capable of such justice as no other form of human government has been able to offer. I resent the attacks upon it by those systems which advocate cruelties, cowardice, injustice and public insanity, instead of that kind of government which was inspired by Washington and lived by Lincoln. We American Jews are Americans first. We stand firmly against any change in our form of government even though some of those forms may not completely meet our individual needs. We resent those foreign cruelties in this country. We resent them because we know that we have within our own structure that which can be adapted with patience and with skill and with sacrifice to the needs of every American. Loyalty to Americanism makes American democracy adequate. We resent them further because they have proven so brutal, so completely unAmerican; that to give them any refuge in this country would be to harbor in our midst disease and destruction. Because we do resent all of these things, the cruelty, the injustice, the cowardice, the insanity and the danger, of those governments which now proclaim all minorities and especially our own group outlaws, we shall do what we can to provide the means to heal the wounds of the victims of these persecutions; to provide for their sustenance; to retrain them, so that these people shall begin life anew and shall bring to the countries where they go the added strength which comes from people who have suffered.

We, who live in peace under the guarantee of our Constitution, do resolve to help those who have no peace so that they may spiritually and materially add to the wealth of all nations holding out to them a helping hand.

March 4, 1939.

The Morals of Aid to Refugees

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ACROSS the face of the earth hundreds of thousands of people are wandering tonight in quest of new homes. They wander by land and by sea, along the highways and the lonely byways of the world. They wander either in groups, whole communities uprooted and driven before the storm, or alone, single human beings torn from home and dear ones—the sad flotsam of scattered human families. They wander to known and to unknown destinations. Few doors are open to them. Few lands will welcome them. Sometimes they find themselves bogged down in misery and desolation in some no-man's land, or adrift midstream between two hostile river banks—doomed human derelicts. At times their tragic Odyssey tosses them about for long weeks and months from one forbidding shore to another, before they are allowed anchorage in some quiet harbor.

Some of these wanderers carry with them the meager possessions left to them after the plunder and spoliation of thieving governments. Others are utterly impoverished, empty-handed, with nothing to show for a lifetime of honest work and industry. Some of them bear the marks of physical torture, of months and years spent in concentration camps, the victims of an inordinate brutality and vindictiveness. Others show the ravages of mental anguish, the sorrows of broken lives, of ruined careers, the deep, unutterable pain of humiliation. Many of them had held proud and honored positions in their former homes. Some had even achieved rare distinction in their chosen fields. All had been men and women of honest worth. They had served their countries well in peace and in war. None had been guilty of any crime. Yet they are wandering tonight along the hard roads of exile. They are knocking at the gates of an alien world. They are young and old. They are Jews and Christians. They are Catholics and Protestants. They are the casualties of our world's great political and economic sins. They are the symbol of our age's degradation. They are the Refugees of 1939!

In a normal world, such innocent and helpless refugees would have been the first charge upon the solicitude and generosity of

men and nations. There would have been a quick and ready response to their elementary human needs for refuge, shelter and help. In the past such needs and their answering response have occurred more than once in our Western world. Whenever political or religious persecution forced a minority group into exile, somewhere in the world there was a welcoming land to give them haven and the chance to begin life anew. Our own country was built and made great by refugees, exiles, pilgrims and immigrants from all parts of the earth who were hard-driven by economic want or political oppression or religious intolerance and found sanctuary here.

But ours is not a normal world. It is a tragically abnormal world. All the primal sanities, all the elementary decencies of civilized life seem to have been lost. A quarter of a century of mass killings, of wars, revolutions, invasions, civil strife and bitter class struggle, has brutalized our world and rendered it callous and indifferent, not to say cynical, to human suffering and to the mandates of human idealism. Out of the ten million graves of the needlessly slain in the last war, and of the wars and revolutions which followed it, there have arisen the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, and of dread stampede toward force, violence and terror as the sole technique of human life and progress. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity has engulfed our world.

