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Miscellaneous articles, bound volume, 1915-1954.

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- Baccalaureate Address
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- What is Happening to the American Home Today
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- The Synagogue, the Church and Social Justice
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- The One and the Many
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- Rabbi Silver Answers a Zionist Carpet-Bagger
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- Rabbi Silver's Address
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- Labor's Great Role in Palestine
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- Labor's Stake in the Struggle
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- Decline of the Individual
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- Address before Public Affairs Society, Oberlin Alumni Magazine. November 1934. p.39-43
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 Religious Education. March-April, 1954. p.67-68

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so full of beauty, and offering such imposing views in the distance, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, and, later, George Eliot and the Scotch poet James Thomson betook themselves. From there they gained their outlook upon the world, and with marvelous skill drew the veil from our eyes. . . .

Spinoza's views have not only been an inspiration to poets and writers; not only have his views directly touched and greatly influenced the literatures of modern times—powerful was also his influence upon the development of the history of pure thought, the course along which modern philosophy proceeded. It is 238 years since the publication of the *Ethica*, his greatest work, and his philosophy is perhaps a more potent and vitalizing force today than ever before. There is scarcely another name in philosophy to which men of various opinions and shades of thought turn—from theists (Coleridge, James Martineau, John Caird, Herder, Schleiermacher, Hegel); from deists; from naturalists (Goethe, Heine, D. F. Strauss); from philosophic materialists, monists, and pragmatists (Buechner, Haeckel, James, Paulsen, Spencer, Wundt); from rationalists, freethinkers, and agnostics (Shelley, George Eliot, J. A. Froude, G. H. Lewes, Pollock, Nietzsche); from atheists (Charles Bradlaugh—"Iconoclast," John M. Robertson) and critical skeptics (Fritz Mauthner); from the Spinozist, Brunner—Spinoza has had and is having the highest tribute of intellectual respect paid to him. They are never wanting in gratitude to this saint-thinker for the help he afforded them to truly comprehensive thinking. Numberless workers in many departments of life look back on him with most affectionate reverence. To the one a "Prince of Atheists," to the other a "God-intoxicated man"—he has not only become the commanding teacher of the great, and stimulated the field of inquiry in more than one department of science;† his teachings have been not less fruitful in the field of politics. Many are the points in common between Spinoza's *Treatise on Politics* and the theories of State advanced by Max von Seydel and Rudolf von Jhering. According to the jurist Sir Frederick Pollock, Spinoza's teachings as taken up by Bentham, added to by Austin, and, with the interpretation given to them by Sir Henry Maine, are now accepted by the foremost English jurists.

And the question is still open whether Spinoza was not, after all, even greater as a man than as a thinker! Says Karl Pearson: "Why does Spinoza's life stand in such contrast to that of all modern philosophers? Because his life at least, if not his philosophy, was Hebrew."

Baruch Spinoza *lived* his philosophy.

†This has been affirmed by no less an authority than the famous physiologist, Johannes Müller.



This is also the traditionally accepted view. Maimonides, in defining "Pharisees," says: "They are the Chaberim who separate themselves from the Am ha Aretz in order to eat *Chulin* in a state of cleanliness." Berinoro, likewise, identifies the two.²⁰ Nathan ben Jechiel defines the Pharisees as "the Chaberim who eat their *Chulin* in a state of ritual cleanliness."²¹ So also does R. Asher ben Jechiel.²²

Alongside of this view there exists another view which, although it concedes that all *Chaberim* were, by virtue of their self-imposed restrictions, *Pharisees*, takes issue with the statement that all Pharisees were necessarily *Chaberim*. Thus Weiss contends that "All the *Chaberim* were Pharisees. . . . but all the Pharisees were not *Chaberim*."²³ And Mendelsohn in the J. E. likewise subscribes to this view by saying that "the term *Chaber* is by no means synonymous with *Parush*, since not all Pharisees were *Chaberim*, though sometimes the generic term '*Parush*' is used in its stead."²⁴

To identify the Essenes with the *Chaberim* is impossible. The points of dissimilarity—*e. g.*, the Essenean indifference to sacrifice, their celibacy, their communistic philosophy—are so basic as to preclude any suggestion of identity.

The theory that the *Chaberim* are identical with the Pharisees is likewise open to objection. The striking similarity between the two passages of Demai and Chagiga, which is the main prop for this theory of identity, becomes less convincing when we consider that in the *Chabura* were such to whom even the garments of a *Parush* were contaminating. The mere fact of being a *Parush* did not qualify a man for admittance into the *Chaburot*. Were all Pharisees *Chaberim*, why should a Talmid Chacham (who undoubtedly is a Pharisee) be required to declare his intentions of becoming a *Chaber* before a body of three men and to pledge himself to the observance of specific "Articles of *Chaberoth*"?²⁵

To determine definitely the identity of the *Chaberim*, let us for a moment consider the aims of the *Chaburot*. It should be remembered that originally the *Chaburot* had nothing to do with the proper tithing of produce. Not that the *Chaberim*—or rather the laymen among the *Chaberim*—disregarded the agrarian laws. On the contrary, the *Chaberim*, whose piety induced them to submit to the most rigorous dicta of the Rabbis in regard to the laws of ritual cleanness, would not think of violating the laws of *Ma'aser* and *Teruma*, which are Biblical injunctions. But the agrarian laws were no more the causes for the organization of the *Chaburot* than were the Sabbatical or dietary laws.²⁶

²⁰ Demai, II, 2.

²¹ Aruch, "Chaber."

²² Demai, II, 2. The latter, however, differentiates between the *Parush* and the Talmid Chacham.

²³ Dor, Dor, ve Dorshaw, Vol. I, Ch. 12.

²⁴ J. E., "Chaber."

²⁵ Baraita Bekhor, 19b; Tosaf., Demai, II, 12.

²⁶ Those who pledged themselves to a rigid compliance of the agrarian laws were originally known as *ne'aserim*, *ne'emanim al ha ma'aser*, or simply *ne'emanim*. In opposition to these were the *amam ne'aserim* or the *en ne'emanim*. (Dem., II, 2-3; Ibid. IV, 5; Tosaf., Ibid. V, 2.

²⁷ A *ne'emani* was not necessarily a *Chaber*. An interesting statement in the Mishna throws

The one great principle of the Chaburot which is insisted upon throughout is the proper observance of the laws of Levitical purity. An examination of all the references to early Chaberim and Chaburot reveals the fact that the only questions which absorbed the interests of these Chaburot were those of ritual cleanness. The three references to the "Articles of Federation" (Demai, II, 3; Tosef. Demai, II, 2, and Abot d. R. Nathan, XI, 1) make no mention of any regulations imposed on a "Chaber" with regard to the observance of the agrarian laws.³⁷

Wherever in the earlier sources the Chaber is placed in juxtaposition to the Am ha Aretz, it is in a matter of "clean" and "unclean."

We must not lose sight of the fact that the highly developed laws of clean and unclean were originally incumbent upon the priests only. The layman was completely exempt from these laws except in so far as they were Scriptural ordinances incumbent upon all. When the secular teachers became, during the Hellenic period, a body distinct from the priests, some among them voluntarily accepted the priestly prescriptions of ritual cleanness.³⁸ With the destruction of the temple this movement among the religious teachers to attain to a degree of holiness³⁹ by means of self-imposed priestly laws of ritual cleanness, received a great impetus, due, perhaps, to the growing laxity in the religious life about them, which resulted from the unsettled state of the political and social life of the people.

But Buechler's contention that all the laws of Levitical cleanness, so minutely elaborated in Rabbinic literature, were made for and refer exclusively to the priests and the Teruma in the period following the destruction of the Temple, is open to doubt.⁴⁰ Apart from the fact that the relations of the Chaber to the Am ha Aretz in regard to the law of ritual cleanness were subjects of discussion among Rabbis in the early part of the first century⁴¹ and in the schools of Shamai and Hillel,⁴² by far the greater number of these laws, as developed in the Halacha, have nothing whatsoever to do with priests or with Teruma. The Levitical regulations affecting the cleanness of pots and vessels as enumerated in the tract Kelim are not at all restricted to the Ahronides. The law for the washing of the hands before partaking of profane food was also not

light on the relative position of the Chaber and the ne'uman or ne'amar (Dem., VI, 4). The ne'amar is here in a class by himself and outside the circle of the Chaber.

³⁷ Buechler is perplexed over the fact that the requirement for the proper observance of the agrarian laws is not included among the "Articles of Federation." He suggests a way out of this difficulty by saying that inasmuch as the proper tithing of the produce was a requisite for the ne'uman, it was undoubtedly so for the Chaber, and that its inclusion among the stipulations for admittance into the Chabura was therefore unnecessary (Buechler, Der Galil, Am ha Aretz, p. 158, Note 2). The fact of the matter is that the question whether an applicant for admittance into the Chabura tithed his produce properly or not was of no more concern to the Chabura than was the question whether he wore Tefillin or Zaitz or complied with the laws of Sabbath observance. To be sure, the Chaberim observed all these laws; for it would be preposterous to think that men who were so scrupulous in the observance of the laws of Levitical cleanliness would disregard all other laws, some of which were of equal or of even greater religious importance.

³⁸ See Montefiore, Hibbert Lect., IX, p. 473.

³⁹ Eretz, IX, 5.

⁴⁰ Der Galil, Am ha Aretz, p. 12; also p. 85.

⁴¹ Tosef., Ma'aser, III, 12; Tosef., Ab. Zer., III, 10; et al.

⁴² Dem., VI, 5; Tosef., Dem., II, 12; et al.

a priestly prescription only.¹² Likewise the discussion in Ber., VIII, 2-4, between the schools of Shammai and Hillel as to which precedes in the order of the meal, the filling of the goblets, or the washing of the hands, etc., indicates the prevalent custom of hand-washing among the Pharisees. Those portions of the New Testament which are conceded to be products of the first century clearly bear out this fact.¹³ R. Meir's statement, "Who is an Am ha Aretz? He who does not eat his *Chulin* in a state of cleanness," and the appended remark of the Rabbis, "He who does not tithe,"¹⁴ is conclusive evidence that the subjects of the discussion here are not priests, but laymen; for just as the laws of the tithes are applicable only to laymen, so must also R. Meir's statement refer to, or at least include, laymen. But the most conclusive of all seems to be the statement in Chag., II, 7, which clearly refers to laymen who obey the laws of Levitical cleanliness.¹⁵

The Chaberim were then the more exacting Jews¹⁶ who formed themselves into associations or "Chaburot" for the sole purpose of being in a position to observe more rigidly and with greater security the laws of Levitical purity. All those who did not join the Chaburot, both priests and laymen, were known as the "Am ha Aretz." The attitude of the Chaberim to the Am ha Aretz we shall consider in the following chapter.

It is quite natural to suppose that the Chaburot, representing the best of Pharisaic Judaism, would throw the weight of their prestige to the enforcement of any law which might be demanded by the conditions of the times. When the laws of Ma'aser and Teruma were falling into disuse in the second century, especially in Galilee, and stringent measures were needed to save this institution, the Chaburot declared any man who did not tithe his produce properly to be an Am ha Aretz, and therefore excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges of their groups and subject to the boycott of the Chaberim.

(The third and last part will appear in an early issue.)

¹² (Chag., II, 3) Buechler's attempt to restrict the use of "Chulin" here to the profane food of priests is of course a mere conjecture, not at all implied in the text.

¹³ Matt., XV, 2; Mk., VII, 4.

¹⁴ Ber., 47b; Tosaf., Ab. Zar., III, 10.

¹⁵ See Schuerer, Theologische Liter. Zeit., p. 618.

¹⁶ In all probability they were all Pharisees, although a Sadducee Chaber (Nid., 32b) may well be imagined.



THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HAFTARAH.

SALOMON R. FREEDER, '15.

(c) *The Fixing of the Readings.* But we are not yet able to say that these readings were fixed as they are with us now. While there was a reading for every sabbath, it is quite possible that the reader was given a choice of Haftarah. He would select what he thought was suitable (at least on the average sabbath) and read it as an Haftarah. When did the fixed Haftarah readings arise? We know that by the time of the Tosefta we have *certain* fixed Haftarahs. Tosefta Megilla IV, 1-4, gives the Haftarahs for the four special sabbaths. It mentions also Isaiah I, III, 3 (Tosefta Megilla IV, 17) as an ordinary Haftarah. Hence there must have been a few fixed Haftarahs by this time besides the four mentioned. The Gospels are nearly two centuries earlier than the Tosefta. They tell us in Luke IV, 17, that Jesus was handed the scroll of Isaiah and he found certain verses. "And opening the book he found the place where it was written, etc." There is some doubt as to the meaning here of the word "eurein," to find. If it means to find something after seeking for it, it would indicate that Jesus rolled the scroll seeking a suitable passage, which he finally found. If, however, it is to be understood in the sense of "to discover" (as Archimedes said, "eureka," "I have discovered") it would indicate that the scroll was already rolled to a definite place, and opening it, Jesus discovered the section, and had no choice at all. Thus at this early date we would already have a fixed Haftarah. But be that as it may, there is significance in the fact that it was a scroll of *Isaiah* that was handed to him, and not the scroll of any other prophet. That certainly leads us to believe that it must have been generally understood that for that sabbath the prophet Isaiah was to have been used, although perhaps the particular section may not have been fixed.

Since there was freedom to choose, it naturally follows that at times choices were made of readings that were not at all appropriate. Perhaps some reader would make an unfortunate selection. He would read something that might be considered unfit for public reading, or something that was likely to be misunderstood. It was for this reason perhaps that there gradually arose certain restrictions to the freedom of choice. As early as the end of the first century C. E., R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus says (Mishna Megilla, IV, 10): "No Haftarah must be made of Ezekiel XVI." The same Mishna contains other restrictions: "The story of Amnon must not be read; no Haftarah must be made of the merkaba in Ezekiel."

Address

BY

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver



Before the Twelfth Annual Convention of
The National Pipe & Supplies Association

Cleveland
May 10, 1921

INTRODUCTION

By PRESIDENT GEO. V. DENNY, Savannah, Ga.

It has always been our custom to close our opening session with a speaker of prominence, who is qualified by experience and by study to touch upon some of the national problems in which all of us are necessarily interested. In past years we have been favored by the presence of men of national reputation, such as Senator Watson, Mr. Harry A. Wheeler and Senator Beveridge, and the messages they have brought to us have been of great interest and value.

This year we are to hear from one who, while younger in years than those who have preceded him, has established himself in the life of his own city and in the life of his own people to a degree that has hitherto been unknown in one so young. The career of this man has been nothing short of phenomenal, and it is my privilege to sketch hurriedly for you what he has accomplished and the position he has attained not only in this community, but throughout the Jewish world.

Having attended the public schools of the city of New York he pursued his studies at the University of Cincinnati and the Hebrew Union College. Upon graduation he accepted a call to the Congregation in Wheeling, W. Va., where he served from 1915 to 1917. Since that time he has been the Rabbi of The Temple in the city of Cleveland, a large and prosperous organization, and one that is fully representative of this faith. He went to France in 1918 as a representative of our Government, and while there in 1920 was declared "Officer de l'instruction publique" by the French Government.

He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, and associated with Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court and Judge Mack, represented the American Zionists at the Zionists' World Convention, held in London in 1920. During this visit he was honored by being selected as the American orator at Albert Hall, London. He is also the author of a well-known poem entitled "America," which has been included by Dr. Spaulding in a text book of English Literature.

It is, therefore, with great pleasure, and with full appreciation of our privilege, that I introduce to you this morning, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple, this city, who will speak to us on "Facing the Future."

**ADDRESS BY
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER**

**Before the Twelfth Annual Convention of The National
Pipe and Supplies Association, Cleveland, May 10, 1921**

It is mighty good, Mr. Chairman, to see yourself as others see you. Listening to this biography of myself and to the many nice things said there concerning me, I am reminded of that story that Bishop Burch, the late lamented Bishop of New York, was fond of telling. He said a husband in an off-moment once called his wife an angel, and the wife, being taken aback, turned to her hubby and said, "Now hubby, tell me just why did you call me an angel?" Well, he said, "Dearie, in the first place you are always up in the air," (laughter) "and in the second place you are always harping upon something, and in the third place you are eternally in need of clothes." (Laughter and applause.) I do not know, men and women, why I was called to address this convention. The nearest I ever got to your line of business was the pipe organ. (Laughter.) I know as much about your particular line of endeavor as the priest did in that story that I am fond of telling. Pat and Mike went to church one Sunday morning, for a change, and heard the priest deliver a magnificent sermon on the bliss of matrimony. After mass was over and the sermon was ended, Pat and Mike left the church and Pat turned to Mike and said, "Now Mike, how did you like the father's sermon on the bliss of matrimony?" "Well, you know, Pat, I thought it was great, I thought it was just great, but I wish I knew as little about married life as the father does." (Laughter and applause.) I chose as my subject, "Facing the Future," and I want to say now that in spite

of the fact that I am a minister, I am optimistic. (Laughter.) You know that during the dark moments of the war many of us really felt that the cherished things of our civilization would be destroyed. I need not tell you of the magnitude and of the vast destructive powers, of the multitudinous sacrifices of the last war. It was a war unprecedented in human annals; with two-thirds of mankind engaged in it, with an expenditure of two hundred billion dollars representing so much of human effort and human labor, with the slaughter of ten millions of God's children, this war we thought would mark the end of our civilization, even as the civilizations of ancient Babylon and Egypt and Rome ended in ruins and dust. Yet it is a remarkable thing, is it not, friends, that here scarcely three years after this vast cataclysm, the world is fast recuperating, the world is quickly, quickly, I say, becoming normal. I am not altogether unacquainted with conditions abroad. It has been my portion to be in Europe three times during the past three years. I know of the vast perplexing problems and the difficulties, economic, political and industrial, confronting nearly every nation in Europe. I know of the vast misery that is afflicting the countries of Eastern Europe, and yet, in spite of these facts and with a full cognizance of these facts, I say that Europe is fast resuming its place in the concert of civilization. It will take some time before it will become completely normal, but the trend, the tendency is steady, sure, unbroken, and that is very encouraging; because it reveals how wonderfully sound, after all, our present day civilization is, in spite of all its failing and all its weaknesses. In spite of its abuses and its injustices, our present day civilization has been able to withstand the terrific onslaught of six of the bloodiest years in human history, with all the revolutions and all the unrest and all the disturbances and all the disorganization which resulted from the universal struggle. Our civilization is emerging whole. And for one who is concerned with human well-being, I say it is a very encouraging and happy omen. (Applause.)

And certainly America has given, to my mind, superb evidence of a fundamental soundness which even we who are always optimistic about our American democracy, did not suspect. How quickly we have returned to our peaceful pursuits. How quickly our military institutions have given way to the normal institutions of peace. How quickly our men have discarded their military uniforms and taken on their civilian garbs and returned each one to his task and each one to his job. If ever there was a doubt in the minds of men concerning the wholesomeness and eternal validity of democracy, this war, to my mind, has forever dispelled that doubt. We have proved to the world that in moments of crises, in moments of need, we can become a most vigorous, a most effective, a most deadly instrument for the suppression and destruction of every enemy of civilization, and we are giving evidence to the world that when the danger is past, we can as quickly and as effectively return to the peaceful and the sacred pursuits of civilization. (Applause.) I know, and in listening to the reports that have been given here this morning, I can readily see that you all knew of the abnormality that still exists in your line of endeavor as it exists in every line of industrial enterprise in this country one can readily understand it. With the disorganization of the war, with the need for a radical deflation, with the shutting down of foreign markets, with the lack of credit, it was inevitable that we would suffer a temporary economic depression, but to my mind it is just as inevitable that in the course of time, and that very soon, the wealth, the industry, the spirit of enterprise, and initiative, the go, the optimism of the American business man is bound to tell and we shall return to normal and prosperous times. (Applause.) What is needed, my friends, above all, is the spirit of great faith and optimism in all our lines of endeavor, not merely our economic endeavor but our political and social and economic endeavor. I believe that if at any time in our history the American people should have been devoting itself assiduously, almost religiously to the task of making

democracy real, vital and telling in the lives of the men and women of this land, it has been during the past few years and it is today. Some of us during the past few years grew a little restless and discouraged; we were afraid of that spectre that arose on the steppes of Russia and in Asia. We were afraid of a tide of Bolshevism inundating our own continent and destroying our own institutions. I have never feared Bolshevism in this land; I have never feared it in Russia; I have always said—I say so now—that Bolshevism is doomed to failure even in Russia. Bolshevism is the child of misery, the offspring of tyranny and oppression, and it was inevitable that after centuries of suppression, of autocracy, of tyranny, that the first lurch, the first plunge, of the peoples of Russia for freedom would be to the extreme of communism or Bolshevism. But it is equally certain that after the first few hectic years will have passed away, that the normal, invariable and universal laws of economics and politics will begin to work in Russia even as they work the world over. The Russian people is essentially an agricultural people, a nation of peasants, and the peasant is by temperament, by inheritance, by disposition, an intense individualist, and loves his strip of soil. The peasant wants his bit of ground to be his own without interference, without let or hinderance from any government, even if it be a communistic government, and the peasant today in Russia is slowly but surely organizing himself into one vast body to destroy the power of that small handful of so-called proletariats in Russia. Russia is a population of 85% peasantry, and a country like that will become conservative and steady as far as civilization is concerned. I have never feared for Bolshevism in Russia; I have certainly never feared for it in America. I believe, first of all, in the soundness of our institutions. I believe in their soundness so much that I am ready to have them challenged. I believe that a nation such as ours, blessed by God with plenty, where there is a surplus, where there is no need for poverty or misery, where every man has a chance to rise to the height of his own capacity and gifts, a

nation which extends infinite opportunity to all its children to realize the highest and best that is in them, a nation of homes, of cherished traditions, where men have the right of the ballot and the free exercise thereof, such a nation, in spite of sporadic outbursts of hectic revolutionaries, will never, can never, welcome or tolerate Bolshevism. (Applause.)

I believe in democracy, men, the democracy which is more than the right of suffrage. I believe in the soul of democracy, in the philosophy of democracy, I believe in a dynamic, aggressive kind of democracy. I know its failings, I know its short comings, I know the inequalities, I know the injustices; I know that we have not as yet today that perfect type of democratic institutions which we should have, but in spite of it I believe in it. I believe that one Lincoln, one Lincoln of the earth earthy, of the very soil of America with all its crudeness and all its roughness, but with all its strength and all its innate power and greatness—I say that one Lincoln is worth a hundred disillusionments. (Applause.) What is democracy at bottom? Democracy at bottom means this: the right of every child of God to live his own life, to develop those capacities that are innate in his soul. Democracy means self-expression; democracy means self-realization; democracy is the challenge to every individual to rise and raise others; and therein is the radical difference between democracy and autocracy, between democracy and any form of dictatorship, even if it be a dictatorship of angels. I would not have a dictatorship, my friends, with God as the dictator. We grow through our experiences, through our failures, through our trials and tribulations. We grope, we stumble, we rise again and move on. In an autocracy, in a dictatorship where our initiative is stunted, where the opportunity for experimentation, for enterprise, for experience, is denied, the moral development of human beings is impossible. It is as if you would take your child and instead of permitting him to learn by experience to find things out for himself, you were to

be the absolute dictator, you were to tell your child "this you must do, this you must not do." You were to regulate in hard and fast discipline and regimen his every movement and act. Your child would grow up, not immoral nor moral, but unmoral; he would grow up morally stunted. In a monarchy, an autocracy, a dictatorship, whether it be a dictatorship of the Czar or of Lenine, the average individual is not given that sacred opportunity to learn by experience, to express that which is within his soul. An autocracy makes for uniformity, an autocracy would like to have all the children of men drilled into a sort of a goose-step regiment so that they will all move alike and act alike and think alike and speak alike, because then they can be used more readily as the tools, the blind tools of the state; but in a democracy we lay the premium upon individuality and upon personality, upon that which in you is different from that which is in your neighbor. — A democracy is a sort of a beautiful mosaic made up of many blocks and many sizes and many colors, but all blending into one perfect pattern of harmony, a sort of a rainbow made up not of one color but of many colors blending and fusing into one perfect unity. That is the ideal of democracy, that is the only ideal for civilization and that is why I believe democracy, in spite of all its crassness and in spite of its crudeness and in spite of all its imperfections, is the only agency ever invented by the groping soul of man to reach the throne of God.

That is why, my friends, we who live in a democratic country must zealously, zealously and jealously, guard our democratic institutions. And how shall we guard them? Not by saying that the status quo is the last word; that there is need for no improvement, for no advance, for no change. Reaction, my friends, is just as dangerous as revolution. Revolution is a blind plunge into the future. Reaction is a blind plunge into the past. No society can remain static; it must either move forward or backward; there must be either progression or retrogression; we cannot stay put: we cannot stay fixed. I some-

times believe that the reactionary is the father of the revolutionist; I sometimes believe that the man who would dam the stream of human life and keep it from flowing freely to its appointed destiny is just as much an enemy of human progress and civilization as the man who blindly and furiously and in passion would destroy that delicate fabric of our present day civilization. Democracy is not revolutionary, it cannot be revolutionary, but democracy is not reactionary. Democracy believes in reformation, in progress, in experimentation, in free movement. Our political conditions today, my friends, are much better than what they were twenty-five years ago, than what they were fifty years ago, and we want to make them infinitely better in the days to come. We need men of stronger character, of stronger personality, of greater experience; we need successful business men to enter into our political life, to take control of it, to mold it, to purify it. We dare not leave our political organizations to fall into the hands of cheap professional politicians. (Applause.) It is a sacred duty, a duty incumbent upon every business man. Perhaps it is only a dream of mine that some day the American business man, after he shall have reached a certain period of life and a certain status of success in his particular calling, will then dedicate his experience, his capacity for organization, for management, his knowledge of men to the difficult and essential problems of our political life. That is the kind of democracy I ask for.

I ask for democracy in our social life. I ask for that wholesome, honest spirit of real democracy which pervaded our country a hundred years ago and fifty years ago when we did not have all that wealth and all that luxury which we have today. What we need is the democracy of simplicity, the democracy of self-discipline and self-restraint, the democracy that permits no snobbishness, and no social caste. A nation that permits wealth to vaunt and sway, is a nation that is following in the footsteps of Rome and Greece and Babylon. I am sometimes afraid,

friends, that our arriving generation is becoming too pampered and too weakened, morally weakened, by the vast profusion of comforts and luxuries. What our nation needs today, my friends, is that same sturdy, rigorous, disciplinary life of the frontiers men of the old days, of the Pilgrim fathers who came here and faced nature in all its hostility and conquered it. Moral stamina, physical strength, self control, discipline—that is what our nation needs today. Snobbishness, pride, social caste systems, corrode and undermine the strength of a great nation. That is my democracy.

I would have democracy in religion; I would have men realize—Oh, how much, I would have them realize that their religious convictions are, after all, merely so many gropings in the dark. We know not if what we have is the ultimate and absolute truth, and our kind Father above who watches us gives us credit, my friends, not for the truths we have but for the honesty and the sincerity of our strivings. I would have men of all faiths and all religions realize that the things that separate them are much less important and significant than the things which hold them together. I would have them become aware, if I could, of the fundamental human needs that underlie all the strugglings and strivings of God's children. I would have them realize that in the sight of God there is but Man, that race and creed and caste and position and antecedents and influence and all the tinsel show of our conventional life are nothing in the sight of Him who rules the world. Only the soul purged of its dross, only the mind keen and alert on its task to benefit the world, only the holy sentiments and the fine emotions—only these things that are common to all men of every clime, of every race, of every religion, the democratic things of life, are of any value in the sight of God. (Applause.) That is democracy, my friends, that I appeal for.

I would appeal for a similar democracy in our industrial

life. I would bring you back, and men like you, to those mighty days of the war, when all of us seemed to have been thrilled and exalted by a holy passion, when we lost a little of our selfishness and a little of our smallness and pettiness in the great common task of saving civilization. I wish that I could retain a bit of that pure, fine passion which dominated our thinking and our action in the days of the great struggle. I wish I could retain them for these days of reconstruction, for we need them, my friends, today, even more than we needed them then. We need the same spirit of sacrifice and the same spirit of mutual trust and the same spirit of give and take and the same spirit of love adequately and peacefully to solve the difficult problems of our industrial life. I tell you men and women that anyone who preaches class struggle, whether it be on the part of labor or on the part of capital, is an enemy of society. I tell you, my friends, that anyone who in this hour, when we are laboring so painstakingly to build upon the ruins of six years of destruction, anyone who preaches hatred, passion, exploitation, autocracy, dictatorship, is not a friend of civilization. What we need today—and this shall be my last word to you this morning—what we need today, my friends, is a spirit of sympathetic and friendly cooperation. The need of one is the need of the other; the opportunity of one is the opportunity of the other, and the success of the one is the success of the other. In this land no business man need become rich at the expense of the workingman, but both of them may grow into greater prosperity, through greater production, through greater efficiency, through greater opportunities. Don't you realize how God has blessed this land? What a profusion of wealth there is here, almost untapped and untouched? Why, in this blessed continent of ours, we can make real the visions of the prophets of old, that every man shall dwell under his own vine and his own fig tree. Every honest workingman of this land may grow into full independent and economic competence, if all of us unite in approaching our industrial problems, sanely, calmly, dispassionately, honestly, religi-

ously. I once read an article by Mr. Babson saying that the greatest need of our age today is religion. The greatest need of our age today is religion. I wish I could underscore that statement. I do not mean the religion of the creed, I do not mean the religion of the sect, I do not even mean the religion of going to church on Sunday; I do not even mean the religion of formal prayer, I do not mean the religion of church affiliation, but this is the religion I mean: "Thou hast been told, Oh man, what is good and what the Lord doth require of thee, only to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Justice, mercy, humility—these are the three cardinal needs of our age, and the business man, my friends, needs them just as much as the man of the cloth.

It has always been my dream of America, it has always been my vision of America, that here on these blessed shores, we would evolve a type of society and a type of man such as the world has not yet seen. To me America, my friends, is not a stretch of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To me it is not even an aggregate of a hundred million souls; to me it is an ideal; to me it is a spiritual essence; to me it is that something for which the ages have waited, that something for which the submerged and the suppressed peoples of the earth have prayed and longed for with tear-dimmed eyes. To me it is the last great hope and the last burning wish of humanity—that in this land the miniature of the world, the gathering place of all the races and all the peoples, the fineness and the strength of them, the glory and the enterprise of them, that here in this new land unshackled by ancient tradition, unencumbered by ancient prejudices, free as God's heaven is free, big as the vastness of this continent, we would evolve a social organization so perfect, so just, that peoples will bless themselves by it. And I still believe that if a true passion of religion would take hold of the workingmen and the business men of our land, a veritable religious revival, a mutual consecration to the highest and the noblest in

our history, that we could, in the years to come, perfect such an organization upon this sacred footstool of God.

During the heat and the stress of the war, some asked me to give my definition of America, and I gave them this definition: It has helped me tremendously in my small labor in behalf of making America the blessed of the world, and it might help others.

"God built Him a continent and filled in with treasures untold.

He studded it with sweet flowing fountains and traced it with long winding streams.

He carpeted it with soft rolling prairies and columned it with thundering mountains.

He planted it with deep shadowed forests and filled them with song.

Then he called unto a thousand peoples and summoned the bravest among them.

They came from the ends of the earth, each bearing a gift and a hope.

The glow of adventure was in their eyes and in their hearts the glory of hope.

And out of the bounty of earth and the labor of men, out of the longing of hearts and the prayer of souls, out of the memory of ages and the hopes of the world,

God fashioned a nation in love, blessed it with a purpose sublime and called it AMERICA."

(Audience arose and applauded the speaker.)

ORGANIZED RELIGION AND WORLD PEACE.

An Address Delivered in Meadville, March 9, 1925, on the Adin Ballou Foundation.

By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, Ohio.

The task of establishing international peace and the machinery for the perpetuation of such a peace is an especial challenge to organized religion. Not only because peace is essentially a supreme ethical problem, decidedly within the social program of church and synagogue, but also because every great religion claims to have come into the world to effect peace.

Heretofore peace has been an ideal abstraction, and the church—by church of course I mean church and synagogue and every other form of organized religion—has been content to speak of it as an ultimate *desideratum*, a condition highly to be desired but so far removed as to be beyond the pale of practical and immediate concern. But necessity and the events of the last two or three generations have thrust this abstraction into the realm of *Realpolitik* and have turned it into the most pressing and perplexing problem of the day.

The church today is confronted with a choice. It can assume one of two rôles—the one of leadership or the one of pious irrelevancy. The church must decide whether it means to vindicate its historic claim to be the peacemaker of the world and aggressively to lead mankind along the hard—and it will be a hard—road to peace, or whether it will, as heretofore, more cautious than courageous, more shrewd than wise, refuse to enter the arena of struggle and content itself with the mechanical repetition of its age-old exhortations to peace and good will. Upon the decision of the church as to which of the two rôles it means to assume, depends, in a large measure, the future attitude of thinking men and women towards the church.

In the past the church alienated the loyalty and devotion of millions of men because of its refusal to participate in the economic and industrial adjustments made necessary by the new conditions of life. The church may again forfeit the loyalty of millions if it remains silent now on this inescapable moral issue. For thinking men and women must ultimately turn from an institution whose inspiration is solely of the past and in the past, and whose will is atrophied; an institution to which men cannot turn for guidance and inspiration in the troubling and harassing emergencies of their social existence.

It is my firm conviction that the church will assume leadership in the work of establishing international peace only when it will transcend the state. In the Middle Ages the church competed with the state. It laid claim to ultimate sovereignty in both temporal and spiritual affairs. The church insisted upon the identity of spiritual and civil power, and sought to establish itself as the supreme political arbiter. Of course it failed, as it was destined to fail. It was well that it did fail, for temporal power inevitably corrupts spiritual power, and enfeebles it.

With the Reformation the ascendancy of the state began. In the struggle between church and state the state emerged triumphant. The accent was placed upon national autonomy and ultimately upon national self-consciousness. This resulted in two things: First, the state was presumed to be morally self-sufficient. Public morality was not necessarily coterminous with private morality. The state alone was the source and criterion of national ethics. Secondly, the church having lost the rôle of competitor, assumed the rôle of ally. It became a state agency and this condition has continued to our own day.

In many countries the church is either an outright state-church or receives its subvention from the state. Even in democracies where the church does not receive financial support from the state it has so completely yielded itself up to the political philosophy of the state that it is content in most instances to underwrite the policies and programs of the state. If a state declares war the church will sanction it or condone it. If the state engages in imperialistic expansion and exploitation, the church will either endorse the act or, in pusillanimous worldliness, remain silent.

In thus becoming a tool of the state, the church has lost, to a great extent, its spiritual authority and its spiritual influence.

As long as the church does not rise above the state—not in the sense of endeavoring to master it or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of the state's political purposes and programs—so long will peace, the traditional and avowed ideal of the church, remain an abstraction. During the last war every church became a state church. The Christian church in Germany was German first and only secondarily, and by a wide stretch of the imagination, Christian. And that was true of almost all churches of Christendom and all synagogues of Jewry. The churches proved to be local shrines where tribal deities were worshipped.

Now religion is international in the finest and truest sense of that word. It is not opposed to nationalism, but it overleaps it. It does not concern itself with nationalism. It concerns itself

not with the temporary political units of men, but with man himself and with mankind. It goes beyond race and creed and governmental boundaries. Its domain is the world of common human needs and aspirations, of justice and peace and holiness. Its empire is of the universal spirit.

When religion speaks of these basic things its voice is listened to and men obey. But when it loses its own prophetic voice and becomes an echo of the state, of ingrown nationalism, or of radicalism, it ceases to be a force in the work of human rehabilitation.

The church must be the guide, the critic and the censor of the state, not its tool and its propaganda channel. It will then be able to render two distinct services to the cause of peace.

It will be in a position to create a real temperament for peace, a "peaceful frame of mind", a will to peace. Peace is not altogether a question of economics. Nations do not make war or establish peace prompted solely by economic urgencies. Man does not live by bread alone and nations do not wage war for bread alone. Many other factors, psychological and historical, enter into every situation. If religion can free itself from the shackles which in the past have tied it to the organism we call the state, if religion can be itself again, independent, true to its own inspiring mission, speaking fearlessly and passionately, it can set about kindling the imagination of mankind with the ideal of peace. It can fire the souls of men. It once set armies in motion, crusading to the Holy Land, by sowing a glowing mystic fervor among men for that land. If religion can become imperial again, uttering its own revelations, it can imbue men and women with a passionate, ardent love for peace. It will touch and consecrate the souls of youth with the matchless ideal of peace. It will create a will to peace!

Whenever the state will declare a Defense Day, organized religion will declare a Peace Day. Whenever the state will declare a Navy Day, organized religion will declare a World Court Day. Whenever the state, through a group of political illiterates, will hurl a gratuitous and unwarranted insult at a friendly nation like Japan, organized religion will declare that day a day of national mourning, even as it was a day of national humiliation for Japan. Thus aggressively and persuasively organized religion will create a peace dogma among men and a new sacrament.

This is the first service which the church will be in position to render. The other service is the focusing of the attention of men upon the *machinery* for effecting peace. It is not enough to cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. The church must call the attention of men to the agencies, however provisional, however rudimentary, which promise to bring peace, if only one step, nearer.

No people will disarm unless and until it feels itself secure. Back of all international competitive armament is fear, fear of aggression, fear of being unable to resist aggression. Until the nations of the world are assured of a competent international agency which will protect them against unjustified and sudden aggression, they will not, they cannot, they should not disarm.

The church must be on the alert to discover and, if necessary, to bring into existence such an agency. If the existing League of Nations is inadequate or if in our country it does not seem to answer all our requirements, then the church must turn to other agencies or must devise them. There should be no hesitancy on the part of the church at the present time to endorse the World Court and to invoke the conscience of the American people in its behalf. This accomplished, let the church advance to the next station on the way to the ultimate goal, leading, not following, a church militant and adventurous, not timid and bated and wistful.

This program which I have briefly outlined is not an easy program. It is extremely difficult. Christianity must orient itself anew. Christianity began its career preaching pacifism. At the behest of empire it abandoned the ideal of pacifism. It gained in prestige, but lost in leadership.

It may well be that pacifism is an ideal not adapted to the Western World. Pacifism is after all the religion of the spiritual *élite*, the aristocracy of saintliness, and the Western World has not produced a sufficient number of such saintly souls to be a determining influence in the affairs of the world. The Western temperament seems to be activist. The Western mind believes in progress and salvation through combating evil. It prefers active resistance to active or passive non-resistance.

Furthermore, the pacifistic and communistic ethics of primitive Christianity was for a world in *extremis*, a world about to end in cataclysm, to be miraculously reconstructed on a scheme of absolute perfection. Evolution has supplanted eschatology in our day so that the ancient indurate code is not fit for a world progressing by evolutionary rather than revolutionary stages.

If this is true, then Christianity ought to take cognizance of this fact of racial psychology and historical science and adjust itself to it. It should surrender in theory what it has been compelled to surrender in fact. It should proclaim an activist program of social regeneration, thereby saving itself from that spiritual dichotomy, the glaring contrast between profession and practice, which has heretofore stultified its will.

Judaism faces another difficulty. The synagogue as an organization has played a very small rôle in bringing about world peace. The Jew, the world over, is prayerfully yearning for peace. No nation suffers as much from war as does the Jew.

Witness the tragedies which the last war brought to his door. Judaism, too, has a marvellous tradition of peace which was first fashioned in the souls of its great seers. Yet the Jew is so situated in the world, and his position is so insecure, that in some lands he must perforce refrain from aggressive work in behalf of peace lest his sincere and earnest endeavors be interpreted by his enemies and traducers as manifestations of disloyalty and treason. The Jew has been compelled in selfdefense to be wary lest his devotion to the cause of peace bring suffering and disabilities upon him.

The Jew, however, must realize that this is his cross and his crown and his immortality. It is only by such independence of spirit that he can vindicate his claim to a separate existence, and to his professed prophetic mission. If his rôle is to be the rôle of a prophet, then he must submit to the tribulations which fall to the share of the prophet. The Jew must rediscover his prophetic voice and at the cost of being misunderstood, of being maligned, of being damned as a traitor, he must speak his soul. "Peace, peace, unto those that are near and unto those that are far off."

Christian and Jew alike must remember that peace will not come as a radiant maiden bearing gifts. Peace will come, if it ever comes at all, as a man of sorrows, spat upon and mocked. Like unto every great ideal of mankind peace must first travel the thorny road of frustration, defeat and sorrow ere it can reach the goal of consummation and triumph. Herein is the challenge to heroic deeds and sacrificial loyalty. Herein lies the redemptive ministry of organized religion in the world today.

A THREE-FOLD BENISON

A Sermon for Erev Rosh Hashanah

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

WE are told in our sacred lore, that when their hours of study were over, and the wise men left the halls of the Academy, they departed from one another with the following quaint and beautiful blessing: "Mayest thou behold thy world during thy lifetime, but may thine end be in Life Eternal, and thy hopes, may they endure throughout all generations."

On New Year's Day, we too take leave, not from one another, but from the old year, and from all that it held for us of good and evil, of gain and loss; and I know of no more seemly benediction which we can bestow upon one another at this hour, than this self-same prayer of the Rabbis. If I were to bless you this day, between the dark and the dawn of the New Year, with the choicest gift in the treasure-house of God, I could think of none more rare and precious than this.

It is three-fold benison, each part segment of a perfect whole. "Mayest thou behold thy world during thy lifetime." Is there anything more complete than this? To see our whole world while we live! The world of our desires and the world of our hopes! To win every goal, to taste every fruit, to slake every thirst at the fountain of success. What a generous benediction this is!

Surely this is what we pray for on this, our Holy Day. "Grant us life, long life; grant us health, happiness, prosperity, peace. Let us not die ere the last mile of our journey is covered and the last beautiful scene glimpsed. Permit us to see our whole world while we live."

And how thoroughly human a prayer it is! What man is there who would wish to close the fascinating book of life before the last chapter is read and the last page is turned and the story is fully told! Unless he be of those who have suffered much, whose eyes have been darkened by unutterable sorrow, and from whose heart anguish had drained all love of life. We all wish to live, to see all, to know all, to taste all, to have all. The world is so resplendent with the works of God and

the works of man, with the beauty that dwells in the earth and in the habitations of the children of earth. Our souls are hungry for this earth beauty and this life beauty, for all the wonder and grace which are in existence. How very human then is this prayer, and how truly it voices our deep-most longings.

And yet, somehow, the wise men of old, who uttered this valediction, keenly felt its incompleteness, for they hastened to supplement it: "But may thine end be in Life Eternal, and thy hopes, may they endure throughout all generations." On the face of it, a paradox! If one could see his whole world in his life-time, why should his end be in life eternal! If one could realize all his cherished hopes here and now, why should they be extended throughout all subsequent generations?

But the Rabbis, who saw life steadily, felt this wish to be inadequate, because unattainable. They knew that no man can see his whole world in his life-time, nor realize his high hopes in his generation. But they also knew of a world which every man could realize in his life-time, and of a hope which every man could see fulfilled. In the eyes of the Rabbis there were two worlds; the world of our wishes and desires, and the world which these same wishes and desires create for us and in us. The world of our dreams and hopes, and the world which these dreams and hopes surround us with.

In a sense every man builds his own world. Every man constructs his own world, his universe of wish and desire, the far-flung constellation of passionate cravings and longings, whose fiery center is self. The worlds of no two men are alike. Some build it of clay, of carnal wishes and coarse desires. Their world is narrow, never extending beyond the reach of the senses. Others fashion their dream-empires of finer stuff, of the needs of the mind and soul as well as of the body. Theirs is a larger estate, reaching out through spiritual roads into distant worlds. Still others, who are caught up by some vision and, touched by some inspiration, shape their worlds out of ineffable beauties, transcendent and measureless to man.

And each builder would like to see his dream-world come true in his life-time. But God, the Master Builder, who has His own plan and His own architectural design, has so ordered His Universe, that none shall see his world fully realized in his life-time, and that the finer and subtler the stuff the dream world is made of, the more difficult shall it be of attainment.