So that nations today which own great parts of the earth, empires upon which the sun never sets, peoples whose territories are truly continental in extent, containing vast empty spaces which can hold and sustain tens of millions, nay, hundreds of millions of additional settlers, either refuse altogether to admit these refugees who are confronted with the desperate emergency of finding new homes or of perishing, or grudgingly and conditionally permit only a pitiful few to enter—notwithstanding the fact that these refugees would prove valuable human assets to them, bringing with them as they do, the skill of hand, the wealth of heart and mind, and spirits tempered by suffering and prepared for great sacrifice and grateful loyalty. The Evian Conference on Refugees was a sad and disheartening exposé of the hard and insensate selfishness of governments today which underlies the suave and formal attitude of their surface sympathies. Much was said. Little was done. Not a single nation rose to the pathos of the hour. Not a single nation matched the vast human tragedy with a corresponding outpouring of generosity and compassion.

To suffer wrong is bitter. To become inured to wrong is

fatal. This grave danger now confronts our civilization. Nations as well as individuals are inclined today to abdicate their high moral responsibilities and the immemorial mandates of human solidarity. Whether through spiritual weariness and exhaustion, fear, cowardice, or unconcern, the remaining free peoples of the earth are shutting themselves up in an inglorious isolation, content to echo Cain's guilt-laden plea: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The spiritual initiative, the stirring battle-cry, the crusading zeal, the element of mission and destiny, once their proudest possessions, these free and democratic peoples have surrendered to their adversaries. Peoples, still free, have persuaded themselves that they must stand by and watch the outrages perpetrated by dictators, and witness the defilement of all the sanctuaries of mankind, and must hold their tongues; for these things are entirely the "domestic affairs" of nations.

"Great Tyranny! lay thou thy basis sure, for goodness dare not check thee!" Thus if a government destroys the liberties of its citizens and rivets the shackles of a most ruthless tyranny upon them—why that is a "domestic affair," of no concern to any other people. If that same government, under some mad and shameless pretext, deprives hundreds of thousands of its citizens of their elementary human rights, denies them the right to earn a livelihood, robs them of their possessions, tortures them in prisons and concentration camps, bombs and burns their places of worship, and through all manner of unspeakable outrages drives them to suicide or exile, that, too, is exclusively a "domestic affair." The citizens of other nations must not criticize. They must not remonstrate. The universal heart of mankind must no longer beat in sympathy with human suffering everywhere, nor must it any longer cry out in horror and indignation at the sight of infamous cruelty and barbarism, or the desecration of the spirit of man and of the image of God in man.

When were tyranny and persecution and the brutal torture of men and women in any land ever regarded by the conscience of mankind as purely a "domestic affair"? This is one of the blackest heresies of this gross age of apostasy.

Is it purely a "domestic affair" of the Nazi regime if it forces hundreds of thousands of men into exile, and compels other nations to provide asylum for them?

As long as the remaining free men and nations of the earth will seek to escape their moral responsibilities by withholding concern and help from persecuted groups in other lands, under the spurious plea of a "domestic affair," or deny help to the refugee victims of such persecution, or arrest the thunderbolts of their disapproval of the ways of dictators and the enormity of

their offenses under the pretext of general "appeasement," so long will the world's swift descent into chaos and anarchy continue.

The response which we will make to the plight of the world's refugees today will be the measure of our recognition of the solidarity of the human race and the compelling obligations of human brotherhood. Our answer will either affirm the faith of men in a united world, and proclaim our resolve to reintegrate our broken and fragmentized humanity by an increased devotion to the ideals of mutual assistance, of all-embracing sympathy, and of justice and love which recognize no frontiers of race or creed or class, or it will deny this faith of men, and in so doing, still further consign men to narrow and hateful provincialism, and nations to a tribalism, which will keep them forever apart or, at best, drive them into temporary and regional alliances for war.

Some day, there will be no refugees, uprooted and cast out from their native lands because of their race, nationality or religion. An irrevocable law will be proclaimed by the nations of the earth and, by them, collectively enforced, that no man shall be deprived of the right of domicile and livelihood in the land in which he was born. This will be universally recognized as man's inalienable birthright. Some day the persecution or liquidation of unwanted minorities will be prohibited by international law. The rights of minorities—that saving truth which dawned upon the nations at the close of the World War but which has since been sadly obscured again—will be reaffirmed. Men will come to realize that oppressed and unreconciled minorities are the breeding grounds of international unrest, intrigue and war; that twenty-five millions of people live as minorities in Europe today and the intermingling of nationalities has been so great through the centuries that regardless of what political frontiers are finally established, some minorities would still have to live outside their original homelands. Some day all men will understand that no country can solve its economic problems by artificially reducing its population through the enforced emigration of some unwanted minority, or through taking away the opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another. Some day it will be fully accepted that only the granting of full rights of citizenship, and absolute equality before the law for all racial, religious and nationality groups will bring about enduring peace in the world.

When the now shattered and discredited international organization known as the League of Nations, which was established after the World War, to achieve collective security and the pro-

tection of minorities, will in one form or another be reconstructed, and the reign of international law will have supplanted the present reign of international anarchy, these things will come to pass. Some day! But today? Today the highways of the world are choked with refugees wandering from sea to sea, from land to land, fleeing from terror and hatred, seeking new homes. Today men and women "must wander witheringly, in other lands to die, and where their fathers' ashes be, their own may never lie." Today men and women are frantically begging at doors of consulates for a visa which will enable them to escape the hells which their native lands have become for them. Today, by the thousands and the tens of thousands, they are appealing pitifully to relatives and friends, near and far, for affidavits and certificates which will open to them some door of hope, some land of refuge. Today people, who never needed help before, are pleading for financial aid to transport their families to new homes.

These refugees are now the wards of all those who still believe in God and in God's law of justice and love, who still know compassion and pity, who see in the suffering and privations of these wanderers the common tragedy of the whole of mankind today. There is no security or peace for any one of us, or for any group, or any nation today, except in the passionate communion of all free peoples, in the pooled good will of all men, in the aroused moral conscience and the awakened sense of responsibility of all.

We who are at peace must know no peace until all these exiles "of the wandering foot and weary breast" shall have found peace.

March 11, 1939.

Seeing Our Problem Against the Larger Background

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has ceased to exist as an independent country and the situation has again changed for the worse. Hitler destroyed it. The Czech nation has been absorbed and politically obliterated within the Third Reich. Slovakia, too, is now a German protectorate. Thus the Nazi Government which in six short years has made stateless and homeless two million people, Jews and non-Jews, is now shattering the lives and fortunes of hundreds of thousands of new victims in a conquered land which is non-German by race, and which until recently was a free and tolerant democracy. Another half million potential refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish, have been created overnight. All who had loved their country too dearly, and had resisted too loyally Nazi propaganda and penetration, all who belonged to a differing political faith, all who had fled from Germany to Czechoslovakia for refuge, and all Jews, and those who are declared to be Jews by the infamous Nuremberg race laws, are tonight marked and doomed men—they and their wives and their children. Many are already in concentration camps. Many more are on their way there, to taste the savage brand of Nazi sadism and "Schrecklichkeit."

A veritable man-hunt is on. No one will escape. The borders are closed. The occupation of Czechoslovakia was as swift and unexpected as was that of Austria. There was no chance of escape. Men are trapped. The March horrors of Vienna are tonight being reenacted in Prague. Many are committing suicide. Frightened people are seeking temporary sanctuary in the consulates and legations of foreign nations. The notorious and well-oiled Nazi routine of expropriation and confiscation, of robbing men of their businesses and possessions, and driving them from their positions and professions, is in full swing. When that process is completed, another half million or more of "plundered, profaned and disinherited" human beings will be cast out as human debris upon the mercy of the world.

Close upon the heels of this disaster comes the news of further anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary. Hungary has now absorbed one of the dismembered parts of Czechoslovakia—Ruthenia—which has a substantial Jewish population. Many Jews of Hungary will be forced to emigrate as a result of the new legislation which sharply restricts, and in many instances, completely destroys their opportunities to earn a living.

Likewise during this week, Great Britain, following the breakdown of the London Round Table Conference, announced its own tentative plan for Palestine. By the terms of this plan, Jewish immigration into Palestine will be reduced to an average of some fifteen thousand a year for the next five years. Jews had hoped that Palestine would serve as a ready and welcoming haven for the vast number of homeless refugees from all parts of Europe. Palestine is capable of absorbing a hundred thousand new immigrants a year. Under the terms of the Mandate, Great Britain had undertaken to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country and to assist in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland. It is now contemplated drastically to reduce Jewish immigration in order to insure that the Jews shall forever remain a minority in Palestine.