Even the clay-world is hard to attain. Low desires and earthly cupidity, even when satisfied, leave ashes in the mouth. Each fulfilled desire incites to others, stronger and more impetuous. "The sea hath bounds

but deep desire hath none." Passion means suffering. Until our hankerings are appeased, we suffer, and after they are appeased we soon weary of them. When we are in want we strive for the necessities of life, when we have the necessities of life we crave for comforts, when we have comforts, we crave for luxury. When we have luxury we cry for the moon—a mounting fever of discontent, an endless cycle of futility. The Greeks called it "The Torments of Tantalus."

Difficult as the clay-world is of attainment, even more difficult is the dream-world which some men wish to see fulfilled in their life-time—the world which is not circumscribed by the ordinary wants of life, the world fashioned out of the silver sheen of ideals and the gold of aspiration, the world patterned after the similitude of God's own perfection. The man who, conscious of his high estate, fashions such a world, and who, by his dreams, would lengthen the road between himself and the beast, and shorten the road between himself and God, the man who projects a wish-world of justice and peace, and empire of knowledge and love, of truth and beauty, that man will never see his world fulfilled in his life-time. Such wish-worlds are eternities in the making. No single hand can effect them, no single generation can encompass them. Such dreams lead the dreamer, not to the goal of consummation, but to the pit and the dungeon, the rack and the cross, and all the miserable artifices of a world afraid of his dreams. Such dreams lead the dreamer along the dolorous road of frustration and loneliness, to death.

Many illustrations come to our mind when we think of his. Let us but choose two—an ancient and modern one. Moses, a leader of men, built for himself a dream-world of heroic design—to liberate a people from the yoke of bondage—to give it a law and a land—to fashion it into a priest-people and to send it forth a messenger of a new revelation and a new covenant. Did he see his world come true? On the top of Mount Nebo, he died a lonely and a world-weary man, his tired eyes straining to catch a glimpse of the land of his unfulfilled promise. He freed the people. He broke the chains of its body. He could not break the chains of its soul. He gave them freedom, they enslaved themselves. He gave them a law, they flouted it. He gave them a hope, they destroyed it. Where was his world?

And what became of the dream-world of that modern dreamer—Woodrow Wilson? Somewhere in the Capital of our land, there lived for two years a broken old man, alone with his memories, ruminating among the ruins of his shattered dream-world. He had visioned mankind healed and redeemed, made one in peace and freedom. He failed. During the early years of the great world struggle he sought to maintain neutrality. He failed. He gave his life blood to establish a covenant of

peoples to enforce peace. He failed. He hoped for peace without victory, and failed. He hoped for peace with victory, and failed. He hoped that justice and comity would follow the Pentecost of calamity, and behold, violence and hatred everywhere. Did he see his world in his life-time? He died even as his dream died.

Our ancient sages knew the sorry plight of such world builders. They therefore added to their benediction, this phrase: "But may thine end be in Life Eternal and thy hopes may they endure throughout all generations." The end is not here—cannot, should not, be here. A world which a man can achieve in his life-time is unworthy of him—unworthy of the reach of his imagination, the chivalry of his spirit, the hardihood of his faith. Only such tasks and ambitions are worthy of us as lay bare the finitude of our bodies and the infinitude of our souls, the impotence of flesh and the omnipotence of spirit, the brevity of our days and the eternity of our dreams.

Blessed is the man whose dream outlives him! Blessed is the man who is strong enough to see himself grow old and powerless while his ideal remains young and green. For then, old age assumes a dignity which compensates for our infirmities. The flame of life may burn low, but the holy incense of our visions will rise inextinguishable from the undefiled altars of our ageless souls.

In his picture of *Dorian Gray*, Oscar Wilde tells of a young man, radiant and beautiful as a god, whom a great artist painted in the full splendour of his youth. When the young man beheld the finished masterpiece, he burst into tears. "How sad it is," he cried, "that I must grow old. My face shall become wrinkled and wizened, my eyes shall grow dim and colorless, but this picture shall remain always young. Oh, if it were only the other way! If the picture could change and I could remain always what I am now."

His wish was granted. Throughout the succeeding years, his picture—his dream-world, changed with the changes that came over him, while he remained unalterably the same. Through successive stages of degradation and shame, through sin and cruelty and vice, he remained the same, young and beautiful—but his picture—the mirror and reflex of his soul—took on all the ugliness, all the viciousness, and all the spiritual disfigurement which were his. At last the horror of the picture, the ghastly deformity of his dream-world, drove him to madness and to self-destruction.

This is the tragedy of one who wishes to outlive his dream, whose life-picture is tied up with that which is physical and transitory.

When such a man grows old, he will have memories which will embitter his days; for all his glory will be of yesterday, and all his hopes as if they had never been. In the midst of life he is in death. Israel Zangwill, in his *Italian Fantasies*, brilliantly sums up this truth. "He that dies in the full tilt of his ambitions is buried alive, and he that survives his hopes and fears is dead, unburied." And the ancestors of this brilliant writer, in their equally incisive way, declared: "The righteous are alive in death, the wicked are dead in life."

The world, then, of dreams and ideals which man creates for himself, cannot be, should not be, achieved in his life-time. But the Rabbis knew of another world which they believed every man *could* and *should* achieve in his life-time. It is the world created for man by his own ideals. It is built up of mental and spiritual reactions to those ideals, out of enthusiasms and exaltations which these very ideals and loyalties create within him. For the ideals of man give to his life a definite content and a definite scope which are his real world.

This, then, was the meaning of the Rabbis: "May your life be blessed with the vision of a world so beautiful that it will crowd your life with beauty, even though the vision cannot be fulfilled in your life-time. Life may deny you the world of achievement, it cannot deny you the world of poetry and romance and the rich savor of living which the very presence of the vision within you will create for you."

Therein does the spiritual differ from the physical. The physical must be owned or consumed to be enjoyed, but we need not own or consume or realize our ideals in order to enjoy them. We enjoy them in the quest, and struggle for them, in our devotion to them.

An ethical book written by a Jewish mystic of the eighteenth century tells a naive and charming folk-tale. There lived somewhere a lonely and pious Jew, poor and forgotten of men, whose entire possession in life was one single tract of the Talmud. He had no other books. The pious man spent all his days reading and re-reading this one sacred tract. It filled his entire life, it became his world. He guarded it, he loved it, he treasured it. When he died, so runs the tale, this precious tone of sacred lore was transformed into a radiant maiden of surpassing loveliness, who led this faithful devotee to the Gates of Paradise. Quaint, is it not? But how profoundly true! In similarwise did Beatrice lead Dante along the terraces of heaven. For every high devotion, for every transfiguring wish, or hope, or prayer, an angel is born unto us to be our ministrant and guardian.

Such is the potency and virtue of ideals. They give us a whole realm of celestial beauty in which to live, even while these ideals are passing

through the tragic stages of denial and frustration which lead to their ultimate transfiguration.

And such ideals are within the reach of all men. One need not be learned, or highborn, or opulent, to have them. They are more precious than gold—and yet the pauper may have them for the asking. Some men have vast estates, but they are lost in waste and weeds. Others have a few square feet in front of their little homes, but love plants, a flower-bed there and a tree, and behold there is beauty there and the dream of perfection.

The cobbler at his lathe may have an ideal of high artisanship. He will see the charm of his work during his life-time. The day laborer who is conscious of the indispensable character of his work, the merchant who is faithful to his standards of service, the employer who finds in his office a challenge to unselfishness, the professional man who regards his calling as a consecration, all of them have a dream-world which will outlive them, but one which will abundantly bless them throughout their life-time.

These ideals are near at hand. You need not ascend mountains to find them. They have no habitation. They are everywhere. They are not only near, they are seeking us. Halevi, the mystic poet of the Middle Ages, exclaimed: "I have sought Thy nearness, with my whole heart have I called upon Thee, but when I went forth to find Thee, I found that Thou hadst been seeking me." Our ideals are seeking us. Open your eyes, it is here, in your home, in the multitudinous acts of mutual love and sacrifice, in the exalted experience of friendship, in shop, store and office, in your community, in social work, in civic work, in religious work, in the humblest and highest task it is there.

"Behold, I have set before thee this day, Life and the Good, Death and the Evil. Choose thou Life!" Amen.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE ORGANIZED FOR JEWISH EDUCATION DRIVE

(Continued from page 1)

tion and development of the field of religious education for the children unaffiliated with temple or congregational schools.

The Board of Jewish Education contemplates opening, during the coming year, four new Religious schools, and a reorganized normal school for the training of Hebrew school and Religious school teachers. The program of the Bureau of Jewish Education also contemplates other educational projects which include Jewish courses amongst High School children, neighborhood holiday celebrations for Jewish children, Jewish Education through club work and the promotion of education for Jewish children in Hebrew and Religious schools.

During the approaching campaign the entire Jewish community of Cleveland will be called upon to contribute liberally for the development of this program. Contributors during last year's campaign of the Bureau will be requested to increase their subscriptions in order to make possible the gradual expansion of the Jewish educational projects recommended by the Community Survey of the Federation of Jewish Charities.

The following are the captains in the Jewish Education Campaign:

Men Captains: M. B. Abrams, Alex Aurbach, J. Bassichis, Sol Bloomfield, Lewis Drucker, Henry H. Emsheimer, George Furth, Sam Garber, E. L. Geisner, Jonas Gross, David Ralph Hertz, A. L. Newman, G. L. Silberman, Wm. C. Tenhalt, Leon Wald, Harry Weinraub, Dorene E. Wolf, Harry L. Kaplan.

Women Captains: Mrs. Alfred Baum, Mrs. Raymond Deutsch, Mrs. Sam L. Feldman, Mrs. A. Fischer, Mrs. Sam Friedman, Mrs. Moses Garber, Mrs. S. L. Goldman, Miss Anne Green, Mrs. E. L. Grossman, Mrs. Ben Klein, Mrs. Geo. Kleis, Mrs. L. A. Lesser, Mrs. Louis Rich, Mrs. J. Sharwell, Mrs. Theodore Seiner, Mrs. H. Sulka, Mrs. A. E. Weinberg.

COUNCIL SCHOOL CHILDREN GET MENORAHS FOR CHANUKAH

A beautifully decorated metal Chanukah Menorah, together with a set of candles was given to every child registered in the Sabbath and Sunday Schools of the Council of Jewish Women.

In previous years the Council children were given boxes of candy as

RABBI SILVER ADDRESSES TOWN CLUB

As guest of honor of the Town Club at a luncheon on Friday, Dec. 11, 1925, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver addressed a group of representative Jews on the present-day problems of Jewish Education.

Mr. Emil Joseph, president of the group, paid his respects to the Rabbi, expressing his gratitude in the name of the entire organization for Rabbi Silver's splendid presentation of the Jewish Educational situation in the United States.

Rabbi Silver commenced with the minimum argument for Jewish education—the fact that the United States is inhabited by a religious people and the encumbrance upon American Israel to co-operate with other denominational groups in the spiritual upbuilding of the coming generations. "The Jewish people always having been the leader in religious efforts the world over, cannot afford at the present moment to let go of its spiritual leadership and at the same time continue to hinder the Protestant and the Catholic groups in America in their recent efforts to connect religious education with the hitherto non-sectarian and purely civic public school system of this country," Rabbi Silver stated.

Deviating from this negative line of argument for a greater interest in religious and traditional education for the Jewish youth, Rabbi Silver offered argument after argument for the necessity to maintain and develop further the Jewish racial culture which has come down to us as a heritage of the three thousand year existence of our people. "We can ill afford," continued Rabbi Silver, "to allow our young generation to grow up without a religious education, to become members of the juvenile delinquent class that now fill the court rooms of our country. It is as illogical to assume that a child will finally arrive at a religious development by a natural process of growth as it is preposterous to assume that a musical genius would in time make known his art to the world without having had a musical education at his command."

Chanukah gifts. In order to make the gift more significant of the holiday the change was made this year. The lamps and candles were bought by the Council of Jewish Women Sabbath School Committee at reduced rates from New York wholesalers through the office of the Bureau of Jewish Education.

A Statistical Comparison

As Jews we need our charities to supplement the city or state charities as well as our education to supplement general education. But those in need of education far outnumber those in need of charity, hence everywhere among civilized peoples the educational budget is far greater than the charity budget.

The city of Cleveland, for instance, spends more than four times as much on education as it does on charities. The same ratio should hold between Jewish supplementary education and Jewish supplementary charities. For every dollar that the Jewish community spends on charity, it ought to spend four dollars on education. But if one observes figures, one will find that the Jews of Cleveland spend about ten or twelve times as much on charity as they do on education. This is an abnormal condition, for it does not mean that we are too liberal in our charities; it means that we have most shamefully neglected the Jewish education of our children.

The findings of this comparison alone are enough to account for the national and communal disintegration noticeable in every phase of life; for the education of our children is our only means of transmitting to them our common treasures, our common institutions, and our common interests.

We fully agree with the following conclusion arrived at by the surveyor of Jewish education in the City of New York:

"What is primarily needed is that the Jewish community of New York place education at the center of its various activities, until now, charity has been at the center. To help needy fellow-Jews was the activity around which American Jews rallied; and to belong to some Jewish philanthropic institution was the sign of interest in Jewish communal affairs. But charity is not reproductive. It does not guarantee in any way that the children of the Jewish philanthropists will continue to support or to be interested in Jewish charities. On the other hand, education is essentially reproductive, for it means the transmission of interests to the next generation. With education at the center of communal life, charity and all other communal activities, inevitably follow."

This, remember, does not imply doing or giving less for charity; it simply emphasizes the significance of Jewish education and it warns us to be far-sighted enough and to guarantee through education the existence of Jewish charities in generations to come.

COMMUNICATIONS TO THE EDITOR

"I was very glad to get your first issue of the Jewish Education Bulletin, and I want to congratulate you on it. The best compliment that I can offer you is that I am going to copy the idea of your Bureau and issue a similar bulletin from time to time in this city.

"With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) A. M. DUSHKIN,

Executive Director,

The Jewish Education Committee,
Chicago, Ill."

"I should like to express to you my gratification at the first issue of the Jewish Educational Bulletin. I believe that it is a most commendable publication and should aid toward gaining a proper understanding and support of Jewish education in Cleveland.

"With personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) SOLOMON BLUHM,

Director of Temple Activities,

The Temple, Cleveland, O."

"I want to congratulate you on the issue of the Jewish Educational Bulletin, a copy of which was shown to me this morning. I think it will serve an excellent purpose in stimulating interest in the Jewish educational work in the community. Please put me on the mailing list. Cordially your,

(Signed) BEN ROSEN, Director,

Associated Talmud Torahs,

Philadelphia, Pa."

"P. S.—The Jewish Daily Bulletin of November 20th reports that preparations are on foot to raise \$100,000 for the furtherance of your work for the next year. I am sure that with the preliminary work which you put in last year, you should succeed in getting your quota this year."

"I just received the first issue of your Jewish Education Bulletin. Congratulations!

"Inasmuch as the Bureau of Jewish Education is a product of the work of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, I am happy that I had something to do with this thing indirectly.

"With kindest regards,

(Signed) JACOB BILLIKOFF,

Executive Director,

The Federation of Jewish Charities of
Philadelphia, Pa."

"I have looked over your bulletin and it makes a very fine showing indeed. Kindly put my name on your mailing list. I am sure your publication will prove to be of great benefit to the Jewish educational interests of your city.

Very sincerely,

(Signed) S. BENDERLY, Director,

The Bureau of Jewish Education,

New York City."

The Jewish SOCIAL SERVICE Quarterly

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN PERSONALITY THROUGH RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE*

BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER D.D.

FRANKLY, I found great difficulty in preparing this address.

The subject which was assigned to me proved exceedingly attractive, and I accepted the invitation with alacrity. But, upon a closer examination, I discovered that its very scope and comprehensiveness would make my task hard. It is so exacting to try to live up to ambitious titles. Mrs. Glenn in her splendid paper has withdrawn from this symposium all that is likely to be of real help to you workers, in your social ministry. She has shown you how the church and the religious background of the family can be utilized in the rehabilitation of the individual and the family. What is left for me is, I am afraid, the rather thankless job of discussing theoretically how human personality is developed and human life enriched through religious experience. If, therefore, I seem to wander far afield, you will, I hope,

bear with me, remembering also that nearly all theoretical or philosophical discussions seem at first to lead far afield, until one is suddenly made aware of the fact that they lead right to the very core of human life.

Perhaps it would be well to define our terms before we proceed much further. What do we mean by personality? And what do we mean by religious experience? I shall not attempt to give you any technical definitions, for the simple reason that they are not to be had. We may accept as a working definition the concept of personality—as the organized self of man functioning as a unit in social life; and religious experience as participation in beliefs touching the ultimate spiritual realities of life and in the mood and activity which derive from them.

The question, then, presented to us is how can such beliefs in the essential spirituality of the universe and the participation in those characteristic acts and moods which we call re-

*Given at the National Conference of Social Work, Division on the Family, May 28, 1926.

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ligious, help man to function more effectively as a creative unit in society. We maintain that such a faith will, in the first place, help him to surmount the intellectual difficulties which he is likely to encounter, and which, if not overcome, may overwhelm and defeat him; and in the second place, such a faith will make possible abiding ideals in his life which will stimulate his will and give direction and unity to his life's purposes.

Not all the tribulations of man are physical in their nature or psychic. We are too prone in our day to reduce all human unhappiness to economic want, to physical handicaps or to psychic maladies. There are other causes which may contribute to the destruction of a man's efficient self, not the least of which is intellectual confusion. There are men who take ideas very seriously, who react to them more sharply than to external forces. There are men whose peace of mind depends upon the finding of a satisfying philosophy of life, which will master their doubts, strengthen their hearts, and give them confidence and hope to face the exactions and disillusionments of life.

Not so long ago an eminent psychologist sent out a questionnaire to a group of men and women, asking them to answer this question: "If you became convinced that God did not exist, would it make any difference in your life?" The replies, as you may well imagine, were varied. Some said that it would make no difference whatsoever. One said that it would make him feel terribly lonely in life. Another said that it would make him afraid to face either life or death. And still another said: "If I became

convinced that God did not exist, I would destroy myself." The last reply seems very extreme. But those who are acquainted with the dynamics of ideas, with their powers of disruption and integration, will not question the sincerity of the reply. An idea may destroy and may give life. It may wound mortally and may heal miraculously.

You will recall that shortly after the theory of evolution was launched in the world, a wave of suicide swept through England and Western Europe. The doctrine was new, as yet unanalyzed and uncorrected. There were people who drew some very headlong and disastrous conclusions from it. The Universe is without purpose or intelligence—a blind mechanism moved by equally blind forces. The world of the living is a bloody arena wherein plants, beasts and men struggle terribly and ruthlessly for survival. Within this fearful world there is room neither for ideals nor hopes nor spiritual aspirations. Among these people there were those whom life had sorely tried and heavily burdened, who quite naturally asked themselves: "Why, then, should we persist in this unequal struggle? Why endure the vicissitudes of fortune? Our sacrifices are of no avail. Why travel the hard road, seeing that at the end of it, there is nothing but defeat and annihilation? Therefore death is a welcome release."

Tolstoi, in his "Confessions" writes: "There was a period in my life when everything seemed to be crumbling, the very foundations of my convictions were beginning to give way, and I felt myself going to pieces. There was no sustaining influence in my life and there was no God

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there, and so that every night before I went to sleep I made sure that there was no rope in my room lest I be tempted during the night to hang myself from the rafters of my room; and I stopped from going out shooting lest I be tempted to put a quick end to my life and to my misery."

Now Tolstoi lived a full life. His vital energies were not thwarted or driven into a *cul-de-sac*. His biologic needs, his aesthetic needs, his scientific needs were to a great degree satisfied. And yet one unfulfilled need was threatening to overthrow his whole world. He lacked the sustaining influence which comes from a realization that the universe is not a thing but a personality, the manifestation and the dwelling-place of a creative and benevolent intelligence, and that man in his finite way partakes of it, and in his creative efforts is its co-worker.

I know that not all men are as sensitive to the influences of ideas as Tolstoi, but I also know that there are few men who think at all about those eternal problems of life, the whence and whither and why of things, who would not be helped to a sweeter and freer life once this heroic postulate of faith is made a driving motif of their life.

The need of God is as real a need in human life as the need of food. It may not be as immediate, but for the realization of life's highest possibilities and for the encompassing of life's noblest program, it is as indispensable. It has sometimes been said irreverently that man created God. But beneath this surface cynicism is a profounder truth, which often escapes those who utter it. The profounder truth is that man is so con-

stituted that the desperate needs and emergencies of his life compel him to create a God-idea. Wasn't it the skeptic of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, who said that if there were no God, the human race would be compelled to invent one? Why? Because man needs the assurance that the great hunger for self-perfection, which is his goad and his goal, may some day be satisfied.

There is one fundamental hunger in human life, and that is the hunger for completion. "There is no motive in life," says Prof. Hadfield, "so persistent as this hunger for fulfillment, whether for the needs of our body or for the deepest spiritual satisfaction of our souls. . . . As nature abhors a vacuum, so, every organism abhors incompleteness." Man, too, in his mental and spiritual life seeks completion. He struggles to develop his mind, he strives to improve himself, he reaches into the unknown for new truth and new beauty and new revelations. There is in each of us an inarticulate yearning for undiscovered continents. We hunger for the limitless horizons, the distant fields of splendor. This spiritual restlessness is man's most precious legacy, his cross and his crown and his immortality. He knows that he is incomplete, but he has a vision of perfection and completion.

In a godless world man's hunger for completion is doomed to disappointment and must turn to bitterness and gall. There is no room for it there. In a universe wherein there is neither purpose, nor reason nor intelligence, this hope of man is a tragic, mocking futility. And the hope thus denied, like all frustrated

desires of man, will turn upon him and devastate him.

But give that man the faith that he dwells in a universe where God is, where personality reigns, in which all things are linked together by one divine purpose, whose attributes are justice and goodness, and that he, frail and finite though he is, is yet cooperating in the glorious unfoldment of that purpose, and behold, what a current of hope and confidence you send into his life. With such a faith no man can be utterly lonely or lost. The consciousness of God will be like the presence of a mighty kinsman, a friend by his side. Misfortune will not crush him. Failure will not demoralize him. Death will not affright him. For is he not always in the safekeeping of One who planned all things well? He will fare forth on the great adventure of life in high hope and will seek the undiscovered lands of the spirit, confirmed in the faith that such lands do exist, and that he may some day be privileged to enter them.

There is yet another way in which the experience of faith contributes to the development of human personality. The human soul is frequently a battlefield. The traditional moralist calls it the struggle between the higher and the lower self. The modern psychologist calls it the conflict between will and impulse, between the social self and the suppressed instincts, the anti-social self. Man's hope lies in the victory of the social self, and his well-being depends upon the emancipation of the inhibited self through moral sublimation. Man can win this victory only through the exercise of his will continuously and especially in the great crises of life.

And, as Professor Hadfield correctly observes, "nothing can stimulate the will as potently as an ideal." But the great abiding ideals of life must find their source and origin in faith.

If the world is impersonal and mechanical, and man the plaything of heredity and environment, there can be no meaning to human ideals. Why have ideals at all; or having been beguiled into them, whence will come the courage to endure for their sake, to traverse the dolorous road of frustration before we can reach the goal of consummation? Whence will come the consoling faith that if we fail, someone will take up the torch which our tired hands let fall and carry it on? Whence will come the great assurance that some day some one will make real the ideals for which we gave the blood of our souls?

Could you social workers face the drabness of that world into which your calling daily takes you, the want, the misery, the stunted growths, the tangled lives, the sins, the tragedies, if you believed that all that is, is inevitable; that "that which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be filled, and there is nothing new under the sun?" Could you bring to your ministry or could you derive from it the lift and the enthusiasm and the consecration, unless you felt that life is perfectible, and that man can rise on the rungs of sin and crime and defeat to the higher level, that man can be renewed and remolded according to a higher pattern of goodness and justice and beauty? These are ideals, grounded not in knowledge, but in faith, faith in the reality of a spiritual order of goodness and truth and beauty in the universe—faith in God.

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The realization of this spiritual order underlying all things makes ideals possible. And these ideals galvanize the will of man and integrate his personality. These ideals will redirect his instincts, which he had been compelled to suppress because of their anti-social tendencies, into socially beneficent channels. He will experience a release from conflict, a freedom from bondage which will bring him peace and happiness.

Just as the individual man or woman who is sincerely religious is better equipped to face the trials of life, so, of course, is the family able to meet its problems and crises with a better chance of success, if it is pervaded by a religious sentiment. The quality of reverence, which all great faith imparts, will dwell in its midst, and reverence is a congenial soil for the growth of other moral qualities. The home suffers an irreparable loss when it is secularized. The home needs the spirit of sanctity, the atmosphere which the Psalmist describes as "the beauty of holiness," in order to preserve itself amidst the disruptive influences of modern life. A broken home is first and foremost evidence of a lost reverence, of a broken faith. To conserve the home for civilization we must have recourse not to legislation but to religion. Holy, Holy, Holy, must be inscribed above the portals of our homes. God dwells here! And in his presence all the relations of parents and children, of

husband and wife are determined and sanctified. In such a home the personality of the parent will be magnificently enriched through the many sacred relationships of family life, and in such a home children grow up with a deep-rooted reverence for life's great sanctities and sincerities.

If, in your daily ministry then, you can communicate this faith to a fellow human being in need of light and new sources of power, you will be bestowing upon him life's greatest boon, even as you will be enjoying life's rarest privilege. Do not be afraid to speak of God. Do not speak of creed, or dogma or formula. Do not attempt to proselytize. That is not your task. But suggest to the groping mind or the tired heart the thought of God, Helper, Kinsman, Friend.

Do not be afraid to speak of God because you are a layman. What you require is not ordination, but consecration. All the prophets were laymen, shepherds and herdsmen and carpenters and dressers of sycamore trees . . . Speak not as a professional man. Speak as a fellow human being, a traveler upon the same road, a pilgrim to the same shrine. Speak when life's flood is at its lowest ebb, when all else has failed and darkness settles on the soul, speak in a still, small, confident voice, of God. Speak and men will listen and men will understand.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL JEWISH SOCIAL WORK*

BY SAMUEL A. GOLDSMITH

“**D**ULCE bellum inexpertis”—
“Sweet is war to the unpracticed.” Surely, no subject can induce more controversy, if judiciously handled with a modicum of logic and truth, than this which concerns national and international Jewish social work.

The reasons for controversy are not by any means superficial ones. There are considerations which, in the mind of the speaker, are basic and fundamental, and to some extent, explain the more and more lasting grip that national and international Jewish social service organizations are securing on the Jewish communities of the country.

One must recognize, to begin with, that when the average Jewish citizen deals with the usual appeal of a national or international Jewish organization, there drop from him by the magic of that appeal, many of the shackles that enfeeble him psychologically in dealing with the problems concerning his local community. This appeal he generally does not need to explain to a Community Chest or to social service organizations in his community. Neither Chest nor other social service organizations, nor his gentile neighbors (except on certain rare occasions as during the War) are asked to make a contribution. In

this appeal, the average Jewish contributor can exercise a freedom of choice and action, which is becoming increasingly circumscribed by local supervising philanthropies.

Federations and Chests, while they have generally lent of their personnel to important national and international appeals, have not, generally speaking, officially conducted the local campaigns or contributed from their funds. Here is an unrestricted field, unbudgeted, untrammelled.

Freedom of action, freedom to give without a view to local problems, to the average contributor are important psychological factors whether they be so consciously or unconsciously.

Secondly, the national and international appeals are of intense interest to the rising groups of Russian and orthodox Jews, who are much more interested in matters that are dominantly Jewish, than in matters that are dominantly philanthropic. Even the T. B. sanatoria may to these groups become matters of Jewish importance rather than merely means of helping the fight against T. B. While they, like the rest of the Jewish community, are anxious to live in peace and to work out problems with the general community, they are primarily moved by the strictly Jewish appeals.

And national and international Jewish social work appeals are primarily

*Given at the National Conference of Jewish Social Work, May 24, 1926.

One final word on the attempt of organizations to do student work. With a problem so difficult, it is narrow for any organization to begrudge any other work which it does. The problem of each is the problem of all. No energy may be wasted. It is sad to think of any institution belittling another because its work on the campus is conducted in a warmly religious spirit, or for another institution to belittle the approach that is purely intellectual and does not believe in mass effort. There have been instances where organizations would rather duplicate work already done than allow another to get credit for its efforts. This policy has its advantages; competition is sometimes a useful spur to activity. But in this case it is as pernicious as it is undignified to place loyalty to an organization above the general Jewish interest.

The present college generation is an important one to influence. It stands at a turning point in American Jewish history, when old traditions are becoming obsolete and new values are being created. With a good, clear program, summing up just what there is to be done and with the cooperation of every agency in Jewish life, we may guide our youth and ourselves into a Judaism that is both rational and virile.

Conference on Perpetuation of
Judaism

Thirtieth Council - U A H C
Cleveland - 1927
January 19.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By DR. ABBA H. SILVER

I have been working these last three days under the impression that hosts should be seen and not heard. This is the first Council of the Union which I have attended—and I have attended a few—at which I sat back and listened instead of being on my feet and talking, and therefore I have learned a great deal. I have gained a great deal of inspiration. I want to acknowledge it here, from the presence on these programs of young lay Jews, who to my mind, have made, if not the most important, certainly some of the most important contributions to this convention. This augurs well for all future deliberations.

I have commented in the past upon the fact that most of the laymen who appear upon the platform are those who have been with us in this work for ten years or twenty years or more, the same zealous, devoted sons of Israel. But I have missed the young Jewish laymen. These last three days I have seen them and I have listened to them and I have learned from them. They spoke with courage and wisdom and out of a true loyalty to the best in Jewish life. I have not in all instances agreed with them. That isn't at all essential. They have given us no gropings of immature minds but worthy conclusions evidently arrived at after long deliberation.

JUDAISM MUST BELONG TO THE LAYMAN

I have frequently commented on the fact, friends, and more recently in the Bulletin of the Brotherhood, that there was a dangerous tendency in American Liberal Judaism of relegating the whole problem of Jewish thinking to the professional man or the rabbi, to an ecclesiastical body. The layman was content to supply the financial means for the administration of the synagogue. He did that very generously, but he was content to leave all the wrestling with the vital and momentous problems of Jewish life, of Jewish education and of Jewish survival almost entirely to the rabbi, to the professional man.

There was a twofold danger involved in this. First, Judaism was becoming stagnant, lacking the vividness and the colorfulness which come from direct contact with life and its swiftly moving actualities which only the laymen can adequately represent. Judaism was becoming too much of a theology and too little of a life. Again, there was the danger of destroying the democratic character of Judaism. Judaism is a democratic achievement and laymen have contributed as much to its thought process as Judaism as the rabbis. Some of the finest contributions to its cultural assets, to Jewish liturgy, Jewish philosophy and Jewish literature—yes, to Jewish progress have come to us from Jewish laymen.

DEMOCRACY AND JUDAISM

Liberal Jews in America were unfortunately, not consciously, of course, or deliberately, but unconsciously, normalizing the democratic character of Judaism to

destroyed. I am glad, therefore, to see the recrudescence of lay interest, not in financing—that too is important, not in our physical expansion—that too is important, but in our spiritual expansion and experimentation. Therefore, I bless the day that I was able to listen to young Mr. Aaron the night before last and to Professor Sachar this evening.

If there is one thing I can say to you tonight, friends, in connection with the subject which has been discussed this evening, it is this: (I think my young friend Dr. Gamoran pointed it out very forcibly.) We all know that there are problems in Jewish life. We are not unmindful of them. The home problem, the synagogue problem, the school problem. But all of these problems could be solved if we had in this land a small band—we don't need the hundreds of thousands and the millions; our strength never lay in numbers—of consecrated Jewish laymen who would make it the chief concern of their lives to think through and wrestle with the problems of Judaism, not three days in two years but daily. These problems would then be solved.

I have always believed that our strength lay in a small aristocracy of spirits, not in the masses. I said last Sunday in my pulpit that it is my firm conviction that should there ever be a momentous crisis in Jewish life in this land, a real soul-searching crisis, that we would probably lose the masses. They will not stand the strain. They are now unable to withstand the corrosive influences which are eating away at the heart of their Jewish loyalty.

Our strength lies in the few consecrated Jewish men and women. It is to them that I would appeal to return to their communities and set about affirmatively and aggressively to express in acts and institutions those ideas which we've expressed here in the last three days. Much has been said about the Jewish home having lost its old spirit of piety and sanctity and beauty. The Jewish home can be reclaimed but you have to reclaim it. You laymen and you laywomen must do it. There is no one else to do it. You must do it first by example and then by precept but you must do it yourselves.

It is stated that our religious schools are inadequate. You agree to it. Yet when your rabbi comes to you and says that two hours a week of instruction, thirty weeks a year, are utterly insufficient and that your children should come at least one additional day a week, he meets with the most startling resistance from you laymen and laywomen. It has been said that we ought to reintroduce Hebrew into our educational curriculum in order to enrich it and to give it color. Yet when the rabbis propose this to the laymen they encounter the most stubborn resistance.

SUPPORTING THE PULPIT

It has been charged that the pulpit is not spiritual enough and yet when the rabbi does honestly attempt to preach from the pulpit the word of God without sensationalism and without tricks, the Jewish layman and laywoman do not respond except in very, very rare instances. I have known splendid men in the ministry whose hearts were broken because their spiritual message which welled up from the very mainsprings of their lives were flouted by the indifference of people who wanted shows and vaudevilles and entertainments in the synagogue, who thought that the supreme triumph

of the synagogue was to see a packed auditorium of curiosity seekers instead of a group even if a small group, of prayerful souls who came to pour out their hearts to the living God.

I ask, friends, how are you going to exalt and make effective the message of the synagogue if you do not give your religious leaders the opportunity and the time for meditation and for study? You build magnificent houses of worship which require tremendous sums of money for their maintenance, which in turn require vast memberships, which in turn require of the rabbi to devote so much of his time to the mechanics of administration, the actual running of a business, and then you want your rabbi to be a student, to be profound in this thought and perfect in his literary expression, to be in touch with the latest ideas and the finest developments of the human mind.

RABBI AND PASTOR

Dr. Frankel appealed to the rabbi to be the pastor. That is beautiful. But how can one man be a pastor to a congregation of a thousand or fifteen hundred families, a community, in fact, of seven thousand or eight thousand souls? There is something in the physical organization of Liberal Judaism in America which makes it impossible for the rabbi to be either a pastor or a thinker. Here is a problem you ought to wrestle with. We rabbis confess our absolute helplessness in the face of such a situation.

I was very much concerned with what Professor Sachar said about the Jewish students in the universities. I believe that they can be reached—not all of them. It is futile to imagine that Judaism can reach every man or that it can reach every student or that it can reach every student during his student years. Many of these students go through a period of readjustment where religion doesn't count; again, the years between sixteen and twenty-one are not the religious years par excellence in the life of a human being. I did not know how to pray when I was seventeen or eighteen. I knew how to pray when I was eleven or twelve but during the succeeding years of complete physical and psychic readjustment I lost the gift of prayer. I did not understand the profoundness of prayer even during my early years in the ministry. It has returned to me. It is my closer contact with life and the revealing experiences of my increasing years which have brought back to me the gift of prayer.

THE PRAYER BOOK

The mere modification of the prayer book will not solve the problem of religionizing our youth. I am in hearty agreement with the thought that the prayer book ought not to contain any ideas which are intellectually repellent to the modern Jew. When we shall come to the revision of the prayer book in a year or two those few passages, I am sure, will be deleted. If you think, however, that a prayer book entirely acceptable to the rational mind will bring the youth crowding to our services, you are mistaken. There are some young people, let us hope many young people, on the campuses of our universities whom we can reach and it is there that I would place the best men of our Jewish ministry and of our Jewish laity who would offer themselves for that service, for it is there that we must discover the "saving remnant," the chosen aristocrats of the spirit who will carry on the meaning and mission of our life through the world.

THE LAYMAN AND JUDAISM

I am afraid, friends, that I have wandered far afield and that I have spoken too long. I thought as I listened to the three symposiums that if we could condense all that was said, we would find their complete condensation and expression in those three things which Dr. Frankel mentioned the first evening—the home, the school, the synagogue. Rebuild the Jewish home! The acts of rebuilding are seemingly very prosaic. The rebuilding of the Jewish home consists of items, each one in itself not very significant but all in their cumulative effect tremendously significant. You can rebuild your Jewish home by reintroducing periodic prayer. Pray and your children will pray with you. You can rebuild the Jewish home by reintroducing those beautiful symbols and ceremonies hallowed by centuries of gracious memories. What difference does it make if there are 10,000 homes in your community which do not do it. You be among the aristocrats of the Jewish spirit who will foster these things because you love them. Others may, perhaps, kindle their light by your light.

Go back to your communities and insist that a larger proportion of your congregational budget be spent on your schools. Build up normal schools for the training of teachers. Pay your teachers well so that you may expect from them a definite standard of competence and efficiency. Give the religious schools more time. You cannot transmit a heritage of 3,000 years, a literature, a faith, a mode of living, a racial totality in fifty or sixty hours a year.

Go back to your communities and insist that your synagogues shall be places of worship and not places of entertainment, places of worship where the Shekinah dwells and not secular lecture halls. Demand of your ministers that they preach the word of God as Israel understood the word of God: ask that they preach the timeless things instead of the timely things. You will thus be making a real advance towards the solution of these perplexing and serious problems which confront us today.

Baccalaureate Address

June 12th, 1927

The Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, DD.
U. C. 1915

University of Cincinnati



Compliments of
The University Branch, Y. M. C. A.

...Foreword...

The Class of 1927 is to be the first to hear a Baccalaureate address in the Stadium. Led by the band, the class, in cap and gown, files down the path on the Sunday morning in June to take its place in the Stadium before a platform raised on the open field. Hot it is and the baccalaureate is a formality.

But then—the heat is imperceptible, the formality is forgotten, all attention is fastened upon a forceful young man, who is speaking from the platform so effectually, so revealingly, so clearly that the audience seems rendered dumb. He is telling of the double purpose of education—of factual acquisitions and cultural attainments. He is demonstrating the double end of the good life in unselfish service and unfearing adventure. He is relating education to the good life.

Now, it is over. All too soon, it seems. The Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, U. C. 1915, will live indellibly in the minds of his hearers. The pensive expression on the faces of the members of the class as they file out is witness and pledge of the will to carry out the charge of an eminent alumnus and man.

Let us hope that this booklet will serve to revive frequently for each of us in the Class of 1927 that scene—the dynamic Rabbi Silver, and the inspiration of his words as encouragement for us in our efforts to have a life that is full, and meaningful, to have a life that is not traitor to our higher potentialities.

FRED D. BERGER, U. C. '27,

President of the

Student Body, 1926-27.

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Education and the Good Life

Baccalaureate Address delivered at the University of Cincinnati, Sunday, June 12, 1927, by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland.

It is clear that education has a two-fold function to perform in the life of man, and therefore, in the life of society: the one is utility and the other is culture. Education must enable a man to become more efficient, to achieve with increasing facility the legitimate goals of his life; and it must also humanize him.

A truly intelligent education will first of all cultivate in us, as part of our necessary mental equipment, the power of concentration. One of the supreme achievements of the human mind is intensive thinking—that act of will which focuses our entire mental apparatus upon one given problem and holds it there until that problem is solved. The process of disciplining the mind for sustained and persistent speculation is infinitely more important than the accumulation of what we call knowledge, or the mechanics of retaining that knowledge which we call memory.

Education must also train us for quick, resolute and effective thinking. To think is the hardest thing in the world—to think hard, to think incisively and to think for ourselves. We are prone to choose the wandering way of mental vagaries, which is effortless, rather than the hard, unbending road of regulated thought which brings weariness and brain-fag. Again, our mental life is being constantly invaded by legions of half-truths, preversions of truth, prejudices and propaganda. Even our authentic channels of information, the press, the class-room, the platform and the pulpit, in many instances, do not give us objective and unbiased truth. To save man from the morass of the propaganda-style of mind is one of the chief aims of education. Education must enable us to sift and weigh evidence, to judge critically, to discern the true from the false, the real from the unreal, the fact from the fiction. The modern man is distinguished from the ancient, the medieval man in that he possesses, not a better mind but a better set of scientific tools for ascertaining truths and for gauging reality. It is in the constant employment of the scientific method in all of our thinking that we are truly modern.

And lastly, education must stimulate our creative imagination. It is from the creative imagination that the element of originality—the new note and quality in life—springs. Whether in science, art, literature or religion, no new paths are blazed without imagination. The new revelations come from those who "can frame out of three sounds, not a fourth sound, but a star".

The first function of education, therefore, is to teach man to think intensively, to think critically, and to think imaginatively; to endow his mental life as far as possible with the power of concentration, with canons of judgment and with the urge to adventure in the undiscovered continents of truth. But this is not the whole of education. Education for efficiency is only one-half of education. Education which stops with efficiency may prove the greatest menace to man and to society. The most dangerous criminal in the world may be the man who is plentifully endowed with the gifts of concentration, reason and imagination, but with no morals. Perhaps the most dangerous epochs in civilization are those in which the mind of the race has outdistanced its spirit, in which the increased power of the race, made available through new discoveries and inventions, is not harnessed and guided by an equally increased ethical purpose and by higher consecrations.

Intelligence is not enough. Intelligence plus character—that is the goal of true education. To integrate human life around central, focusing ideals, and to supply the motive power as well as the technique for attaining these ideals—that is the highest effort of education. The complete education gives us not only power of concentration, but worthy objectives upon which to concentrate, not only a critical faculty for precise judgment, but also profound sympathies with which to temper the asperity of our judgments; not only a quickened imagination, but also an enkindling enthusiasm for the objects of our imagination. It is not enough to know truth. We must love truth and sacrifice for it. It is not enough to be quick of perception. We must be quick to respond to the appeal of human loyalties. Our lives need much more than a precise, eager and powerful intellect. They need not only knowledge which is power, but wisdom which is control. They need not only truth which is light, but goodness which is warmth. They need love and loyalties and the lift of aspirations. They need charm and dignity and a splendid restraint. They need quietness and peace and kindly human contacts. The broad education will, therefore, transmit to us not only the accumulated knowledge of the race, but also the accumulated experiences of social living. It will translate truth for us into a way of life. It will educate us for the good life.

There are two qualities, I take it, which distinguish the good life—the qualities of service and of adventure.

Goodness finds its objectives not in ourselves but in others. It is only as we widen the circle of our lives to include the lives of others that we develop into spiritual maturity and taste of the good life. The full and free unfoldment of personality, which is life's chief goal, is impossible without, as it were, a transmigration of souls, without projecting our lives into the lives of others, without linking up our destiny with the destiny of the advancing life of the whole of mankind.

No man can experience the majesty of the good life who isolates his destiny. It is in the very arena of life, in the very thick of the affray, battling for the sanctities of human life, that one is privileged to taste the intoxication of the good life.

You, my friends, are entering a world "which is Rome and London and not a fool's paradise" . . . Conditions of palpable and vast wrong persist throughout the world, which thwart the rich promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat and fill the habitation of men with sorrow. Untold millions are still starved by poverty and mentally and physically drained by exploitation. Millions of God's children, in all parts of the world, are being broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood. Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of full justice and opportunity prevail which make possible the free, untrammelled evolution of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's children according to the measure of their capacities. It is in this world, still so sadly marred by poverty, and ignorance, and hate, wherein men live and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness, it is in this communion of saints and sinners which we call Humanity, that you must look for the opportunities of the good life, and you will find them.

The other quality which distinguishes the good life is the quality of adventure. Goodness seeks its major victories not in the present, but in the future. "My Kingdom is not of this world". . . The Kingdom is fashioned out of a grace and loveliness still unborn. The good life is characterized by a prophetic rhythm. It hungers after the new heavens and the new earth. The whole story of human progress is simply a catalogue of the new truth, the new insight, the new qualities which the adventurous spirits of the new race from time to time added to the social assets. The entire capital stock of civilization is made up of these single revelational acts of individuals which had never been done before.

Yesterday our nation paid unbounded tribute to an intrepid spirit who dared to do something which had never been done before. A blazing comet swooping across the face of the skies could not have given us a greater thrill than that lone aviator, who three weeks ago, spanned two continents in one magnificent flight of 3600 miles over land and sea. The world was stirred to its very depths and it poured out its ecstasy in one turbulent stream of adulation which has continued to this day. What was it that so enraptured the world? Colonel Lindbergh did something which had not been done since the beginning of time! . . . He blazed a new trail, thereby impelling mankind another parasang along its immemorial anabasis. Others will excel the record of his achievement. In fact it has already been excelled. But none can excel the quality of his achievement—the high courage, the superb daring, the winged spirit of adventure.

Think of the marvelous transformations which would be achieved if that same spirit of courage and adventure could be let loose in our political life, in our economic life, in our social life or in our religious life. How often is progress in these realms thwarted by the counsel of the so-called practical and cautious, by the ancient voices prophesying doom to all attempts at change and experimentation.

Those who would destroy war utterly, and would disarm the nations of the world are confronted with the records of the past, and with all show of wisdom and authority, are informed that it could not be done—because it never was done before.

Those who would reorganize our economic life after a higher pattern of social justice are admonished not to attempt such revolutionary innovations—because, they had never been attempted before—or, if attempted, had failed.

Those who would scrap all the fetishes which go by the name of religion and would cleanse the temple of the human spirit of all the crumbling altars and the broken vessels which have long served their day, are greeted with fierce anger and denunciation.

In fact in all other realms of human life we deprecate that very spirit of quest and adventure which we acclaim in the material realm. We crucify our prophets! We persecute them that seek the Kingdom! . . .

But, friends, if you wish to share in the good life which is the portion of all the favored children of God, you must do just that. Throughout your days you must seek the new heavens and the new earth. You must reach up for the seemingly unattainable—for "the light that never was, on sea or land; the consecration and the poet's dream."

Your elders will counsel caution. They will quote proverbs and ancient laws. They will indicate the broad highway of the traditional and the commonplace. They will beguile you with the prizes which await those who are docile and comply with the usages and customs and the ideas of the world. Following their advice, you will find yourselves at the end of your life's journey, probably comfortable, possibly prosperous, but stunted and bored and pathetic, with a sense, somehow, of having been betrayed, of having been denied life's richest prizes, of having missed the real splendor and zest and romance of life.

In urging upon you the quest of the new, I would at the same time warn you against confounding the new with the novel. A man putting on a new garment does not by that token become a new man, and an age putting on new manners does not become a new age. Authentic newness in a man or in an age is inward spiritual renewal, new emphases, new sets of values, higher aspirations and higher interests.

Every age has its novelty seekers and its spasmodic hankering after the bizarre and the flamboyant. Every epoch has its false glitter and its cheap and easy cleverness. The young men and women of almost

every age, except the excessively repressed ones, have sought after the sharp relish of the novel and the unconventional, whether in clothes or manners or amusements. Our own age is especially addicted to this idolatry of the novel. Our young people would break with the conventions and restraints of the past and plunge into what they call the New Life. But this new life is, after all, no new life at all, but an acceleration of the old rhythm—a swifter scansion of an hackneyed melody. The irreverences and the irresponsibilities of our day are no whit different from the stale bravadoes of every generation since the beginning of time—the same capers and the same totems. There is nothing new in novelty! . . .

The New Life is not a new excitement, but a new exultation—not a stimulant, but a satisfaction. We renew ourselves, not by indulging our appetites, but by improving our tastes. As we acquire keener perceptions, finer discriminations, sounder judgments, newer purposes, deeper loyalties, do we gain in newness and freshness and freedom.

Life should be an endless process of self-renewal, of spiritual growth and augmentation. Our business or profession should not be so mechanical as to restrict our development and confine us to repetition and monotony. We should, of course, attempt to advance to the very limits of our vocation, explore its every byway, marshal into play every talent we possess, but we must continue our self-fulfillment beyond it and outside of it. No occupation, however large its scope, is large enough to enslave our whole personality. Like a jewel radiating through numerous facets, our spirit should adventure along manifold ways.

Above all, we should seek to outstrip ourselves, to outdistance our highest achievements, to grope into the unknown for the new quality and the new purpose which shall antiquate the supreme quality and purpose of the moment. Thus we shall remain young amidst the aging toll of the relentless years.

And the older we grow, the less we shall lament the passing of the years. For our eager pilgrimage to the dwelling place of light will continue along the climbing highways of aspirations, undeterred by the weighted years, and upon our lips shall resound the sweet Song of Ascent, until we enter at last the resplendent fields of Eternal Renewal upon the Pilgrimage Everlasting.

LEISURE AND THE CHURCH¹

THE Church is interested in leisure because it knows that no culture, no civilization, no spiritual religion, is possible without leisure. A farming community, for example, which is compelled to wrestle continually with an ungenerous soil and spend all its energy upon that one task, will never produce a high type of culture or civilization or a spiritual religion. The same is true of an industrial community. For culture requires leisure. Civilization requires time for mental adventure in undiscovered continents of glory. And a truly spiritual religion requires time for meditation, for the calm contemplation of life's profundities. The kingdom does not come with haste.

Leisure may destroy society, even as it may save it. Leisure makes possible idleness and moral indolence, which in turn may beget vice and corruption. For industry, by itself, exerts a certain discipline upon men; industry exercises a certain control upon individuals; industry makes necessary a certain number of laudable virtues which are indispensable in business and also in the larger social life. But leisure does not automatically exercise any such discipline or control. It takes initiative, it takes a definite effort of the will, for a man to make up his mind to use leisure recreatively, purposefully, wisely, rather than using it wastefully and harmfully.

This is an age of specialization. Now, as far as earning a living is concerned, specialization is a tremendous help. As far as earning a life is concerned, specialization is the greatest menace. For a man is more than a job, and life is more than a living. We need, in society today, more of creative amateurs. By amateur I mean a man who pursues an object, not because he is driven to it by an economic urge, not out of necessity, but out of a sheer love for it. Now, the American business man is a professional, completely and perfectly. He is nothing else, in his business. He is keen, alert, energetic, enterprising, full of initiative, full of daring. In his leisure he is a dull,呆板, stodgy, uninteresting individual.

The American business man has one life—and a man should have more than one life and more than one world in which to live. The American business man comes to his home to eat, to sleep. That beautiful art of home-building, that spiritual home, that home that is fashioned out of the delicate strands of associations—companionship and mind and spirit and memory, and associations—that home is becoming an antiquated institution. We haven't the energy to see through this marvelous experiment of home-building. We come home, frazzled and worn, spiritually, mentally, physically exhausted. We go to our clubs, not for recreation, not to recreate ourselves—but to smoke or to play cards or to exchange some trivial banalities over a cloud of smoke.

I recall a friend of mine who started out in life heroically, splendidly equipped, generously endowed by nature with an agile mind, a keen intellect, a sensitive soul. And men prophesied wonderful things for him. He loved books, he loved music, he had a host of friends, his interests were various—he was developing into a well-rounded human being. But early in life he was caught up by that competitive passion which is the dominant key of our national symphony, if you choose. He became obsessed with the idea that he must succeed. And by success he meant material success in his chosen business calling. He determined to apply himself, every inch of him, every ounce of that energy of his, to that one task—to succeed, to rise, to get to the top, to be master, to dominate. He did. He brought all his fine equipment to play upon that one job, and he succeeded. But in the process of getting there, he had no time for his books and his music and his friends. Success is an exacting tyrant. It tolerates no double or manifold allegiance. He lost contact with the world without. He raced through life as if life were a race and the only thing worth while in life was the goal that a man must reach. He didn't have time to pause and look about him and see the world and admire the handiwork of God.

¹ Extracts from an address of Rabbi Abba Hibel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio, at the annual Recreation Congress, 1926.

He didn't have time to live an eternity in every moment, as we can do if so we will. But he raced through life. And he arrived at that pinnacle, that mountain height of success, a triumph—an acclaimed triumph. But no one knew as much as he himself, what a terrible tragedy he had made out of his life. He arrived, a starved, stunted, ingrown personality, emptied of content, a well-tooled, sharpened and seasoned instrument of acquisition—but nothing else. The man in him, the God in him, were dead. He had failed as a man, even as he succeeded as a business man. And he spent the remaining years of his life nursing that health which he had wasted, squandered as a spendthrift. And I knew what darkness was in his soul and what thoughts were passing through his mind.

There is another, a finer and a sweeter way to live, and that is the message I believe which the Church, in its authority, backed by its marvelous tradition of human service, can hold before the eyes of men—a finer and a sweeter way of living. A man should work, of course, and should work hard to establish himself, to provide for himself and for his family. But a man should never permit himself so to consume himself that he will have nothing left of himself for other things in life; should not be victimized by the stupid competitive passion of our day and spend himself in pursuit of aggrandizement of more and more acquisition of those things which will bless neither himself nor his offspring. He will preempt time for himself. He will have leisure hours, and they will be many, for self-cultivation, for self-expression, for self-realization, for meditation. He will have time and energy for creative amateurishness, if you will. And it is creative amateurishness which brings all the romance and the glow and the zest and the splendor of imperishable youth into our lives. It is the things we do because we love to do them, and not because we have to do them, that are the real relish and beauty and lift of our mortal days.

Heretofore, the successful man of wealth dominated and monopolized our reverence and our admiration. Fortunately, things have changed, and consid-

erably. We are becoming more discriminating. But, by and large, it is the man of affairs, the man who achieved things, that can be seen and gaged and measured in terms of shekels, in terms of coins current among the tradesmen. It was that man who was the arbiter of elegance, the authority, the exemplar of youth. In no country in the world is so much reverence paid to mere monetary success as in our land. And in no country is the lot of the man who fails in that one thing so pathetic as in our land. A man may be a wonderfully well-rounded human being, a cultured individual, with fine aptitudes, a mind stored with accumulated wisdom and a soul filled with accumulated goodness—but just because he failed in his business or his profession, he must hover pathetically on the fringes of popular approval.

Yet, Europe is filled with these amateurs, and they are the salt of the earth. They are the substance and the strength of the civilization. They are civilization.

The Church, in its emphasis on spiritual rather than on material qualities, ought to teach men, first, to prepare themselves for the rôle of amateur in life; and, secondly, to revere such men in society. The Church ought to teach us that God created man, not the business man and not the book man and not the professional man, not the jobified man, not the grooved and the routinized man—but God created man capable of a thousand interests and aspirations and yearnings and he breathed into him the spirit of life, the spirit of the unquenchable and aspiring life, the spirit of adventure, the spirit of seeking and searching for new beauty and new goodness in the world.

God places within our souls dreams and yearnings. God sets before us visions. And we can't realize our dreams, and we can't pursue our visions, and we can't set out upon this marvelous pilgrimage, which is human life, unless we have time, unless we quite deliberately and by an act of the will say to ourselves, "So far I shall go in my pursuit of the things of life and no further. Beyond that, I am a free man, a child of God. Beyond that I have a soul and I must give unto it time and energy and interest."



What Is Happening To The American Home Today?

By

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THE TEMPLE,
Cleveland, Ohio.

CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE
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What Is Happening to the American Home Today?

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

FRANKLY I don't know just why I was invited to come here to speak to you today. I am not an expert on child care, child placement or child welfare. I am not professionally engaged in social service. I am, as regards the profession of social service, a layman who has for some time, because of his profession, been deeply interested in all that is taking place in the way of humanitarian progress.

I was deeply moved this morning when I listened to the splendid and appealing presentation of the subject of child welfare by your President as well as by the addresses that were made by others here. Of course, we all realize that this particular kind of service in which you are engaged is one of the most satisfying, one of the most heart-warming services imaginable. There is nothing so sad in the world as a helpless child, and there is no privilege so great in the world as that of making the heart of a helpless child sing with happiness. I venture to say that there is nothing so marvelous in the world as the inexhaustible beauty of a child's soul, and there is no act so noble as that which lets heaven stream into that soul.

When I sat back there and listened to your experts report on their work, I said to myself: What a tremendous responsibility it must be to hold the life of a human being—of a child—in the hollow of your hands; to be intrusted with the sacred responsibility of nurturing a life, shielding it, guarding it, unfolding it; guiding it through the incipient stages of its development and directing its mind through the vague, nebulous realms of childhood. How consecrated you must feel, you who have been privileged to deal with childhood in the way that you have!

There is one thought which I would wish to leave with you this afternoon—a thought which has been sounded by one or two of the men who spoke here this morning—a thought concerning the home. I want to speak a word or two about what has been happening to the American home, because many of the cases of dependence which you are called upon to remedy are the victims of those influences

which have been and are now attacking and undermining the stability of the American home.

In discussing a subject such as this—What is Happening to the American Home Today—one must guard himself against the temptation of generalizing. I anticipate no early liquidation of the American home. I believe that so far as the millions of our homes are concerned, the basic sentiments which build and sustain a home—sentiments of affection, loyalty, fidelity and sacrificial devotion—have not yet been banished. I believe that at heart our homes are sound; and yet it would be a mistake to assume that all is well with the American home, because all is not well. There are factors which are contributing to the undermining of the American home.

Our homes have not yet perfected the strategy necessary to meet the new political, economic and social conditions which have developed in the last few decades. In the first place there is this matter of the industrialization of our life. You know as well as I do that before the so-called Industrial Revolution the home was an economic unit. Everything centered in the home. The father earned his livelihood in the home, assisted by his children, and by his wife. Everything focused in the home. The home was the recreational center; at times it was the educational center. Every member in the household shared a sense of mutual dependence with all the other members of the household. That gave to the home a sense of stability and cohesion, a regimen of conduct and a set of binding traditions.

Then came the machine and the factory. The father was compelled to leave the home to earn his living elsewhere. Often-times the mother too and at times even the children. The sense of economic inter-dependence was weakened. Families moved to congested quarters. The home could no longer offer the same recreational facilities which it did of old. Human interests instead of gravitating towards the home levitated away from the home. The home lost its power of discipline and control, its authority and its focal position.

With the Industrial Revolution came democracy—political, social, economic. It invaded the home and the family as well. The law of the autocrat was challenged. The individual members of the home began to assert their right to express themselves in matters affecting their destiny. Heretofore the father was the master of the household and only insofar as love and affection restrained him, his sway was absolute and other members of the household were subjected

to his autocratic will. Came the democratic impulse and the members of the household began to demand their own rights and liberties. It is well that it was so; but just as in political democracy, men and women have not yet adjusted themselves to the full implications of democracy—that right brings with it duty and obligation—so in the home the sense of freedom has not yet developed the compensating sense of mutual responsibility, the obligation to contribute to the success of the home, to make those sacrifices and compromises which are indispensable to the maintenance of the integrity of the home.

There is still a third factor—wealth. In the days of Abraham Lincoln there were but three millionaires in the United States. In 1897 there were 3,700 and in 1919, on the basis of income tax returns, there were 42,000 millionaires in the United States. Proportionately the wealth of the rest of the people has also increased. Now there is nothing vicious in wealth and there is nothing virtuous in poverty, but wealth unless it is properly used, unless it is morally employed, leads inevitably, as it has led from the beginning of time, to degradation, to decadence and moral disaster. Babylon collapsed not because it was poor but because it was excessively rich, because its moral stamina had been undermined by generations of self-indulgence and moral laxity. That was true also of Persia and Greece and Rome.

The United States is becoming excessively wealthy—*excessively wealthy*—and unless we can educate our people in the proper uses of wealth and train the coming generations in the proper employment of leisure; unless we can supplement luxury with a sense of self-restraint and self-discipline, we are doomed to go the way of the spiritually exhausted peoples of antiquity.

I anticipate no such eventuality. I believe that the fundamental common sense of the American people is bound to express itself long before the crisis arrives. But there is no doubt in my mind but that wealth is undermining thousands of homes in the United States, thereby victimizing childhood and youth.

And lastly there is the other factor which has contributed to the weakening of the home—the neo-paganism which has swept over our country and all other countries as a result of the last war. War is the enemy of all morality; it is particularly the enemy of the home. When you take millions of men out of their natural environments,

where the restraints of public opinion, traditions and home environment are operative and transplant them from their normal environments to distant parts and set them in an atmosphere of moral stress and excitation you are making immorality almost inevitable. The psychology of war is the psychology of hedonism. Eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we may die! And that applies not only to the fighting men at the front but to those that remain behind. The signing of a treaty of peace does not exorcise that psychology. It remains. And what we see about us today of the cheapening and the vulgarization of life, of license and garishness and looseness, is simply the backwash of the saturnalia of the war.

I have heard a great deal said in the last ~~two or three~~ years about the revolt of youth. I am aware of no such revolt. A revolt means an aspiration, a moral upthrust to a higher level—a moral dissatisfaction with all that which keeps human beings from their divine patrimony, and human personalities from their complete fulfillment. That is a moral revolt. But the hankering after license and greater self-indulgence, looseness in speech and manner and conduct—that may be revolting, but it is not a revolt. What we hear today of the demands for greater freedom of conduct, easier divorces, companionate marriages, free love, the right to one's happiness, are not the progressive demands of progressive minds. They are the atavistic hankerings after conditions of society, with which civilization experimented centuries ago, which mankind tried and found wanting and discarded. The only right that a man has is the right to do right!

I remember that a few decades ago it was popular to speak of the Survival of the Fittest. All Christian and Jewish morality which commanded the care of the weak, the protection of the poor and the handicapped in life, was held to be false. The new scientific idea was to crush the weak, to weed them out in order to make room for the strong and the powerful—for the superman—the Blond Beast—as Nietzsche said. And the people who always confuse that which is novel with that which is really new hailed this pronouncement of Nietzsche and his disciples as a new revelation. Yet anyone who possessed the historical perspective knew that mankind had in the past experimented with this self-same doctrine of the superman, and found it wanting. Sparta did it. And yet Sparta could not be said to have produced an enviably high civilization, or to have paved a new highway of progress for mankind.

I venture to say that the American people will not long permit itself to be deluded by the shams and vagaries which strut about in its midst under the guise of a pseudo-intellectualism. Today it is slightly amused by the boldness and the novelty of it all. Before long it will become thoroughly disgusted and a reaction will set in as surely as the Puritan reaction followed the undisciplined Elizabethan era. The traditions of the American people are Christian and Hebraic, not pagan; and its character has been moulded by generations of clean living and clean thinking. This basic soundness is bound to assert itself. It will rise in defence of the one institution whose spiritual integrity must be preserved—the home.

Thus the American people will continue to insist that marriage is not an arrangement of convenience between people, nor even an institution designed for the sole purpose of propagating the race. Marriage is a supreme ethical experience, the most critical and decisive in human life. It is the most challenging opportunity for spiritual self-completion on the part of men and women. It must therefore not be subjected to the attacks of temporary whims and moods. Men and women must be trained to regard the conflicts incidental to an adjustment of personalities within the marriage tie as the very stepping-stones upon which they must rise to the higher levels. Quite regardless therefore of all the shifting notions which beset it today—notions which one day may bring and another will discard—the American people will continue to build the moral foundations of its life upon the solid rock of marriage as a sacred institution. The integrity of the family, rather than the chance happiness of the individual member thereof, will continue to be the primary concern of American society.

The American people will continue to conceive of the role of the father in the home as more than that of a provider. His is the role of the high priest, whose office is as exalted as the office of the High Priest who officiated in the Holy of Holies. The father must be the counsellor and the teacher, the guide and the friend, the object of adoration and emulation within the home. And the function of the mother in the home must be more than that of administrator. She must be the high priestess, officiating at the altars of mankind. Our Sacred Writ speaks of "*the Torah of your mother*"—the spiritual law of mothers. The lips of the mother should impart the pro-

foundest truths of conduct and the holiest moods of life to the developing soul of childhood.

And it will continue to think of the home as more than a physical plot bounded by four walls. The home is a spiritual entity. It is built out of devotions and companionship and happy experiences and tender memories. The home is built out of imagination and love and beauty—out of things acquired not by money but by soul-effort and heart-sacrifices. It will be a sad day in the life of the American people when our homes become completely secularized. Across the portals of our homes must forever remain inscribed in letters of living flame, "Verily this is the house of God and this is the gate of Heaven."

When my ancestors returned from their places of worship on the Sabbath eve and entered their humble homes—homes which were poor and unadorned and hidden away in the dark ghetto lanes of the old world, they were still able to say "enter into our homes with us ye Angels of Mercy." They were able to invite the Angels of God to come into their dwelling places; for the home was their Sanctuary and the table their altar and every act performed therein was performed as if in the living presence of Almighty God.

If American civilization is to survive the forces which are attacking it today in solid phalanxes, if American civilization is to continue its heroic career to its appointed destiny it must by every means at its command safeguard the very citadel and stronghold of its life and spirit—the home.

If, then, friends, you can find time in the midst of your onerous labors in behalf of the children of our nation, to preach the gospel of the spiritual home throughout the length and breadth of this gracious land; if you can urge upon men a return to the elemental decencies and sanctities which once sheltered and graced life in the American home; if you can find time to stress the thought that the home is the sanctuary of piety and reverence and reticence and modesty and self-restraint—(words which one is almost afraid to utter today for fear of being regarded as an anachronism)—you will be performing a tremendous service. Our Nation will then have nothing to fear. It will be able to face its future in confidence and in high hope.

Then there is the ^{study} study of men who are not
stampeded by the fashion of the day—who
in times of trouble rather than the trouble

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The REFLEX

June 1928

THE SYNAGOGUE, THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

BY ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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

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

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

Morality is concerned largely with the relation of man to his fellowmen. By morality I mean more than the minimum rules of conduct which social experience has evolved and declared to be indispensable. I do not refer to the unconscious ethical precipitates of the ages which because of their inevitableness may be said to be a most instinctive. Group life is predicated upon certain habits of conduct on the part of the members of the group which we call moral because they are fundamental. These habits of conduct may be of universal and enduring validity. On the other hand, they may be fundamental only to a given social stage and age and are therefore transitional. Again moral evolution like biologic evolution seems to be following a definite upward curve, guided by definite principles of progress. It is not sporadic or unintelligent or capricious. It is therefore scientifically inaccurate to speak of all morality as mere social custom, which one age accepts and another may reject with impunity. Even in the so-called automatic and customary morality these principles are at work; for such morality is grounded in the nature of man and of his universe. They are his reflexes to

the desperate needs of life. The racial experience and wisdom speak through them. They are customary not in the sense of being superficial but in the sense of having been accepted out of conformity and not as a result of judgment and appraisal.

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

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

Religion is concerned with the relations of man to the Universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to

answer certain questions which men have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society: questions of why and whence and whither,—desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

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

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

Again the religious man will think of life and personality and human relationships in terms of holiness: for God the Supreme Personality, is holy. Holiness is transfigured morality,—morality touched with the ecstasy of absolute perfection. The religious man, in his halting and finite way, will aspire to

imitate this divine perfection: "Be ye holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy." He will not be content with the mere formal observance of the accepted moral code. He will seek to cleanse every fold and crease of his spiritual being. He will go behind acts to motives, and will set new goals for his life's motivations. He will be more than a moral man. He will be a moral pathfinder. Here, again, the boundaries of religion and ethics touch.

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

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

versal brotherhood, which over-leaping all ancient boundaries erected by fear and selfishness, turned swords into plowshares and enmity into fellowship.

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

I am speaking of those religions only in which the ethical motif is paramount. Before religion climbed the plane of moral idealism it was essentially pessimistic. It accepted the inevitableness of all things and proceeded to adjust man, through an increasingly involved and refined rite, to the desperate finalities of existence. There is little joy in primitive religions. The dominant theme is rather one of fear, resignation, stress, terror,—and an unutterable sadness. The more advanced moral religions of Egypt, Babylon, India, Greece and Rome are also overcast with gloom, and speak of tragedy and death. Even the tempestuous orgies which attended the celebrations of the Gods and Goddesses of fertility carried with them a note of horror and pathos. For the religions of antiquity were naturalistic. They were man's efforts to attune himself to the rhythm of the physical world, to understand it, to control it, to protect himself against it. The physical world yields

but little to man's importunities. Its laws hold man as in a vise and they make man to suffer hunger, and pain and bereavement and decay. To the God of the physical world man can be nothing but subservient. It was but yesterday that man discovered a scientific idealism based on an increasing mastery of the physical world. But even now—and for all time to come—man may be beguiled by this sense of power and freedom, but he cannot escape the inescapable—the ring of physical limitations with which life has girded him. Scientific idealism leads at best to a noble and somber stoicism.

It is in the realm of the inner spiritual life and in the shared moral life of the group that man first discovered his freedom and his hope. There man could set definite goals and attain them, or approximate them. There he could vindicate his will and increase his domain. He could project ideals which far outdistanced him and his world,—ideals of justice and love and holiness, a kingdom of moral values,—almost beyond his ken, certainly beyond his ascertained knowledge and acquired experience—and then proceed to realize them. He never fully realized them—but the vivid sensation of progressive realization gave him a joyous sense of victory and vindication. In his inner life he knew himself to be less inhibited, less frustrated, more the master and the lawgiver. To the God of the moral world man is a co-worker, "a little lower than the angels." Hence those religions which were early transformed from the naturalistic to the moral unmistakably take on a brighter hue. The song comes readily to the lips of those faithful ones whose religion is one of doing justly and loving mercy and walking uprightly with God! It is no accident of style or temperament that the pages of the literature of Israel, of the Old and the New Testaments, ring with song and

exalted hopefulness. A hundred times over and over again an unbounded optimism bursts forth from them: "I will sing of mercy and judgment," "My tongue sings of Thy righteousness," "But the righteous doth sing and rejoice," "Behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart," "It is joy to the just to do judgment," "The Kingdom of God is joy," "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, and peace," "Shout for joy all ye that are upright in heart."

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

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

There are other religions which stress the total and irremediable depravity of this world, and which, therefore, urge men to seek personal salvation in escape and in preparation for an hereafter wherein all wrongs will automatically be righted, and all frustrated ideals gloriously realized. The religion of the European peoples has had a considerable element to this other-worldiness in it. But it is fast abandoning it. The Western mind loves life, its high adven-

ture and its promise, and it hungers after the life more abundant. It refuses to assume that the world is irrevocably lost. Rather it entertains an active faith in the life ascendant, rising through defeat and failure to ultimate harmony and well-being.

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

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

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

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific

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

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

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

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

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not, remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the dispossessed of the earth. Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the creations or wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees. It must demand the application of their best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them

with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' keepers," and drive them on to ever new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which Man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

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

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

Above all the church must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncom-

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

Religion has not always been faithful to its informing purpose. The church has often functioned as an ecclesiastic gonfalonier for despotism and imperialism. The church never led a revolution, except where its prestige and aggrandizement were at stake. It waged wars for Caesar and Pope, never for God. Peoples struggling for freedom almost always found the church allied with their enemies and oppressors. In the last war church and synagogue hired themselves out to the state as trumpeteers and apologists; and their choicest spirits stood in the midst of a crumbling world shaken by the pentecostal wail of perishing peoples helpless, silent and confused.

When the first great impulse which creates a religion embodies itself in an institution, it loses much of its daring and courage. All religions at the first moment of their revelation, when they leap hot and frenzied from the soul of some God-intoxicated seer, are purging fires, consuming flames. They speak

in thunder and sweep life with a "besom of destruction." They possess the dynamics of prophecy. They are "set over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build anew and to plant." The world stands aghast and frightened. It turns upon the prophets of the new revelation and crucifies them, only to kneel a moment later in adoration and worship them.

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

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

The church, therefore, freighted down with organization, must constantly war against itself to save its soul. The church must protect itself against the downward drag of institutionalism, and the paralysis of will which results from over-organization and prosperity. The church triumphant often spells the faith defeated. It is not so difficult after all to be a voice crying

in the wilderness. It is far more difficult to be a voice—clear and courageous—crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a Temple or a Cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the "via dolorosa"—the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thought-

ful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere; and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant.

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

FABRIC

'Tis not for me to question
The color of the thread—
(I would choose blue and purple;
I would choose gold and red.)

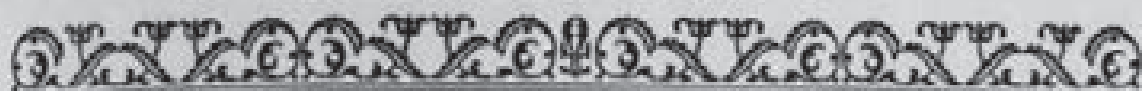
'T is mine to weave a fabric
From skeins placed on the loom,
E'en though the threads be murky
As shadows in a room.

How stilted seems the pattern!
The colors dull and cold;
(I would make life a garment
With shimmers in each fold!)

But though my soul may hunger
To trace a filigree,
'T is mine to weave the pattern
The Master sets for me.

Then in and out and over
The solemn colors blend.
(Who knows but sunset colors
May yet enrich the end!)

FLORENCE HARTMAN TOWNSEND



THE ONE AND THE MANY

by

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ONE of the major problems of philosophy throughout its history has been the problem of the one and the many—how to harmonize the diversity of physical phenomena with the unity of a creative purpose, how to ground the manyfoldness of the world in a unifying concept.

This problem of philosophy has been carried over into the field of sociology and to this day one of the major problems of society is how to adjust the one to the many; how to insure the fullest expression of the individual's capacity without destroying society; how to save man from group tyranny whilst preserving the heritage and the continuity of the group. This same problem obtrudes itself into the realm of racial and national relationships. Can a way be found which will enable peoples to enjoy self-determination and fulfillment, without at the same time disorganizing the collocated life of the human race as a whole.

In primitive society the tribe was monolithic. Its solidarity was paramount and imperative. The individual was of little moment. He was absorbed. He borrowed his ideology from his tribe. His actions were rigidly regulated by its code and taboos. His personal habits and customs were the habits and customs of his tribe. The deity which he worshipped was the tribal deity. The individual, however, was sheltered both physically and mentally in this world of group domination. The strong cohesion of the tribe was made possible by a profound sense of mutual responsibility. The growth of the individual, however, was stunted. There was little room in this compact world of mass

structure and corporate action for the individualist, the rebel and the careerist. Beyond the boundaries of his tribal home even his Gods dared not venture.

Life moved on. The despotism of the organized group was slowly attenuated. Increased knowledge, economic competence and security encouraged the individual to challenge the autocracy of the organized social unit. He had discovered his own private life. Within him he had come upon a world distinct in many ways from the world about him. He had been swept en-joined through life by the vast tides of mass traditions. He now was aware of main-springs within himself—of personal sources of judgment and sanction.

Within the last half of a millenium three great movements in European civilization accentuated the primacy of the individual as against the group, the state, and the church. The first movement was the Renaissance. The second was the Protestant Reformation. The third was the French Revolution. In all these three movements of thought man's rights emerged triumphant, whether it was the intellectual claim of man to freedom, or the religious claim of man to spiritual autonomy, or the political claim of man to political sovereignty.

This new flowering of freedom aggravated the problem of the one and the many. It led to conflict—unrestrained individualism on the one hand and traditional group solidarity on the other.

In our day it has become necessary to emphasize anew the cooperative quality of human existence. Individualism has overreached itself to the extent that education has become aware of the imperative need to stress anew the fact that the highest life is made possible only through progressive community life, that no man can grow through his own resources solely, and that it takes the best in our neighbor to bring out the best in us.

The same swift development in individualization has within the last century transpired in the case of nations as well. The ancient political philosophy of territorial imperialism has given way to the philosophy of nationalism. Nations are clamoring

for self-determination. The last war, we were told, was fought for the right of self-determination for all peoples.

This over-emphasis of national independence and self-sufficiency has also led to conflict and in many instances to a decadent type of patriotism. It has now become necessary to emphasize national inter-dependence—to stress the simple truth that a nation like an individual can realize its highest destiny only through international contacts and cooperation.

And religion, too, has travelled the same road from the one to the many, from uniformity to diversity. The dogma of one religion for all within a given tribe or state or race or continent has slowly yielded to the principle of religious freedom and the privilege of non-conformity. Religious authority is now sought for not in the mass concepts of the past—tradition, nor in the mass organization—the church, but in the voluntary sanctions of the human spirit—in man.

The problem of the one and the many is seemingly a basic problem in human life.

What then is the task of civilization in the midst of this conflict of the one against the many? Clearly the goal of civilization must be not to superimpose an artificial uniformity upon all races, nations and creeds. It must not be to drive all into one common mold, so that they will all emerge looking alike and acting alike and thinking alike. That is retrogression. That is primitive.

The Bible indicates in a legendary but profound manner that the Golden Age of Innocence for mankind ended and the dolorous but heroic progress of civilization began when God confused the speech of the men at the foot of the Tower of Babel and scattered them to the four corners of the earth. For it is only out of the conflict of opposing concepts and ideas, out of the individualization of attitude and outlook and out of the clash and turmoil of contrasted thought that the spark of the new idea is born and the new revelation is vouchsafed to mankind.

The task of civilization then is not to constrict all men into one Procrustean bed of uniformity, but to discover their

common human needs on the basis of the common human denominator and to organize them into voluntary cooperative effort to meet these needs.

I cherish the inviolability of a man's personality and revere the personality of the group, and I would not desecrate these sanctities by some enforced and unnatural fusion. I do not wish to wash out their distinctive and colorful identities, to destroy that uniqueness which time and ancient loyalties have builded. It would prove a distinct loss to civilization.

Men may meet without amalgamation. Men may unite without admixture. On the plane of common human aspirations all men may meet without sacrificing their characteristic cultures or modes of life.

When I think of the meeting of the East and the West, for example, I do not have in mind the absorption of the one by the other or the super-imposition of Western European cultural, political or religious hegemony over the peoples of the East. I entertain the hope that the peoples of these two worlds, historically and geographically fashioned so differently, may discover in their common and vital human needs a basis for cooperation and that through the free exchange of their best thoughts they may learn how to satisfy these needs.

When, for example, the man from India will realize that his greatest need is the conquest of disease and the man from Sweden or Norway or Germany will realize that his is the self-same need, and when the best minds of these countries will meet to pool their intellectual resources and their experiences and together proceed to wrestle with this self-same challenging problem, they will then have truly met and a strong bond of unity will have been forged between them. They may continue to retain each his historic integrity, his intrinsic self, his speech, his customs and his manners, but on one terrace of coparcenary interests they will have met and a spiritual covenant will have been established between them.

Or, for example, when the man from Russia will realize that his greatest need is the stamping out of illiteracy, super-

stition and ignorance and the man from South America or Africa will realize that he, too, shares the same need, and these peoples, separated by continents and so differently shaped by destiny, will get together upon this one common platform in mutual helpfulness and stimulation, they will have met, truly, in the only true way in which peoples may meet.

Thus when Jew and Christian, Muhammadan and Buddhist, and men of all faiths, will realize that their source is one—God, and their destiny one—the service of man, and when they will join in fellowship to fulfill their destiny, they will have met, really. The walls of their churches will continue to separate them, but the spirit of their faiths will unite them. Their prayer books will continue to be many; their prayer will be one.

This, I believe, is the task of the twentieth century, perhaps the task of the next ten centuries.

What keeps peoples and religions from meeting? Imperialism!—the archaic notion of the domination of the many over the one.

We know what political imperialism is. I need not dwell upon it. There are other types of imperialism. There is religious imperialism and racial imperialism. These two imperialisms are making it impossible today for peoples and religions to meet in human confraternity.

The religious imperialist looks upon religion not as the supreme adventure of the human soul, the pilgrimage of the unsatisfied and frustrated child of man to the far-off shrine of divinity. He regards religion as a set of fixed concepts touching ultimate realities, revealed at a specific moment to a chosen individual or to a chosen group and entrusted into its charge and keeping. The final and absolute truth is already here, possessed by an hierarchy or sect and expressed in sacred texts. The privileged possessors of divine truth and favor are therefore justified in seeking to impose the perfect truth upon all others, through kindness to be sure, and if necessary, even through compulsion.

As long as religious imperialism endures, religions will not meet. As soon as religious groups realize that they have no

truth that is absolute, final and exclusive, that all faith is longing, all truth a groping and all dogma but temporary resting places for the advancing spirit of man, they will then be prepared to meet.

What is true of religious imperialism is true also of racial imperialism. Pseudo-scientific propaganda for racial imperialism has been widely disseminated in the world during the last decade. It was fostered to cover up the vicious motives of the war. It was a blind for economic imperialism. I happen to be the possessor of blond hair and blue eyes and belong to a Nordic people, therefore, I am the salt of the earth. My race is creative. My race is superior. You have dark hair and brown eyes, you belong to a Mediterranean or Asiatic race, therefore you are inferior. Your race is mongrel. It can never rise to leadership in civilization. Therefore, your race should by right be dominated by the superior race. The doctrine of racial superiority has always been used by the exploiters of mankind. The people in the South used it as an excuse for denying the colored man his elementary human rights and his legitimate opportunities.

There is, of course, no pure race in the world today. Anyone who has even a smattering of history knows that all through the dark centuries following the collapse of the Roman empire, Europe was a veritable stamping ground of peoples, tribes and races, who moved to and fro across its lands in vast migrations, mingled and co-mingled, and mixed their bloods with the indigenous populations, so that today there is not one people in Europe that can rightly claim racial homogeneity.

Again there are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and soul. There are races more favored by circumstance, by environment, by geographic position, by the fertility of the soil or by the treasures underneath the soil.

The vaunted superiority of the peoples of northwestern Europe is of very recent date and is due largely to the shifting of the lanes of commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and to the rich deposits of coal and iron in their mountains.

If these races had possessed superior natural endowments, they would have evolved the first civilization of mankind instead of the last. They would have been civilized before the Chinese were civilized or the Babylonians or the Egyptians or the Greeks or the Romans or the Arabs. Actually they were barbarians when these people were evolving great civilizations and carving highways for human progress.

Furthermore, no race remains permanently superior. No race retains a position of supremacy for more than five or six hundred years. Races are like individual men. The individual has his period of infancy and of adolescence, and then his period of maturity when he is able to give expression to his innate capacities and make his substantial contributions to society. Then inevitably old age sets in and senility. No mind, however brilliant, can resist the weariness and the exhaustion which come with age.

So with the race. Races have their epochs of infancy and early development, and then their short golden age when they fashion out of the genius which is theirs those gifts which become their legacies to mankind. Then inevitably the reaction sets in—intellectual and spiritual exhaustion. The race goes to seed. Five hundred or even a thousand years may elapse before it will experience a new birth, a new ferment and stir. Then the race will forge its way anew to a creative life.

As long as the pseudo-scientific notions of race superiority endure in the world—and they are very powerful today, so powerful that they have been written into the immigration laws of our land—so long will races not meet, and world unity will still remain the fond dream of prophets and seers.

Surely our churches and our synagogues have much more to do in the world today than quarrel over definitions and theologies which are creatures of time and circumstance. Surely in a world which has just witnessed the ghastliest war of all times, organized religion should have recourse to penitence, severe self-appraisal and stock-taking rather than to theologic polemics. Nothing has so revealed to thinking men the pathetic irrelevancy

of organized religion in the modern world as the last war. I say it with sadness in my heart. Nothing has so sharply illustrated the eclipse of the power of organized religion as a determining factor in the deliberations of civilized peoples as this last war. In the midst of a world gone mad with sin and lust and brutality our churches and our synagogues stood absolutely helpless. The voice of the church was seldom raised during those years of frightful moral disasters. Our churches functioned as the lackeys of the State. We were used. We were exploited by those spoilers and marauders who precipitated the appalling catastrophe which destroyed so many of God's beautiful children and brought so much of sorrow and desolation into the habitations of men. We were exploited! We were used! We blessed the flags of battle! We sprinkled holy water upon the bayonets and the cannons!

Surely, if organized religion is to reclaim its place of leadership in the conduct of human affairs it must lead a crusade for the fulfillment of its historic mission—peace. Surely in an age and in a land swamped by crime, by juvenile delinquency, by the tragic evidences of broken homes and lowered standards of private and public morality and in the midst of a rampant materialism the churches have a herculean task to perform. Should they not rather unite to fight these evils, than fight each other?

World unity is not an ideal which can be achieved merely by wishing. It can be achieved only through tireless labor and endless persistence by all lovers of goodness, truth and beauty.

Peace among nations and creeds will not come as a radiant maiden bearing gifts. It will come, as all human ideals have come, as a man of sorrows, spat upon, mocked and denied.

The task is neither easy nor pleasant. Men will misunderstand us. Men will accuse us of lack of patriotism. Men will charge us with treason and disloyalty. All toilers for the new day were damned as traitors. But if this ideal is dear to our hearts, if we are true disciples of Jeremiah or Jesus or Buddha or Confucius or Zoroaster or 'Abdu'l-Bahá, we must be prepared to take on the cross and the crown of leadership.

Liberalism At The Crossroads

ARRA HILLEL SILVER
The Temple, Cleveland

YOU have heard it said that the liberals of America are tired. There is much truth to that statement. Many of them have gone into cautious retirement. Many others have been disillusioned by the manner in which their high hopes were frustrated during the last decade and a half.

Still others have sniffed the rich savor of the flesh-pots of Egypt and have succumbed to their enticements. Others again have been fascinated by what appears to them to be the swift consummation of their ideals through revolution in countries like Russia, and they have accordingly seceded from the ranks of the slow-moving ineffectual liberals and have joined the ranks of the red fraternity. Thus the liberal forces of America, having suffered desertion and discouragement, are not so much tired as demoralized and scattered. This condition also obtains among the liberals in England and in other countries on the Continent.

It would be inaccurate however to say that there is no liberal sentiment in the United States today. There is a very considerable amount of it in all departments of our national life, in politics and economics, in religion, in art, and in literature. But it is unorganized and undirected. It lacks program and leadership. It is certainly not aggressive. At best it rallies around a few liberal magazines, or a few schools of social work, or a few outstanding men noted for their liberal tendencies.

Strangely enough, American liberalism today is most in evidence in the realm of religious thought. There is real ferment here and a real heart-searching. It is next in evidence in our literature, particularly in our novels of social criticism and in the saving remnant of our drama.

In our economic life it is marking time, content to rest upon the truly remarkable gains which were achieved in the quarter of a century preceding the World War, and in the period of the war. In our political life, liberalism is purely negative. It has not even attained to the dignity of a party of protest. It is a sad com-

mentary on the negligible status of political liberalism in America today, that Wall Street felt free to smile contentedly upon the platforms and candidates of both major political parties, and to ignore in complete indifference the very existence of the third minor political party.

But lest we despair, let us bear in mind always that liberalism is rooted in the very life and traditions of our people, and that its present decline is a temporary phase, indicative of a change not of heart but of circumstances. The world without has changed, and not the spirit within; but the spirit whether of men or of nations, is always harassed and sorely troubled, and at times diverted from its essential channel by any radical changes in the world without. It should be borne in mind that liberalism in America is

"War is the enemy of all real freedom. It is the negation of all that liberalism stands for."

"There can be no war without the conscription of thought and opinion. There can be no modern war without the conscription of men and the complete militarization of a people's life."

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—RABBI SILVER

not a recent growth nor a tender and alien shoot. Phases of it were important factors in our early colonial days. Liberalism burst forth in astounding glory in the Revolutionary era when it emblazoned itself in imperishable splendor upon two of the great documents of mankind, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It suffered a setback in the stormy period of reconstruction which followed. It gathered momentum during the decades preceding the Civil War. It was hallowed in the nation's martyrdom during the Civil War. It slumped sadly in the era of continental expansion and exploitation which followed the war. It bestirred itself anew in the nineties, and thereafter for almost three decades it was a motive power in American political life. It gave us leaders of the type of Bryan, Roosevelt and Wilson and LaFollette. It wrote many an advanced measure of legislation upon our state and federal statute books. It bravely led America into the World War, in the hope of extending the empire of freedom to other parts of the world and to peoples less favored. It emerged from the war beaten and betrayed.

For war is the enemy of all real freedom. It is the negation of all that liberalism stands for. There can be no war without the conscription of thought and opinion. There can be no mod-

ern war without the conscription of men and the complete militarization of a people's life. This is said not in criticism of war but simply as a matter of cold incontestable fact.

When the World War ended, the war psychology did not end. And now for ten years the individual has been struggling to get from under the heel of the State, to regain his self-respect, his intellectual autonomy, his decent human attitudes. Liberalism suffered a grave eclipse during these last years. We believe however, that it is now emerging again into the light of a new day.

There are three enemies in modern society against which the untired liberal must be prepared to wage incessant warfare: 1. The Usurping State. 2. The Usurping Class. 3. The Usurping Machine.

The First Foe

One of the major social problems of all time has been how to adjust the one to the many, how to save man from group tyranny whilst preserving the heritage and the continuity of the group. In other words, how to insure the fullest expression of the individual without destroying the necessary political organism—the State.