Thus, at a time when a tragic and overwhelming catastrophe has overtaken the Jewries of Europe, forcing myriads of them to wander forth in search of new homes, the doors to their own national homeland are to be steadily closed to them. The same wrong-headed and bankrupt British foreign policy of unilateral appeasement, which has been responsible for the dismemberment and annihilation of the brave and gallant little democracy in Central Europe, is now visiting a similar fate upon the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. In both cases, terrorism and lawlessness have been rewarded, and loyalty, labor and law have been flouted and betrayed.

The prospect for millions of our people in Europe today seems hopeless indeed. But our history knows no hopelessness. We have passed through the deep, dark waters many times before. We are an ancient people. Thirty-five centuries have hardened us. We have learned how to draw strength from danger and defeat. In every testing hour of our history, in every time of wrath, we found our sure and strong defense in a reinforced loyalty and solidarity, in great love and ready sacrifice. And above all, in confident faith in the Guardian of Israel who neither sleepeth nor slumbereth:

"My flock was scattered for want of a shepherd, and became food for all the beasts of the field; my flock wandered over all the

mountains and over every high hill; my flock was scattered over all the face of the earth, with none to seek or search for them. . . .

"Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, here am I, and I will seek and search for my flock. As a shepherd searches for his flock on a day of whirlwind, when his sheep are scattered, so will I search for my flock; and rescue them from all the places to which they have been scattered, on the day of clouds and thick darkness."

The tragic fate which has now overtaken Czechoslovakia should make it clear to all men that the organized attack upon the Jewish people in many parts of Europe is not an isolated phenomenon, to be explained in and by itself, but rather part of a larger sinister design. It is part of a major offensive, along the entire front, not alone against the rights of all minorities, but against the rights and independence of all smaller nations. Imperialism is on the march again in Europe—and in that part of Europe which has always been the bloody arena of rival imperial ambitions. Minorities and small states are pawns in this desperate and infamous game of empire. They are first enmeshed in a web of scandalous intrigue, conspiracy and propaganda, and then ruthlessly and cynically sacrificed to power politics. The smaller states, which lie across the path of expanding empire, are systematically disrupted from within, disintegrated and then absorbed.

In this skillfully elaborated technique of disruption, anti-Semitism has served as one of the handiest and most effective weapons. Anti-Semitism of the post-war era in Europe has been purely political and governmental. It is neither religious nor racial. It is not the attitude of peoples but the incitement of politicians and Fascist adventurers and agents of imperial intrigue. The racism of the Nazis was only a grotesque façade for a cunning and conscienceless political strategy by which to divide the German people, discredit liberalism and democracy and disrupt the German Republic. Since their coming to power, the Nazis have consistently employed anti-Semitism to confound the political life of those countries which they have marked down as stepping stones in the imperial expansion program of the Third Reich. By means of it, they succeed in destroying their democratic forms of government. They sow discord and disunion among their people and undermine their power of resistance to Nazi aggression.

Some of the smaller nations and minority groups of Europe beguiled themselves into believing that it was only the Jewish minority which would be singled out for persecution and destruction. They were immune. Some of them even introduced within their own borders some of the anti-Semitic tactics and

practices of Berlin, and consented to act as Nazi marionettes. They erred grievously. They should have taken warning from the Nazi persecution of the Jews. When the elementary rights of one minority group are flouted with impunity, the rights of all minority groups are endangered. When law is denied to one, tyranny is likely to overtake all. When there is no respect for the inalienable rights of men or religions or races which are too weak to defend themselves, there will be no respect for the inalienable rights of nations which are too weak to defend themselves. Hitler, the arch anti-Semite, has now finally revealed himself in his true colors as the arch-enemy of all minority groups and small nations in Europe. The rape of Czechoslovakia is part of the same outrageous scheme of power politics and empire-building as is the robbing and looting of the Jewish group in Germany, and the shameless exploitation of anti-Semitism.