In primitive society the individual counted for very little. The tribe was monolithic. Its solidarity was paramount. The individual was absorbed. He borrowed his ideology from his tribe. His actions were rigidly regulated by the tribal code and habits. His personal habits and customs were the habits and customs of his tribe. The deity whom he worshipped was the tribal deity. There were decided advantages to this arrangement. The individual was sheltered and protected, and if need be, avenged by his group. He felt secure in belonging to a group which was dominated by a sense of mutual responsibility. The growth of the individual, however, was stunted. There was little room in this compact world of mass structure and corporate action for the individualist, the rebel, the non-conformist. Beyond the boundaries of his tribal home, even his Gods dared not venture.

Life moved on. The despotism of the organized group was slowly attenuated. The individual began to discover his own private life. Within himself he had come upon a world distinct in many ways from the world about him. As against his heritage of mass tradition, he became aware of personal sources of judgment and sanction.

Within the last five hundred years three great movements in European civilization accentuated the primacy of the individual over the group. The first movement was the Renaissance. The second was the Protestant Reformation. The third was the French Revolution. In each of

these three movements of thought, man's claims emerged triumphant, whether it was the intellectual claim of man to freedom, or the religious claim of man to spiritual autonomy, or the political claim of man to political sovereignty.

But man's hard-won victories against the usurping State are not permanently secure. His gains are frequently challenged and endangered. At times they are totally wiped out. The State is always there greedy to encroach upon man's domain, to over-govern him, to enmesh him in laws and regulations, to coerce him into doing things which it thinks are for his good. In periods of emergency, such as war, the State ruthlessly proceeds to take complete charge of a man's life, his possessions and his opinions. All over the world today the State is in the ascendancy.

Now there is nothing sacrosanct about the State. The State should not be confused with society or with humanity. Some political philosophers, especially those who happened to live in times and in places where State consolidation was going on, have sought to cast a halo of mystic sanctity around the concept of the State. It is all metaphysical twaddle. The State is nothing more than the political machinery set up by a people in order that it might live securely and in an orderly fashion. It is administered by human beings, as fallible as all human beings are, who possess either delegated, inherited or usurped power and who exercise that power, sometimes wisely, oftentimes foolishly—never faultlessly. It is folly to idolize the State. The ideal State, it has been truly said, is one "that rules with moderation and serves without meddling." This is the liberal's position. Both socialism, which is proletarian State idolatry and Fascism which is bourgeois State idolatry are, by this definition, reactionary and illiberal. And it is quite consistent with their philosophies that Marx, the theorist of Socialism, and Lenin the pragmatist, hated liberals quite as vindictively as the Czars, and that a Mussolini could pass without any mental wrench from the role of a Socialist agitator to that of spokesman and prophet of Fascismo.

Liberalism today must again wage war upon this formidable foe—the Usurping State.

The Second Foe

The second foe of liberalism is the Usurping Class. In olden days it was the dynasties, the feudal lords, the military cliques, the priestly hierarchies which usurped power over the lives and fortunes of other men. More recently it has been the capitalist class. In Bolsheviki Russia it is now the proletarian class which is playing the old game of usurpation. They all do it, of course, for the benefit of mankind. But man-

kind is seemingly too stupid to realize it; so that they must all resort to the bloody arguments of force, terror and intimidation to persuade mankind that it is all meant for its own good.

The bitter struggles of tomorrow will be economic ones, and they are likely to lead not only to international wars but to civil wars as well,—class against class—the ghastliest of all wars. Some one has said that "the main feature of our time is that the political movement of the world has passed through a political phase where liberalism led, and has passed into an economic phase where socialism leads." I am not sure that this is altogether true; but if true, the prospect is black indeed unless nations pit a full measure of economic liberalism against the rising menace of class struggle and class usurpation. The peace and well-being of society will be secured by the triumph neither of predatory capitalism, nor of predatory communism, but by the triumph of a broad economic liberalism which, while safe-guarding the indispensable requirements of social progress, such as individual enterprise, the stimulus of competition and private property, will yet wipe out those tragic extremes of excessive wealth and excessive poverty which obtain in our midst, will keep the avenues of opportunity open, will lift the burdens of industry from childhood and womanhood, will enable all men who labor to share more generously in the good things of life, and will protect them against the disabilities of sickness, accident, old age and unemployment.

The liberal here will have a hard road to travel. His way must always be the way of groping, experimentation, compromise and moderation—the way of progress. He has no simple and appealing formula—no panacea for all economic ills. His philosophy must always be the unheroic philosophy of the half loaf, as against the extremist's philosophy of the whole or nothing. He will be damned alike by radical and reactionary. Because he dare never be a doctrinaire, he will miss in his life the glow of self-righteousness, and the glamour which surrounds those who believe themselves to be in possession of the absolute truth and the perfect program. He can never relish the sly satisfaction of being contemptuous of his opponents—a favorite pastime for the doctrinaire, and he may

never know, in prospect or in actuality, the unholy joy of crushing and exterminating his adversary—the fanatic's ecstatic reward. But the liberal's way is nevertheless the only way of social salvation.

The Third Foe

The third foe of modern liberalism is the Usurping Machine. The rapid industrialization of society has not only surrounded man with machines but has given the machine terrible power over his physical, intellectual and social life. It is folly to rail at the machine-age and to think that the machine has not brought great blessings to mankind. The machine has given to the working-men of our age a standard of living higher than that possessed by his brothers in toil at any time in human history—shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions of employment. It has removed the curse of serfdom from industry. It is removing the back-breaking drudgery from it. I read where a New York electric company is building for a California power

company a turbine generator which will develop twice the muscle power of all the slaves who lived in the United States before the Civil War. In the long run, too, the machine not only does not rob men of their jobs, but multiplies their job tenfold. The machine has given to all men greater security, greater comfort, greater contacts. It is slowly but surely knitting the world more closely together.

But the machine which standardizes production also comes to standardize the producer. It tends to mechanize man, to absorb him into the process. The machine demands a rigid, machine-like organization of human servitors around it. They must conform to a given pattern, else the machine cannot work smoothly. As a result the thought of men who serve the machine is frequently driven into grooves. They move with the alignment of pistons . . . Men carry over into their social and cultural life this machine discipline—the passion for uniformity and organization. They grow to dislike and to distrust any manifestation of individualism. Thus our human values are becoming machine values, our judgments—mass judgments, and our reactions—mechanical. The ideas of men are becoming stereotyped. Their religion, their poli-

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ties, their amusements, their tastes are becoming all of a kind—drab and monotonous.

Standardization and regimentation so indispensable to modern industry and commerce are nevertheless fatal to liberalism, for the very essence of liberalism is the free and full development of men, each according to his native gifts and capacities, each according to his distinctiveness and uniqueness.

The machine not only standardizes man but frequently exploits him. Man's interests are subordinated to that of production. Ofttimes man is brutally used up by the machine. I read where many industries today refuse to employ men who are over thirty-five or forty years of age. Such men are regarded as too old to keep pace with the high speed and tension of modern industrialism. They are accordingly scrapped, thrown on the human waste-heap.

The machine also calls for a machine-type of education which trains men to become efficient producers but not well-rounded, full-orbed human beings. Men are coming to think primarily of jobs, careers, professions, success, and not of the great adventure of living. The rich sap of human life is being drained to oil the wheels of industry.

But in the eyes of the liberal, man comes first,—the machine last. The profitable production and distribution of commodities is a necessary part of social existence—but only a part. Social life has other requirements. A nation's greatness is not its material wealth. It is the high tone and quality of its moral and cultural life. A nation's real treasures are those which serve as nutriment to the souls of men. Man was meant for more than a job—whether that job pay three or three hundred dollars a day. Man is born to enjoy the fullness of life, to enrich and cultivate his mind, to sensitize his being to beauty, to adventure in the realms of the spirit. Industry must not so completely monopolize his energies and cripple him as to leave him unfit for this fuller life. It must neither standardize him nor consume him. It must not usurp his life.

These three usurpations, State, Class, and Machine, are the dark angels which the pilgrims to the city of God, the liberal spirits of the earth, will have to encounter in the days to come. In a sense they have always been with us. They are immemorial enemies of humankind. They have only assumed new forms. The untired pilgrim will join battle with this three-headed Apollyon, armored in his strong faith in the all-conquering power of reason and righteousness. He will suffer many a sharp defeat and his victories will never be final or complete, but each victory will bring him nearer to the ways of pleasantness and to the paths of peace.

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There is a creed which the untired and undaunted liberals of all time have lived by. It is this:

We believe in Man, in his slow, ascendent progress, in the autonomy of his spirit and in the primacy of his claims over the claims of all forms of human organization.

We believe in freedom—the fullest measure of freedom compatible with the fullest measure of responsibility.

We believe in authority—but only in authority sanctioned by reason and consent.

We believe that the only tools of social progress are education, experimentation and cooperation.

We believe that to be well-governed is not as important as to be self-governed; that values bestowed are not as desirable as values achieved. Hence, we reject all manner of milleniums proffered to us at the spear-point of dictatorship.

We believe that all truth is made manifest through the contact and clash of diverse opinions and that the very motive power of progress is the free exchange of ideas and the exercised privilege of non-conformity.

We believe in tolerance but not in indifference, in enthusiasm but not in fanaticism, in convictions but not in obsessions, in independence but not in isolation, in conflict but not in hate.

in this profound study. If my voice may reach a few public spirited citizens of New Jersey I would ask for these funds to be provided directly so that the particular work mentioned may be given much needed impetus.

In the past year I have presided at our Executive Committee meetings as President, and in my association with the social workers acting in their capacity as research engineers I have had opportunity to measure their resourcefulness.

May I close in commending to you the able and efficient service that has been rendered and ask this Conference to go about its days of intensive study feeling that, while much has been done, there is a great field yet to be discovered and explored. I would also express my confidence that we can give the needed leadership just as it has been given heretofore.

New Jersey Conference of Social
Workers

28th Annual Meeting

Dec 5, 6, 7, 1929

Stacy Trent Hotel, Trenton, N.J.

THE FAITH OF AN UNTIRED LIBERAL

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
The Temple, Cleveland

Liberalism, the subject which I want to discuss with you this evening is, I am afraid, not directly related to the particular objective of your conference or to your particular profession but, philosophically, it is quite vitally related to the basic impulses of your profession. When you come to analyze what we social workers are engaged in, if we think in terms of ultimate, it is just this—the liberalizing of human life, the emancipation of human beings who are shackled by some kind of disability. For ignorance and poverty and sickness are disabilities, and all forms of delinquency are either the cause or result of human disabilities, of human enslavements. And I take it that the real motivating force or inspiration of our work is the hope that through our work a fuller measure of intellectual, moral and physical freedom may come to our fellow human beings.

It would be a mistake to assume that there is no liberal sentiment in the United States today. You wouldn't be here. There is a great deal of liberal sentiment in our country in every department of our national life, in politics, in economics, in religion, in art and in literature. But it is all unorganized and not focused. It lacks program and leadership. Whatever liberals there are, seem to rally today around a few liberal magazines or one or two schools of advanced social research or a few outstanding personalities noted for their liberal tendencies. Liberalism in the United States today is certainly not affirmative or aggressive. It may sound strange to you that liberalism is most in evidence in our country in the realm of religion. In spite of the sporadic outbursts of medievalism and fundamentalism, there is going on in religious circles a real heart searching spiritual ferment. Religious leaders are perturbed and troubled and are earnestly seeking to adjust their religious ideas to the new scientific outlook which has come to the world. And that to my mind bodes well for the future of progressive religious thought in the United States.

Liberalism is next in evidence in the field of our literature, more particularly in our novel of social criticism and in some of our good American drama. In the realm of economics it is marking time, content to rest upon truly remarkable achievements which it won the years immediately preceding, during, and just after the war. But in the realm of politics liberalism is almost entirely a dead loss in this country. It is almost entirely negative. It hasn't even risen to the dignity of the party of protest. When one thinks of the status

of political liberalism in the United States and relates it to what is going on in England today with that vast British Empire in control of Labor, one realizes how utterly negative our political liberalism is in the United States.

But lest we despair, we ought to bear in mind that this thing we call liberalism is grounded in the life and traditions of the American people, that its present decline is an indication, not of a change of heart or temperament on the part of the American people, but the result of a change in the outer circumstances. The world without has changed and not the spirit within.

Liberalism was present in our early Colonial days and burst forth in resplendent glory during our revolutionary era where it succeeded in inscribing itself upon two of the immortal documents of the human race—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It suffered a sharp decline during the period of reconstruction which followed the Revolution. It gained momentum again during the few decades immediately preceding the Civil War. It was sanctified in the national martyrdom of the Civil War. It slumped again during the period of continental expansion which followed the Civil War, but, during the nineties and for almost three decades, liberalism was a potent effective force in the life of the American people. It gave us great liberal leaders of the type of Roosevelt and Wilson and LaFollette. And I make bold to say it was this same spirit of liberalism which led us into the World War in the hope, as we thought then, of extending the boundaries of freedom and emancipation to peoples less favored than we were.

But it emerged from the World War beaten and betrayed, for war is particularly the foe of liberal thought. You can't have war without the conscription of a people's thought and opinion. You can't have war without the drastic regimentation of the people's life. You can't organize a people for corporate effective work, for victory, without suppressing individual thought and individual opinion. When the war was over, the war psychology remained. The individual has been trying to regain his own intellectual and spiritual autonomy, the elemental decencies if you will, of human life.

There are to my mind three enemies which we liberals must be prepared to face in the years to come and for lack of better terms I shall call them the usurping state, the usurping class, and the usurping machine. And I shall try to define exactly what I mean by them.

One of the major problems of all time has been how to adjust the one to the many, how to make possible the freest development of the individual while at the same time conserving the social group.

the integrity of the social organism. In other words, how to make possible the freest and fullest unfoldment of the individual according to his native capacities while at the same time preserving that indispensable political organism which we call the state.

In primitive society the problem was a very simple one because the individual counted for very little. Primitive society was constructed like a monolith; the individual was absorbed. He borrowed his code of conduct, his habits of life, his ideas, his religion from the tribe. There were certain definite advantages to such an arrangement. The individual was spared the necessity frequently of solving for himself many perplexing problems. When he was in doubt he looked to the tradition of his tribe and to the corporate judgment of his group and followed their dictates. The individual felt secure in a world where group responsibility was so strong, but his growth was stunted.

In the course of time the tyranny of the group was attenuated, and the individual began to discover his own private life. He became conscious of personal sources of judgment and sanction quite distinct from the judgments and the sanctions of his group, and began to demand scope for his own private world. During the last five hundred years in Europe three major revolutions took place which further accentuated the triumph of the individual as against the group, of the one against the many. I refer of course to the Renaissance, and to the Protestant Reformation, and to the French Revolution. In each instance, out of each one of these major upheavels man emerged triumphant, man as against the group, the class, the state, the hierarchy. In the case of the Renaissance it was man's claim to intellectual autonomy. In the case of the Protestant Reformation it was man's claim to spiritual autonomy. In the case of the French Revolution it was man's claim to political sovereignty. With each one of these desperately won triumphs the cause of civilization was advanced.

The point that I am trying to make this evening is that these hard won victories of the human race are not permanently secure. Frequently they are challenged and denied and wiped out. The usurping state is always there, ready to encroach upon man's domain, eager to enmesh him in laws and legislation, to tell him what he should do for his own good of course, but constantly to surround him with prohibitions and compulsions of the group. And in periods of emergency such as a war, the state steps in and takes complete possession of a man's life, of his property, of his opinion, of everything. The liberal does not confuse the state with society or with humanity or with nationalism. To the liberal the state is nothing more or less than the political machinery which a people sets up in order that it may live securely and in an orderly fashion, administered by

human beings quite as fallible as all human beings are who exercise power inherited or delegated or usurped, sometimes wisely and sometimes foolishly but never faultlessly. To the liberal the ideal state is the one which rules with moderation and governs without meddling.

From that definition, socialism, which is proletarian state idolatry, and Fascism, which is bourgeois state idolatry, are reactionary and naive and anti-social tendencies which the liberal opposes. It is no accident of history that a man like Karl Marx, the theorist of socialism, and Lenin, the protagonist of socialism, hated the liberal quite as vindictively as the Czars of Russia did and it is no accident of history that a man like Mussolini could pass without any mental wrench from the role of socialist agitator which he once occupied to the role of the prophet and spokesman of Fascism. The usurping state is the first foe, the real foe that every liberal must wage incessant warfare on if mankind's precious heritage of freedom is to be conserved.

I call the second foe the usurping class. In the olden days it was the dynasty, the oligarchy, the aristocracy, the military clique, the priestly hierarchy. It was a class which sought to dominate mankind. More recently it has been the capitalist class. In a country like Russia today it is the proletarian class which is playing this old game of class dictatorship. They all do it, of course, for the benefit of mankind, and yet mankind is seemingly so stupid that they have to resort to the bloody arguments of terror, suppression, to convince mankind that it is all done for its own good.

My friends, the menace of class usurpation is to my mind the most threatening menace confronting civilization today. The wars of tomorrow are not going to be the political wars, but economic wars, and they are likely to be not international wars, but intranational wars, civil wars, class against class, the ghastliest wars of all. If, as the spokesman of Bolshevism claimed, mankind is confronted with the prospect of a universal class struggle, then the prospect for civilization is gloomy indeed unless we are able by wise statesmanship and by vision, expressed in concrete human relationships, to pit against this rising tide of class usurpation a broad policy of economic liberalism. The salvation of mankind depends upon the triumph of a broad policy of economic liberalism which, while safeguarding for the race the indispensable requirements of social living, competition, initiative, private property, will, at the same time, wipe out the glaring inequalities of excessive wealth on the one hand and excessive poverty on the other; will keep the avenues of economic opportunity open for all the toilers of the earth, will lift the burdens of our industrial life from the shoulders of our womanhood and our childhood, will enable everyone who toils honestly to share more equitably in the social goods and will protect everyone who toils against the disabilities of sickness and accident and old age and unemployment.

I know that the liberal here has a hard and a very unpopular road to travel. The economic liberal will be damned alike by the conservative and by the radical. He has no panacea for all economic ills, and no simple cure-all for all the economic diseases of society. His way is the unromantic and the unpoetic way of grouping and experimentation and concession and compromise. His philosophy is naturally the philosophy of the half-loaf rather than the philosophy of all or nothing. He can't be a doctrinaire and therefore he can never have in his life that glow of self-righteousness which belongs to the doctrinaire who knows absolutely he is in possession of the perfect and the absolute truth. He can't be a fanatic and therefore he can't afford to sneer at his adversary. He has to be tolerant and to give and take. The way of human progress is like that old English dance, of which Havelock Ellis speaks in one of his books, which consisted in taking three steps forward and two steps backward, three steps forward and two steps backward, until the dance was done.

This program of economic liberalism is a very unromantic program, but it is the only program which holds out salvation to mankind.

The last foe, the third of these three foes, I call the usurping machine, and that is perhaps a little more difficult to explain. The machine has given us not only the numberless products of the machine which facilitate life, but it has won a tremendous hold over our culture and spiritual life. I am not one of those who rail against the machine age. The machine has been a blessing to mankind. The machine removed the curse of drudgery from labor, and has given the working man a standard of living unknown to the working men of any generation since the beginning of time—shorter hours of work, better conditions of employment, higher wages. In the long run the machine does not deprive men of their jobs, but multiplies jobs for them ten fold. We know that the machine creates jobs for more and more people. The machine is giving us a greater sense of security, of stability, and it is slowly but surely knitting the whole human race more closely together. Every cable that is stretched across the seas, the wireless, the radio, all these numberless inventions are so many steel hands thrown around the human race which is drawing them more closely together.

The machine has not been a curse to mankind, but a blessing. And yet here is the danger and here is where the usurping machine comes in. That same machine which has brought these blessings to us through standardizing production is in danger now of standardizing the producer. The machine in order to function smoothly requires a human organization, an organization of human servants about it, who must work with the precision and alignment of pistons, with a rigid discipline and a uniformity. But the danger is that we tend to carry over from the machine world in which we work into our social world that same passion for discipline and uniformity which the machine demands.

Uniformity, sameness, rigid discipline in our inner life, in our spiritual and cultural life are deadly. And so as a people, because of the machine, we have become extremely intolerant of the man who dares to be different. We suspect and distrust the man who does not follow the mob or the group. The rebel is looked upon as a traitor to the social cause.

If there is anything that liberalism stands for it is just this: the freest and fullest development of every human being according to the native gifts and capacities distinctive which may be within him.

To the liberal, man comes first and the machine last. The profitable production and distribution of commodities are a necessary part of social living, but only a part. The real wealth of a nation is found in the high tone and quality of its moral and intellectual life. The real treasures of a people are those things which serve as nutriment to the soul of man. A man is more than his job whether that job pay him \$3 or \$300 a day. A man was made in the image of God and the image of an infinite unfoldment and development. Man was created to enjoy life, to cultivate his mind so that he might understand truth more accurately and more readily, to sensitize his soul so that he might respond to beauty more directly and spontaneously. Man was created so that he might adventure into undiscovered continents of the human spirit. We must not permit the machine to consume man, to drain him so that he is rendered unfit for this magnificent adventure which we call life.

One of the saddest things that I observe as I come in contact with men, with business men particularly, is to see how after they have reached a period in life, forty, fifty, sixty years of age, when they feel that they have wrested enough from the machine organization for all their needs and their comforts and their security and would like to retire, they have nothing to retire to. They have lived in the machine world, and when they leave it they are like souls lost. They have not builded for themselves during the early years of their lives other worlds in which to live and to have their being, the worlds of the mind, of the soul, of truth seeking, of beauty, of service, of friendship. And they are lost. It seems to me that one of the finest things that we social workers can do is to train them to use creatively the leisure which the machine has made possible. We shall all have on our hands more and more time, which may destroy us, leisure which may enervate or debilitate us, or which will enable us to protect ourselves against the usurpation of the machine, leisure in which to cultivate our minds and our souls, leisure in which to roam in the realm of thought, leisure for friendships, for human contacts and associations. That requires training, a definite system of adult education and that is where we social workers may confer an inestimable service upon our people in the years to come.

These are our three enemies, we who find ourselves in the ranks of the liberals. In a sense these foes have always been here, the immemorial foes of mankind. In waging war upon them we shall never win major victories and we are likely to suffer some very sharp defeats. But every little victory will bring us a step nearer to the ways of pleasantness and to the paths of peace. There is a creed by which the liberals of all times have lived and it is a creed that I should like to give to you.

We believe in man, in his slow ascendent progress, in the autonomy of his spirit and in the primacy of his claims over the claims of all forms of human organization. We believe in freedom, the fullest measure of freedom compatible with the fullest measure of responsibility. We believe in authority but only in the authority which is sanctioned by reason and consent. We believe that the only tools of progress are education, experimentation and cooperation. We believe that to be well governed is not as important as to be self governed and that benefits bestowed are not as helpful as benefits achieved and therefore we reject every millennium which is proffered to us at the spear point of dictatorship. We believe that all truth is made manifest through the clash and conflict of opposing opinion and that at the very heart of civilization is the free exchange of ideas and the exercised privilege of non-conformity.

"The Things Men Live For"

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, D.D., Speaker

I wish I could bring you a message pertinent to your profession, your particular service, but I am not sufficiently at home in your profession to be able to bring you a word of counsel or a word of helpfulness pertinent to your specific activities.

There is one phase of your profession which appeals to me tremendously, one phase of insurance which to me has perhaps more than any other value; this value, that of giving to us a great measure of social stability. I don't know whether you realize how much of balance to our social system the fact that sixty-five million people in the United States are insured, renders. I made the statement at a gathering of insurance men a few years ago that if in 1917 Russia had had ten to fifteen million men insured there would have been no revolution in Russia of the character of the revolution which took place, not in March of '17, but in November.

An insurance policy is an investment which an individual has in the stability, the permanence of the social order. It means that he wants that social order which makes it possible for him through an adequate wage, to insure himself and his family against disabilities and accidents, death and want. It makes that individual feel that he has a share in that social system, that he belongs, that he is in a sense protected by that social system, and all that gives stability to it.

Which brings me to this additional thought—a subject concerning which I have spoken extensively in the last few years, that the principle of insurance ought to be applied, and that not with undue delay, to the entire subject of unemployment. I think the extent of unemployment in our country today is the severest indictment of our entire system. I think it is the greatest challenge, and the greatest menace, to our economic system. An economic system which for no reason, no moral or ethical reason, throws a man out of employment and absolves itself of any responsibility for the man and drives that man at last to the doors of charity, that type of system will not withstand the onslaughts in future years. The struggles of tomorrow, my friends, are going to be the economic struggles



— Rabbi A. H. Silver —

And they might lead to desperate conflicts of class against class. And unless we can build up a broad policy of economic liberalism which while safeguarding for us the indispensable requirements of economic and social progress, the right of private property, competition, initiative, will at the same time safeguard the individual working man against all forms of exploitation, will keep the avenues of economic opportunity fairly open, will lift the burdens of our industrial system from the shoulders of our womanhood and childhood, and will protect a man against the disabilities of sickness and old age and accident and unemployment. Unless we can do that, I believe, that the prospect is quite dark.

We had fifteen hundred riot this week in the City of Cleveland; must we wait until we have fifteen thousand riot for the right to work?

Now unemployment insurance is not a solution of the problem of unemployment, I know full well. But it is a remedy against the tragic consequences of prolonged unemployment. It keeps a man from losing his morale, his self-respect and dignity by keeping him

from the doors of our eleemosynary and philanthropic institutions. It removes the dread of losing the job which hangs over every American working man, and it is—I say it quite frankly—to my mind, a standing rebuke and a disgrace in a land blessed by God with plenty and prosperity, a land in which the number of our millionaires is growing from year to year. It is a rebuke and a disgrace to our civilization in this, the richest country in the world, that three million men and perhaps more (for somehow our governmental agencies see to it that we do not get the facts about the exact number of the unemployed today), that three million men shall be out of work at this time, with no one particularly wrestling constructively with the problem of how to take care of them during their unemployment, and how to avoid or avert the catastrophe in the future.

This isn't really what I was supposed to talk about this noon, but it seems to me that no one who has the public interest at heart can at this day talk to any group of men under any auspices without bringing this subject forcibly to their attention.

The subject that I want to talk to you on briefly this afternoon is: What men live for—the things men live for. I suppose if you were to ask ten people this question, nine of them would say that the thing men live for is to be happy. All men seek happiness. Great schools of thought have tried to teach men how to find this happiness which everyone is seeking.

The Epicurean advises men to find happiness through some form of self-indulgence; to open one's life to the stimuli of the great world around; to permit one's senses to taste of all the good things in the world; "to eat, drink and be merry." That isn't basically the philosophy of Epicurus, but that is what it came to mean—happiness through self-indulgence.

There is the Stoic who counsels people to find happiness through self-control; not to yield to the temptations of the body; not to make one's peace of mind dependent upon outer circumstances over which a man has no control, or dependent upon the opinions of

other people. Nothing that is matter, matters to the Stoic. Man should learn how to transcend pain and sorrow and frustration and disillusionment, and then he will be happy.

There is the Altruist who tells us that the way to find happiness is to stop thinking so much about ourselves and think more about others; to read our lives into the lives of other people; to widen the circle of our interests so as to embrace mankind. In other words to find happiness in selflessness, in unselfishness.

There is the Religionist, who tells us that happiness can be found in other-worldliness. A man really cannot find happiness in this world. This is a vale of tears at best. It is a corridor leading to the eternal bliss in the hereafter. The thing to do is to free one's self of the concerns of this world and prepare one's self, by a life of piety and purity and abstinence, for the world beyond where eternal happiness awaits the true believer.

There have been many other schools with many other charts and guides for men to find happiness. And yet the remarkable thing is that in spite of the multitude of schools and sects and philosophies, there is still so much unhappiness in the world. Presumably there is a large pattern of happiness involved in the very fabric of life. There is a large quandom of pathos and tragedy inherent in the very business of life which no one can escape.

About a year ago, when Thomas Edison was 82 years old someone interviewed him and Thomas Edison gave his philosophy of happiness. Here is a man who has led a full, rich, creative successful, in a sense triumphant life, who has, during his lifetime, had a taste of what time holds in store for him, namely immortality. This is what Thomas Edison said about happiness in life:

"The happiest time in my life was when I was twelve years old. I was just old enough to have a good time in the world, but not old enough to understand any of its troubles. Looking back now across eighty-two years, I can see that relatively, I have been happy. I have had a better chance to be happy than have most people, but I have had plenty of unhappiness too.

"For a good many years I worried about my payroll, I didn't always know how I was going to meet it. My trouble has been that I have always had too much ambition and tried to do things that were sometimes financially too big

for me. If I had not had so much ambition and had not tried to do so many things, I probably would have been happier, but less useful.

"Human beings, as they are now constituted, are unable to be very happy, because no matter how much they have, they want more. I refer now to material things, to money, the luxuries of life. The only ones who are continuously happy are the ones who, having little ambition, do small things of little importance. A man whose business it is to catch butterflies is probably pretty happy all the time."

And when asked—this man of eighty-two, at a time of life when those who do reach that time of life prefer the felt slippers and the comfortable chair—when he was asked what his hobby in life was at eighty-two, he said, "Experimenting, trying to find a problem for which I haven't as yet the answer, and trying to find the answer."

This very man, then, who says that if he had had less ambition during his life he might have been happier at the age of eighty-two is still reaching out for new ambitions and for new experiments. Evidently there is something more in life than the mere business of being happy, and that something more, I take it, is achievement through struggle—achievement through struggle.

Prometheus tried to bring down light from heaven and for that privilege he was riveted to the crags of the mountain heights and had vultures and eagles tear at his entrails.

Adam who led a very comfortable and vegetative life in the garden of Eden, the moment he wanted to eat of the tree of knowledge, was driven from the garden of Eden and cursed with this curse: "With the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." And that, my friends, is true of all human ambition.

Some people think that the ideal condition in life is one of comfortable well being, to have ease and comfort, and a comfortable bank balance, and just to drift leisurely through life.

Not so long ago I read a brief and very charming and stimulating essay by Dr. William Lyons Phelps of Yale. I want to read a sentence or two from it on this very subject of happiness, to illustrate the thought that I want to leave with you this afternoon. Dr. Phelps says:

"I have no desire to underestimate the world of physical comfort, but if happiness existed in physical ease and freedom from care, then the happiest individual would be neither a man nor

a woman. It would be I think, the American cow.

"American cows and American dogs are ladies and gentlemen of leisure. In Europe they hitch them up and make them draw loads. Here they do not. Take an average day in the life of an American cow, and we shall see that it is not far from the commonly accepted ideal of human happiness. The cow rises in the morning and with one lick of her tail, her toilet is completed for the whole day. This is a distinct advantage over humanity. The cow does not have to brush her teeth; the cow does not have to bob her hair; the cow does not have to select appropriate and expensive garments or carry a compact. In one lick she is ready, and when she is ready, breakfast is ready. She does not have to light the kitchen fire herself, or mourn because the cook has left without notice. The grass is her cereal breakfast and the dew thereupon the cream.

"After eating for an hour or so, she gazes meditatively into the middle distance, wondering if that grass yonder is fresher and greener than this, or, if it be so, whether peradventure it is worth the trouble to walk there and take it. Such an idea as that occupies the mind of the cow for three or four hours.

"After grazing without haste and without rest, she reaches, by noon, the edge of the stream: 'Lo, here is water. What hinders me from descending and slaking my thirst?' She descends about waist deep in the cooling stream and after external and internal refreshments she walks with dignity to the shade of the spreading tree, sits down calmly in the shadow there, and then she begins to chew the cud. Her upper jaw remains stationary while the lower revolves in a kind of solemn ecstasy. There is on her placid features no pained or acceding thought. The cow chewing the cud has very much the expression of a healthy American girl chewing gum.

"The cows are never perturbed by introspection or by worry. There are no agnostic cows, no fundamentalist cows, no modernist cows; cows don't worry about the income tax or the League of Nations. A cow does not lie awake at night wondering whether her son is going to the devil in some distant city. Cows have none of the thoughts inflicted upon humanity, that distress and torture."

This being the case all of us ought to prefer to be cows. Yet I am afraid that none of us really would want this bovine existence for ourselves, simply because it is not sufficiently interesting, it lacks

the adventure, the struggle, the danger, the compensations of human life. I am afraid that the nine out of ten who would say that the thing men live for most is happiness, are all wrong. The real driving urge, my friends, in life, is not and foremost, not happiness but self-expression. There is in you and in me a force, an energy which cries for expression, which if we do not give an opportunity to express itself will rend us in twain; which if we do give an opportunity to express itself may sometimes bring down upon us sorrow and disaster, but which is nevertheless irresistible, like the plangent onslaughts of the waves of the ocean breaking upon the shore. There are latent powers in everyone of us, the great and the small, the mediocre and the highly gifted; latent longings, wishes, aspirations, dynamic, impulsive, which want to be expressed, and which alone give us a sense of satisfaction in life when and if expressed.

The young man who starts out on his career in the world doesn't ask himself: is this career which I am now selecting going to yield me happiness? Nor does he ask himself, philosophically: Is life worth living? Not at all. You cannot answer the question whether life is worth living or not. You cannot strike a balance in life: on the credit side so much happiness, on the debit side, so much unhappiness; the balance is what? No one has ever been able to answer that question. The answer depends upon the individual, upon the condition of his life, upon the time of his life, and upon the mood in which he happens to be in. And these conditions and circumstances are not the same for any two people.

One of the sages of my race makes this very keen observation. He said: "King Solomon was a very wise man and he wrote three books. All three books have been included in the canon of what we call the Old Testament, the Bible. The three books which Solomon wrote are The Song of Songs, the Book of Proverbs, and the Book of Ecclesiastes."

"When he was a young man," says this rabbi, "King Solomon wrote the Song of Songs, which is a love song, a song of the beauty of nature and the exalted love between a man and woman; a lifting lift of light and love and laughter. He wrote it when he was a young man.

"When he was middle-aged and a bit tired of life, having seen much and learned much, he wrote the Book of Proverbs, a book of counsel, of meditation, an even-tempered slightly sophis-

ticated book of morals and advice for human beings.

"When he was an old man, disillusioned, wearied, his blood running sluggish in his veins, his eyes aged, he wrote the Book of Ecclesiastes, the refrain of which is: 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.'"

The same man at three different stages in his life writes three different books and we all write different books, commentaries on life at different stages in our lives.

Now that isn't the way we approach life. The young man who chooses a career, chooses it because that career is somehow responsive to the deepest craving of his being, because that career promises to afford him the one channel for the fullest and most free expression of the latent potentialities of his being. And that is true of all life, my friends. The thing we want most in the world is the chance to live our own lives.

Beethoven, deaf, groping through his world, soundless, yet reaching out for the chords and the harmonies of his symphonies—Beethoven wasn't seeking happiness in the world. What was he seeking? Why an outlet for the raging fevers in his soul. They were bursting to express themselves.

The scientific research man who experiments with X-ray until his limbs are burned down, and his eyes are burned out—what is he seeking in life? Happiness? Not at all! He is seeking to realize the deepest longing of his being.

The physician who went down in the marshes of Africa and there perished in an effort to trace down the source of some disease—what was he after? Happiness? Not at all! He could have found the ease and the comfort and the luxuries that we associate or confuse with the term happiness, at home. He went down there because he was driven by a vision. He wanted to express himself. That is the first thing, my friends that men live for. And the greatest crime that you and I can commit against a boy or girl of ours is to keep them from choosing that career which to them promises to yield the fullest measure of self-expression. (Applause.)

I think that the second thing men live for is independence. Human dignity is not compatible with human dependence. Poverty makes us dependent, that is why poverty is a curse. Ignorance makes us dependent, that is why ignorance is a curse. Autocracy makes us dependent upon the whims of rulers and monarchs, that is why autocracy is

a curse. Throughout all time men have been struggling to achieve a greater and greater measure of independence, independence even from nature. Man has struggled to master the forces of nature so as not to be so much dependent upon nature. And here, by the way is where you as insurance men are rendering a tremendous service to human being, in helping them to reach a stage of comparative independence from the fortunes and vicissitudes of life. You are helping men to realize one of the things for which men really live.

And I think the third thing for which men live is the esteem of their fellow men. No one is above that. "A good name is better than precious oil." Apply that to every department of human life and it still holds true, because man is a social being. Man cannot be satisfied with his own estimate of himself. He craves a high estimate of his fellowmen. Even those who think that they are above the opinions of their fellowmen, the great conquerors of the earth, Alexander and Caesar and Napoleon, were much more concerned with what men will think of them than with winning a battle.

And I think the fourth thing men live for is survival. We want to out-live ourselves. We are not reconciled to annihilation. We want to transcend our own graves. That is why men build families: they want to immortalize themselves in their children. That is why men build institutions and endow institutions: they want something of themselves, a name, a memory, an influence, an achievement of their lives, to live on, long after the portals of the grave have closed over all that was mortal and perishable of them. They don't want to die. The instinct of life is so powerful in human being that they want to cheat the grave, to rob death of its final and terrible power over us.

I believe, friends, that these are the things then, that we live for: self-expression, independence, the esteem of our fellowmen and survival. And they are all legitimate and laudable ambitions, and the men who follow these ambitions are the men whose lives will be rising crescendos, rising constantly to higher levels and to purer air. The men and women who follow other ambitions, the ambition to be comfortable, the ambition to have ease and security, luxury, these men's lives are doomed to be declining diminuendos, with their lives dribbling away to nothingness and to unworthiness.

I think it was Choate, that whimsical and humorous spirit who once said that the best years of a man's life are the years between seventy and eighty, and he advised all his friends to hurry up and get there. Now there is a wise and a rather profound thought in that statement. The man who has lived his life at the behest of these four ambitions is the man who has cultivated himself intellectually and spiritually, the man who has strived all his life in spite of defeats and disillusionments and suffering and pain to express himself, to live his own life, to follow his own light, to be true to the god within him. The man who has struggled to be independent, the man who has so lived and so comported himself as to have won the esteem of his fellowmen; and the man who has so worked as to have created things which have survival value, which will carry on the meaning of the mission of his life long after he will have ceased to be, that man in the twilight hours of his life in the years between seventy and eighty, in the setting years, will enjoy the rich harvest of life, a harvest of blessedness, of peace and contentment.

The man who went through life seeking mean and lowly objectives, reaching out for the things near at hand, but not for the things far off, the things which are a little beyond our grasp, the heroic things, the romantic things, the adventuresome things, that man will find in the lag end of his days that his life has brought him nothing but meanness and drabness and cheapness and ugliness.

Life, my friends, is a marvelous adventure, and whether our lives be long or short, whether we are blessed with many days or few, whether we are blessed with much prosperity or little, this is within the reach of every one of us.

These things: the ability, the capacity, the desire for self-fulfillment, for self-realization—you are all made in the image of God, each one of you has a personality which is distinct and unique, precious, your most precious possession in the world. If you give that personality of yourself, that uniqueness of yours a chance to live and fulfill itself, within the reach of every one of us is independence. If not a full measure of economic independence which is not always within our reach, then surely a measure of intellectual independence, of spiritual independence, independence from the clamor of the mob about us, independence from the mass judgments

and mass opinions of the society in which we live, independence from the machine standards and the machine modes of thought and action which are becoming more and more dominant in our civilization today.

Within the sanctuary of your own life you can keep your soul independent. That too is within our reach.

And within our reach too is the esteem of our fellowmen.

Unfortunately in this land we have been in the habit of evaluating men by the money which they make, and that is why most men have striven and are striving so ardently to acquire more and more money in order to win more and more the esteem of their fellowmen. In older lands other standards prevail. Men are esteemed for their culture; men are esteemed for their character; men are esteemed for their service to their fellowmen. Some day we will come to make these standards primary in our life too. But we too can gain the esteem of our fellowmen by living lives of beauty, of kindness, of serviceability, however humble and circumscribed the sphere of our life may be.

And lastly, within the reach of every one of us is survival. Some men can gain their immortality in one hour, in one magnificent deed, in one fine word spoken at a great moment. All men can gain a measure of immortality through the influences which they set in motion and through the memories which they bequeath to their fellowmen, and happy

indeed are those who link their lives to these four major visions of human life.

Industrial Group Organizes

Pursuant to call sent out by President Ferguson, twenty of the Superintendents and Managers of the several Industrial Companies of Cleveland met for luncheon and after a most enthusiastic meeting organized the Industrial Group of our Association.

For some months the Association has felt that it should and could be of greater service to the Industrial Agent. With this thought in mind, Mr. Krochke, then President of our Association, appointed a special committee of the following named, to consider this question and to find the solution to the problem: E. R. Ferguson, chairman; E. B. Hamlin, Harold Pearce, F. L. Klingbeil and E. F. Satalia met on numerous occasions and formulated plans that were presented to those present at the first meeting which was held on Tuesday, February 18th.

E. F. Satalia, Manager of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. branch office at 2027 E. 105th Street, was elected temporary chairman of the group and he has picked a committee consisting of one member from each of the nine companies represented at the meeting to select permanent officers for the group. It is the plan of the Industrial Group to hold monthly meetings and at certain regular times, to be determined later, meetings for all industrial agents.

An Echo From the Million Dollar Round Table

Richard O. Waller, Boston, is a tonic for the underwriter who is struggling and who is saying to himself not "How can I write a million?" but "How can I reach a quarter million?"

HARD TIME PASSING \$100,000

For the first three years of his life insurance career, Mr. Waller paid for less than \$100,000 a year.

His wife began to ask the question, "Is it wise for you to stay in the life insurance business?" He found it harder to jump from \$100,000 to a quarter million than from a quarter million to a million.

In his way out he found that what he needed most of all was confidence in himself and a knowledge that men are writing large volumes and that they are doing it under circumstances no more advantageous than his own.

TALKS "INCOME"

He began to make definite progress when he adapted his English background into his canvass and began to sell the idea that income is essential, not paper possessions.

He believes that no one factor helped him to increase his production as much as did the Federal Income Tax law which set men and women to thinking about their wealth in terms of income instead of in terms of property.

UTILIZES WILLS

He spends more time talking to prospects about making wills than he does about life insurance. He advocates a will for the husband and a will for the wife and in so doing opens the eyes of the prospects to their needs when it comes to laying their plans for the disposition of their estates when they are no longer here to serve their loved ones.

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Juvenile Offenses Studied

Juvenile Judge H. L. Eastman has just issued the first published report covering juvenile offenses in Cuyahoga County (whose county seat is Cleveland). The report, based on statistics, will probably be studied by sociologists throughout our land.

Of the 3,715 cases which passed through the juvenile court, last year, 3,512 came to the Detention Home—2,316 being boys, and 996 were girls. Of these boys 75 percent were of foreign born parentage and 16 percent colored; of the girls 59 percent were of foreign born parentage, and 24 percent were colored.

Those who passed through the Home received psychological examination—75 percent of them. The court psychiatrist found 8 percent of the boys to be superior, 21.2 were normal, 25.4 percent were dull normal, 28.8 percent were borderline, and 25.8 percent were sub-normal. Of the girls examined, 1.6 percent were superior, 14.8 percent normal, 22.8 percent dull normal, 27.5 percent borderline, and 33.3 percent sub-normal.

Delinquency among boys (14 to 16 years of age) dropped from a peak of 29 per 100,000 population in the post-war stress (1919) to 161, ten years later. Among girls the corresponding drop was from 71 to 45, with a lower percentage of sex offenses, but with increase in truancy and incorrigibility. Judge Eastman says that in view of the population increase the decrease in juvenile delinquency is even more marked.

An increase in the number of parents cited for contributing to juvenile delinquency or for neglect of their children, indicates increasing efficiency of welfare agencies in the past decade.

A Bad Beginning

Elsewhere in these columns is an account, comparatively encouraging for the smaller list of lynchings. But from the way 1930 has begun, we must moderate even that comparative measure of gloom.

Within a fortnight two black men were lynched in Mississippi and South Carolina; a white man was lynched in Florida. And this morning's dispatches (May 10) tell of a third Negro who was hanged at Sherman, Texas.

Human legal procedure is bunglesome enough, but it is better than the blind rage of a mob. One of these latest four to suffer from lynch law was a white man. Lynching is not altogether a racial matter.

"America! America!
God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law."



Christian Education Secretary

Three important Reformed Churches were served by Dr. H. I. Stahr—Faith in Reading, Christ in Bethlehem, and Emanuel in Hanover. A number of denominational activities have benefitted by his interest over a period of years. He has been chairman of the Sunday School Advisory Board in our Eastern Synod, president of the Board of Christian Education, chairman of the Collegeville and Frederick Summer Missionary Conferences, and president of Reading and East Pennsylvania Classes.

Dr. Stahr has also wide civic interests. He was on the Bethlehem Public Library board of directors, a director of the Bethlehem Rotary Club and president of that body during 1925-26, a director of the Family Welfare Association, and of the Bethlehem Community Chest. He is a member of the Pennsylvania German Society and of the National Council, Boy Scouts of America, having been very active from the beginning in Boy Scout work, and in the Daily Vacation Bible School movement.

Bootleggers' Profit Decreasing

One of Cleveland's wet dailies on May 5 offered some optimistic figures as to the illicit rum business. First it cited Prohibition Commissioner Doran: exports from Canadian ports on Lake Erie are one-fourth those of last year. This is based on figures furnished by the Canadian Liquor Control Commission.

Doran attributes the slump to the increased effectiveness of the border patrol.

Capt. William McMaster, head of Cleveland's police dry squad, says that the home-made products are finding a very small market. One prominent sugar dealer is receiving only one car of corn sugar a week, as compared to five last year.

"Still operators are required to pay in advance for materials where previously large shipments were advanced on credit. Corn liquor, which once sold for \$3 and \$4 a gallon, can now be bought for \$1.25.

"Even at this low price, which allows the still operator a margin of only 30 cents profit, dealers are finding it hard to dispose of their products. Nearly every still raid results in the seizure of a large quantity of whisky which the operator has not been able to dispose of and has had to store."

Wilfred J. Mahon, U. S. district attorney, finds marked evidence of liquor consumption's decrease—the poverty of arrested bootleggers.

Practically 10 percent of violators convicted are unable to pay their fines and serve 30 days in jail; then they are released on a poverty plea. If they were making money, none would serve that additional time. Paupers' pleas have doubled in the last year.

"I believe that drinking is no longer fashionable. Persons no longer get a kick out of drinking merely because they are doing something that is prohibited by law. A great number of persons will no longer jeopardize their health by drinking even Canadian liquor which, while it is not poisonous, is green and not up to pre-prohibition standards."

Indication that profits have dropped is shown by the number of offenders who appear in court without counsel. Practically all violators now plead guilty and throw themselves on the mercy of the court, rather than hire an attorney and face the cost of trial.

Pulpit Freedom

Rabbi A. H. Silver was characterized (in conversation with the Editor by an "optimistic" protestant preacher) as being too pessimistic in his outlook. Allow for his pessimism; yet there is a large residuum of truth in what Mr. Silver said recently on the question, Is the Ministry Free, Is it Effective? He said that "religion can never be very popular; when it is most popular it is least effective."

"The minister is not entirely free in his profession. No one working in and through an institution is entirely free. The minister is not a prophet. He is a priest."

"One cannot expect to have the per-

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SUNNYSDALE REFORMED CHURCH. See page 19

fect freedom and independence of a prophet and still be the endowed and accredited spokesman of an organized group. The minister has to make allowances for the gravitation, down-pull and inertia of the mass. In ministers of lesser integrity, this makes for a measure of insincerity. But in most cases it merely serves to increase the minister's patience without decreasing his courage or his idealism.

"In some instances the ministry is all too free. In matters of theology, some of our ministers and rabbis have run amuck, teaching all sorts of stale heresies, agnosticism and atheism within the frame-work of a traditional ritual and great historical religions. They are confused in their own theologies and they confuse their people even more. They are blind shepherds leading blind sheep.

"Some ministers and rabbis concurrently preach in their pulpits that religion is only sociology and, at the same time, urge people to come to worship a living God; who deny personal immortality and yet recite prayers for the dead.

"Many ministers have abused the freedom of the pulpit by speaking without qualification and training on economic and political subjects, in which they are veritable tyros, merely quoting the latest editorials of some newspaper or magazine. They presume to discover moral issues in these fields, when they are actually ferreting out an opportunity to get into the lime light and play a role.

"It is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of the ministry. The minister deals in imponderables. The business man can point to his profits, the physician to the sick whom he cured, the lawyer to the cases which he won, the engineer to the bridges and structures

which he built. The minister can point to no such tangible achievements. He does not know whether his teaching is followed or not, or whether his preaching has any influence whatsoever.

"The road of the truly concerned religious teacher must always be a hard and a lonely road. He tells men who are busily engaged in the pursuit of material things, about the things of the spirit. Many of them fail to understand him utterly. Frequently he is regarded as irrelevant. Often he may chide men for their moral sluggishness or for acts of wrongdoing which they wittingly or unwittingly commit. He is then regarded as a scold. In a world which pursues material utilities he can offer men nothing which can be gauged with the tradesman's rod—only the Word of God which sometimes builds and comforts, but as often disturbs and humbles.

"Religion has no fads to offer its generation or any generation which would gain for it sudden popularity. It can only proffer its age-old vision which speaks of God, the reality of personality and the reality of truth, beauty and goodness. It can only offer men an ancient moral idealism which sublimates life without falsifying it, and which points the way to the twin goals of human destiny, freedom and responsibility. This is its entire stock in trade. It has no other. It cannot be all this to all men.

"Some generations are more religious than others. Some generations expect
(Continued on page 19)



DR. R. W. BLEMKER and his Confirmation Class, in First church, Canton, O.

5 renewals, 3 by letter; Rev. B. J. Peeler, pastor.—First, at High Point, had 8 confirmations, 4 by letter; Rev. W. R. Shaffer, pastor.—First, at Greensboro, had 4 confirmations, 12 received by letter; 53 accessions so far in 1930; church attendance in Lent was largest in the pastorate of Rev. H. A. Fesperman.—Rev. H. D. Althouse (of Grace church in Shippensburg, Pa.) accepts a call to the pastorate of Corinth church at Hickory.—Roy Whissenhunt of Central Seminary will supply the Lower Davidson Charge, this summer, and will then do post graduate work at Princeton.

The Community Leadership Training School conducted for third year by the churches of Meyersdale, Pa., concluded its work recently; 41 were enrolled in the school, 23 met the requirements of the International Council of Religious Education and were awarded credits. Four courses were offered. Two high school teachers and two local pastors constituted the faculty. Rev. B. A. Black of Amity Reformed church served as Dean.

Milwaukee, Wis., Grace, Rev. Dr. H. C. Nott. On April 27, anniversaries were observed—the 65th of the congregation's founding, the 15th of the present building's dedication with the burning of the mortgage, and the 45th of its pastor. At the morning service Rev. Herbert F. Weckmueller of Marion, O., son of the congregation, preached on "The Church and the Holy Spirit." The choir sang the opening chorus of Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise." The entire oratorio will be sung by the choir with soloists on May 12th in celebration of its 65th anniversary. The afternoon service was a reunion of all classes conformed in the present building from 1915 to date; the number totals over 250. Rev. O. B. Moor of the daughter church, Immusau, preached on "Real Estate for Sale." A luncheon was then served to over 400 in the church dining room. The evening service was informal, with 5 addresses by representatives from the various organizations; Grace church can justly be proud of her splendid talent. The music by the choir and string quartet was far above the average, and contributed much to the inspiration of the services. The young people of the church, organized into 4 teams, raised the last money needed to pay off the church debt. They did their task so well that \$500 more was raised than the debt's cancellation required. In honor of their task the young people were given the privilege of burning the mortgage. This they did through their representative, Dr. Calvin Klumb. This church does not believe that a church is necessary to keep a church alive. Since their debt is now paid, they are free and ready to launch into other worthwhile local and denominational programs. The 45th anniversary of the pastor received only passing mention, because the modest pastor forbade any use of himself or any reminiscing; all do honor him in his work.—H. W.

Freeport, Ill., Zion. Student Carl M. Wahl of the Senior Seminary class at Mission House has been elected to become the new pastor of this congregation. He will begin his work here the first Sunday in July. Rev. R. A. Arthmann, the present pastor, has accepted a call from our Salem church in Wayne, Ind.

West Concord, Minn., Rev. J. Hoffmann. Lenten services here were very well attended, the pastor speaking on the Seven Words of the Cross. Examination of the pastor's class took place on the evening of Palm Sunday, with confirmation and Communion on

Easter; 20 sons and daughters of the congregation were in the class; 176 received Communion—a new record for this congregation. In the evening a chorus of 28, mostly young people, under the pastor's baton, presented an appropriate Easter cantata. Our old friend and schoolfellow, Rev. W. J. Stuckey, served as tenor soloist. One good turn deserves another; so, on the following Sunday night, this same program was repeated in Trinity church, Wabasha, before a large and enthusiastic audience. Preparations are now being made for a worthy celebration of Pentecost, when a class of adults will be confirmed.

Miss Laura Meier who sends us the beautiful poem on page 5, says that she wrote it upon reading the last installment in Dr. Richards' review of Prof. Brunner's book, "The Theology of Crises." We surmise that the recent Easter celebration also occasioned the state of mind which produced her poem, "The Christ of the Here and Now." Miss Meier holds the Chair of English in the college at Emporia, Kansas; many of our readers will recognize her as the daughter of Prof. Meier, one-time professor of Church History in the Mission House, and a granddaughter of the sainted Dr. Bossard who rendered such admirable and scholarly service in the same institution.

Cleveland's coming Reformed Sunday School Convention will be held in our Second church, corner Olivet and East 99th, on May 18th. In the afternoon (beginning at 3 o'clock) Rev. Emil Kraft of St. John's Evangelical church will make an address, as also will Miss Ruth Heinmiller, our Sec'y of Girls' Guilds and Mission Bands. There will be three group discussions: Mr. Richard Roesinger will, with the adults and young people, consider whether the School is Supplanting the Church Worship Service; Miss Charlotte Wetzel will lead a conference on The Scope and Efficiency of Bible Study; Miss Irene Schmidt leads a Children's Division conference. After business, supper will be served in the social room of the church. At night (beginning at 7:30) the worship service will be conducted by the young people of Eleventh church; the evening address will be delivered by Rev. D. R. Raiser of Tiffin, O.

West Ohio Classis will meet June 2 at 8:30 a.m., in our St. John's church at Bluffton, O., A. K. Beisheim, pastor. Pentecostal services, including the opening sermon by the president, will be held on Sunday afternoon and evening, June 1st. Members of all the congregations in Classis are invited.—N. E. VITZ, Stated Clerk.

Elder E. H. Marcus

Elder Edward H. Marcus was called to rest from multitudinous activities on May 5th. On Easter he was at the Lord's Table, and helped at the service of Zion church in Louisville, Ky. The following day, he experienced severe pains; it was decided that an immediate operation for the removal of gall stones was imperative. The operation seemed to be successful.

But early on the next morning his devoted wife received the shocking message that he had passed away. This was a great blow to his family, the congregation, and the other Reformed churches of Louisville, as well as to general Church circles and benevolent institutions, such as the Protestant Orphans' Home and Old Folks' Home of Louisville. He was the Elder in the Executive Committee of Kentucky Classis, a member on the Board of Colored Mission Work (carried on by the Presbyterians

and our Kentucky Classis). Mr. Marcus was also a member in General Synod's Board of Ministerial Relief, and in the Department of the Northwest of our Home Mission work. No foreign missionary of our Church who visited his home was allowed to go away empty-handed.

He was the right-hand man to his pastor, Rev. Chas. Schmitt, for the last six years, one "on whom he could always depend," as he said in his brief funeral sermon. The funeral service was very largely attended, the spacious church being filled to the doors. The writer was asked to speak at the service, having long been a close friend; Rev. D. A. Winter, a former pastor, led in prayer.

Elder Marcus will be missed most in his congenial home by his truly devoted help-mate, by his three sons, his one surviving brother and only sister, the wife of Rev. F. Kalbfleisch. The writer greeted among the mourners his friend of college days—Dr. Horstmeier, brother-in-law of the departed.

We feel that something should appear in the church paper regarding Elder Marcus' departure—on account of his generous interest in all the great activities of our Church. This is a tribute of love from one who has enjoyed his unclouded friendship for about fifty years.—C. F. KURTZ.

Pulpit Freedom

(Continued from page 2)

ence a great outburst of faith and piety. Ours is not such a generation. The temper of our age is neither religious nor philosophic nor artistic. It is technological. The American people today is economically conservative, politically orthodox, internationally narrow-minded, religiously indifferent and morally cruising.

"Religion must not lose heart. Patiently it must carry on. It is not the duty of the religious leader to complete the task. Neither is he free to desist from it."

Sunnydale Church

"Aunt Emma" is Mrs. Edmund Hussing (her picture is on p. 20) whose class of 14 boys resolved in January of 1929, to start a mission Sunday-school. Previously a canvass was made of the neighborhood, at which time Mrs. Hussing was joined by Mrs. Miller (see page 5), whose home was the church until Thanksgiving Day. Ground was broken for the S.S. building (see page 2) on the afternoon of Oct. 6. The work of excavation was donated, and the contractors (H. H. Schneider and Sons) contributed not a little free work. The building was completed in 31 working days at a cost of \$10,000. The first service in it was held on Thanksgiving Day, and it was dedicated on Dec. 6. At the first Communion, 51 persons partook of the Lord's Supper, Feb. 3rd.

On April 6, 1930, the Executive Com. of Kentucky Classis organized Sunnydale Reformed Mission into a congregation of 101 charter members, who are come from various denominations; 44 are from the Reformed Church, 38 of them dismissed from the mother church, Salem; 26 are from the Evangelical Church, 13 from the Baptist, 6 from the Roman Catholic 7 from the Methodist, one from the Episcopal, one from the Christian, one from the Presbyterian, and 2 from the Lutheran; 52 were accepted by letter, 43 by reprofession, and 6 by confirmation.

The program was arranged by the Executive Committee of Kentucky Classis (Revs. B. E. Lienkaemper, D. A.

Winter, Elder Ed. Marcus, and also by Mrs. Hussung, leader in the mission. The procession was led by Rev. Harry Baumer, the Sunnydale choir and the confirmation class, singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." One entire family of 8 Baptists joined with Sunnydale.

The election, ordination, and installation of officers took place. Inspirational addresses were made by Revs. D. A. Winter and B. E. Lienkaemper who also conducted the service.

Mrs. Hussung gave an historical sketch telling of the vision which she

of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the women resolved to affiliate, and Mme. Hussein Bey was elected president. Two hundred members will be enrolled under the name of the Turkish Green Crescent. It was the psychological moment for our cause to open in Turkey, for the country is passing through a transition era. Under the new republic the Moslem religion is not enforced as it was in the old days, and Turkey is becoming Westernized.

"We went to see a well-known character in the city—Zaro Agha, who was born in 1775. He was sitting outside his poor cottage, but he rose and picked up a chair for me to sit by him. Quickly the people gathered around, as Mme. Hussein Bey interpreted. In response to my questions he told me he had never tasted intoxicants. He spoke of wars including the Crimean, of the years he had lived at Tiflis, where he was born. His diet for years has been sour milk soup, and sweet jam. He produced his birth certificate in the old script. Mme. Hussein Bey examined it and pronounced it quite authentic. At Zaro Agha's faculties are quite alert.



"AUNT EMMA," MRS. EDMUND HUSSUNG

with her Sunday-school class lost no time in putting into action. The offering was \$118. All the boys of the class did not go with the leader. Some whom she had trained are active in Salem, serving as deacons in the church and officers in the Sunday-school. However, with a determination to do good, and having faith in God as the supreme power from whom all blessings flow, the group of fifteen went forward praying, working, trusting God and each other, willing to sacrifice at any cost, obeying the voice of God rather than of man.

The leader is training people as she trained her boys to give, as God hath prospered them; one-tenth and a little extra. They have erected their own building, and assumed a debt of \$18,000; nearly \$6,000 of it has been paid; \$1,000 was by donations from friends and members while the rest was paid through strenuous efforts and hard work. The leader has won the love of the entire community.

While Rev. H. Baumer (of Lynnhurst Reformed church) is doing the supply work here, Mrs. Hussung will continue her leadership, according to the wish of the members. She has gone forward in this work, proving again that God hath chosen the weaker things of the world to put to shame those that are strong, and the foolish things to put to shame those that are wise. With a desire to do greater things for the extension of God's Kingdom, these people have organized themselves. They hope to have a W.M.S. and a Guild and a Mission Band in the near future.—The Sunnydale people will go forward in prayer and service with one desire, under the rich blessing of God to become a great soul-winning church.

WOMEN'S WORK

Report Items to W. M. S. EDITRESS
2962 W. 25th St., Cleveland

Temperance in China And Turkey

Mrs. Frances Willard Wang Liu, head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of China, reports growing interest in the work. She recently addressed a company of 1,000 women and girls in Soochow, many of them leaders, and took the first step toward organizing a union in that city.

Miss Agnes E. Slack, one of the World's W.C.T.U. honorary secretaries, tells in the Union Signal of her visit to Greece and Turkey:

"Passing out from the Sea of Marmora we soon sighted, in a brilliant sunset, Constantinople with its five hundred mosques—a reminder of Moslem devotion in the old days. From the sea Constantinople rises majestically; but on its shore its features have largely changed since Angora became Turkey's capital city.

"Waiting on the quay side to greet us were Mme. Hussein Bey and other Turkish ladies. They came on board and I was glad to learn that arrangements had been made for me to address meetings. We spent the next morning visiting the mosques. In the afternoon I addressed meetings at the Turk Odjah Hall and at the headquarters of the National Union of Turkish Women. Both meetings were crowded. At the National Union, chairs were taken away to give room for the crowd to stand. In each case I had excellent interpreters.

"After explaining the object and work

Women's Pentecostal Congress

The Pentecostal Women's Congress for all the Reformed Church women of the Akron district in N. E. Ohio will be held at Bethany church, Cuyahoga Falls, on Friday afternoon, May 21. A luncheon will be served at noon, and a roll call of the congregations represented will be in charge of Mrs. G. C. Fretz. The afternoon session will open at 2 o'clock with Mrs. E. D. Fager in charge of the devotional period. Rev. H. Gebhardt of Wadsworth will deliver the address, "A Challenge to the Women of the Reformed Church." Special music will be furnished by different congregations.—Mrs. E. E. Zechin, Chairman of the Akron District.

The west district of Northeast Ohio Classical planned to hold a Women's Jubilee Congress in the Reformed church at Wooster, Sunday, May 24, at 3 p.m. Mrs. R. R. Krammes (president of East Ohio Classical) and Mrs. Boheisel (a missionary from Korea, on furlough, living in Wooster) will be the speakers. This service is held for the women in every congregation. We trust that all women will want to attend and help in commemorating Pentecost in order to receive a spiritual blessing. We ask God's blessing on this service. Other congresses are being planned in—Cleveland, Akron and Youngstown. An offering will be taken to help defray expenses.—Mrs. F. E. BOHRECHAIN, Pres.

Color Blind

What is color? I had a teacher at Northfield, Miss A. Once she said she had five dresses, and also that she was popular when she wore the white dress, less popular in the yellow dress, less popular still in the red dress, decidedly unpopular in the brown dress, and totally unnoticed and unwanted in a black dress. (The writer reported in The Baptist, where she also reported the following):

I was amused at my teacher's story. Then I was sad, for I saw how ridiculous I had been: I had disliked black persons; but now I remember her lesson, that color is just an envelope that seals us into. Skin is just the color God thinks will be most becoming until night comes. He says: "Wear white today, my child!" So now I am proud: "God make me color blind for ever."

The REFLEX

July, 1930

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN A CHANGING WORLD

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Much of our religious thinking in recent years has been characterized by nervousness and timidity. In the face of the widely-heralded new world of the scientific mold and temper, religious thinking, especially of the liberal type, has become diffident and panicky. Never was liberal theology in such a mortal funk as it is today.

For it has finally come face to face with its real foe—the Apollyon of materialism, agnosticism and atheism. Heretofore the religious liberal was engaged rather pleasantly in attacking orthodoxy. In his onslaught upon the crumbling citadels of orthodoxy, the liberal could command all the battering rams of modern science. He had a fairly easy time of it—at least in the realm of ideas; and he felt secure and a bit smug in his numerous triumphs over the discomfited creeds and dogmas of orthodox religion. But the battle suddenly swept far beyond the fundamentalist—modernist sector. The main positions of religion itself, of all religion, the liberal's included, are now attacked by the ancient and bitter and powerful enemy—materialism and atheism. And this time it is the enemy who is in possession of the weapons of modern science.

In this major attack upon religion the orthodox religionist finds himself in a stronger position than the liberal. The orthodox entrenches himself in a supernaturalism against which the attacking waves of scepticism hurl themselves in vain. He is bulwarked behind revelation and tradition. The liberal however, must fight in the open, and with weapons which he suspects, are not as strong or as modern as those of his enemy.

There was a time when religion was "dominatrix" in the realm of human thought and when science was its hand-maiden. Religion was autonomous, while science derived its authority from religion. Science had to justify itself by its agreement with Scriptural doctrine or church tradition. Whenever a scientific truth was not in consonance with accepted religious truth it was automatically invalidated.

The relative position of religion and science is reversed today. Today

science is autonomous and imperial and religion stands before its throne timid, apologetic and confused. Religion tries fearfully hard to persuade science that it does not in any way run counter to any of its decrees and that science may, without doing violence to its own nature, leave religion a foot-hold upon which to stand. Adonibezek is now gathering crumbs at the proud table of the conqueror!

And no wonder! So many conquests and tributaries have followed the triumphal procession of science in recent times. Science can point to so many remarkable achievements, such tangible and amazing victories. It has freed man from many of his physical limitations. It has equipped man to see further, reach higher, travel faster, communicate more speedily. It has increased man's powers a hundred-fold, given him myriads of mechanical servants, freed him from the bondage of drudgery, and mightily increased his wealth. It has stamped out many of man's dread plagues and diseases, alleviated his pain, prolonged his life, and given him a sense of greater security and physical well-being. Above all, it has placed in his hands a method for future progress. It has taught him how to investigate intelligently and experiment creatively in chemical, physical and medical laboratories.

To what victories comparable to these can religion point? None. Dealing in imponderables it can show no favorable balance sheet. In a world engrossed in material utilities, which measures values with a tradesman's gauge, religion finds itself in the diffident mood of him who must live upon sufferance and toleration, not earning his own keep.

Here again the liberal is disadvantaged. The older faiths can proffer men fascinating rewards of a very concrete and substantial nature, if not in this world, then in the next. The older faiths accept conventional standards of profit and utility. Science helps men to lay up treasures on earth, and religion helps men to lay up treasures in heaven. That is an effective argument. In either case there are treasures. But the liberal can make no such offers. He has no heaven. He cannot give men either bread in this world or nectar and ambrosia in the world to come.

Religious forces have also been severely shaken by the successful manner in which science has in recent years stripped religion of many of the fictions which for so long were bound up with it. Science compelled religion to surrender, reluctantly enough, one by one, the myths which clustered around it, the myths of revelations, miracles, resurrections, divine books, glamorous eschatologies, and fanciful cosmologies. Under the corrosive acids of critical research venerable facts turned out to be fictions and self-evident truths were disclosed to be self-evident fancies. As a result the religionist is now possessed by a fear complex. He fears that the process of devaluation will not stop at what he now acknowledges to be only the husks and not the kernel of religion. Science may reveal that the kernel, itself, is a myth and a delusion. The crushing and humiliating blows dealt by science to so much that was held to be of the very essence of religion, have left the religionist cowed and dazed.

And then, too, everybody seems to be talking of a changing world and

the religionist does not know just what is expected of him in order to keep pace with this changing world. Hardly a modern book on the physical or the social sciences, hardly a dissertation on history, biology, psychology, sociology, economics or ethics, but what the first few pages will call attention, vividly and dramatically, to the radical changes which have come over the world since 1900 or 1850 or 1800. Hardly a modernist sermon but what will use the fact of recent changes in human life and thought as a very telling introduction to anything it may have to say on any moral or religious theme. In fact so much is being said of change in our day that men may come to believe that the nineteenth century discovered it. Be that as it may, it is apparent on all sides that everyone and everything is on the move. Religion finds itself a slow pedestrian in this free-for-all cross-country race, and it is irreverently jostled and knocked about, and much bewildered. Scientific text-books are out-dated every five or ten years. Yet the religionist is still quoting ancient religious texts, and the moral opinion of orientals who lived thousands of years ago. Change is expected of him, and yet he does not know what to change and how far to change, and on what basis to change. He is admonished that religion has always changed and that morality is no more than the latest expression of shifting mores. He is not entirely convinced. Something tells him that this is not the whole story. Instinctively he is aware that religion cannot change anarchically and indiscriminately without doing violence to its essential genius, and that mores somehow do not encompass the full sweep of the dynamic moral idealism of mankind. And yet life about him is tense and vivid with kaleidoscopic change and he feels himself an anachronism. He wonders whether his race is not already run, whether his role in the world is not already played and finished.

But the patient and sober religionist will not be stampeded and will quietly and courageously carry on. He knows that nothing has transpired in the world of thought to shake the foundations of religion. No newly discovered knowledge necessitates the abdication of religion. Modern science has given the anti-religionist no new arguments which were not known to the Atomists of ancient Hellas or to the materialists of all times—arguments which religion has through the ages countered with equally potent arguments. The mythologies which religion was forced to surrender were only the base degrees by which it rose to the higher levels. Science, itself, has but recently sloughed off its own dark superstitions of astrology, alchemy and quackery.

In our day, as in the days of Democritus and Lucretius, the struggle is still between two opposing opinions—neither scientifically demonstrable,—the spiritual versus the materialistic conception of the nature of the universe. It is the immemorial and everlasting struggle; and it will forever be man's privilege and dread responsibility to place himself on the side of the one or the other. Either opinion can be competently championed and defended. Religion champions the spiritual view of the universe. Materialism is no more scientific than theism—and no less. It is certainly not the last word in philosophy. In fact, it is the first and the most obvious. He who believes

that the universe is a Personality, an intelligent Will expressing itself in infinite variety, need not feel that his belief is any less scientific than the belief of him who holds that the universe is a Thing, mere blind matter in senseless agitation.

When materialism, which is not science but only an interpretation of science, will trace for man the successive stages by which insensate units of energy combine themselves, through motion and organization, into the pattern of Aristotle's or Plato's mind, when it will demonstrate by what unbroken process of continuity, lifeless, and mind-less clay evolves into a living, thinking, aspiring man, then there will be time enough to consider the relinquishment of the spiritual interpretation of life.

The modern religionist will not be discouraged by the fact that inherent in his thinking are hypotheses which cannot be scientifically established. He will recall that inherent in all truth, even scientific truth, are not only hypotheses which may or may not be found true, but fictions which are demonstrably false, but which are nevertheless indispensable to thought and action. The scientific concepts of matter, energy, time, space, cause, effect, the atom, the electron, classification, etc., are not truth but only artifices of thought, convenient summaries, not realities. The religionist will therefore not look to the scientist to verify his faith; for as soon as the scientist attempts to construct a metaphysical system on the basis of his scientific knowledge he leaves the realm of strict science, and his credentials are no more imposing than those of the theologian. The religionist is pleased when the scientist agrees with him, though such agreement is not indispensable.

Nor will the modern religionist be impressed by the argument of the humanist that in as much as there is no scientific certainty in any interpretation of the universe, the whole problem should be ignored. One should cultivate an attitude of detached scepticism towards the enclaving universe and center his attention entirely upon the cultivation of his own life in society. One should play and enjoy the game of life regardless of "whether he saw the thing as comedy or high tragedy or plain farce." But the problem cannot be thus cavalierly dismissed. It has a way of intruding itself even into our most heroic moods. Life wants to know its terms of reference to the universe. Men who vibrate to the force of ideas and who are sensitive to the implications of ideas will not live contentedly or joyously, or struggle for an ideal sacrificially, when they become convinced that life is nothing more than a plain farce. No idealist ever died upon the cross for a cause which he knew to be a stupid comedy, and no man will ever bear the crushing burdens of a life-long defeat for truth's sake or goodness' sake or beauty's sake, believing at the same time that all life is mean and cheap and meaningless.

Life is not a game and men cannot be summoned to the high disciples of life by an appeal to sportsmanship. For the very idea of sportsmanship is predicated upon the conviction that the game is fair, the rules of the game just and reasonable, and that a man has a chance to win. But if life is known to be without purpose or intelligence or fairness or justice, and man is fore-doomed to defeat, then it is preposterous to attempt to summon him to valor and

nobility on the basis of sportsmanship.

The builders of the earth, the teachers, the leaders, the prophets, the fashioners of the new truth and the new beauty require for the driving impulse of their enterprise an overwhelming faith in the essential relatedness of their world of values to the world of universal existence. They must believe that they are co-creators in a purposeful and intelligent world, linked up with an advancing cosmic life and not mere farceurs or comedians or tragedians in an empty, darkened theatre.

Thus the first role of religion in our world is to proclaim fearlessly as of yore its ancient burden of God, of the Universe as the manifestation of divine thought and purpose, and of man's at-homeness in it. "Lord, Thou has been our dwelling-place in all generations" is still the supreme theme of religion.

Religion has frequently anticipated science. An eminent American scientist recently declared that science has made two momentous contributions to modern thought. It has revealed to man a universe of extraordinary and unexpected orderliness and it has informed man of the vital role which he himself can play in it. And yet thousands of years before the scientist arrived at his conclusions on the basis of his researches and experiments, religion arrived at them on the basis of intuitive groping and deductive reasoning. Ages ago religion declared that the universe is cosmos not chaos—"The Lord hath in wisdom founded the earth, he hath established the heavens in understanding." Ages ago religion declared that man was not mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life, but a co-worker of God, a co-creator, "a little lower than the angels."

Mankind could not wait—and cannot now wait—until the slow accumulation of verifiable knowledge would give it warrant for a desperately needed philosophy of life. Each generation must live its life—and its life is short. It cannot wait until all the facts are in and all the data collected. Therefore the spiritual emergencies of the race long ago voiced themselves in mighty postulates, some of which science has now been able to substantiate. It may be found in future times that religion has anticipated many other scientific conclusions in the realm of psychology, sociology and economics. Thus religion has a second role to perform in the modern world: to cherish and safeguard the vital and precious hopes of the race, expressed in creed and moral code, as long as they are not controverted by surer knowledge, and as long as they serve the advancing needs of human life.

Religion's third role in the modern world is to nurture the spirit of hopefulness among men. A scientific age, reared in materialism, may, and frequently does, become a pessimistic age. A materialistic metaphysics leads first to stoicism and then to cynicism and finally to despair. Our modern pessimism is based not on the belief that knowledge will not increase, but on the belief that increased knowledge will bring us decreased happiness, nobility and self-esteem. A trayful of mechanical toys, of engines and motors and radios and airplanes are no adequate compensation for the irrevocable loss of idealism and hope and human pride. "The Modern Temper" of Mr. Krutch is symp-

tomatic of "the bleak and arid despair which is settling over the minds of the moderns." "The Impotence of Man" of Prof. Charles Richet of France, Nobel Prize winner for Physiology, is another indication of the flood of spiritual desolation which is engulfing our age.

Man is chained down, declares this scientist, to this paltry mass of gas, stone and mud which is our planet. He is isolated in the vast empty spaces of the universe. He is defenseless against the possible cataclysm of the earth colliding with another mass of matter wandering in the solar system, or against being enveloped in the poisonous gases of some comet. He cannot prevent the progressive cooling of the earth which will in time leave it a block of snow and ice from which all life will have vanished.

Man cannot escape oblivion. One out of a hundred million is remembered by posterity. What the earth covers men forget. During his life he is subject to the play of physiological forces which he cannot control. He requires all the skill of medicine and surgery and dentistry to keep his bodily machine from breaking down utterly. His mind is subject to the afflictions of his body and "his soul ages as his body grows old." He cannot decree what his own children shall be, whether they shall be handsome or ugly, wise or dull, good or bad. Man is constantly attacked and rendered miserable by hates and jealousies, torn by wars and discord. The great questions of the world he can not answer. Whence he came and whether he is bound? Why is Man? Why are stars, and solar systems, and evolution? Why is anything?

Thus meditates a great man of science.

To all of which religion replies: "There is God and therefore human life cannot be worthless." Religion is not a demulcent theosophy, an escape from reality but is the indefeasible optimism of the race which sustains itself on the conviction that the universe, of which man is a part, is the dwelling place of life not of death, of reason not of insensibility, of goodness not of evil. "The Lord is with me, I need not fear." Religion is at heart messianic. It alone can proclaim in our day the dogma of human progress and the value of human ideals.

And perhaps not the least of the roles which religion can perform in the modern world is to resist change—change which is unintelligent, uninformed and which religion knows, through past experience, to be hurtful. In the sea of human change there are waves and tides. The waves toss. The tides carry. It is notorious that in the realm of ideas changes are very rapid and frequently move in circles. For a time certain ideas lose caste. Society chooses a group of ideas more in harmony with its dominant major interest or mood. When this interest is superseded by another, a new ideologic orientation takes place. The old ideas are displaced and new ones come into vogue. Thus recurrent oscillations in ideacycles take place. That a certain age prefers one group of ideas to another is no vindication of the ideas accepted and no refutation of the ideas rejected. That age has simply voiced its dominant interest. Another age will speak differently.

But religion, is, in a sense, a *summary* of the basic spiritual interests and

needs of all ages. It is concerned with what is timeless and fundamental in human experience. It cannot be expected to adjust itself to the shifting moods of every epoch. It should not. Social changes may be changes for the worse as well as for the better. If religion is to keep pace with every change, it loses its value to society. It will then trail human life instead of guiding it. Religion must not become a frail bark tossed about on the surface eddies and cross-currents of a day or a generation. Heavily freighted with the wisdom of the ages, it must ride the deep channels of time. One of its greatest opportunities is to tide mankind over its periods of confusion and uncertainty, to "stay put," as it were, when all about is roiled and seething, and to admonish society not to confound that which is novel with that which is new.

Our age is particularly clamorous for change. Men have again been enticed by the ancient apostasy of a "god-less" world. Religion is called upon to cast the mantle of its respectability over agnosticism and atheism, and from a faith to turn itself into a sociology. Religion has refused to do that in the past. It must refuse to do so now. It must refuse to lend its name to all schools of ethical speculation which ignore God even though seven humanist women shall take hold of it saying, "We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only let us be called by thy name; only take thou away our reproach."

To be sure moral standards are changing in our day. In fact they are breaking down but not because of any profound, searching critique of the old morality, but because of a general weakening of moral fibres caused by increased wealth and ease and luxury and self-pampering and by the wild tempo of a furiously acquisitive civilization. Homes are disintegrating. The purity of family life is disappearing. Men and women are demanding the right of self-expression, though most of them have nothing to express but the most common-place hankerings after the most primitive satisfactions. Religion is asked to sanction this neo-paganism, to give its approval to all new experiments in marriage and divorce, to companionate marriage, to trial marriage, and to all forms of experimental sex promiscuity. And all in the name of the Great God Change. But religion had met these aberrations before and had waged relentless war upon them. It refused to be changed by them. It set about changing them. It must do so again.

Youth, it is said, is in revolt. It is disillusioned with the old religions. The sanctions of traditional morality are no longer binding upon it. Youth today is critical, analytical, impatient of creeds and dogmas. It is seeking a new religion and a new morality. Religion must reconstruct itself to meet the demands of this new generation. We need a new morality. But where shall we find it? Even our immoralities are not new. We need a new religion but no one has as yet indicated what this new religion is expected to give to youth which the old religions can not.

We suspect that this Revolt of Youth has been over-played by middle-aged moralists and lecturers. Our young people are no more critical, or radical or intellectual than their elders. The American people today is economically

conservative, politically orthodox, internationally narrow-minded, religiously indifferent and morally cruising. And so are the young people. If this generation of young people were truly revolutionary in thought and mood, it would give evidence of it in its attitude towards the economic problems, the social problems, the political problems and the international problems of our day. But we venture the assertion that there is no more conservative, stand-pat young man in the world than the raccoon-coated "homo sapiens" on the American campus.

A moral revolt implies a moral unreachings, a yearning for the freer spaces of the spirit and for a nobler way of living won through a firmer self-discipline. Mere self-indulgence and sowing of wild oats, mere lack of restraint, and the vulgarization of speech, manners and conduct, may be revolting. They are not a revolt.

Religion should not lose confidence in itself because of the indifference of the young people of our day to it. Truth does not have to be submitted to the approval of any age group. It is not important to discover whether young people of eighteen or twenty approve of a truth. There are many truths which men resist or ignore when they are young and which they come to cherish and hold dear later on in life. The test of a spiritual truth is whether it does not run counter to demonstrated scientific truth, and whether it functions beneficently in the life of the race. The passing or even permanent mood of a certain age group, or the back-sliding of a generation, is no refutation of truth.

The temper of our age is not religious, or philosophic, or artistic. It is technologic. Our age is not given to speculative thought, or meditation or spiritual questing. It is not hostile to them, only indifferent. Our young people reflect this pervading mood and temper of our civilization. But religion cannot reflect them without totally destroying itself. Religion must labor to bring about a change of emphasis in our present day values and interests, and it must wait patiently and confidently for this change to come about.

It is said that young men today are questioning. That is good. This is the first step. But the next step is for them to try to answer these questions. And when young men set about answering them, they will discover first of all, to their amazement, that nearly all their answers have been anticipated long ago. That will be their first lesson in humility. And then they will discover that no single man or generation can recapitulate the whole record of mankind's vast moral gropings and experience any more than they can recapitulate the whole process of the mankind's acquisition of knowledge. Some things must be taken for granted. It would be foolish for a young man who studies medicine to begin with the physiologic theories of Galen. Morally, youth should begin not where the race began—in the jungle,—but where the race left off, after vast epochs of moral adventure and aspiration.

To our changing world, then, and to every changing world religion offers the same basic thought-pattern—the reality of God, the reality of personality, the reality of truth, beauty and goodness. It cannot depart from these postulates without divesting itself of its soul and its mission. Religion also offers

to our changing world its ancient moral idealism, an idealism which points to the twin-goals of freedom and responsibility, which sublimates human nature without falsifying it, and which demands loyalty to distant social objectives not yet attained. Its morality is more than social mores. It is at peace with some social mores, and at war with others. It evaluates mores and transcends them. It is the call of prophecy.

Religion cannot be all things to all men.



LEGEND

(With Acknowledgements to the Yiddish Poet Frug).

By ESTHER J. MILLER

It is dark in the narrow, little chamber where sleeps the old shamush-dark. In quiet and in peace lies the old shamush. But suddenly in his sleep he hears a rapping like the wooden tread of a lame man between huge crutches. "What's that?" With fear the old shamush starts from his bed and lights his old, little lamp. And what does he see? God, Thou Beloved One! He sees his old cane walk alone from wall to wall. "Oi, that is a bad omen? There's some one dying in this village, some one is breathing his last." And in that moment he hears his daughter cry, "Oh, father hurry! Wake the people, our Rabbi, our Rabbi!"

The night is cold. The stars shiver in a bleak sky. And into the darkness from door to door goes the old shamush. And what is with Deborah, his young and beautiful daughter? She sits at the table and burning tears stream from her eyes. Bitterly she weeps, and as she weeps she murmurs, "Our Rabbi is dying—dying. Spare him, heal him, God, Thou beloved One!" Because even from childhood Deborah loves the old and feeble Rabbi. Because he, the pious One, loves her too. He taught her to pray. He taught her to praise the Lord. He taught her to read and to write. "Learn, Deborah, learn child. Soon thou wilt be a woman grown. And in time as famed and as wise as Deborah—ha—Naveeah, as of old Deborah, the prophetess."

And she sits at the table and burning tears stream from her eyes. Bitterly she weeps and as she weeps she murmurs, "Spare him, heal him, God, Thou beloved One!"

II

In Beth Medrosh, the people have gathered. They have come both old and young to say Tillim. They have come to implore the Borah. But He hears them not.

And they have cast from pure wax an image exactly the length and the breath of the old Rabbi. And they have clothed it. And they have dug a grave—a deep one—as is the ancient ritual. But it helps not, for the terrible

Recreation and Living in the Modern World

The Tyranny of Things

By Abba
Hillel Silver, D.D.



ORGANIZED play and recreation constitute, to my mind, one of the truly noble traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race. And in this regard it is the heir of the older classic tradition of Greece.

A few weeks ago I read the confession of faith of one of England's great scientists and thinkers—Doctor Haldane—in which the following paragraph occurred:

"Moreover, I am British; and what is more remarkable, though of Scottish origin, I believe in England. At the present moment our country counts for less in international politics than during the last century. Nevertheless, some of our ideas and practices are at present conquering the world.

"In Moscow, which has rejected the great British invention of Parliament, there was a word which I constantly noticed on posters. It was not 'Soviet,' or 'Red,' or 'Revolution,' but 'Football.' The same is happening all over the world. Spanish bullfighters are becoming center forwards. German students are taking to football instead of slashing one another's faces.

"And with British sport goes the ethical code called sportsmanship, which future historians may perhaps consider as a British invention as important as Parliaments and railways. I hope to see British sport conquer most of this world."

Sportsmanship, my friends, is of course one of the finest qualities of character. The boy who

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plays the game with fairness and enthusiasm is likely to play the harder game of life equally well. In a real game a man shows his mettle. A real game is won on merit only. In a real game ancestry and influence and position and money count for nothing. In a real game one can't cheat and one can't bully and one can't foul. In a real game opponents are equally matched, as far as possible. And when one adversary is handicapped by weight or size or age, due allowance is made for the fact. And, above all, in a real game there are rules of the game which the players are proud to observe. In a real game, one is a generous winner and a game loser. ~~The words, "game loser" are significant.~~

Now, if men would only carry over into their economic life, their political life, their social life, some of these splendid disciplines of sportsmanship, what a cleansing of the Augean stables there would ensue; how much more of justice and fair dealing and square dealing there would be in our economic organization, and how much less of exploitation and selfishness and cruelty!

Seemingly the world cannot afford to have its game life corrupted as it has had its economic life corrupted, for when once the world loses its play world, its game life, it becomes completely bereft. One need not, therefore, dwell at any length on the moral significance of creative play in the lives of children or in the lives of adults.

Play in the Religious Concept

As yet, we have not, to my mind, fully embraced play and recreation in our religious or reverent concepts. There is still a good deal of asceticism in the religious thinking of the Western World. We are still laboring in our religious thought under that peculiar incantation of the early centuries of the common era when a sense of world weariness, of pessimism, of depression, took hold of the thoughts and the imaginations of men, especially during the centuries of the breaking up of the Roman Empire.)

The whole monastic system which dominated the religious thought of Europe for so many centuries is predicated on the philosophy of utter worldliness, on the philosophy that poverty is a virtue, that celibacy is an ideal, that joy is somehow inherently wicked, that esthetics are the machinations of Satan.

The whole world picture of the European for centuries was this—that this mundane world is somehow only a sad prelude of what is to come later on in the other world. And a survival of this is consciously or unconsciously in the mind of the modern man, too. The man of today is still a bit suspicious about the propriety of being joyous. To work we regard as something sacred. We accept that as a dogma. To play is something which requires a bit of an apology. (To "die in the harness"—that is meritorious. To retire and spend one's declining years in just living is something that verges in the minds of some people very dangerously close to wickedness.)

I have had in my ministry many occasions to deliver funeral orations, to pay tribute to men who passed on. I have said many kind things of them—especially of those who deserved them. I called them "upright," I called them "honorable," I spoke of their great achievements. I have yet to have the courage to say of one who departed, "This man enjoyed life tremendously. He had a wonderful time here on earth, and judging by his disposition, he is likely to have a wonderful time in the hereafter." I am afraid to do it lest the relatives would suspect me of somehow covertly reflecting upon the moral integrity of the deceased.

And yet, my friends, asceticism is only a by-path of religion. It is not the main highway of religion. The main highway of religion is prophetic, optimistic. Why, when you read the pages of your Bible, especially the pages of the Old Testament, almost from every chapter there leaps

up a tense, passionate, life-craving, a tremendous life affirmation—~~joy be.~~ "Worship the Lord in gladness. Come before Him with song." Even the ~~pessimist~~ or the gentle cynic who wrote the Book of Ecclesiastes, declared, "It is good, yea, it is comely for a man to eat and to drink and to enjoy pleasure for all his labor wherein he laboreth under the sun all the days of his life which God hath given him. For this is his portion. Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth and hath given him power to eat thereof and to take his portion and to rejoice in his labor—this is the gift of the Lord. For let him remember the days of his life that they are not many. For God answereth a man in the joy of his heart."

That is a tremendous phrase—"For God answereth a man in the joy of his heart."