The Jewish problem in Europe is thus bound up with the whole problem of the protection of the rights of minorities and of smaller nations. It is part of the problem of collective security in the world. It is also bound up with the classic ideals of liberty, peace and brotherhood, whose progress has been so sharply interrupted in our day. When this progress will be resumed it is difficult to say. Hard and desperate days lie ahead for mankind—for Jews and non-Jews alike. The forces of reaction and blackest tyranny are triumphantly on the march. Democracy has suffered one severe defeat after another. The League of Nations lies shattered and discredited at our feet. The free spirit of man stands shaken and frightened today in a dazed and apocalyptic mood, as if awaiting some crash of doom.

But though our hearts are heavy and our minds perplexed, we should not despair. We should try to understand our age against the background of the ages. We should endeavor to appraise our present hour in terms of what has gone before. In so doing, we shall gain perspective, confidence and courage.

What seems like Armageddon at first, is in reality but another bitter skirmish in the age-old and irrepressible conflict between the religious and moral traditions of mankind, as represented in Judaism and Christianity, symbolized in the concepts of law, freedom, peace, brotherhood and the inviolable rights of man—and the indurate traditions of paganism symbolized in the concepts of power, state idolatry, autocracy, militarism, conquest and war.

The outcome of this conflict cannot be in doubt. Man, though frequently yielding to fear, pressure and panic, will not permanently submit himself to intellectual and spiritual serfdom, however great the deceptions and beguilements which a cynical

government, bent upon power, will through a thousand and one forms of propaganda, practice upon him. In the long run, man will accept no substitutes for the autonomy of his spirit and the sovereign freedom of his questing and adventuring mind. Man does not wish to be a robot, or the blind instrument of some usurping state bureaucracy. Man wants freedom and dignity and a sense of personal and inherent worth. There is also something in man which at long last revolts against the mystic adoration of force, the everlasting brandishing of fists and against national and racial chauvinism and exhibitionism. There are deeper sources of human inspirations whence well up irrepressibly the redemptive power of compassion, love and good-will, the ideals of human solidarity, justice and peace.

Mankind will sooner or later return to these classic ideals of civilization. We are not at the end of a way, at the edge of a wilderness, but on a long broken detour. We shall return to the golden highway. But this return will not come about automatically and as a matter of course, but only as the result of the patient labor and the heroic faith of those people who, in spite of the world's vast turmoil, still think with a minimum of bias and feel with a maximum of self-restraint—who have lost neither their vision nor their perspective, who are conscious both of their strength and of their mission, and who are determined to carry on, even as a saving remnant, in these times of spiritual crisis and tribulation. Upon these people, working faithfully each in his sphere, to preserve the precious values of a free society, rests today the ultimate salvation of our world.

There are periods in human history when conditions become so bad and problems so involved and seemingly impossible of solution, that whole generations are seized with a desire to escape. Men begin to yearn for some distant hermitage of tranquillity from which the urgencies and anxieties of a distant world would be excluded and wherein all life would be beautifully simplified. Here and there an individual may free himself from the coils and involvements of his day and age and find sequestered peace in some isle of ease. For the millions of men, this is quite impossible. There is no running away. There is no peaceful valley to which the masses of mankind can retire, and, amidst peace and pleasant labor, live unhurried and unharassed lives, savoring all the loveliness of existence.

It is only out of the hard and bitter realities of life, through struggle and suffering, by means of hard planning and building, slowly and with many heart-breaking setbacks, that men can construct a cleaner and lovelier order of life for themselves and

for their children. For all men of spirit this age should be a challenge, not a disillusionment, or a despair.

We Jews, especially, should learn to see our problem against the background of the entire world's problem, and also against the background not of the last few years, but of generations, nay centuries. We are bearing today a double load of the burdens which all free men are bearing. Frequently that has been our fate in the past. It is our cross and our crown and our immortality. Perhaps it is the key to our strange destiny so underlaid with grandeur and with pain. We never succumbed, and as long as we remain faithful to the God Whose name and nature our seers revealed to mankind, as long as we serve Him in simple truth, in justice, in love and in sacrifice, dealing our bread to the hungry, bringing the poor that are cast out to our homes, and satisfying the afflicted soul, so long will light ever rise in our darkness, and the gloom shall be as the noonday. . . .