One of the sages of my people, many, many centuries ago, declared that in the world to come a man will be called upon to give an account for every innocent joy of which he might have availed himself—and I didn't.

Religion, of course, did not countenance raw, carnal, what we choose to call pagan pleasures—mere self-indulgence, mere licentiousness. Religion preached moderation, temperance; it emphasized the virtue of self-restraint, of man-building and power-conserving, the virtue of continence. But it never frowned upon dance or song or play or food or drink or pleasure or rest or recreation. ~~Never!~~ Nowhere in the Bible do you find that a man should die "in the harness." Nowhere in the Bible do you find that a man shall consume himself in labor. In fact, if you will recall that phrase that "a man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow"—that was a curse pronounced on man for disobedience.

The Bible denounces idleness, indolence, living off the labor of other people—but never joy, pleasure, play, happiness. In fact, it was only very late in the history of our religions that that sharp dichotomy was established in the minds of men between body and soul, between the physical and the spiritual. It was very late that that sharp line of distinction was drawn between the material and spiritual in man.

The great religious thinkers proclaim that the soul is thine and the body is thine. They anticipated the findings of modern psychological sciences of the close interplay and inter-relation of mind and body and of the ideal of establishing an equilibrium, a beautiful balance—"Take hold of this but also of this do not withhold thy hand."

Distrust of Joy in Life is Passing

Now, I think that the American ~~business-man~~ is beginning to lose his distrust of play and joy in life. His problem from now on is not the problem of whether he should indulge in recreation, but how he shall re-create himself. And he is beginning to learn a few things about this subject ~~which is uppermost in the minds of thinking men and women today—the subject~~ of leisure.

In the first place, he is beginning to learn that a man must plan and organize as deliberately, as purposefully, for the proper exploitation of leisure as for the proper exploitation of his working hours. We are beginning to give up that concept of leisure as a sort of an interlude between periods of work, that leisure is only for a man to refresh himself physically so that he will be in better trim to carry on his work.

I say we are surrendering that concept, because for most people their leisure hours are the only hours which life affords them for real living—unless an individual be one whose work is of a creative character, a creative science, a creative art; unless he be one whose very occupation or profession ~~or vocation~~ gives him the opportunity to express himself, ~~his inherent self~~, all the latent capacities of his life, his longings, his hopes, desires; unless he be among those few fortunate ones in society today, the average man will find his opportunity for real living only in his leisure time. In other words, he must build his life upon the economic foundations constructed during his working hours, but his life is the super-structure in which he really lives.

Again, man is learning that he must have leisure, not at the tag end of his life but periodically and continuously throughout his life. There used to be a fiction in the minds of American business men, which took on the sanctity of a dogma, that a man should work, full force, with every ounce of his energy, ~~physically and intellectually~~, all the days of his life until he gets old and is ready to retire. And then he is warranted in enjoying leisure.

Well, that is a fallacy, because a man who is incapacitated by age for work

is also incapacitated for creative leisure. If you are too old to work, you are too old to enjoy leisure, because by leisure today we understand not a static, bovine existence of doing nothing but drifting. To us leisure is not the opposite of activity. It is only another kind of activity. It is free, voluntary, unregimented activity, directed not at profit but at the enrichment of life. It is in our leisure that we are able to pass from the necessary to the desirable. But it is activity—purposeful, affirmative, interesting, living activity. So what we are called upon to do today is not to shift the center of gravity from work to lotus eating, but from regimented work which you have to do in order to earn your bread and butter to free enterprise which gives you the opportunity to adventure into undiscovered continents of the world, to give scope to your imagination, to do the things for which your economic sphere offers no scope.

The Machine Brings Problems

A great deal has been said, my friends, about the machine and its implications as far as leisure is concerned. Well, it is clear, is it not, that the machine has confronted us with two serious problems. First of all, with the problem of increased leisure, for which we have not yet prepared ourselves. And secondly, with the standardization of life which makes the proper use of leisure impossible. More and more the machine will require less and less of human labor. Our swift technological development will soon not require of us six days a week of work, or eight hours a day of work—perhaps only five days will be enough, perhaps only five hours a day.

In years gone by men had to struggle through terrific economic conflicts to wrest the concession of another hour of freedom for the workingman. How many battles were waged for the ten hour day, and then for the nine hour day, then for the eight hour day of work. Today, the machine is thrusting the shorter day and the shorter week upon our economic organization because much of our economic disorganization of today is due to the

Do you know what we need for real living? We need beauty and knowledge and ideals. We need books and pictures and music. We need song and dance and games. We need travel and adventure and romance. We need friends and companionship and the exchange of minds—mind touching mind, and soul enkindling soul. We need contact with all that has been said and achieved through the cycles of time by the aristocrats of the human mind and hand and soul.

overproduction for which a concomitant larger consumption on the part of the masses has not been created.

What are we going to do with this leisure time which is coming to the masses of the world? Leisure can devastate civilization. Leisure can bring us nearer to the Kingdom. It is the challenge of social thinkers of our day to point the way how we can use the increasing leisure purposefully in life for the widening of the mental and the spiritual horizons of men, for the enrichment of their daily life, for giving them greater freedom for higher disciplines in life.

And then the machine brings with it a standardization of life.

It is folly to rave against the machine and the machine age and to maintain that it has brought no blessings to mankind. I question that altogether. The machine, to my mind, has conferred inestimable blessings upon mankind, particularly upon the working classes of the world. It has given them standards of living, higher wages, better conditions of employment than at any time in the history of the laboring masses of the earth.

The machine has lifted the curse of drudgery from the shoulders of the working people. I read not long ago of a New York power company that had built for a California power company a turbine generator which will develop twice the muscle power of all the slaves who lived in the United States before the Civil War. One turbine generator equal to all the manual muscle power of all of the slaves who lived in this country before the Civil War—in fact, not only equal but twice as great.

Think of the moral implications of that! Think of the lifting of the load of drudgery, of back-breaking drudgery, from the shoulders of men and women! And in the long run, my friends, the machine brings greater security and greater stability and greater comforts in the lives of men, and slowly but surely is knitting mankind more closely together.

The Danger of Standardization

I am an optimist about the machine. But I am not blind to its dangers. The very machine which makes possible mass production and distribution because of standardizing the product also has a tendency to standardize the producer. Man is absorbed in the process. Man is mechanized. The machine demands a machine-like organization of human servitors around it. And these human servitors—and all of us in a sense

are the human servitors of the machine—must work with the alignment and precision of pistons, or the machine cannot function perfectly, with the result that the thoughts of men are being driven into grooves; ~~with the result that men are becoming over-disciplined and over-organized; with the result that men are carrying over from their machine world into their social world, their economic world, their intellectual world, that same passion for organization, for uniformity, for discipline, which are indispensable in the realm of the machine, in the realm of production and distribution, but baneful and menacing in the world of ideas, in the world of real human living.~~

Our reactions are becoming mass reactions, our judgments corporate judgments. Life is becoming stereotyped, ~~drab, monotonous, uniform.~~ But real living, my friends, as I see it, is possible only if every child of God is given an opportunity to live his own life, to worship at his own shrine, to fulfil his own destiny, to express, if need be with bleeding fingers, his vision, his hopes, his dreams. The regimentation of life, the standardization of life, the pouring of all people into one mould so that they will all emerge looking alike and acting alike and thinking alike, that is the decadence of culture, ~~and the beginning of cultural sterility.~~

How is man to save himself from this standardization tendency of the machine? Not by smashing the machine; not by escaping from the machine world. He can't do it. He is caught in it. He can escape it only by living his own life in his leisure hours. In other words, society must give a man two worlds in which to live. The machine world, in which he earns his economic competence, and the leisure world, in which he can live his own life, develop his own individuality, in which he can say to the machine world, "Thus far shall thou come and no further."

To salvage our souls we must begin to build a strong leisure life for mankind. And that is the second great problem of the future, as I see it.

I believe, my friends, that some day men will tire of the stupid pursuit after things which they do not need. It is, of course, altogether proper for a man to strive to provide himself and his family with all the requirements of decent, civilized living. There is no virtue in poverty. Involuntary poverty has never ennobled a man, and I dare say it is just as difficult for a poor man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven as it is for a rich man. But beyond the things that we really need for a decent standard of living, man ought

not to spend his precious days and his precious enthusiasms upon increasing and accumulation of things for which he really has no use.

The wise man is beginning to realize how many things there are in the world that a man can get along without, and how frequently the superabundance of things makes of us slaves more abject than poverty ever can. Man does not require much of things to be happy. It is in his passionate pursuit after the more than he requires that the roots of all his unhappiness are to be found.

"How Much Land Does a Man Need?"

The great Russian Tolstoi tells this beautiful legend, which illustrates this simple truism of ours. The legend is called, "How Much Land Does a Man Need?"

Back home was a Russian peasant, who was not rich, but who had enough. He was satisfied. One day he visited a rich relative in the city. And envy made him dissatisfied. And so, what with selling his beast and his horse, what with the one hundred rubles he had saved up, and what with hiring out his son as a day laborer, he got together enough money to buy more land. He planted and he prospered, and he was happy. He thought he knew how much land a man required.

But before very long, rumors reached him of very fertile and beautiful acres of land down in the Volga region which could be had just for the asking. And Josef reasoned with himself, "Why should I remain here in straitened circumstances when there are rich, fertile acres, black soil, fruitful, that can be had just for the asking?" And so he sold his possessions and moved down to the Volga region and acquired many more acres, and planted them. And again he prospered and was happy. He now knew how much land a man really needed.

But—so runs the legend—not very long thereafter word was brought to him of untold stretches of marvelous land which could be had in the interior, hundreds of miles away, almost for a song. And again he said to himself, "Why should I remain here? I will go there. That will be my last stopping place. There I can acquire hundreds and hundreds of acres. There I can build for myself an estate."

And he did. He went there, and he was welcomed, and he was told that he could have all the land that he wanted. There was but one stipulation. The price of all the land that he wanted was a thousand rubles—that is, all the

land that he could cover in a day was his for a thousand rubles. There was but one condition. If he failed to return at sundown to the place from which he started, he forfeited his money.

And Josef was happy. He knew that his sturdy peasant legs would carry him far, would enable him to cover, oh, ever so many miles of land—in fact, all the land that he really needed.

So early the next morning he started out. He traveled in a straight line. Every once in a while he stopped, dug a little pit, filled it with turf to mark the place he had passed, and walked on and on in a straight line, mile after mile, as far and as fast as his sturdy legs could carry him.

Hour after hour passed by. He knew that he should be turning to his left. But then he reasoned to himself, "Oh, this piece of land right ahead of me is so black and rich and fertile and the grass is so green, I can't forego that."

So he carried on in a straight line, mile after mile. The sun was now high in the heavens. Josef turned sharply to his left, and again he carried on in a straight line, mile after mile. By this time he was weary. He wanted to rest. But he said to himself, "Endure it for a while and you will have a whole lifetime in which to enjoy it. Carry on."

And so he did. Mile after mile. But now the sun was setting in the West, and he knew that he should be turning again to return to the starting point. And he did. But as he turned on his third line back to the starting point, he realized that he was fully ten miles away from it. The sun was sinking rapidly, and he was very, very tired. So he took to the double-quick. His mouth was parched. His heart was beating inside of him like a trip-hammer. But he rushed on. He couldn't rest. He thought he would drop dead unless he rested, but he dared not. His money was at stake.

And so, blindly and staggeringly, he rushed on. He threw away his blouse, his flask, his boots, and rushed on and on and on, until finally he came within sight of the starting point. Josef threw out his hands, threw himself forward, a stream of blood rushed from his mouth, he collapsed—and lay dead.

One of the bystanders took a spade and dug a grave and made it just long enough from head to foot—seven feet—and buried him. And that was all the land that the man really needed.

How much land, my friends, do we need for our lives' fulfillment? Not much. But I will

(Continued on page 578)

Character Values of Play and Recreation

By Charles W. Kennedy, Ph.D.

I COUNT it a very special privilege to have been given this opportunity to join in some small degree in the discussions of your Congress. The invitation happened to fall at a time that for me was very filled with other engagements, but I accepted without hesitation if for no other reason than that my own memory went back to the days when this organization during the war in its manifold activities performed one of the most distinguished services for our war camp communities.

I have wondered, when I think of the multiform and varied contacts which this organization has with the problems of sport, of recreation in schools, out of schools, on public playgrounds, and the social implications of those interests—I have wondered just why I should undertake to discuss before you that problem. Perhaps I may be permitted to do so for the reason that I have been for a great many years interested in the correlations that have to be made and ought to be made between sport and the primary and cardinal important functions of schools and colleges.

I sometimes think that there is more talk about sport than is necessary. But it is desirable from time to time to pause and see in what direction a given movement is progressing, how fast, whether it clearly visualizes its goal, how far it is in the way of attaining that goal.

I pick up articles today that refer to sport as it is carried on in American schools and American colleges that seem to me to imply a misconception.

Dr. Kennedy, who is professor of English at Princeton University, serves as chairman of the Board of Athletic Control of that university and is president of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association.

Those articles are sometimes written with an implication that the correlation between sport and school or college is a new one, that in this country,

as was true, sport grew up in schools and in colleges largely through the initiative of the undergraduates themselves—as was proper—that they developed a very great headway, originally, against the indifference, possibly even the suspicion of school and college faculties, and that ultimately they grew to a size where they could not be disregarded, and have been accepted with better or poorer grace.

As a matter of fact, it has been recognized for centuries that sport can—it does not always do so—but sport can contribute to the education of youth values that make for the development of character and

that make for the right kind of social relations.

As long ago as the Spartan civilization it was recognized that sport could do a great deal for the youth of Sparta. Even John Milton, a poet so closely associated with Puritan tradition, in a very interesting letter written to a friend named Hartley in which he was outlining a possible program for an ideal academy, there stated, if my memory serves me correctly, that he would have sport required, compulsory, if you will; and I think his precise phraseology at one point was



is a chance for self-expression that is as vital, if less strenuous, in dramatics, music, handcraft, story hour and quiet games. For those who do not desire to take part in any of these activities, basketball games and entertainment are offered to spectators in the following schools and recreation centers: Manual, Western Jr., Highland Jr., Shawnee Jr., Highland Park and Thruston Square.

"Out of this vigorous use of our leisure, whether it be enforced or otherwise, we may learn to live—actively, richly, fully. Go to your community center and see what it has to offer you."

From *Municipal Recreation*, December, 1930, published by the Division of Recreation of the Department of Welfare, Louisville, Kentucky.

Frederick Lyman Geddes

Frederick Lyman Geddes, an Honorary Member of the National Recreation Association, was one of the staunchest friends the Association has ever had. For a period of thirteen years he gave generously of his time and thought, serving as the Toledo sponsor of the Association's work until late last year when failing eyesight caused him regretfully to withdraw from this activity.

Within a month of his eightieth birthday, Mr. Geddes passed away on October 9, 1930. He is



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mourned not alone by friends of the national recreation movement nor by the city of Toledo where most of his life's work was done, but by good friends all over the world.

He was a pioneer in the glass industry and an internationally known lawyer of rare ability. Although concerned always with large and important affairs, he had an unusual capacity for keeping himself informed on the most minute detail of any work in hand. He had great enthusiasm for the national recreation movement and seemed to enjoy thoroughly his sponsorship of the Association in Toledo. He enlisted the interest and faithful support of many people for the national work. His kindly spirit, gentle nature, and devotion to his family were evident to all who had the slightest contact with him.

Mrs. Geddes and her family of four children and six grandchildren may well be proud of the splendid unselfish service Mr. Geddes has so quietly and so well performed for the recreation movement in America from year to year, and the Association is grateful for the privilege of having counted him as one of its friends.

Recreation and Living

(Continued from page 535)

tell you what we *do* need. We need whole continents for our spirit. We need whole worlds in which our minds can roll.

Do you know what we need for real living? We need beauty and knowledge and ideals. We need books and pictures and music. We need

song and dance and games. We need travel and adventure and romance. We need friends and companionship and the exchange of minds—mind touching mind, and soul enkindling soul. We need contacts with all that has been said and achieved through the cycles of time by the aristocrats of the human mind and hand and soul. We need, above all, health and well-being.

That is our real world. ~~That is our inner world.~~ And that world, my friends, we can fashion, ourselves, largely in our leisure hours.

Character Values of Play

(Continued from page 540)

striving to the utmost, but with that mobilization of effort governed by a chivalrous regard for the opponent and for the rules of the game.

I have no sympathy with the notion that boy or man should play a game in a half-hearted spirit. A sportsman, in my judgment, is one who gives his best and who intends to give his best to whatever cause he espouses, or remain outside. But it is precisely when competition becomes most keen that sport most needs guidance and supervision, that the player may be taught by every agency and method that defeat in the game is nothing as compared with that inner defeat of sportsmanship that stoops to unfair play, contempt of an opponent or an official, brutality of act or bearing, and all that is an offense to chivalry of spirit.

I would have our boys and girls taught the lesson of the amateur standard in a day when it sometimes seems that everything in life is tagged with a price-mark—the lesson that to the sportsman the competition is the joy, the victory is its reward and that a man who sells himself has little left.

I would have our boys and girls learn to endure victory and endure defeat. I would have them learn that life will require, in later years and in more important issues, that they win with magnanimity and lose, if defeat comes, with dignity and courage. I would have them learn to strive to the utmost in a cause without descent to personal bitterness or vindictiveness.

I would have them learn the privilege of striving, shoulder to shoulder, with others, with a sinking of self in a corporate purpose. I would have them learn the joy of clean living at one's highest pitch of zest and enthusiasm. I would have them learn the lesson of discipline and of

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with children everywhere—big and little, boys and girls alike—are these delightful playground devices. Favorites, too, with all who are concerned with playground problems, because they are safe and trouble-free; and because their cost is so small, as compared to the number of children they entertain.



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—a favorite, particularly with the smaller children. They like its sweeping and rising and dipping motion. Room for a dozen children or more.

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which shows more than 50 approved playground devices, and carries interesting information concerning planning and arrangement of practical playgrounds.

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self-discipline by the long and arduous road that leads to excellence in sport as it leads to any other excellence in life. I would have them learn to admire excellence for its own sake, whether it be their own or that of an opponent.

I would have them learn the love of a democratic comradeship that comes from devotion with other men and other women to a common cause in a fair field, with no favoritism, where he is

the better man and she is the better woman who proves it.

Brief Impressions of the Congress

(Continued from page 545)

sion which brought out the importance of recreation as compared with other phases of government. (9) The influence and strength of the organization behind the Congress.

Virgil Dahl, director of recreation activities, Los Angeles County, citing "High Spots of the National Recreation Congress," made the statement that the meeting was a real national recreation congress represented not only by professional recreationalists but by social workers in every field, philanthropists and lay people interested in recreation.

Dr. George J. Fisher, of the Boy Scouts of America, in the November issue of *The Scout Executive*, said: "I was deeply impressed with the type of people who were present at the Recreation Congress at Atlantic City and the degree to which this agency and the scout movement are related in their service to the youth of America, for their program reaches from the drama to nature study, and from games and plays to music and singing."

Music and Drama at Congress

(Continued from page 555)

vice of the National Recreation Association, and *Bless Our Home*, were in the nature of a demonstration and proved exceedingly helpful in showing the recreation workers present how valuable such plays may be in discovering ability in a group before casting characters for a long play. The presentation also demonstrated the value of the use of very short plays for informal club programs, for in presenting these plays little rehearsing is necessary, one rehearsal before the performance usually being sufficient.

The exhibit of the Community Drama Service of the N. R. A. this year created unusual interest and attracted many delegates. A specially prepared curtain of fireproof sateen back of the booth on which light was thrown all day and during the evening from inexpensive lighting apparatus, made an effective background for the exhibit and demonstrated the beautiful effect that can be secured through draperies and lighting at little cost.

Please mention RECREATION when writing advertisers

Our National Debt to the Unemployed¹

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Rabbi, The Temple, Cleveland

WE have overlooked the social menace of unemployment. Periodic unemployment makes for irregular habits, shiftlessness, destroys morale, and undermines a laborer's pride and self-respect. It discourages those who see their small savings, which they had through careful economy set aside for the education of their children or for the purchase of a home, slowly eaten up by the lean weeks and months of unemployment. As their savings vanish, their pride too, and their ambitions vanish. Unemployment disrupts families, for many a man finds the burden of caring for a family too heavy to bear when he is unable to find work.

Unemployment is forcing thousands to the doors of charitable institutions and nothing is more degrading and desolating. For the family of a self-respecting workingman to be compelled to ask charity is to drain the last bitter dregs of the cup of life. This social pauperization of the manhood and womanhood of our land is a blot on the honor of this, the fairest and richest country in the world.

The fear of joblessness is dreadfully demoralizing. It robs a man of that sense of security and stability upon which alone permanent character values can be built. Unemployment is also hurtful to industry and business. A workingman can not be loyal to an industry which may at any moment, at the slightest fluctuation in the market, throw him out upon want and misery. It also interferes seriously with industrial efficiency and organization.

Unemployment is not an insoluble problem. Periodic fluctuations of prosperity and depression are not inevitable. The business cycle can be, to a large extent, controlled. If the same amount of intelligent research and inventive ingenuity which has gone into technical improvement and the production end of American industry had

¹Extracts from address, Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting, American Association for Labor Legislation, Cleveland, Ohio, December 30, 1930.

gone into the problem of the regularization of production, the stabilization of markets, and the control of credits, the dread ghost of the business cycle would have been laid long ago.

Above all, a law should be passed establishing compulsory unemployment insurance for all workingmen. Every workingman is entitled to be protected against involuntary unemployment, just as he is entitled to be protected against the disability of sickness and old age. Unemployment insurance is a legitimate charge against industry the same as accident insurance or fire insurance. The insurance plan should be so drafted and the premiums should be so graded as to put financial pressure upon the employer to steady employment within his industry.

The first concern of a country should be its laboring population. The security of a country rests upon a contented working class. Rich and prosperous America can not afford to subject millions to recurrent periods of unemployment and want and to drive thousands to beggary and alms taking.

Coming Conferences

American Public Health Association: Montreal, Canada, September 14-17.

International Association of Public Employment Services: Cincinnati, Ohio, September 22-24.

International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions: Richmond, Virginia, October 5-9.

National Association of Manufacturers: New York City, October 5-8.

American Federation of Labor: Vancouver, British Columbia, October 12-.

National Safety Council: Chicago, Illinois, October 12-16.

International Association for Social Progress (Fourth General Assembly): Paris, October 18-22.

Taylor Society: New York, December 2-4.

American Association for Labor Legislation (Annual Meeting): Washington, D. C., December 28-30, with the related social science organizations.

A Popular Mayoralty Candidate

AS editors of a business publication we are naturally interested in the incumbency of public offices. Our present political system is so designed that upon the calibre of men elected to office depends the successful administration of National, State and City Government. Particularly in this period of depression it is most important that the men in whom the public repose their confidence be men who have public economy and the best interests of the electorate at heart.

With this in mind we were very much interested in the recent announcement emanating from A. Carson Conway of Danville, Va., to the effect that he will be a candidate for the Mayoralty of Danville in the forthcoming June elections. Mr. Conway will oppose the veteran incumbent Captain Harry Wooding and should receive the support of the majority of intelligent voters of the community.

Mr. Conway's platform will be a most vital one embracing as it does a rigid tax reform policy. Such a policy is probably more important today than ever before in the history of our country. The world-wide depression has had such disastrous effects on the economic life of our country and the personal finances of its citizens that unless the men who are elected take strong steps to conserve public funds and protect the pockets of the taxpayers, what is now but a temporary period of slump may be turned into a real and terrible poverty from which it is possible there might be no recovery. It is upon such a platform of political economy and conservation that Mr. Conway stands. His record in the past has more than demonstrated the fact that he is able to discharge whatever duties may be imposed upon him with due credit to himself and his constituency.



College President Sees World Peace Ahead

AT a recent meeting of the New York Chapter of the Chaplains Association, The Rev. Paul Dwight Moody exhibited a remarkable grasp of the world's affairs today, and told of his firm belief in the power of good will in keeping a healthy spirit in the world as a whole. Rev. Paul Dwight Moody is president of Middlebury College, Vermont, and as such has had a splendid opportunity of observing the trends of the world, as nowhere is there reflected with the same completeness, the

Clifton, New Jersey, in Strong Financial Condition

AT a time when municipalities are experiencing considerable difficulty in placing necessary bond issues due to the involved condition of their finances it is most gratifying to note that the cities which have had the benefits of foresighted and experienced executive ability are in a thoroughly satisfactory condition and are meeting their obligations in a normal manner.

Coming in this class is the City of Clifton, New Jersey. Clifton is located in the heart of a thriving business section and while conditions in that district have been on a par with the rest of the country nevertheless the City Government of Clifton has kept financially alert and as a result the city is today in a satisfactory financial condition. Much of the credit for this situation must go to Mayor Criss Klevit whose record in office has been marked with real progress. Mayor Klevit has been Chairman of the Finance Committee of Clifton for the past three years. He has insisted on genuine efficiency in every department of Clifton's city government and that insistence and his foresightedness in financial matters have won the appreciation and loyalty of the entire citizenry of Clifton.

thoughts of the world, than at a college such as Middlebury.

Such a record is we believe a strong argument against the growing propaganda for the City Management form of government which has been spread throughout the country. It is quite evident to any keen student of economic and political conditions that the electorate system is sufficient when that system is headed by a man of real capabilities.

In congratulating Mayor Klevit on the fine progress which has been made in Clifton the editor of Business & Commerce feels that we are voicing the sentiments of the taxpayers of Clifton as well as the general financial world.

President Moody told of his dislike of anaemic pacifists whose actions were of the impotent, negative type, rather than a strong positive moving for peace thru a conscientious settlement of all disputes. President Moody would have a universal brotherhood of man, in which all were most interested in a clean, close relationship between all peoples, and none of the petty jealousies and rivalries that today mar the contemporary scene.

V. F. W. Council Stands Firm for Bonus

DURING the duration of the world war the greatest national heroes were our soldiers who were serving in the trenches. At the close of the war the attitude both official and public which was expressed throughout the United States attested to the fact that these men were the saviours of the land and that nothing was too good for them. However, time has passed and the service that these men performed have been forgotten by a great many people. Many veterans have been hard hit by the current depression and some are in actual want. It seems to the editors of *Business & Commerce* that there is no time like the present for the government to show its appreciation for services heroically rendered by offering definite compensation which will enable these veterans to tide themselves over the present crisis.

It comes therefore as a surprise that National Commander Henry Stevens of the American Legion should have come out flat-footed in opposition to the payment of a cash bonus to veterans at this time.

However, the action of the Kings County Council of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is not going to sit idly by and let things take its course without an active and forceful expression of its opinion in the matter. Recently, this organization, at a meeting in Borough Hall Building, Brooklyn, at which representatives of the about 3,600 members representing the thirty-five Brooklyn posts were present, adopted a resolution advocating the immediate payment of a bonus to veterans of the World War. Such news is indeed encouraging, expressing as it does the concern that this body has for the needs of veterans everywhere.

Louis Hoffman, County Commander, and one of the most active workers for the passage of the bonus measure presided at the meeting.

• • •

UTILITY EARNINGS

STATEMENTS FOR VARIOUS PERIODS ISSUED BY PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS.

Market Street Railway Company — For
March and twelve months:

| | 1937 | 1931 |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| March gross | \$700,000 | \$737,549 |
| Ret. after ord. tax | 99,383 | 124,615 |
| *Surplus after charges | \$1,000 | 72,828 |
| 12 months' gross | 8,407,361 | 9,041,722 |
| Ret. after ord. tax | 1,225,214 | 1,326,607 |
| *Surplus after charges | 620,797 | 710,641 |

*Before depreciation and Federal taxes.

Cleveland Rabbi Discusses Present Depression

IN a recent sermon delivered at The Temple, East 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver discussed the methods he would use to combat the present depression if he were to be given unlimited authority. The distinguished rabbi's message to his congregation seems to us a message that should be carried to all our people, showing as it undoubtedly does a keen grasp of the situation confronting our national government.

The first step to be taken would be the initiation of a vast construction program, to put men to work, and the Federal Government would be called upon to advance credit to counties and municipalities in order to encourage this construction. Further than this, Rabbi Silver would call upon the Federal Government to back an adequate relief program, to supplement the private and state relief measures already under way.

Rabbi Silver's plea was for work for the unemployed. This is no radical plan for upsetting the functions of our national government,—it is a sound and constructive recommendation that deserves every consideration from those public officials who profess to be doing their utmost to meet the pressing needs of the thousands upon thousands of our citizens who walk the streets of our country today seeking vainly for employment.

As a means of preventing the recurrence of such conditions as confront the nation today, Rabbi Silver advocates two constructive steps that have our unqualified approval, the first, compulsory unemployment insurance for our workers, and the second, reduction in the hours of labor.

Condemning the governmental bureaucracy that has grown up in the past twenty years, Rabbi Silver suggests the scrapping of half of the numerous interlapping and overlapping departments, a step that would materially reduce the expense of government, and would result in more efficient administration. He also voiced in no uncertain terms his opposition to the bonus now sought by world war veterans.

In international affairs, Rabbi Silver proposes the cancellation of war debts in exchange for an agreement by European nations to total disarmament.

Philippine Railway Company—For 1931:

Net loss, \$163,831, after taxes and charges, against net loss of \$169,889 in 1930. Profit and loss deficit, \$4,570,280, against deficit of \$4,263,687.

Rabbi Silver Answers a Zionist Carpet-Bagger

In Scathing Analysis, Noted Pulpiteer Demonstrates Why Maurice Samuel "Disapproves"

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

SOME CRUDE NOSE THUMBING

I HAVE finally read Mr. Maurice Samuel's new book, "Jews on Approval." For weeks now there have been alluring and mysterious whisperings in the Anglo-Jewish press about this book and the awful drubbing which it was going to administer to some American Jewish celebrities and to me. Some choice bits of smart characterization were exhibited in advance by the little Winchells of the Jewish weeklies, in order to make your mouth water.... One press agent pictured me in the process of reading this book and writhing in mortal agony. One New York Jewish doric actually beheld "Jewish flesh bleed and Jewish nerves quiver."

Well, I have read the book; and frankly I am a little disappointed. I had been led to expect great and scandalous and Gargantuan things. I found only old-time kibbitzing and nose-thumbing.

It would be unfair both to the book and to its gallant author to suggest that I was not irritated by it. I was; and in so far as that was its object, the book is a success. Even a cootie can make a man uncomfortable. But then a cootie always remains a cootie....

Mr. Samuel does not like my oratory. He does not like my scholarship. He does not like my book. He does not like my Zionism. He does not even like my salary. Had he expressed an additional dislike for my pompadour and my neckties the catalogue would have been complete. In fact from reading this book I received a distinct impression that Mr. Samuel does not like me. . . .

A PATHOLOGICAL BUSYBODY

WHY doesn't Mr. Samuel like me? That is an interesting question. There are other rabbis in the country whose oratory is quite as bad as mine, whose scholarship is quite as "thin," whose books are quite as "unintelligible" (though not quite as extensively read,) whose salaries are quite as large and whose prosperity is quite as "thick." Why did Mr. Samuel single me out for this Tartar "mi sh-betach" of his?

The tale must now be told, gentle reader. When Mr. Samuel was an employee of the Zionist Organization of America, drawing a salary of \$7,500 a year (plus railroad and traveling expenses, plus extra compensation for every article contributed to *The New Palestine*), for making speeches and otherwise sacrificing himself for the cause, I suggested that his salary should be reduced, in as much as the Organization was operating at a tremendous deficit. To Mr. Samuel has never forgiven me. It has been "burning him up." For some years now he has been going the rounds of towns and kibbitzarnies like a poor mongrel sniffing for scraps of scandal, malicious wisecracks and derisive words, waiting for a day of reckoning. His baffled wrath has now found vent in a pasquinade, written with the deft skill of a longshoreman and with the breeding of a Samuel.

Any man who, like myself, has been in active public life for more than a decade and a half will accumulate enough enemies to last him a life-time. I have my share of them. But Mr. Samuel has been among my most persistent and virulent enemies, goaded on by a hate—and a jealousy—quite pathological. Whenever I have a controversy with a man in public life, Mr. Samuel promptly injects himself into the scene, an uninvited combatant. Wherever there is a circle where his particular brand



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, spiritual leader of The Temple, Cleveland, and one of the most forceful personalities in the American rabbinate.

of anti-Silveriana would be welcome, he is on hand with his little bucket....

BARKING AT MONUMENTAL SERVICE

Ex uno disce omnes. From a knowledge of what prompted Mr. Samuel to pay his compliments to me I infer that a similar spite must have been responsible for his altogether vile attack upon David A. Brown.

It is not my purpose to champion Mr. Brown. He needs no defenders or apologists. I have not always agreed with him. Frequently we had sharp differences of opinion both as regards policies and methods. Each man has his temperamental peculiarities, but each man is entitled to be judged not on the basis of the incidentals which are on the periphery of his character, but on the basis of his essential worth and achievements.

That Mr. Brown gave years of his life and vast energy and devotion to the cause of alleviating the misery of millions of our people in the desperate years of the war and those following the war, no one will deny, and no one, unless he is poisoned by malice, will attempt to depreciate and belittle that monumental service.

Mr. Brown's part in the heroic labor of love and mercy of American Jewry will be remembered long after the vituperations of a scribbling dilettante will have been forgotten.

A MOUTHFUL OF PEBBLES

MR. SAMUEL does not like my oratory. In as much as he has proclaimed me the symbol of the "Americanizing" Rabbinate, which he so heartily detests, I must assume that I am also "the trained product of the elocution schools." The graceful gestures of mine reflect the many hours spent before a mirror. This last image excites Mr. Samuel to such an orgiastic degree that he becomes psychically transported, and with rare clairvoyance actually beholds me pantomiming before a mirror! A

charming bit of playful fantasy, even if not quite original....

One cannot really quarrel with Mr. Samuel's tastes in oratory. "*Chacun à son gout.*" He does not like my style of speaking? *Niche!* He thinks that I am the nearest rival to Dr. Stephen Wise, "who at his best, leaves Silver, —nowhere." Well, that should be very comforting to Dr. Wise and should make Mr. Samuel's job as contributing editor to the magazine edited by Dr. Wise's son's more secure and more remunerative. But for the sake of "historical accuracy"—as my old, beloved professor, Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, used to say—and for the enlightenment of generations yet unborn, I must record the sad fact that I have never studied elocution. I regret that I didn't. Perhaps it is not too late. Perhaps Mr. Samuel would undertake to teach me. . . .

The charming myth of the mirror, must, I regret to say, also go the way of all myths. I seldom use a mirror except in shaving. It is too disillusioning. I would not advise Mr. Samuel to use it—ever. In his case it would be fairly devastating.

The great orators of the past have been known to use strange devices to perfect their art. Demosthenes put pebbles in his mouth to improve his speech. Mr. Samuel might take some pebbles out of his mouth to improve his. This would help his lecture business considerably. . . .

LUCRATIVE BRAYING FOR ZION

MR. SAMUEL does not like my salary. In discussing at great length my salary and that of other rabbis, Mr. Samuel displays an hitherto unsuspected gift of mathematical wizardry. He can figure out to a nicety what my annual income for perquisites and lectures is, thereby putting my own accountancy to shame. His mathematical genius goes still further. He can tell you to the penny exactly what my *revély* income is. This is amazing versatility!

I really sympathize with Mr. Samuel. Why should so much money go to a man like Rabbi Silver when Mr. Samuel is so much more deserving and would be so glad to get it and has been trying so awfully hard and in so many ways, to get it. Surely there is no justice in the world!

But, sympathizing as I do with a man who suffers so much from the world's cruel maladjustments, I should nevertheless like to ask Mr. Samuel one question: What exactly is the relation between one's salary and one's sincerity? At what salary level does sincerity begin or end? Is a man who prays to God at \$600 a week, (using Mr. Samuel's brilliant phrase) more sincere or less sincere than a man who brays for Zion at \$150 per week plus?....

CHALKING UP BACK FENCES

MR. SAMUEL does not like my scholarship. It is too "thin" for him. But how does Mr. Samuel know? What does an Am Ha-aretz know about scholarship? How can a man for whom Rabbinic literature is a closed book, whose knowledge of Medieval Jewish sources is nil, and whose abysmal ignorance of Biblical science is illustrated by a sentence such as the following: "From the God of the Pentateuch (allowing for interpolations as in Deuteronomy) to the God of the Isaiahs we have almost the entire range of spiritual development in man." ("I, The Jew," p. 216)—how can such a man presume to pass judgement on Jewish scholarship? "*Ne supra crepidam auctor judicaret.*" which, being interpreted for Mr. Samuel's benefit. (Continued on page 462)

From the Editor's Mail Bag

Urges Revitalization of Synagogue

TO THE EDITOR:

In the recent article by David A. Brown on the topic of Rabbi, Trustee and Congregation, he demonstrates not only a complete knowledge of these problems, but a true intellectual interest therein; hence, I feel that you might like to know my views in regard to the solution of these vital questions.

One of the misfortunes of our present generation is the lack of proper respect for the rabbi. In years gone by, the rabbi was revered. He was the very staff of Judaism. He commanded the love, esteem and respect of his congregation and community as a whole. That I think, had a great deal to do with keeping more of our brethren in the fold and brought about a greater interest in Judaism.

What are the conditions today? In some synagogues, the rabbi is regarded as an employee of the trustees of his congregation. He is expected to teach in the Hebrew School as well as to take care of minor details of the work of the synagogue. He must be a good fellow, and a good mixer. I am of the firm opinion that that has a tendency to reduce the dignity and respect for the rabbi. Familiarity breeds contempt. If the respect for the spiritual leader is lessened, how can we hope to strengthen the cause which he represents.

To uplift Judaism and to perpetuate our religion, we must first improve its fundamental basis. The rabbi must be placed in the exalted position he occupied in the past. Respect for him must be maintained. His position must be that of teacher, spiritual leader and advisor. He must have full control in all spiritual matters and should not be burdened with questions of administration which are outside of his sphere of ritual or theology. By raising the rabbi to the exalted height he is entitled to, Jewry as a whole will benefit.

The function of the trustees should involve in assisting the rabbi in the formulation of the congregation's religious policies. Financial problems should be the business of the trustees. The trustees should be made up of men who command the highest respect of the community and only those who are good organizers, willing workers and liberal financial contributors.

As to the congregation, all congregations are made up of men of different opinions and since it is hard to please all, the solution to the problem is to do the best that is possible, to please the greatest majority. It is very singular, but a fact nevertheless, very frequently we find the men who demand the most in the congregation, are those who deserve the least.

The greatest need of our time is the revitalization of the synagogue. For thousands of years this institution has been the mainstay of Judaism and the source of our spiritual strength. No other institution has taken its place. To make the synagogue effective, we must respect its spiritual leader, the rabbi.

S. HENRIAT GOLDEN,
New York, N. Y.

No Discrimination Here

TO THE EDITOR:

Cognizant of your interest in Judaism and in the welfare of American Jews and Jewesses, I desire to apprise you of an intolerable condition existing in our city, namely, discrimination against the employment of American Jewesses by Jewish firms.

About two weeks ago, an adver-

tisement appeared in the New York Times to the following effect: "Legal stenographers (3) wanted in busy law office."

On phoning to the number given in the ad I ascertained that it was the office of a very reputable firm. On making application for the position over the telephone, I was asked my religion and, upon advising the person at the other end of the wire that I was an American Jewess, I was informed that they were not engaging Jewish help.

How is one to expect consideration from Christian firms when Jewish firms, whose clientele in most cases are mainly Jews, accord such treatment to members of their own race. In my opinion, such firms are a detriment to their people and the world at large should be made to realize it.

My father has been a subscriber to your publication for a number of years, but at this time I refrain from using my correct name and address for the reason that I am one of the vast number of unemployed, and the publication of my name might hinder me in securing employment. Should you, however, find it necessary for your own purpose of ascertaining my identity, if you will insert such notice in your next publication, I shall communicate with you.

New York, N. Y. HELEN LEVY.

(We have investigated the firm referred to in Miss Levy's communica-

tion. We find that they employ 17 Jewish stenographers.—The Editors.)

A Correction

TO THE EDITOR:

On reading Mr. A. H. Fromenson's interesting and informing article in your issue of February 12, we observe that he includes Palliere's "Unknown Sanctuary" as a financial failure among the books about Jews. As we are the publishers of the English translation of this volume, we are desirous of correcting this impression and are pleased to state that not only has this book been a decided success, but it is now in its third edition.

CHARLES E. BLOCH,
Bloch Publishing Co.
New York, N. Y.

From Former Mayor of Mobile

TO THE EDITOR:

The edition of your journal of February 26th, covering the *Army and Navy Register*, matter, was splendid, and I wish to congratulate you and express appreciation for same. At the same time, please allow me to commend your very fine article "They Knew and Revered Him" in the same issue.

I have had some correspondence myself with the *Army and Navy Register* concerning the slur published

by it. My correspondence with the *Register* has been on a personal basis as an officer in the service, and one who happens to be of the Jewish faith.

Let me add that during more than twenty-five years of association with the Army I have not encountered anti-Semitism. I believe Secretary Harley's fine response to you is evidence of the general sentiment among officers.

I wrote to Secretary Harley and thanked him for his prompt response to your paper. Received a letter from him today. I have served on a Legion committee (not a Republican one) with him.

Mobile, Ala. LEON SCHWAB.

A Sheaf of Bouquets

TO THE EDITOR:

I would not be doing justice if I allowed this opportunity to slip by without expressing to you the appreciation of your attitude in the matter. I simply feel that you are doing a big job in a big name. You are deserving of all the words of praise that could possibly be offered. I express my humble words of praise to you and wish you the greatest success in this new undertaking. We had for years enjoyed the *Jewish Tribune* and, under Mr. Brown's guidance, I believe the caliber of this combined publication will remain at least on par. It will always be my pleasure to make every effort on behalf of the success of this magazine.

HARRY GISHICK,
Boston, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR:

I take this opportunity, as chairman of the Executive Board of the *Jewish Lodge*, to congratulate you upon the splendid manner in which the new publication is functioning. Everywhere I go, I hear complimentary remarks made concerning the *AMERICAN HEBREW AND JEWISH TRIBUNE*. American Jewry needs a first and high class publication, and you are filling the need most effectively.

HAROLD S. BROWN,
New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR:

I wish to vow my allegiance to your paper by helping to make it more popular in the Jewish home to become a welcome visitor in every Jewish household.

(Rabbi) ALEX. I. KATZMAN,
West Palm Beach, Fla.

TO THE EDITOR:

I feel that your policy is wise and making good the subscription of the *Jewish Tribune* is so simple that, although pressed, I am sending my renewal for an additional year as a token of my appreciation. Good luck.

(Rabbi) ISADORE FRANTZ,
Newport News, Va.

TO THE EDITOR:

We certainly appreciate what you are doing for all the fortunate subscribers of the *Jewish Tribune*. We are very familiar with *The American Hebrew* and think it is a wonderful magazine. When our year is up, we shall be proud to renew our subscription with you. I shall do everything in my power to get the members of my family, as well as friends, to respond to your wonderful spirit of loyalty to Judaism and to subscribe to your magazine.

(Mrs.) A. KATZ,
So. Ozon Park, L. I.

Frumberg Lauded at Banquet to Congressman Dyer



Abram M. Frumberg

FOR a very talented and successful man known to the public, there is another who has so completely effaced himself from the glare of publicity that he is known for what he is, by just a few intimate associates. Publicity is a strange commodity. Sought by some, it is repulsed by others. But it is a mighty force, relentless in pursuit of what it deems fitting subjects. Many men glow, momentarily, before they are truly evaluated, in the illumination of undeserved publicity; likewise, some few manage, but not for long, to escape their just public acclaim.

And strangely, enough, it is often quite accidental that a hidden light is discovered in its proper setting. Abram Morgan Frumberg is a case in point. One of New York's leading corporation attorneys, a former St. Louis judge, and rated as one of the leading trial lawyers of his day, he

is almost totally unknown to New York prints. But for a dinner tendered by Mr. Frumberg to Congressman L. C. Dyer of Missouri, ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee and now a candidate for election to the United States Senate from his native state, it is unlikely that the name of Frumberg would ever have emerged from its customary place in the background.

In honoring Congressman Dyer at a dinner in New York, at which leaders in all fields of endeavor feted the Congressman, Mr. Frumberg unwittingly honored himself. While leading in the tribute to the Representative who for twenty-two years has served his state, and has been a potent factor in judicial affairs, Mr. Frumberg was honored by the guests along with Congressman Dyer.

The speakers of the evening, in addition to the Congressman and Mr. Frumberg, were: Presiding Judge Martin T. Manton of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Julian W. Mack of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Guy F. Fike of the United States District Court, George Z. Medalle, United States District Attorney, William M. Everts, prominent attorney, and David A. Brown, the publisher of the *AMERICAN HEBREW AND JEWISH TRIBUNE*.

Congressman Dyer, who has long been a friend of Jews, first commented on Mr. Frumberg's activities and achievements in public life. In no uncertain terms he stated that it was the consensus of St. Louis opinion that New York was gaining what St. Louis had definitely lost when Mr. Frumberg left for New York in 1928. In St. Louis, Mr. Frumberg had twice served as a justice of the Criminal Court. His practice now, however, is a corporate one and he is considered a leading trial lawyer.

Born in Towanda, Pennsylvania, 52 years ago, Mr. Frumberg was educated at Lafayette College and New York Law School. He is married and the father of two children.

The Question Box

Conducted by DR. JOSHUA BLOCH

(Chief of the Jewish Division, New York Public Library)

(Questions of a general nature only are answered in this column. All others are answered by personal letter.)

Q.—I am looking for a poem on Queen Vashti written by a Gentile poet. Can you please furnish me with the text of that poem as well as with the name of its author?

LENA D. KAUFMAN,
New Orleans, La.

A.—Queen Vashti is the subject of several poetic compositions. Dr. George Alexander Kohut in his splendid collection of poems and dramas, entitled "A Hebrew Anthology," reproduces John Edmund Keade's long poem *Queen Vashti's Lament*, and the following poem by Helen Jackson (1831-1885):

Vashti

In all great Shushan's palaces was
there
Knew me, O Vashti, knowing thee so
well,
Poor uncrowned queen, that he the
world could tell
How thou wert pure and loyal-souled
as just—
How it was love which made thee
bold to dare
Before the shame which madmen
would compel?
But now, who saw the bitter tears that
fell
And heard thy cry heart-rending on
the air?
"Alas! My Lord could not this
thing have meant!
He will might loathe me ever, if I go
Before these drunken princes as a
slave."
I am his queen; I come of king's
descent.
I will not let him bring our crown
so low,
He will but bless me when he doth
repent!

Q.—Is it true that the Megillah which is joyously read on Purim contains no reference to God?

JENNIE A. ROHOLD,
Louisville, Ky.

A.—Yes, it is true. Not once in the Book of Esther does the name of God occur. It was on this account that a Rabbi in Talmudic days doubted the canonicity of the Megillah.

Q.—I am told that Judaism encourages its adherents to drink to excess on Purim. Is this actually so?

(MRS.) THELMA P. GROSVENOR,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A.—In the Babylonian Talmud (Megillah 7b) it is stated that one should drink wine on Purim until one can no longer distinguish between "Cursed be Haman" and "Blessed be Mordecai." However, this seeming encouragement of intemperance was explained as a mathematical joke, arising from the fact that the numerical value of the original Hebrew for the phrase "Blessed be Mordecai" (Baruch Mordecai) and "Cursed be Haman" (Arur Haman) equals 502. The second interpretation is less satisfactory. It maintains that on Purim one should take a little more wine than usual, so as to induce a peaceful nap, when, of course, the distinction would be lost in sleep.

Q.—I am anxious to study the history and philosophy of our religion. Will you please recommend some books that are understandable to the layman; books without technical expressions?

Bronx, N. Y.

LILLIAN GRAY.

A.—There is a goodly number of splendid publications in the English language, "without technical expressions" from which one may readily obtain an excellent knowledge of "the history and philosophy of our religion." The late Morris Joseph's "Judaism as Creed and Life" which has gone through many editions is a classic and serves the purpose most admirably. So also is Dr. Julius H. Greenstone's "Jewish Religion." M. Friedlander's "Jewish Religion" presents the teachings and practices of orthodox Judaism. Prof. Samuel S. Cohon's "What We Jews Believe" which was recently published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations may be recommended to any one desiring an up-to-date treatment of present-day Judaism.

Rabbi Schulman on Palestine Cooperation

(Continued from page 451)

can practically be expressed only by the readiness to help the Jew wherever and in whatever manner will give him the best immediate assistance.

"Whatever our theoretical opinions may be, it is a fact that the world has made a gesture in the form of a promise to the Jews, and a self-respecting Jew feels that such promises when made to Jews should not be conceived as lightly made.

"It is our duty to help the Yishuv in Palestine in recognition of the spirit of idealism in which the pioneers are working there, and to give the world the impression that we will not let that settlement fail."

As one listens to Rabbi Schulman one has the conviction that closer relationship between him and the Zionists will bring about an understanding and a harmony that distant polemics have failed to achieve. Vigorous, emphatic in the form and content of his speech, the rabbi of Temple Emanu-El does not give any indication that he is sixty-seven years old. He radiates a love for the Jewish people, a deep understanding of their needs and their problems. He has not been chilled intellectually or spiritually by the alleged "ethical coldness" of Reform Judaism. He has all the fire and the fervor of the enthusiastic idealist, even though he is constrained by the precise and objective logic of his philosophy of Jewish life. His sense of humor is famous. His bon mot: "We Jews want to be *bagoyim* not *bagoyim*" created a sensation in Palestine, where it was first uttered during Rabbi Schulman's visit there.

Though believing that the Jewish Agency cannot be completely effective until it stops being a shadow of the Zionist Organization, and though he feels that the "larger Agency should do the work of uniting Jews for promoting the settlement of Jews in Palestine without any nationalistic metaphysics," Rabbi Schulman is the symbol of the gradual effectuation of the Jewish Agency idea. Stirred by Jewish needs, sensitive to Jewish suffering, Rabbi Schulman has given a demonstration of his willingness to help practically in a project, even when he differs radically from his partners in the promotion of the undertaking. He is making good the pledge he took at Zurich as a non-Zionist. He is showing that Jewish leadership consists in being intellectually aggressive and practically effective.

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Opening of New York Campaign For Palestine to Give Impetus to National Effort to Raise \$2,500,000 Quota

At Town Hall, on Thursday evening, March 24th, New York Jewish leaders will gather to give a signal to their city and to the country at large to launch immediately upon the effort to raise \$2,500,000 for Jewish reconstruction work in Palestine during 1932. In New York City the leader of the forces is Nathan Straus, Jr., whose title is chairman of the American Palestine Campaign of Greater New York. Associated with him is Rabbi Samuel Schulman of Temple Emanu-El.

This year's fund-raising effort for Palestine is marked by emphasis on the stability that has been displayed by the Jewish community in Palestine despite the adverse psychological and economic factors of the past year. The keynote for the campaign throughout the United States has been struck by Louis Lipsky, chairman of its Administrative Committee, who has pointed out that, considering the grave handicaps, Palestine has made remarkable progress and has withstood the forces of despair. In contrast to the situation that prevails in Europe, Jewish conditions in Palestine present a picture for confidence and optimism, Mr. Lipsky has declared.

The renewal of faith in the work that has been carried on in Palestine during the past twelve years will be the theme of the speakers at the Town Hall meeting this week. Nahum Sokolow, president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, will touch upon the current political situation and review Jewish achievements in Palestine in the light of what had been expected when the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home was begun. Among the leaders in the Palestine rebuilding effort who will speak at Town Hall are Felix M. Warburg, Nahum Goldmann, German Zionist leader; Louis Lipsky, Morris Rottenberg, Rabbi Samuel Schulman, Nathan Straus, Jr., and others.

The response to Nathan Straus' appeal for wide participation in the American Palestine Campaign in New York has been the acceptance of responsibility by numerous men and women who had previously felt disinclined to accept the task of fund-raising at this time. At meetings, parlor meetings and private conferences with a variety of New York leaders, Mr. Straus has emphasized that it is just because the task is so hard that it is essential that the best and most aggressive Jewish forces in the city give the stimulus to the rest of the community. The list of sectional chairmen and officers who are serving with Mr. Straus in the New York campaign includes men who give every indication of making a success of the 1932 fund-raising effort.

ALTHOUGH there will be no appeal for funds at the Town Hall meeting, the period preceding it has been utilized for securing as large and as many contributions as possible, in order that a substantial part of the funds may be immediately dispatched to Palestine. This appeal to the country at large to start on campaigns immediately and to secure the bulk of the gifts in cash is attributable to the exchange situation. Due to the status of the English pound, the American dollar has a far greater value in Palestine than it had a year ago. It is pointed out that if American Jews would maintain their rate of giving which prevailed last year, Palestine would be able to keep open the institutions which have been threatened for many months. The greatest difficulty has been encountered with the schools,

which had been closed for many weeks due to the fact that salaries of teachers had been unpaid for a long period. A number of colleges, which have been maintained over a period of years, are also facing the prospect of abandonment.

Leaders of the American Palestine Campaign are emphatic in pointing out that the situation of the activities of the Jewish Agency does not adequately reflect the general economic condition in Palestine. The former are dependent on the participation of Jews throughout the world. They have suffered very considerably due to the prevailing financial depression. But Palestine itself radiates confidence in its stability and its ability to come through the present economic crisis with its institutions sound and strong.

The sectional officers of the American Palestine Campaign are:

Bronxville and East New York: Jacob H. Cohen, president; Samuel A. Telsey, Morris Sapir, honorary

vice-chairmen; Dr. H. D. Rosenberg, chairman, Executive Committee; Jacob Rothstein, treasurer; A. Cantor, associate treasurer.

Williamsburg: Max Blumberg, chairman; Dr. N. Balber, chairman, Administrative Committee; Levy Rokeyach, treasurer.

Flatbush: Max Kiss, Israel Matz, honorary chairmen; Albert D. Schanzer, chairman; Samuel Berson, treasurer.

Manhattan Beach: Julius Nathanson, chairman.

Eastern Parkway: Jacob Goell, chairman; Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Samuel Rottenberg, associate chairmen.

Boro Park: Rev. Z. H. Maslansky, honorary president; Dr. Harold M. Weinberg, president; Rabbi Moses J. S. Abels, Rabbi E. M. Finkelstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Rabbi M. A. Kaplan, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Rabbi M. Sharff, Rabbi I. Schorr, Rabbi Aaron

Teitelbaum, honorary vice-president; Joseph Dauber, treasurer; Isidor Lerner, associate treasurer.

Brown: Louis Ahadad, honorary chairman; Max J. Schneider, chairman; Bernard S. Deutsch, Hon. Bernard Mogilesky, Dr. Harry Projanz, associate chairmen; Alexander Selig, treasurer; David Pasmantier, associate treasurer.

West Side: Congressman Wm. K. Cohen, chairman; Judge Hyman J. Reit, associate chairman.

East Side: Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, honorary chairman; Philip Loria, chairman; Murray April, chairman, Executive Committee; Jan Fishman, Dr. S. Margoshes, honorary vice-chairmen; Morris Eisenman, treasurer.

Far Rockaway: Sol Telesky, chairman.

Rockaway Park: Judge Wm. E. Wiener, chairman.

Yankers: Wm. Feldman, chairman; Wm. Fondiller, treasurer.

Rabbi Silver Answers Maurice Samuel

(Continued from page 457)

means: "cobbler stick to your last."

A gentleman whose sole talent lies in appropriating key-ideas of other men and jazzing them up or in writing those things which spiteful urchins write on back fences with chalk, (Dr. Wise, who is grateful for having been "let down easy" this time, calls that sort of writing "unpurchasable and untarnished truth-speaking"...ya, ya... quite as unpurchasable and untarnished as Arthur Strawn's "Prophet a la mode"...),—such a gentleman, ought really not to dabble in matters of scholarship.

Mr. Samuel does not like my Zionism. "It is thoughtfully modulated and held in admirable restraint." Here again I should like to ask a question of Mr. Samuel. When may a Zionist be said to hold his Zionism in admirable restraint? When he restrains himself from "borrowing" thousands of dollars from the Zionist Organization without authorization?... Would you say that a man who has been graciously but firmly advised by a committee of impartial judges that, for the best interests of the Movement, he should not continue in any Zionist office or on any Zionist committee—would you say that that man's Zionism needs some admirable restraint?...

A CARPET-BAGGER JUGGLES RACIAL CHAUVINISM

TEN years before Mr. Samuel graded these shores to become the professional carpet-bagger of the Zionist Movement, I had organized the first junior Zionist society in America. Since that time, and for twenty-eight years, I have been actively identified with the Movement. Mr. Samuel, who has had to conjure his Zionism out of a cosmic mystery, and with hair-raising intellectual acrobatics has had to walk the tight-rope of racial chauvinism, and who seldom spoke or wrote for Zionism without a cash down payment, now presumes to teach me my Zionist catechism.

Mr. Samuel does not like my social and economic views. He charges me with being "safe." "No money-lender or employee of labor was ever stung into a moment of self-searching by a rude hint that the Jewish mission of social justice has some

sort of personal application." I am sending a copy of this to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, The Associated Industries of Cleveland and the Merchants' Association of Ohio. It will give them the laugh of their lives. I am also reprinting that statement in my *Temple Bulletin* to give my own people a hearty laugh. I shall send a copy of it to the Cleveland Bystander which during the recent hotel employees' strike viciously denounced me: "for the prejudice and intolerance which he (Dr. Silver) displayed in so completely and passionately condemning one side (the hotel owners) and so entirely and unquestioningly espousing the other (the hotel employees)." Also one to *Church Management*, of Cleveland, which recently carried the following: "While Christian ministers are debating among themselves whether or not it is good strategy to speak out in labor disputes, Rabbi Silver speaks and the city listens."

Mr. Samuel does not like my book, "Religion in a Changing World." There are others who didn't like it, particularly those vainglorious racialists who, like Mr. Samuel, believe that "God is a Jew" and that "the religious feeling of all people who are not Jews is trivial," or those who belong to that anomalous breed of Jewish agnostics who choose to champion vicarious orthodoxy, or those Jewish atheists who find no ideological discrepancy whatsoever in officiating as Rabbis in Conservative congregations.

"MAURICE, WAS SHE A BLONDE?"

I SUSPECT that Mr. Samuel is especially wrought up about my latest book because it proved so successful. My other books didn't bother him at all. Of course, he found certain portions of my book "unintelligible." A befuddled mentality which could produce such appalling Serboian bogs of intellectual confusion as "You Gentiles" and "I, the Jew" would quite naturally find "Religion in a Changing World" too lucid for comprehension. Even a friendly reviewer of "You Gentiles," in the *New Palestine*, could go no further in his praise of that book than to say: "The proportion of such rash and baseless pronouncements is too great for one

book"...and a reviewer of "I, the Jew" in the New York *Herald-Tribune* thus summarized both Mr. Samuel's scholarship and his style: "The fluency of his writing and he is merely rhapsodizing, as opposed to his platitudes, his redundancies, his helpless apologies and his all too spacious coherence when he is arguing, is sufficient to declare him a protestant against rationalism even if he did not explicitly proclaim his aversion to it..."

I have one final question to ask Mr. Samuel. That "lady in Jerusalem who nearly flung herself on my bosom with the words, 'You are big, beautiful Rabbi' " was she a blond?... And what do you mean "nearly"?... I recall many pleasant experiences in Jerusalem, but one unfortunately and quite regrettably escapes me. Such a charming accolade I should remember, especially when others for whom it was intended, are able to remember it. Maurice, was she a blonde?... Is are you sure that it happened in the holy city of Jerusalem? Perhaps beside the Wailing Wall? Perhaps in the moonlight?... I am really very much intrigued—and so is Mr. Silver....

DISTANCE LENDS DISCREPANCY

I HAVE NOT had one hour's conversation with Mr. Samuel in fifteen years. He does not know me. He only hates me. Perhaps as a contrast to his imaginary portrait of me, I should offer the following from a colleague who worked with me in Cleveland for eight years in almost daily contact and in closest cooperation:

"In the eight years that I have been in the city of Cleveland I have often thought that there is no more stimulating, no more inspiring source for the personality of Abba Hillel Silver.... He is today not only the successor to the Jewish scholar of old, he is also the preacher and prophet of old.... In Rabbi Silver we find harmoniously blended these two functions, the preacher, the one who kindles the light, the scholar who spends long hours in the study.... I know of few men in the country who have kept their pulpits on the level at which Rabbi Silver has kept."

(Continued on page 467)

Rabbi Silver Answers Maurice Samuel

(Continued from page 462)

What a temptation it must be to a man with his power, to a man with his magnanimity,—to stoop to meet the demand of the populace. . . . He has maintained the dignity of the pulpit."

The above words were spoken at my train anniversary celebration in Cleveland by one whom Mr. Samuel believes to be "a scholar and a thinker."—Rabbi Solomon Goldman—who was once a rabbi in Cleveland and who is now, unfortunately, taking glee at everyone—but himself—in Chicago.

SAMUEL'S SLURS CANNOT SULLY RABBINATE

AS FOR a word, to my colleagues of the "Americanizing Rabbinate" whose symbol I am supposed to represent. If it is true that "my example has done more to mould the aspirations and ideals of young rabbis than any other single influence of the decade" (an exaggeration—albeit flattering), I am really quite happy. For I like my young colleagues and,

in many ways, am very proud of them. I have seen them at work in their communities faithfully and capably carrying on the fine traditions of their calling.

They are serving the cause of Judaism in their pulpits, in their religious schools and in Jewish communal life. Many of them are responsible for whatever active Jewish life and for whatever liberal thought there are in their communities. New schools, synagogues and community centers have sprung up throughout the country as a result of their initiative and labors. Quietly and without heroics they are going about improving their schools, their teaching staffs and their curricula. Some of them excel in preaching, others in pastoral work, others again in communal work and still others in teaching. Every Jewish cause of merit, cultural or philanthropic, whether local, national or international, receives their cooperation. *The New Palestine* writes editorially in its issue of January 23d, 1925: "Go through the cities of the land today and you will find, wherever a united Jewish community has been established, that the Reform congregations and their rabbis are cooperating in work for Palestine, and often in regular Zionist work. It is needless to cite examples. Look at Cleveland, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York."

The national chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee declared recently: "One outstanding and encouraging fact which I experienced during the past year was the quality of leadership and the willingness to cooperate of our American Jewish ministry."

A BRAGGART'S CROCODILE TEARS

IF Mr. Samuel's dolorous katzenjammer over the fate of American Israel is ridiculously unreal and unwarranted, it is due in no small measure to the devoted labors of these men. I trust that they will not be "bluffed out" of the legitimate pride and satisfaction which their ministry brings them by the covenanted and jealous criticisms of the journalistic free-lancers roaming the American Jewish scene today. These pseudo-intellectuals, whose second-rate talents have failed to impress the non-Jewish world, have in recent years attempted to rise to leadership in American Jewish life through bluster and *chutzpa*, and they have failed. Defeat and impotence have made them jealous and vindictive.

They brag about Jewish culture and know least about it. All of Mr. Samuel's apostrophies to Jewish learning and scholarship are but a camouflage for a profound and appalling *Am Ha-Arazuth*.

The *Menorah Journal* crew, which so vociferously clamored for Jewish culture, was itself completely and totally innocent of it. It remained for the Chancellor of Menorah, himself, to remind his managing editor, Elliot E. Cohen, that he, Cohen, knew neither Hebrew nor Yiddish, and that he was as much at home in Jewish literature as a fish in the Gobi desert. And the Chancellor, himself, let it be remembered, is not always sure whether Jewish culture is *milchig* or *fleischig* or Bolshevik. . . . This bluff and intellectual charlatanism, this ignorance which breeds impudence, which I exposed in my two articles, "Why Do The Heathen Rage," have now been confirmed by the *Menorah* boys themselves who, having fallen

out, are for the first time telling the truth about each other.

BEWARE OF CULTURE QUACKS

I SHOULD advise my young colleagues to remember that these men,—Hurwitz, Elliot Cohen, Herbert Solow, Felix Morrow, Maurice Samuel, Johan Smertenko and their like—are disgruntled and embittered Jewish culture fakers. They roar and vocalize and say nothing. Isaiah knew their *schmerz*: "We have been with child, we have been in pain; we have, as it were, brought forth—wind."

My young colleagues will also not be impressed with the ill-mannered criticisms which, from time to time, are launched at them by some of their own colleagues, who seem to have appointed themselves, through an ordination of spontaneous combustion, to the office of conscience-keepers and scolds of the Rabbinical profession.

Recently a Rabbi from the Windy City raked his colleagues over the coals for being "soft," and for being incapable of suffering deprivations and bearing hardships. The sole martyrdom to which this gentleman has been subjected during his years of ministry has been the cruel necessity of consuming three square meals a day.

My young colleagues will not be impressed by this humbug or over-awed by it. They will quietly and patiently carry on. They—and not the culture quacks like Hurwitz, the journalistic lame-ducks like Smertenko or the knights of swashbuckling generalities about race, culture and nationalism, like Samuel,—are the true builders of American Jewish life.

The Publisher's Column

(Continued from page 463)

attached to both of them. Their loved one has been torn from them. The suspense of these days of uncertainty is beyond the power of words to describe. But they have not suffered alone. The world is suffering with them. Their suffering will not have been in vain, for it will result in the eventual in preventing much suffering on the part of greater numbers. We are all praying that the child will be returned to his parents safely. But in any case, the warning bell has sounded and the forces are already mobilizing—men, women and even children in every walk of life, to join this vast army whose main and only objective will be to do battle and to destroy this vicious monster which has grown up in the past decade and is threatening to undermine the peace of what on the whole is a law abiding people.

Gangdom is already running to cover. They are in hiding awaiting an opportune moment to rear their ugly heads, in the hope that this will all blow over and that when it does, they will be able to continue unmolested their work of terrorizing those from whom they exacted large sums of money which enabled them to grow fat in the past years.

In this they have mistaken the temper of the people. This episode will not blow over. There is determination written on every face to stamp out this evil. It will be a war to the finish. There will be no armistice. There will be no peace until such time as every racketeer, every kidnaping gang, every gangster, and every group of organized gangdom are placed where they can do no harm or quit this nefarious business that they are at present engaged in. Yes, the Lindbergh baby WAS THE LAST STRAW!

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THIS MAN IS MY BROTHER

by Myron Brinig

Author of *Singermann*

Socialist *Leavis* says: "Myron Brinig, in 'This Man Is My Brother,' brings out the contrast between a brilliant Jewish family and the Montana mining-town in which they live, a true American three-dimensional novel. The book is not merely 'clever' and 'promising,' it is important." Like *Magnolia Street*, this novel is rich in character and incident; within the life of a single family you see at work the forces of disintegration, Jew against Jew, brother against brother. 300 pages, \$2.50.

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As Dr. Weizmann Sees It

(Continued from page 453)

strongly rooted in the soil and not withstand storms more easily. But the work in the Diaspora is already disintegrating, and the disintegration will reach Palestine, too. This tragedy must be averted.

True, there is the terrible economic depression to be taken into consideration. But it is Dr. Weizmann's conviction that the depression is already being taken too much into consideration. It is being used as a screen to hide many other deficiencies besides the financial. Jewry as a whole has so far done so little for Zionism that even if the economic depression becomes more acute than it is now, there is yet much left that can be done without real hardship or sacrifice.

We all live in great error on this particular point, he proceeded to elaborate his interesting theory. The world at large thinks that Jews have accomplished wonders in Palestine during the last decade, and that they have made great sacrifices for the national home. But Dr. Weizmann does not share this view. Jews have sacrificed for Zionism only the belongings of their rich tables, and there is still a large margin left before the point of sacrifice is reached, and before the economic crisis can affect the real giving capacity of the people. He has facts and figures to prove his theory amply, and he hopes to do this

in his Memoirs on which he is engaged

now. His experience of the last six months of work for the Keren Hayesod confirm this view, he claims, and show that the financial crisis has not at all affected the collections of the Keren Hayesod in Europe, Germany, Belgium, Holland, England, all countries heavily hit by the crisis, have raised their full quotas. England has even surpassed it. The trouble is not so much with the great masses of the Jews as with the Zionists themselves. It is they who have lost spirit and are holding behind the crisis. It is the emergency which has to be fought now. What is needed is an inner Zionist re-awakening.

AN UNDERSTANDING with the British Government is the second important issue before the Zionist Movement, according to Dr. Weizmann. Such an understanding is obviously essential, for at present we do not seem to know where we stand with Great Britain. The time is approaching when the situation will have to be cleared up. England is now undergoing a tremendous internal revolution. Everything is being reevaluated, and the present reevaluation will stand for many years to come. Palestine can be no exception. Hitherto, the Government was busy with other, graver,

and to them, more serious matters. But the time is nearing when the policy in regard to Palestine will also be taken up and determined, and Zionists must be ready for this moment, for the fate of Palestine for generations to come will be decided then.

This problem is closely connected with the problem of an Arab-Jewish understanding and a Round Table Conference. When he was in Palestine last he found that a good deal could be done in that direction. Whether the same conditions prevail now, he cannot say at present. He is out of politics, and does not care to express an opinion on subjects in this field, lest it should be said that he is interfering with the work of the new Administration.

To compensate me for his reticence on this subject, Dr. Weizmann spoke very freely, however, about his Memoirs on which he is now engaged. He writes regularly every day, and the work is proceeding very well. He is evidently getting into the swing of the thing, and warming up to the subject, for he spoke with great animation about it and told me some interesting details.

For instance, he has started his Memoirs not with the conventional beginning of birth, but from 1902. The whole of his childhood and early youth are left out. The *Cheder*, the *Melamed*, the whole of Pinsk and all that which serves so well to create the sentimental background of the conventional Jewish autobiography is omitted entirely. He begins with the year of his entry into the Zionist Movement, and immediately plunges into the tale of stormy events, and the clash of parties and of personalities of that period.

He has already passed the years of the 1905 Revolution in Russia, and is approaching his English period. Judging from what he has told me, the book, when ready, will be one of the most fascinating biographies of our period, a living history of the Zionist Movement as well as a revelation of a colorful, dynamic personality.

Somehow the thought of Trotsky pouring out the restlessness of his fiery soul into the histories and biographies for lack of more real work, did not leave me throughout our conversation about the book. I felt the pity

of it poignantly, but I felt the pity of it big, Victorian library and wondered whether, after all, the Revisionists did not serve the Jewish people well by forcing a vital personality to break off his very best of his work to give a picture of the stormy road traveled before it has become a vague memory, and while it is still a serious reality.

I do not know if the Jewish people will thank them for this but Jewish History and Biography will be

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ANNOUNCEMENT
Rabbi and Mrs. Raphael Goldenstein, announce the birth of their first born son, Henry Philip, on Saturday, February 6, at the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, Los Angeles, Calif.

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thou me? Ask them who have heard what I spoke unto them: Behold they know what things I have said.' "

"Some brute standing nearby," Dr. Sheen continued, "feeling himself the humiliation of the high priest at such an uncompromising response, struck our blessed Lord across the face with a mailed fist, drawing out of him two things: blood, and a soft answer: 'If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?' That soldier of the court of Annas has gone down in history as the representative of that great group who feel an intense hatred against divinity, but who never clothe it in intellectual language, but in violence alone.

"All that happens in the life of Christ happens in the life of the church. Here in the courtroom of Annas I find the reason for the Catholic church's attitude in refusing to take part in movements for federation such as those inspired by present world conferences on religion. . . . In so many words the church says to those who invite her: 'Why askest thou me about my doctrine and my ministry? Ask them that have heard me. I have spoken openly through the centuries, declaring myself the spouse of Christ, founded on the Rock of Peter. Ask those who have heard me. . . . I know that you will welcome me to your conferences if I say that I am not divine; I know ritualists throughout the world feel the need of my ceremonials, and would grasp my hand if I would but relinquish my claim to be divine. . . . I know the church doors of the world would rejoice to see me pass in. I know your welcome would be sincere. I know you desire the union of Christendom—but I cannot! "Why do you ask me?" If your first principle is that I am not divine, but just a human organization like your own, that I am a human institution like all other human institutions founded by erring men and erring women; if your first principle is that I am human, not divine, then there is not common ground for conference. I must refuse.' "

[From *The Roman Catholic Register*, Denver, Colo.]

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dr. Willett's Article one of the Best that has appeared in recent years.

Editor The Christian Union Quarterly,

SIR: I have read with pleasure Dr. Herbert L. Willett's article "The Jews and Christians" which appeared in *The Christian Union Quarterly* of January. It is a well informed, fair, and sympathetic statement of the position of the Jew in the modern world.

I am afraid that Dr. Willett has under-stated the problem of anti-Jewish prejudice to-day. There has been a rising tide of anti-Jewish sentiment throughout the Western World, as well as in the United States. In Eastern Europe and in Germany to-day it has taken on menacing proportions. The German youth is being indoctrinated with a medieval anti-Jewish ideology and the Jews of Poland, Roumania, Hungary, and Austria are being hedged in with economic, political, and educational disabilities.

The situation in the United States, as far as the growing discrimination against Jews in the economic life of the country and in the professional and educational life is concerned, is becoming increasingly more serious. I have been critical of "The Committee of Good-will between Jews and Christians" because it has not faced the realities quite squarely and has concerned itself almost entirely with ideal abstractions on which nearly everyone can agree and ignored the troublesome, concrete facts which impinge upon life and control action.

I believe too, that Dr. Willett has under-estimated the importance of the Zionist Movement in the modern Jewish world and over-estimated the significance of Jesus' life and ideals as a possible meeting place in the future of Jew and Christian. Jesus can never occupy that position of centrality in the thinking of Jews that he has in the minds of Christians. Beyond a full measure of respect for him, as one of a group of great Jewish teachers, the Jewish mind is not likely to go.

All this, of course, is intended not in any way to detract from the very admirable summary of a very involved and difficult

problem which Dr. Willett has presented. His article and J. P. Parkes' *Jew and His Neighbor* are the two best things that I have seen on the subject in recent years.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio*

Dr. Willett's Extraordinary Piece of Work.

Editor The Christian Union Quarterly,

SIR: Dr. Willett's article "The Jews and Christians" in the January number of *The Christian Union Quarterly* is an extraordinary piece of work. He shows not only an intelligent comprehension of the Jewish scene, its divisions, motivations, and problems, but, which is more unusual and commendable, a profound apprehension of Jewish spiritual values. I was particularly interested in his forthright statement, "The best religious service which a Christian can render a Jew is to encourage him in loyalty to his ancestral faith. There is far greater value both to the individual and to society . . . than in the transfer of men and women from the one confession to the other." A statement such as this is healthy antidote for that numerous company of Christians who are bent on converting the Jew and for that equally numerous company of Jews who view with suspicion any move toward good-will made by Christians.

I await the publication of the entire volume with keen interest.

MORRIS S. LAZARON

*Madison Ave. Temple,
Baltimore, Md.*

BOOK REVIEWS

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY AND CHURCH UNITY. By M. G. G. Scherer, Secretary of the United Lutheran Church in America and Member of the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company; 204 pages; price \$1.75.

Since the publication of this book Dr. Scherer has passed from us. For years he has been deeply interested in a united Christendom and this book is the mature thought of a fine soul that yearned for better conditions in our divided Christendom. It is a genuinely Protestant contribution, if one might not say a genuinely Lutheran contribution. It brings us face to face with those great ideas that Luther rescued in the uncertain and tragic days of the beginning of the Protestant reformation. The first half of the book is devoted to the discussion of Christian liberty. There can be no finer approach than by this route. It is in keeping with these times. Whether considered politically or economically, liberty is being discussed around the world. Dr. Scherer writes out of the background of the Protestant reformation and brings to the front the issues that gave that reformation its being. He says, "Among the forces which combined to neutralize the principle of Christian liberty and to enmesh the whole of life in a system of legalism were the doctrine of priesthood, the hierarchy, the papacy, monasticism, penance, purgatory, masses, and the whole conception of salvation for man by his own works and satisfactions."

He defines Christian liberty as a life or a real Christian, "real" not to be implied as perfect, but as "a new creature" being born of the Spirit. He maintains that Christian liberty is the liberty of the grace of God, that is free, not obtained by the prowess of man or the payment of any price, but is God given, a gift bestowed upon man "without any merit or worthiness." He thinks Calvin obscured the principle of Christian liberty in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in his emphasis on the sovereignty of God and the Scriptures as the law-book of the Sovereign, but he excuses the great reformer on the ground of dyspepsia from which he suffered con-

The Depression and American Jewish Life

Our Crisis Calls for Realignment of Communal Unity and Activity

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER
Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

It is high impossible to foretell what effect the present economic depression will have upon the life of our people in this country. Immediate effects are all too apparent. The Jewish working classes, together with the non-Jewish, are paying the price of prolonged unemployment to the last bitter farthing. The number of Jewish families reduced to total dependency and forced to appeal to organized charity for food, raiment and shelter has increased eight or ten-fold. The Jewish middle class has suffered appallingly. The economic positions which it built up through years of remarkable effort and initiative have been undermined. The casualties here are perhaps relatively higher than among the non-Jewish population, for the Jewish bourgeoisie had staked its interests largely in those fields of finance, industry and commerce which were the first to be inundated by the tidal waves of the depression. The Jewish professional classes, which even in normal times felt the pinch of overcrowding and the consequent lowering in earning power and in standards of living, have been all further reduced in the economic scale.

The American Jewish scene is not pleasant to contemplate at this time. The economic devaluation has naturally extended to the communal life of our people. Men who are harassed and worried by severe economic losses and are desperately engaged in a relentless struggle to save themselves from utter economic insolvency, cannot bring to their social and communal life a spirit of courage, generosity or enthusiasm. Men who occupied positions of importance in communities, buttressed by their financial contributive power, now, having suffered financial loss and unable to do what they once did, have come to regard their positions of leadership as anomalous and have retired from public life.

In times of economic collapse and uncertainty, even those whose resources are still ample for the discharge of their full community responsibilities, withdraw into a hard cautiousness and penuriousness. The budgets of charitable institutions have thus been sharply curbed at a time when their services are in even greater demand than in normal times. Cultural institutions, religious and educational studies, have suffered severe and almost disastrous reduction in income. Somehow they are still regarded by many Jews as indulgences, venial luxuries for times of genial prosperity and not as bed-rock necessities of Jewish life. This is, of course, true to an even greater degree of international Jewish causes such as foreign relief and Palestine.

A slow process of dismantling is proceeding in our communal life. Many of the institutions which American Jewry built up in recent years at great sacrifice of substance and energy are either being entirely discontinued or are being reduced to a shadow of their former lives.

Especially hard has the depression borne down upon our Jewish schools. The most gratifying phenomenon in Jewish communal life in America in recent years has been the splendid progress which was made in the extension, organization and improvement of Jewish education. Our communities, after an unconscionably long period of indifference, were becoming Jewish-school-minded. Our Jewish social workers, too, had come, albeit belatedly, to envisage

"The Jewish people is not liquidating its Jewish life because of the depression. Our history has been one of continuous and aggressive building, or at least of determined conservation, in times of depression and even of persecution....There is a great soul-searching going on among the thoughtful ones of our people. This augurs well for the future....One must believe in the survival of the Jewish community for its own sake. One must believe that it is imperative to preserve this historic group, fashioned by centuries of common experiences and corporate spiritual and cultural interests and that it is within this group that the individual Jew can live his life most worthily, most significantly and most contentedly....The Jewish community is not the Jewish synagogue. It is futile and altogether confusing to attempt to bring the whole of Jewish life under the roof of the synagogue....One should not ask the synagogue to do violence to its essential mission as a house of God, a house of prayer, and a house of religious study, for the sake of becoming all things to all Jews...."

Jewish education not only as a part, but as a most vital part, of organized Jewish communal life. The depression has put a check to this progress. Some schools have been closed. In others, staffs and budgets have been reduced, teachers' salaries have been cut to meagerness and parsimony, and are being paid only intermittently. The inevitable drop in tuition fees plus the dwindling community support have left our schools in a position more precarious than at any time in our generation.

Those who have devoted their professional careers or their volunteer efforts to Jewish communal life are of course perplexed and depressed by this sad decline. Men given to passionate indignation will want to vent their righteous wrath upon their back-sliding people, and to castigate their failures and shortcomings with scorpion's whips. I haven't it in me to denounce at this time. Our people are in crisis. They are engulfed by disaster. They are distraught and unhappy.

I know that our people are not traditionally hard-hearted or illiberal. When fortune smiled upon them they gave with a will, sometimes too well and none too wisely, and while the appeals, as a matter of course, were always greater than the response, nevertheless American Israel has no reason to be ashamed of the fine record of support which it gave to Jewish social and national causes both here and abroad—ignorant and spiteful cynics notwithstanding. A few years of depression will not, I am persuaded, alter the psychology of our people. Their social interests and their generous impulses will come into play again as soon as the days of tension and strain will have passed away. We shall then resume where we left off.

For the present troubled hour, two things are necessary—a spirit of patience and fortitude on our part, and a continuous, tolerant and persuasive appeal to the intelligence and loyalty of our people not to permit the total destruction of those vital community agencies which they themselves had built and into which they had poured so much of their capital, their energies and their splendid enthusiasms.

The Jewish people is not liquidating its Jew-

ish life because of the depression. Our history has been one of continuous and aggressive building, or at least of determined conservation, in times of depression and even of persecution. We are not strangers to crisis. Over long stretches of our national experience, the mood of crisis was the normal mood. Our people did not permit itself to be diverted from the necessary tasks of national preservation, by unfavorable conditions, by sudden loss of political status or by economic disasters. Emergencies only impelled it to greater and more sacrificial effort.

The depression, if long continued, will intensify, I am afraid, the economic discriminations against the Jew which have been going on apace in this country. Fewer economic opportunities will create keener rivalry and keener rivalry always creates greater anti-Semitism. This will, in turn, increase the spiritual unrest among our youth who will find themselves progressively shut out from opportunities to follow their legitimate careers. Thus the Jew will become more and more a social ferment in our land, participating more and more in those movements which aim at a radical reconstruction of our economic life. In the process he will draw the fire of resentment and hate of all those forces in our national life which profit from a continuation of the status quo. This is as inevitable in America as it has been elsewhere.

THE DEPRESSION may accomplish something of positive good in our communal life in that it will compel certain mergers and consolidations long overdue. It may also eliminate much that was unnecessary. The headlong rush to express community interest in terms of elaborate and heavily-mortgaged buildings whether for education or religion or social activities has been definitely halted. This is a distinct gain.

I was once asked whether I thought that Judaism would die in America. I answered, no! the banks won't let it die! We built so many of our institutions on borrowed money and mortgaged their future incomes. So that in this depression the leaders of these institutions must wear themselves out in heart-breaking efforts to meet budgets abnormally swollen by huge interest and amortization charges. The normal activities of these institutions have to be reduced to less than a minimum and the salaries of employees, directors, teachers, supervisors or rabbis have to be slashed, in order to meet these fixed charges. Perhaps the depression will teach us to build more modestly in the future, not to stretch the curtains and lengthen the cords of our physical tents too far. Perhaps in the future we shall learn to invest more in the essential qualitative purposes and programs of our institutions and less in brick and stone.

DAYS of depression are days of stock-taking, penitence and good resolutions. There is a great soul-searching going on among the thoughtful ones of our people. This augurs well for the future. Many social-workers are asking themselves just what is their real place in Jewish community life today. The specific Jewish character of many of their activities has been largely attenuated. Fund-raising for philanthropic purposes has in many cities

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Vital Happenings the World Over

Prussian Government Takes Steps to Protect Dr. Weiss from Attack

THE Prussian government took a hand to protect Dr. Bernhard Weiss, the Jewish vice-president of the Berlin Police Department, against the continuous libelous attacks of the Nazis.

The attack against Dr. Weiss culminated in scurrilous scenes in the Prussian Diet, when the Nazi Deputies, misusing their immunity privileges, and speaking from the Diet platform, accused the wife of Dr. Weiss of immoral relations with a Jewish shoe manufacturer, Krojanek, reputed to be Dr. Weiss's friend.

The Prussian Minister of Interior, Carl Severing, immediately thereafter despatched a letter to Dr. Weiss expressing his regret that the immunity of the deputies prevents any action against the Nazis.

The liberal press is indignant because the Nazis have dragged in Dr. Weiss's wife.

The "Acht Uhr Abendblatt" is organizing a special body called "The Front of Decent People to Combat the Nazi Libel Against Weiss."

The Nazi faction has introduced a project in the Diet calling for the purging of Jewish judges from all Berlin courts.

Deputy Alexander Kube, leader of the Nazi faction in the Prussian Diet, yesterday addressed a letter of apology to the wife of Dr. Bernhard Weiss, vice-president of the Berlin Police Department, for the slurs against her morals uttered from the Diet platform.

Newly Elected Jewish National Assembly Meets in Sofia

THE newly elected Jewish National Assembly met in Sofia with the participation of 61 representatives. Represented were 35 Zionists, 9 Revisionists, 4 Poale Zionists and 13 non-Zionists.

A consistorie consisting of 21 members was elected with Haim Farchi as president. The budget adopted makes provisions for Palestine and Zionist funds.

In accordance with the franchise adopted, women participated in the assembly elections but only such women who have had a high school education.

Hardoon's Chinese Widow Wins His \$50,000,000

THE British Consular Court of the First Instance ruled last week against the contestants for a share in the estate of Sillas Aaron Hardoon, who died on June 18, 1931, and dismissed the case. The validity of the will, which left the entire estate, estimated at \$50,000,000 to his Chinese widow, was recognized. The relatives of Hardoon, who sought to have the will set aside on the ground that the marriage of Hardoon to his Chinese wife was not legal, as it was not in accordance with Jewish orthodox law, were required to pay the costs of the suit.

A. Z. A. Awards Made at Convention Close

THE Aleph Zedek Aleph, Junior B'nai B'rith er, concluded its convention last week with a banquet at which awards were made to the various chapters and individuals.

The South Bend Chapter was honored for the best all around service. The second prize went to the Omaha chapter and three certificates of merit went to the Minneapolis, Oakland and Denver chapters.

The two Sam Beber awards for the most work and best contributions to the revival of Hebrew were awarded to Lloyd Isaacs of Des Moines. The Harry Lapidus awards for communal service and for the best work to stimulate religious observance were given to Herman Gottlieb and Jack Cohen of Winnipeg.

Five Jews Win Seats in Roumanian Parliament

THE Jewish Party of Roumania secured five seats, gaining a vote of 65,322. The fifth seat will probably be allotted to Dr. Ernest Morton, it was learned last Tuesday. The mandates of Dr. Meyer Ebner, Josef Fischer, Michael Landau and Samuel Singer were known to be assured Monday.

Nazi Victims of Attempt at Anti-Jewish Incitement

A N attempt on the part of the 7 Nazis from Hanover, to introduce the anti-Semitic spirit in the Jewish section of Amsterdam, brought about their own downfall recently and their exit from the city under police escort.

The Nazis motored through the Jewish quarter and shouted abuses at all who appeared to be Jews. They continued their insulting shouts until they reached the Water Looplein Market in the centre of the Jewish quarter where a fight ensued.

Conditions of European Jews Due to Politico-Economic Chaos

THE plight in which the Jews of Germany, Roumania, Poland, Lithuania and Latvia find themselves, is, in a large measure, due to the prevailing unsettled political and economic conditions, declared David Schweitzer, assistant director of the European activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, in a statement to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency upon his arrival here last week with Dr. Joseph Kosen, head of the agricultural work of the Agro-Joint in Soviet Russia.

Describing the situation in Germany, Mr. Schweitzer said the Jewish position there is not enviable but it would not be correct to say that a pogrom atmosphere prevails as yet.

He pointed out that the remedy for the situation of the Jews in various countries cannot be supplied easily and emphasized that the condition of the Jews must be viewed as part of general political and economic conditions.

Continuing he asserted: "In Roumania it is not purely a Jewish question, though the anti-Semitic movement at times takes the ugly form of excesses, destruction, student riots; it is above all the outcome of an internal political disorganization, with gears out of control as often as leaders change. This country is too on the brink of a political change, which will not pass without its effect on the fate of the Jewish population."

"In Poland, for the last several years things remain unchanged. The country has been in the grip of a gradually accentuated economic crisis, resulting in ever increased distress among its Jewish population, due to the peculiar economic structure of the Jew on the one hand, and to the political-economic tendencies of the government on the other."