For us Jews, too, this age of surge and thunder, of suffering and menace, should be a compelling and undeniable challenge, not a disillusionment or a despair.



March 18, 1939.

American Israel—Spiritual Background

By DR. JONAH B. WISE

WE ARE looking forward from this Sabbath to the Feast of Passover. Passover is the Feast of Liberty. Holy Writ, the handbook of democracy, says: "Thus shall ye eat it, with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, your staff in your hand. Ye shall eat it in haste. It is the Lord's Passover."

It has been said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It can well be said that not only eternal vigilance but sacrifice is the price of liberty. There is no possibility of the maintenance of any liberty—moral or political—which is not watched, hour by hour, and there is even less chance for it unless those who benefit by and wish to preserve it are, in each generation, capable of making sacrifices for it.

On July 4th, 1776, the representatives of the 13 Colonies published a statement which they had long considered and whose implications, to themselves as persons, they well knew, but whose meaning for future generations they could not foresee. They said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and to secure these rights governments are instituted among men. . . ."

My brethren, out of this declaration there grew an attitude toward government and the rights of men as citizens within government which profoundly altered and tempered the history of mankind. Within the United States itself it created a new form of social as well as political experience. It did away with the privileges of nobility. It did away with the privileges of rank. It did away with the bitter animosities of religious partisanship. It began a process of living which was to astonish the world by its simplicity as well as by its success. America was different from Europe. That difference is one which must be preserved through vigilance and sacrifice as it is said: "Thus shall ye eat it, with

your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, your staff in your hand. Ye shall eat it in haste. It is the Lord's Passover."

George Washington was elected President of the United States by the unanimous vote of his fellow-citizens. He had been the leader of their armies, and became the interpreter of their liberties. The change from military leader to constitutional executive is another distinct Americanism. America is different. The Constitution of the United States is a greater victory for George Washington than any he achieved on the field of battle. He interpreted that Constitution by his life as President.

In writing to the Hebrew congregation in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1790, Washington said: "Happily, the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

George Washington could not, even if he had been as intimately acquainted with the ideals and purposes of the Jews and Judaism as one who has lived for thousands of generations as a member of the priestly people, have more completely and authoritatively stated their attitude toward our country: "... demean themselves as good citizens in giving it, on all occasions, their effectual support." This kind of understanding is American. Truly America is different.

If there is anything to be said for sacrifice in the cause of liberty, then surely the Jews should be the first to offer to sacrifice not only their means but to sacrifice their opinions and preconceived political notions for the welfare of American democracy, to preserve its difference, its distinction.

The sacrifices by which the country is sustained were carried to the extent of a great Civil War, and almost at the beginning of that war Abraham Lincoln issued another proclamation to mankind which was a result of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed men politically free from Great Britain. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed all people in the United States free of all shackles which the inheritance of the past had placed upon them.

The liberation of the slaves called for great sacrifice.

Last week I walked the streets of this great city looking for something upon which I could fasten as a hopeful message to bring to you, my friends, who might join in this our common worship. No sermon which I had prepared was adequate. Nothing I had to give was competent. And yet there came to me, out

of the very life of our nation, two revelations—one a very simple one, and one of imposing grandeur.

The simple one was that I witnessed a parade in honor of Saint Patrick's Day. I have seen many and many a parade in the City of New York in honor of Saint Patrick's Day, and they have not moved me. But last Friday I was deeply moved. I saw a hundred thousand human beings marching the streets of this city, and a million human beings watching them, and not one person lost either his life or his liberty.

Where, in the world dominated by the tyrants of Europe, could such a miracle happen? For today it is a miracle, and it is a mark of the basic beauty and significance of the democracy in which we live. Truly America is different.

On that same afternoon I read the following statement: "The government of the United States has on frequent occasions stated its conviction that only through international support of a program of order based upon law can world peace be assured. This government, founded upon and dedicated to the principles of human liberty and of democracy, cannot refrain from making known this country's condemnation of the acts which have resulted in the temporary extinguishment of the liberties of a free and independent people with whom, from the day when the Republic of Czechoslovakia attained its independence, the people of the United States have maintained specially close and friendly relations.

"The position of the Government of the United States has been made consistently clear. It has emphasized the need for respect for the sanctity of treaties and of the pledged word, and for non-intervention by any nation in the domestic affairs of other nations; and it has, on repeated occasions, expressed its condemnation of a policy of military aggression. It is manifest that acts of wanton lawlessness and of arbitrary force are threatening world peace and the very structure of modern civilization. The imperative need for the observance of the principles advocated by this government has been clearly demonstrated by the developments which have taken place during the past three days." This was Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles' statement.

The person against whom these words are directed is a tyrant whose acts have been unparalleled in the history of the oppression of humanity and the perfidy of governments. He has fomented rebellions in neighboring countries, sending his agents and his paid provocateurs into peaceful lands in order to set citizen against citizen. He has promoted civil war in friendly nations, supplying one faction with arms against another, so that the

blood shed by brother, of brother, cries out against him from the ground.

He has suppressed all liberties in his own land, and scorned those governments which sustain and protect them in other countries. He has broken all promises and flouted all treaties, especially those treaties and promises of his own making. He has let loose the horrible savagery and primitive hatreds of racial and religious bigotry and has forced or tried to force other nations to do the same. He has based them on false statements and slanders. He has robbed other nations and justified those robberies by defaming, imprisoning and often by slaughtering their leaders who were the legally constituted rulers of their own countries. He has reduced free and weaker nations to degrading vassalage.

He has, through paid propaganda, attempted to overturn the democratic governments of the world. He has cynically accepted their freedom as a means of promoting his own insidious conspiracies against them. He has enslaved labor and humiliated science and art. He has deprived all men within the reach of his powers of the free aspirations of human beings. He has visited degradation, humiliation and suicide upon men who come in the track of his power. He has visited shameless and nameless and foul cruelties upon noble and significant individuals, winners of Nobel Prizes, and leaders of mankind.

He has threatened other nationals with the same type of cruelty. He has stripped his own citizens of their life's savings, of their honor as successors to their fathers and grandfathers in the citizenship of their native land, deprived them of their sacred rights and thrust them, naked and dependent, on a world already embarrassed by unemployment and economic difficulty. He has flouted the protests of civilized nations, insulted their constituted officials, and sneered at their cherished liberties.

He stands reproved by the representative of the President of the United States. I believe that we can, by sacrifice, implement that reproof. A ray of hope is glimmering. A new life is possible for the world—but only through new labors and new toil.

My friends, it is possible that the declaration of our State Department may pass without leaving its stamp or its mark upon human events, but I think it highly probable that this declaration will leave an imprint upon men's affairs if it is implemented. It can be implemented by those who know that liberty is sustained by eternal watchfulness and by self-sacrifice. If these noble words are ever to make a new history for downtrodden man, then every

individual in these United States must be prepared to bolster and buttress the cause of liberty with the power of greater sacrifice.

But we who know what price liberty—we know that it must be maintained by those who “eat it thus, with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, your staff in your hand. Ye shall eat it in haste. It is the Lord’s Passover.” We are ready to take our staff in our hand, to gird our loins for the heavy load of sacrifice, and we are the more ready to do it if it be under the leadership of the ideals publicly stated by the elected and appointed officials of these United States.

We join wholeheartedly with Mr. Sumner Welles and the government of the United States in condemning the acts which have resulted in the temporary extinguishment of the liberties of a free and independent people. We know that there are millions of persons who, a decade ago, were free and independent people and who have been deprived of their individual efforts for happiness, and in many thousands of instances deprived of their lives.

The paschal lamb is the symbol of sacrifice for salvation. That symbol is cogent today. If we are capable of making a sacrifice for the maintenance of our democracy, we should now resolve to make one which will translate into deeds its ideals and aspirations.

We must make every effort to extend to the victims of the tyranny which has called forth our condemnation, the sympathy and the aid which these victims so sorely need. Sacrifices we are prepared to make for justice for those sufferers will be made also for liberty for ourselves.

I and all my associates of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups are eager to find means for binding up the wounds caused by tyranny and injustice. We therefore have placed before you during the past month our feeling of responsibility as Jews to the great ideals of democracy, and our responsibility as human beings to the alleviation of the sorrows of the victims of tyranny.

March 25, 1939.