"In Lithuania the Jewish population, counting close to 200,000 souls, escaped the disastrous effects of political or economic strife, which cannot be said, however, of the Jewish population in the neighboring country, Latvia, which too, until recently a veritable oasis, finds itself today in the grip of an economic crisis. Unchanged except for the worse is the plight of the Jews in Subcarpathia, where virtually hunger stalks among the Jewish population."

Mrs. Adele G. Schiff Wills \$95,000 to Charity

REQUESTS totalling \$95,000 are made to charitable institutions in the will of Mrs. Adele G.

Field Marshal Plumer Passes

Field Marshal Viscount Plumer, High Commissioner for Palestine from 1925 to 1928, died at his home in London last Saturday at the age of 75. His post in Palestine was the last public office he held before going into retirement after almost a lifetime in the service of his country. Succeeding the practiced statesman, Sir Herbert Samuel, as High Commissioner, Lord Plumer was at first regarded as a disciplinarian of the martinet type but soon gained the confidence and esteem of the people of Palestine. Proving himself as adept as a diplomat as he was as a soldier, his term of office at Jerusalem was marked with tactful intercession in disputes between Jews and Arabs. It was during his commissionership, that a special committee was appointed to undertake the construction of a museum in Jerusalem in accordance with the condition prescribed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who gave \$2,000,000 for that purpose. Lord Plumer also inaugurated the new water reservoir at Jerusalem in 1926. He was succeeded by Sir John R. Chancellor. Lord Plumer was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey

Schiff, widow of Mortimer L. Schiff, New York banker. The bequests are: \$50,000 to the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies; \$10,000 to Henry Street Settlement; \$10,000 to Institute for the Crippled and Disabled; \$5,000 to the Jewish Big Sisters; \$2,500 to the Catholic Big Sisters; \$2,500 to the Protestant Big Sisters; \$5,000 to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children; \$2,500 to the Babies Hospital; \$2,500 to Oyster Bay Visiting Nurse Association; \$5,000 to the Girl Scout Federation of Greater New York.

Elihu Lewin-Epstein, Zionist Leader, Dead

ELIHU LEWIN-EPSTEIN, Zionist leader and one of the founders of the Palestine colony at Rehboth, died last Monday at Baden Baden after a heart attack. He was 69 years old. Mr. Lewin-Epstein had served as treasurer of the Federation of American Zionists and of the provisional Zionist Committee formed during the World War under the leadership of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis. The Zionist leader was particularly active in the Hebrew School and Immigrant Aid Society of America (HSA), of which he was director.

Prof. Pick Chosen Dean of Medical Faculty at Vienna University

DR. ERNST PICK, internationally known pharmacologist, was appointed Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of Vienna for the coming year. Prof. Pick is a close kinsman of Dr. Alois Pick, president of the Israelitische Cultgemeinde. Some of the non-Jewish student groups on the Medical Faculty protested against this choice to the exalted office of Deanship.

J. T. A.

Roumanian Government Answers American Jewish Congress

THE New York office of the Royal Consular General of Roumania transmitted for publication in the AMERICAN HEBREW AND JEWISH TRIBUNE the following cabled message received on Wednesday of this week from Bucharest:

"Taking cognizance of the resolution passed by the American Jewish Congress at its annual Convention in Washington, you are hereby authorized to inform the American Jewish Congress that the demand, set forth in the resolution of June 26, corresponds precisely with the principles of the present government."

"(Signed) Tilea, Under Secretary of State."
(The resolution referred to reads as follows: "The American Jewish Congress looks to the Roumanian Government and to its people for the creation and development of a policy of political adjustment and industrial cooperation which will provide equal opportunity for all elements of the population, regardless of race or creed, and thereby promote its economic achievement.")

Brandois, Marshall and the Congress

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But we hold Mr. Brandeis in the highest esteem as a man of honor, whose word is law which his life has enriched and ennobled. We affirm that if Mr. Brandeis was aware that Mr. Marshall participated in the original American Jewish Congress on the condition that it disband after the Peace Conference, he (Brandeis) had nothing whatever to do with the organization of the rump Congress that is now functioning and is engineering the world Jewish conference. To employ his name for propaganda purposes before a convention of Zionists who love him with the implication that he approves the aims and ambitions of the present Jewish Congress leadership, is, as in the case of Mr. Marshall, a cheap, political, ward-heeling trick unworthy of men who aspire to be believed, honored and trusted by their fellow men.

At least one good, then, has resulted from the world Jewish conference propaganda: the "rim" has been taken out of the American Jewish Congress.

A Small Town Jew Talks About Men

An Observer Finds Many Points of Contrast Between Urban and Rural Coreligionists

By MYRA MAY VAN LEER

I **WAS** sorry for Jewish men in large cities. They give so much to life and get so little in return. They are wrapped up in their businesses and professions. They are working so hard and worrying so much to give their families the luxuries they demand. Even in their leisure, these men don't know how to relax.

They have hectic amusements, social clubs, organized athletics, and "jazzy" entertainments to tempt their jaded appetites but the luxury of calm is denied them.

Life moves more easily and at a slower pace in smaller cities, such as where I live. Home life is still intact and a sense of relaxation pervades it. Gentile and Jew lives less strenuously and for the Jew who is of a nervous, high strung temperament, this is a benefit. He lives on his emotions anyway so the exhaustion of city life is a further drain on his energy.

Paradoxical as it may seem, I consider the Jewish business man in the smaller place a far more active force in his community than the big town Jew. New York City with its great proportion of Jews, is, of course, an exception. It numbers important financiers, politicians, civic leaders but in most large cities, Jews are ignored in city affairs. They are not needed.

Obviously, there are outstanding recognized Jews in each community. Jews who are on top economically and are taken account of in politics, but the great majority have little position in big cities. They lack the niche that would be theirs in smaller towns. They lack influence in Rotary Clubs, Chambers of Commerce and similar civic organizations that, deride as you may, keep their members in active contact with Gentile friends, and make them comparatively bigger figures.

They are less important, not only in their big cities, but in their homes as well. Perhaps the two have a connection. Anyway they are the reason for my sympathy.

In his home, I see the large town Jew as a breadwinner, not as a home maker. His sole function is to bring in money. How much more necessary it is in the big city! In my smaller town, not being rich does not seem a drawback. I live in a nice neighborhood, have fresh air and sunlight, and have pleasant associates. Since I do not see beautiful clothes, jewels, homes and motors temptingly displayed, I have no envy for what I cannot have. In the metropolis, however, where wealth calls on every side, its demands are inexorable; it dominates the family and makes the luckless husband its slave.

"There is just a business relationship with my children," a big city father complained to me. "I give them allowances but advice is not included in the price. They leave for school in the morning before I am up for breakfast. At night I dine at my club or out with friends. Only at week ends as they rush from engagement to engagement, do my children and I see each other."

Family loyalties I see destroyed by the rush of metropolitan life, and many more would be destroyed, were it not for the children. This may sound like the scenario for a moving picture on flaming youth but it is an honest record of life as I see it around me.

In the small town where we lived before we

moved to the metropolis, my wife was always home for dinner. She played cards in the afternoons but at five-thirty or six, was home to greet me and to attend to the final details of dinner. Now, however, missing the evening meal to attend a party where I am not invited, is very common with us and our friends."

W E SMALL TOWNERS meet at the evening meal and all gathered around the table, have a general meeting. Husband and wife go calling, play cards or go to the movies together at night. Sunday afternoons are dedicated to the ritual of the whole family's going riding together. Friday nights are set aside for family reunions when the married children dine at home with their parents. These dates are fixed and cannot be lightly cast aside; they are definite events in set schedules.

I cannot emphasize how important home is to us in small towns and how much less important it seems to be regarded in big towns. You will answer that the big town has other interests, that home does not have to be the focal point. But it seems to be one of the fundamental differences between large and small town Jews.

There is also another great difference. In his contacts with his community, the small town Jew has more Gentile associations. If he has a big store, he pays heavy taxes, gives generously to non-sectarian charities and is looked upon as a power. If he is a little merchant with a tiny shop, he is not a power in town but he does take an active interest in his street, and his neighborhood. He cannot escape his economic and social contacts with non-Jews.

Culturally this contact with provincial intolerant Goyim is apt to be more restricting to him than contact with only Jews in the big city would be. I admit it. Contact alone won't broaden the individual unless it is a broadening contact and most small towns do have narrow programs. The civic club wants to give the Boy Scouts a clam

bake, the Chamber of Commerce wants a dinner as a get-together meeting or a play to raise money for outdoor recreation equipment. No, contacts with Goyim won't broaden the man unless the Goyim are broad but these contacts will give the man a place in his town, will give him a feeling of security and make him feel that he is part of an organization.

In a small town, the social standard means that the Jewish man is usually more valuable to his community than his wife is. Afraid that she will be snubbed by the Gentiles, she hesitates to join organizations or take her part in civic movements. She immerses herself in her home instead. This refuge is denied the man. The social standard and economic reasons compel him to take his part in town life. Thus through his business contacts, he gets the social, financial and philanthropic associations. Here his Jewishness stands out. He is always the Jew, Levy who keeps the clothing store, Cohen, the dry goods merchant. The community tabs him first as a Jew before it takes account of his accomplishments.

THE city Jew, however, is recognized primarily for his accomplishments. His Jewishness is secondary. I do not mean to imply that there is less prejudice in the city. It is a feeling apart from prejudice, it is his business value to his city, an impersonal audit.

Our small town has a more proprietary air toward its citizens. Here the Jew has no choice. He must either join the Baptist church to the eternal contempt of the people, or he must be a Jew. He can not escape it. Because of the indifference of his business associates, the large town Jew is only as much of a Jew as his appearance advertises and his conscience dictates. If he wishes he can disguise his Jewishness under a deceptive name, Finklestein can be Ferguson, Levy, Leroy. This would be impossible in a small community.

Ex Mr. Finklestein meets his Gentile friends on Main Street. Will they call him Ferguson, will the boys who went to school with Ike Finklestein take kindly to the change, will the older generation who knew Grandma and Grandpa Finklestein accept the new name? Never. Not only will he continue to be Ike Finklestein but he will be the butt of jokes and be made ridiculous by becoming Ferguson.

In the big city, he is Finkelstein to his friends and Ferguson to his associates. The telephone directory and a new neighborhood accept the change.

For as I said before, the large town Jew submerges himself in the city. There is so much of importance in the city, that the individual does not stand out. In a small town where family is dominant and religion a matter of public comment, the man is known and respected as a Jew. His ancestry, his private life, his religious affiliations are an open book which the gossips easily read. But in their reading of it, he has his chapter and his own special place in the social scene. He is not at odds with the social and religious life as the big town Jew often is, and he is at peace in the calmer surroundings of town and spirit. He is adjusted to Main Street and is tranquilized by his part in it.



Edward A. Filene, prominent Boston merchant, was awarded the Order of the Lion by the government of Czechoslovakia, a dispatch from Prague indicates. The presentation was made by President Masaryk, in Prague, before a distinguished gathering. The order of the Lion was founded in 1920, and is awarded only to foreigners who have merited recognition from the Czechoslovakian Republic in the field of civil activities. Among the most recent recipients of the order are the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania. The recent translation into the Czech of Mr. Filene's latest book, "Successful Living in This Machine Age," revealed his great interest in the economic and industrial development of Czechoslovakia. Other books by Mr. Filene which have been translated into and published in Czech include "The Way Out" and "The Model Stock Plan."

Jewish National Fund Reports Decline in Receipts

THE receipts for the first 7 months of the Jewish year, from October to April, amounted to £98,063, which is a decline on last year's receipts, amounting in the same period to £117,026, the Jewish National Fund headquarters in Jerusalem state.

The decline is partly due to the inability of a number of European countries to export their contributions, resulting in an amount of some £6,000 being thus held up, it is stated. In addition there has been a serious drop of receipts from the United States, from £29,000 to £22,000.

Hoover Signs Measure Granting Exemption and Preference to Husbands

PRESIDENT Hoover last week signed the amended Dickstein bill granting exemption from the quota to husbands of American citizens married prior to July 1, 1932 and preference status to those married subsequent to July 1, 1932, and it automatically became a law.

The measure does not lift the requirements calling for legal proof of marriage and the financial status of the wives. In each case the consuls must be satisfied that the marriage is legal and that husbands will not become a public charge before visas can be obtained.

THE PUBLISHER'S COLUMN

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THE instances cited above are only a few of many which our Editorial Department has in its files, and we have no hesitancy in saying that we question the reliability of many items of Jewish world news sent out by the J. T. A. The Anglo-Jewish press throughout this country is almost entirely dependent upon the J. T. A. for news concerning the Jews in all parts of the world. Many of the Yiddish papers, though they have their own correspondents where there are Jews in considerable numbers, nevertheless rely to a large extent upon the J. T. A. for their world news. Many of the leading English papers are subscribers to the service of the J. T. A., and while they do not print all of the items furnished by this agency, yet they are inclined to print news of a sensational nature.

No news gathering agency has the right to send out news of a distorted nature, or to put a sensational angle on an average item of news. The situation of the Jew in many parts of the world is so bad that the truth itself is sufficient to disturb us greatly, without adding to it, or making up stories which, upon investigation, are found to be without foundation.

There is throughout the world a large group of news-gathering agencies whose news generally is accepted as reliable news, and not as opinions or propaganda. The Associated Press, the United Press, and other American and European news agencies have built up a reputation for fairness and accuracy, so that the public generally accepts the news furnished by them without question.

The press of this country, Jewish or non-Jewish, has the right to demand that the news furnished them by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency should at all times be above suspicion, should never represent any group or individual; nor should it ever sponsor propaganda.

WHILE I do not care at this time to go into great detail with reference to the manner in which the J. T. A. secures its financial support, yet we believe there is a relationship between their method of financing and the type of news sent out by them. Possibly in another article, should circumstances warrant it, we may present at length the large numbers, running into the hundreds, of individuals in this country and abroad who have furnished approximately one-half of the funds to operate the J. T. A., and the names of organizations in this and other countries who are helping to furnish the funds for this news-gathering agency.

It is a well-known fact that a number of our charitable organizations in America have the J. T. A. on their annual budgets, and that there is constant solicitation by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency for funds from every source in this country, and in other parts of the world. It has even been rumored that some of the governments in Europe, in one form or another, have furnished financial subsidy to the J. T. A.

We hold, and have held for a considerable period of time, that this form of support is unhealthy, and does not lend itself to an unbiased news service. It is time to call a halt. It is time that those who back the J. T. A. financially call the officers of the J. T. A. to the tapis, demanding that they give an account of their actions and of the manner in which their funds are expended.

The support of the J. T. A. should come from those newspapers or magazines, Jewish or otherwise, who use

their services. Under no circumstances should it ever be beholden to any individual, charity organization, local, national or international organization, for its support. Confidence will have to be restored in the J. T. A. if the Jewish people of this country are to have any regard for the news furnished by it.

We must have an accurate source of international Jewish news, and we will have, for if the J. T. A. does not furnish it, others will see to it that it is provided, and that it will at all times be above and beyond suspicion.

The German Zionists hail the election of Morris Rothenberg as president of the Zionist Organization and interpret it as a victory for the Weizmann adherents.

According to a report from Warsaw, the management of the ORT schools in Poland is confronted with a new problem, and namely that of feeding the students. Hundreds of them go to school in a half-starved condition and faint during school hours.

Rabbi Silver on the Depression and American Jewish Life

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become a joint civic enterprise in which Jews figure as citizens and not as Jews. There is a tendency to bring Jewish agencies, which are the beneficiaries of these joint funds, into a general city-wide scheme of operation and management. Organized charity, in general, is slowly but steadily moving from the realm of private philanthropy to that of state responsibility.

Organized charity is a survival of an individualistic society which assumed little or no corporate responsibility for its handicap. But a new type of society is now in the making. The social control which is surely coming over industry will embrace also our charitable institutions. Society in the future will not wait upon voluntary individual aid and private sporadic generosity to care for the disabled, the sick, the aged or the unemployed. That which is socially necessary will become socially mandatory. The elementary and indispensable tasks of safeguarding the health of its people, of protecting childhood, of caring for the aged, the widow and the orphan and of giving relief to the workless will be the direct, fixed and continuing obligations of organized society, and will be so met.

Jewish organized charity, by and large, will, I believe, not resist this process of socialization. Furthermore the practical stoppage of immigration and the steady disappearance of a large unadjusted Jewish immigrant group which required special group treatment are removing one of the most cogent reasons for our separatist activities in the future. Whereas in the past the Jewish social worker found his professional mandate in caring for newly arrived Jewish immigrants, in adjusting them to the American scene, in bridging the gulf between the parents of the old world and their children of the new and in fostering numerous charitable activities the need for whose specific Jewish distinctiveness no one questioned, today the Jewish social worker must look for his professional mandate elsewhere.

In recent years he has begun to find it in a new philosophy of the American Jewish community. In this

ference yet take calmly and without a murmur of protest the statement of Dr. Adler who presumes to speak in their name opposing it?

Concluding on the basis of his divinations, Mr. Goldberg said that the conference idea carries the approbation of 4,000,000 Jews of America. That makes it virtually unanimous! Now that the problem of American disunion was disposed of, Mr. Goldberg hopped over to Europe to examine the status of the conference idea there. The 3,000,000 Jews of Poland were absolutely behind the idea, he said as were the Jews of Czechoslovakia. The Central-Verein of Germany, he told the delegates, took up the question and did not reject the idea, as a matter of fact they favored it. The J. T. A. has received no such word of confirmation and a report in the Jewish Morning Journal of July 18th says that the Central Verein has stated that it will be guided by the decision of the British Board of Jewish Deputies. The Board of Deputies rejected the Conference idea and declined the invitation to participate

philosophy, the interests of the Jewish community itself as a living organism are paramount. Its preservation is the informing principle of all organized Jewish activity.

Whatever private philanthropic agencies can be retained in our swiftly changing economic order, are to be retained only as they can be made to preserve, strengthen or enrich Jewish communal life. This is the position which any minority group, desirous of maintaining its identity in modern society and in the extremely assimilative environment of American democracy, must take. This is the position which the Catholic community has taken in this country, and which other religious and racial groups have taken.

Therefore, the Jewish social worker who thinks through his position logically must arrive at a very positive attitude towards Jewish communal life. He must begin with a belief in the desirability of perpetuating the Jewish community. This is the indispensable dogma. Broad humanitarian interests are, of course, essential in the equipment of any man who wishes to devote himself to professional social service. So is technical training. But they are not sufficient warrant for the ordination of a man as a Jewish social worker, any more than they are sufficient justification for the continued existence today of specifically Jewish social agencies.

One must believe in the survival of the Jewish community for its own sake. One must believe that it is imperative to preserve this historic group, fashioned by centuries of common experiences and corporate spiritual and cultural interests and that it is within this group that the individual Jew can live his life most worthily, most significantly and most contentedly.

WITH THIS as his starting point, the Jewish social worker may then proceed on his way. He will have a true compass to guide him. He will know how to evaluate the relative importance of this or that community effort. He will know what value to place in the general pro-

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CONGRESS DELEGATES OFF TO GENEVA

(Continued from page 203)

in its deliberations. But no matter one half million Jews of Germany are exponents of the idea, according to Mr. Goldberg. The facade of opposition there has been broken and the stones won over, among them Einstein. Now if you add up the figures throw in a couple of millions for good measure, multiply the total by two and pad liberally, you get the figure the Mr. Goldberg got. Fourteen million Jews are for the conference as opposed to one-half million against.

MR. GOLDBERG then proceeded to deny that the congress idea originated with Dr. Wise. No idea of such proportions could originate with one man. The Jewish mind had to be prepared for it. He also denied that the delegates would come together to exhibit their weaknesses. It isn't. They're coming to exhibit their strength. It's going to be a very fine conference, he promised. Just like the one last year. Remember, they held in Basle as an afterthought of the Agency meeting. Mr. Goldberg asked Dr. Wise if he would corroborate that the meeting last year was very nice and the speeches also very good. Dr. Wise assented.

Dr. Wise then read a telegram from Prof. Dubnow, expatriated Russian historian to Nahum Goldman, European representative of the American Jewish Congress. Dr. Dubnow approved of the idea and quoted Le Motzkin, another expatriate of Russia as also being in favor of the conference. Dr. Wise then thanked Dr. Deutsch for his work on behalf of the Congress and the meeting was adjourned shortly thereafter. Most of the delegates lingered. They were talking among themselves. Many of them had financial worries and wouldn't be able to go as delegates. Others hadn't made up their mind yet whether to go. Some of the delegates had already left, among them Mark Eisner "who is already in Europe and we hope will attend the conference." Gradually the gathering dispersed, to reassemble, in part again in Geneva to tinker with history.

FRITZ REINER, distinguished American composer, sailed for Italy where he will conduct an All-American Program to be given in Venice.

CECILIA RAZOVSKY was appointed by Jane Addams a delegate to the Second International Conference on Social Work, which is being held at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. Mrs. Razovskiy will represent the National Council of Jewish Women.

CHARLOTTE MOSKOWITZ, executive secretary of Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, urges all liberal Jews interested in the labor movement to join forces working toward an improved social order to inquire about the Commonwealth College Summer Camp. This camp will be conducted in the Arkansas Ozarks from now through September, offering a combined program of work, play and rest at a cost of one dollar a day or less. The camp is run on a cooperative work plan. Under the general direction of David Englestein, chairman of the Commonwealth College faculty, discussion circles will be held at the camp on the labor movement, world news, and present-day problems. There will be swimming, hiking, dancing, tennis, and a labor theme. Length of stay is optional.

Social Notes

GAY fetes were held at the beach clubs on the Jersey shore during the week-end. The Bloomingdale Beach at Deal was the scene of numerous beach parties on Saturday afternoon and on Sunday morning, when the members of the club and their guests, gathered for a swim or box-lunch. The screened cabana-resort built on the beach is being used extensively and luncheon is also served at tables on the beach. Cabanas similar to those used at the European watering resorts will be built during the coming winter. Mr. Eugene E. Sperry is president of the club.

Bloomingdale's members are famous for their backgammon players, chief among whom are Mrs. Stanley Eckert, Mrs. C. Woolley Hopkins, Mr. and Mrs. William Hammerslough and Mr. and Mrs. Percival Lowe. Arthur Herrog and Percival Lowe were among those playing the game at the beach on Sunday. Several other backgammon tables were spread upon the sands. Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Levy and their son, Bobby, were among those entertaining swimming parties and at luncheon on Sunday. Mr. and Mrs. Robert DeMuth and Mr. and Mrs. William Demuth and Mrs. Kohler were among their guests. Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Kohn, their daughter, Bunty, and Miss Peggy Goldsmith, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Lipper, Mrs. Stanley Brown and Abram Dains, the pianist, were others seen bathing.

Among the visitors to the bathing beach were Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Strauss, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Bernard, Mrs. Walter A. Saks and Mr. and Mrs. Strauss, the sons of Walter Kohn, Mrs. Armand Kohn, the guest of Mrs. Ferdinand Kohn, Mrs. Robert Seitzner of Jacksonville, Fla., Mr. and Mrs. Koehler with Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Koehler, Jr.; Mrs. S. Lefkowitz of Philadelphia, the guest of Dr. Arthur Cooper; Mrs. K. S. Falk with C. E. Coleman, Mrs. H. Gimbel with Dr. Milton C. Blum, Mr. and Mrs. Kempner with Frederick Rothschild, Mrs. Alvin Saks with Mrs. L. C. Hyman, Miss Selma Grossman with Mrs. J. Weiler, Mrs. H. Saks with Mrs. Jules C. Leeds, Mr. Mike Saks with Mr. M. Goldsmith, Mr. A. E. Goss with Mrs. Raphael C. Korn, Bruce W. Bloch with Mrs. Achilles C. Weil and Mr. F. M. Heimerdinger, the guest of Mrs. W. E. Laner.

Swimming at the beach club on Sunday, guests of members, were Leon Friedberg, Judy Baek, Barbara Seefeld, Philip Meckler, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Blum, Mr. and Mrs. M. Bergeman, Mrs. Geo. and Allison Stern, C. Bijur, Alan B. Smith, Richard Kohn, Helen Hertz, L. David Weissberger, Richard Kops and Mr. and Mrs. Ray Sackett.

Mr. Stewart Minton entertained at the Bloomingdale's Lunch Box last week and his guests were Mr. and Mrs. Tom Sterns and Mr. and Mrs. Ben Guterman.

The Ocean Beach Club is another popular bathing center for the leading summer colonists in Elberon. The membership, headed by Mr. William Bonfield, is small and exclusive. There is also a swimming pool and pavilion, the meeting place on Sunday mornings of its members and their families. Tables, topped with aw-shades, surround the pool. A buffet luncheon is served on a pavilion below overlooking the bathing beach and ocean. A series of midnight swimming and beach parties is arranged through the season.

A tennis match between Vincent Richards and Bobbie Sellers was held at the Norwood Country Club Long Branch on Sunday afternoon, and at the polo field adjoining

the club grounds, Norwood's polo team of W. Strauss, Monroe Eisner, Allison Stern and D. Rosston defeated Essex Troop of Newark, in a well-fought battle.

One of the interesting parties of the week was that given by Mr. and Mrs. Eugene E. Sperry of Jerome Avenue, Deal, who entertained at dinner at the Sphinx Club. Among their guests were Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Lipper, Mr. and Mr. Edwin E. Bernheimer, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert H. Maas, Mr. and Mrs. Abram L. Leeds, Mr. and Mrs. Jules C. Leeds and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Rhoades.

At the Deal Bridge Club, which adjoins the property of the Bloomingdale Beach, a contract bridge tournament was given on July 15 under the patronage of Mr. and Mrs. P. Hal Sims, for the benefit of the Long Branch Public Welfare Association. The Deal team and other national bridge champions participated.

Women serving on the committee included Mrs. S. S. Albert, Mrs. J. Horace Block, Miss Margaret Blum, Mrs. E. E. Bernheimer, Mrs. Abram Feist, Mrs. Herbert Friedberg, Mrs. Israel Friedkin, Mrs. Joseph Gage, Mrs. Louis Gimbel, Mrs. Louis Goldvogel, Mrs. Julian Hess, Mrs. A. C. Israel, Mrs. Ben Jacobson, Mrs. Walter Kohn, Mrs. Raphael Korn, Mrs. Herbert Kottick, Mrs. Paul Ladin, Mrs. William Lauer, Mrs. Jules Leeds, Mrs. Harold Lewis, Mrs. Ernest A. Linburn, Mrs. Melvyn Lowenstein, Mrs. Leo Quinlan, Mrs. Walter Reade, Miss Adelaide Reckford, Mrs. Frank Rosenfeld, Mrs. William Rosenfeld, Mrs. Frederic Rothschild, Mrs. Jesse Sharp, Mrs. Norman Tushman, Mrs. Victor Weil and Mrs. John Willberg.

Attending the dinner-dance in the Marine Casino of the Casa del Mar Beach Club at Atlantic Beach, L. I. during the week-end were Judge and Mrs. Julian W. Mack, Mrs. Sherman M. Bijur, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney L. Asche, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles M. Rosenthal, who are residing at the club this season.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Ransohoff, who have an apartment at The Lombardy in New York for the Summer, have been joined by Mr. Ransohoff's brother, Howard, of San Francisco. Mrs. M. Spielberg of San Francisco, was there for a brief stay. Mrs. Minnie Aub has left the hotel to spend the Summer at Richfield Springs, N. Y.

Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Kempner of New York, have been at The Ambassador, Atlantic City.

A formal dance in honor of the golf team of the Woodmere Club was held on Saturday at the Inwood Country Club on Long Island. In the mixed foursome competition held at the Club, the results were as follows: Miss Aronson and Frank Hecht, 74; Miss Doris Hochstadter and Monroe Froelich, Jr., 77; Miss Doris Richman and Stanley Harte, 78; Mrs. Kay Gutfreund and Donald Adelberg, 78.

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Schloss introduced their daughter, Joan, a student at Wellesley, at a dinner party given at their home in Far Rockaway.

Miss Carolyn Bijur of New York and Deal, sailed this week to join Miss Betty Bijur abroad.

Mr. Henry Wollman and his sister, Kate, have closed their apartment at the Waldorf-Astoria and have sailed on the *Europa*. They will remain in Europe until September.

Mr. and Mrs. Felix H. Levy of 57 West Eighty-eighth Street, New York, are sailing for Italy on the *Roma*, July 23rd.

TWO DISTINGUISHED BRITISH FAMILIES UNITED IN MARRIAGE

The wedding of Mr. Frank A. Instone, son of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Instone and a nephew of Sir Samuel Instone, the shipowner, of London, and Miss Joan Van den Bergh, was solemnized at the West London Synagogue, Upper Berkeley Street, London. The marriage, one of the smartest social functions of the London season, was attended by well-known members of English Jewry.



MISS ESTHER FRANK, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Frank of Cincinnati, will be married in the gardens of her parents' home on July 26 to Eugene M. Lowenthal, Jr., of Rochester. Mrs. John Frank will be matron of honor and Robert Lowenthal is to be best man for his brother.

Mr. and Mrs. Alex. Kempner of the Metropolis, spent the week-end at Skytop, Pa.

Mrs. Selig Rosenbaum, who resides at The Lombardy in New York, has left for the Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, for the Summer.

Mrs. Solon E. Summerfield has closed her apartment in the Ritz Tower, and is occupying her Summer home at New London, Conn.

Mrs. Samuel Ungerleider of the Hotel Westbury, New York, is visiting her sister, Mrs. Edward Frieder in Chicago.

Victor K. Kiam of New Orleans, is spending a fortnight at the Ritz Tower.

A series of afternoon parties for the benefit of the Baron De Hirsh Relief Society has been arranged by Mrs. William Baum of 202 East Fiftieth Street, Mount Vernon, N. Y., who has been president of the charity for the past seven years. The bridge or lotto games will take place during August and September on the first Thursday and third Tuesday of the month, and are to be followed by tea.

Mrs. Lena Simon and her son, Dr. Julius Simon of Passaic, returned on the *Bremen*, after spending five months in Europe and the Holy Land.

Dr. David L. Sohn, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Coles and their children, Shirley and Robert Sohn Coles, will sail on the *Rotterdam*, July 29, for an extended European tour. The children will attend school abroad.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore M. Lowenthal are returning on the *Bremen*, following a honeymoon trip to France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany, and will reside temporarily at the Peter Stuyvesant Hotel. She is the former Miss Beatrice Rosenthal, daughter of Mrs. Della Rosenthal and the late Joseph Rosenthal, of New York.

Hon. Benjamin N. Cardozo is spending the Summer at Rye, New York.

Mr. and Mrs. John Polacheck of 270 Park Avenue, have gone to Bay-side, Long Island, where they will be until October.

Dr. and Mrs. Louis L. Mann of Chicago, are summering at their cottage at Leland, Mich.

Mrs. J. Lawrence Emanuel and her daughters, Frances and Betty, of Raleigh, N. C., were guests of Mrs. Emanuel's parents, Mr. and Mrs. S. Ehrlich of Washington. Miss Frances Emanuel has left for camp in Maine. Mr. Howard Ehrlich, who had been visiting his parents in Washington, has returned to Chicago.

The summer home of Mrs. Martin Strauss of 2417 Ocean Crest Boulevard, Far Rockaway, L. I., was the scene of a benefit charity bridge and mah jong, held on the afternoon of July 19. It was given under the auspices of the Mothers' Association of the West End Synagogue of which Mrs. Strauss is president.

Miss Ethel Lappner, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Adolph Lappner of Brooklyn, is to be married to Mr. James Edw. Mitchell, son of Mr. and Mrs. William Mitchell of New York and Tyler Hill, Pa., on July 24 at noon, in the gardens of the summer estate of the groom's parents. Miss Hilda Lappner will be her sister's only attendant. Rev. Jacob Mieliner, a cousin of the groom, and the son of the late Rabbi Moses Mieliner, will perform the ceremony.

Among the expected guests from Cleveland are Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Mieliner, Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Moss, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Mieliner, Isador Mieliner, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph B. Robinson; from Toledo are Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell; from Detroit are Mr. and Mrs. William B. Isenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Warner.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis Bloom of Cleveland and Mrs. Ida Rosenthal and Miss Mignon Rosenthal of St. Louis, recently left these shores for a Continental jaunt.

Dr. and Mrs. E. M. Bloestone of New York, sailed on the *Dresden* last week for Ireland, France and Germany.

Rabbi Silver on the Depression and American Jewish Life

(Continued from page 212)

gram of a living community organization, upon philanthropy, upon education and upon religion. He will have perspective. He will perhaps even come to think in terms of a unitary budget for all of these activities. He may also discover ways of correlating these agencies of growth and survival and of reshaping or re-directing them in such a way as to serve best the common end. He will then not delude himself into thinking that hospitals and homes for the aged and child-placement are the exclusive or most important concerns of a Jewish community, or that Jewish education is a regrettable intrusion in a Federation budget, or that the Jewish national renaissance as expressed in Zionism and in a revived interest in Hebrew, is only an East-European importation, and a venal disturber of the traditional tranquility of German-Jewish life in America. He will also not be smartly supercilious towards the synagogue, for he will recognize in it one of the richest repositories as well as one of the strongest mainstays of Jewish communal life.

The Jewish social worker will then find his place, together with the Jewish teacher, the rabbi, the Jewish writer, journalist and artist, in the total program of a Jewish community. This program is broad enough to embrace every viewpoint, varied enough to appeal to every talent and plastic and changeable enough not to repel any original and adventurous spirit.

No one who wishes to remain a Jew need fear that there is no room for him or for his views within the Jewish community. No one is read out of the fold who does not read himself out. The Jewish community today is not a church and it knows of no heresies that are punishable by excommunication. The only heresy is the heresy of self-excommunication. There is room in the Jewish community for the Hebraist and the Yiddishist, the radical and the conservative, the agnostic and the atheist, and also—and this, strangely enough, must now be stressed—for the true believer.

THE Jewish community is not the Jewish synagogue. It is quite as fantastic and foolish to think of the Jewish people of today as a religious communion as it is to think of the Synagogue as a non-religious institution where a non-existent God is worshipped by an atheist rabbi at the behest of a nationalism which has room neither for God nor worship. It is futile and altogether confusing to attempt to bring the whole of Jewish life under the roof of the synagogue. It is equally futile and confusing to try by subtle word-play and cunning definition to deface and render illegible the real historic meaning and purpose of the synagogue in an effort to persuade everybody to join it. The non-believing Jew can find ample contacts with his people and ample opportunities to serve his people outside the synagogue.

One should not ask the synagogue to do violence to its essential mission as a house of God, a house of prayer and a house of religious study for the sake of becoming all things to all Jews. The synagogue, too, must find its rightful place in the total Jewish community life of today, just as it found its distinctive and necessary place—and a high and revered place it was—in ancient Palestine, at a time when the Jews were in their own land, spoke their own language and possessed their culture and all their group mores. Culture and group mores were no substitute in ancient Is-

rael for God, religion or the synagogue—and are not today. Not even in modern Palestine, for even in modern Palestine Jews are building and will continue to build and maintain synagogues.

Who believe that the religious motif has always been the dominant one in Jewish life and who, therefore, regard the synagogue as its most significant institution are content to let the message of the synagogue and its vital services win or hold for it this place of centrality.

If it can nurture the spiritual lives of our people in the future as it did in the generations of the past, it will continue to hold the same place of affection and reverence. It does not need to convert itself into a department store or into a bazaar of club, gymnasium, casino, theatre, forum and dance-hall in order to maintain itself in the modern world. If the Jewish Community no longer needs the God of the synagogue, the worship of the synagogue and the spiritual and ethical preachment of the synagogue, it certainly does not need the swimming pool of the synagogue, or its dances or its theatricals.

It is my belief that, on the basis of a common loyalty to the Jewish community, it may be possible to organize the various elements in our communities for some minimum program of common planning and action.

We shall have to be satisfied with a minimum program, for I regard it, as extremely naive to expect organic unity or solidarity in American Israel. Among our intelligentsia, particularly among the newly arrived exponents of the lately discovered Judaic civilization, there are those who blandly assume that such unity is possible, that the differences which exist within a Jewish community are slight, and that they could be easily composed if only some great new Jewish slogan were discovered or some great leader would arise who, by the wave of his magic wand of truth or personality, would reintegrate the scattered life of our people. This is romancing and day-dreaming.

There is much less unity in the great, old centers of Jewish life in Poland and in the other countries of Eastern Europe than there is in the United States. The Jewish communities there are split most decisively

along numerous nationalistic, economic and religious lines. At times the political emergencies of a minority group will weld them together into a temporary truce, but they possess neither a central authority, nor an acknowledged leadership, nor a common, comprehensive program. This is true also of the Jewries of Western Europe. Everywhere Jewry has its nationalists and its assimilationists, its Yiddishists and its Hebraists, its modernist and its fundamentalists, its pietists and its atheists, its radicals and its bourgeois, its bolsheviks and its bankers; and as the process of secularization on the one hand and religious individualization on the other continues, there will be still greater differentiation among the groups in Jewry.

This is true of all peoples. It is also true of the Jewish people. A religious sect may have a leader and a program. A people has leaders with various and opposing programs in all the departments of its national life and thought.

NEVERTHELESS, I believe that some pooling of common interests and resources beyond the philanthropic can take place and should take place even where a thoroughgoing unity is not to be had. The Jewish social worker can render the cause of American Jewry a distinct service if he will set about discovering how far such communal organization is feasible at this time, whether the time is ripe for such an experiment and what type of organization will best fit into our American setting.

It might be well to make a thorough study of Jewish communal life as it exists today in Eastern Europe, in the countries where our people possess national minority rights, as well as in the rest of Europe where they neither possess or desire such rights, and in Palestine. It were well, too, to experiment first in a few cities where the Jewish population is not too large or too complex or too sharply divided by party or personal strife.

It were best not to start out dogmatically, with too rigid ideas or preconceived notions. It were best at the outset to let all nationalistic metaphysics alone and not to expend too much time and ingenuity upon the definition of terms, or overwork that new Mumbo Jumbo—"Jewish Culture." Jewish Culture may be a newer term, but it is certainly not an

easier term to define than Judaism—the Jewish people or the Jewish life. It were best, too, not to belabor what has come to be known far too easily as "Jewishness." Jewishness has become a sort of emotional racket today. It is well to remember that not everything that has come out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe and for which the immigrant Jew or his children still have a nostalgia, is necessarily of intrinsic Jewish worth or transplantable in the American soil.

Again, the specific problem of how our Jewish religion is to make its proper adjustments to the modern world may best be left to the synagogues themselves and to their own leaders and spokesmen. The social worker ought not to make his task more difficult by involving himself in theological disputations. We will never achieve any measure of corporate Jewish action on the basis of agreement either as regards prime religion or folk religion—another and baffling distinction which is now being made, and which will require some very skillful and breath-taking mental tight-rope walking in the future.

IT WERE BEST TO START TRULY with the fact that there is still strong Jewish will to live and to survive among our people. This Jew will to live has never had to wait on the heels of "Rabbi" like Dewey or upon the discovery of a doctrine of cultural pluralism.

There are enough Jews in our Jewish community who like big Jews, who wish their children to be main Jews, who love their being who revere their religion, who are sufficiently proud of the historic and achievements of their people to want to continue it as a living unit in the world, or who are sufficiently outraged by unjust discrimination to wish to retort by an even more affirmation of their Jewish allegiance and loyalty. Let us work with these Jews, neither inspecting their motives too inquisitorially nor demanding of them the acceptance of a new messianism, nor attempting to force them into the Procrustean bed of some philosophy of Jewish life.

The Jewish social worker should capitalize this Jewish "good-will" which exists in his community and should proceed to exploit it, if possible, in behalf of some minimal program of common Jewish action.

Perhaps this time of depression is not as unfavorable as it might at first appear for such an attempt at communal organization. There is less intransigence and irreconcilability among the various groups and agencies in our communities, because we have all felt the pinch of poverty and the need for greater community operation.

Surely, the need for strengthening our communal life is apparent to every thinking Jew. We need stronger community organization, both for the sake of enriching the inner content of Jewish lives, as well as for the sake of presenting a more united and imposing front to the world without. Days ahead for the Jewish people in America will be trying days. We need not be a prophet of evil to foresee a sharp increase in anti-Semitism. Contact with the Old World has not made America old. The spring and life of the early American idealism, the grace and good-will are fast disappearing in the chaos of economic disintegration, political unrest and an embittered struggle for existence. We shall need much more unity of plan and action than we now possess to defend our political and economic positions in this country.

Untermeyer Theatre Nearing Completion in Palestine

THE Minnie Untermeyer Memorial Theatre at the Hebrew University, gift of Samuel Untermeyer of New York, will be completed in time for the opening of the academic session in October, according to an announcement by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University. Plans provide for a seating capacity for 2200 in the amphitheatre which overlooks a panorama of the Dead Sea and the mountains of Transjordan.

An expedition under the joint auspices of the University of California and the Hebrew University, to be undertaken in Turkey is also announced by Dr. Rosenbach. Dr. A. Eig, custodian of the Herbarium of the Hebrew University, will be in charge of the expedition.

A number of applicants for entrance to the Division of Biological Studies which was opened at the Hebrew

University last fall, had to be refused admission owing to lack of space and equipment, according to Dr. Rosenbach. Only 22 students could be admitted for work in biology this year, with 148 enrolling in the Faculty of Humanities and eleven in the Einstein Institute of Mathematics.

A series of lectures by visitors from Europe and America delivered at the Hebrew University during the present academic year, include lectures by Dr. George Sarton of Harvard University, Professor L. I. Silverman of Dartmouth College, Professor Ephraim Speiser of the University of Pennsylvania, Arnold Zweig, German writer, Dr. A. S. Oko, librarian of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, C. E. Wind, lecturer in Mathematics at the Egyptian University in Cairo, and Professor Selig Brodetsky of Leeds University, England.

scription of what happened in one class was given me by my little friend, Tobey. Tobey said, "We all went to school in the morning, and when we got there the teacher said that the Jewish children should please stand up." Tobey said there are forty-two in his class and only three of them were Jews. And he said nobody stood up because they didn't know what the teacher was talking about, because that is not the way the day begins. Then he said the teacher called them out and said, "Anna, Bernard, and Hans," and Anna, Bernard and Hans, who were ten and eleven years old stood up. Then the teacher said, "You must take your books, children, and go home." And Tobey said, "Anna is awfully smart and the teacher likes Anna, and Anna said, 'Why must we go home, Miss Castle?' " (Her name wasn't "Castle." We will make it up.)

Tobey said, "I don't think the teacher liked it, because she looked very embarrassed and she said, 'Oh, it's nothing important, children. It is just an order. Next week the Easter holidays begin and they are going to make some changes in the school administration, and after that you can come back.'"

"But," said Tobey, "Anna said, 'Yes, Miss Castle. But why must we go home?'"

Then Tobey said that one of the boys in the class raised his hand and said, "I know why they have to go. It is because the Jews spread lies about our National Revolution."

Then Tobey said Anna, who was ten years old said, "I never did!"

Then Anna said, "I have written a theme. May I please hand it in?" And the teacher said, "No, Anna, I am afraid I can't take a theme from you today."

And then those three little Jewish children, humiliated in front of the class of forty-two, with their books under their arm, not knowing what it was all about, but I assure you told the next day by their kinder school friends what it was all about, marched out of their class and marched home.

In a German Boarding School

In a boarding school in another German Province there was one Jewish girl student. She wasn't a particularly attractive Jewish girl. She wasn't particularly popular. But early in April when that child, age fourteen, walked into the assembly room the whole assembly stood up and demanded that she leave the school. She was a scholarship child. The next day her scholarship was withdrawn on the ground that since there weren't enough scholarships for German children Jewish children couldn't have them.

The German Government says there are no atrocities. As far as I am concerned these are far worse atrocities than beating a few people up. To poison a child's mind. To give a child a wedge against life. It is a Christian contract. But Jesus of Nazareth whom the Nazis say was a Nordic and not a



A group of ardent Brith Sholomites. Left to right: Jacob A. Berger, Chairman of Investment Committee; Maxwell E. Verlin, Esq., Counsellor of the Order; Martin O. Levy, Grand Secretary, and Morris Ruberg, Secretary of Sol. C. Kraus Lodge, No. 8.

Jew, had a few words to say about people who offend little children. I am afraid that no matter what happens to the Jewish program that Germany is creating a new racial problem in Germany which she will have to suffer for very much when the children of this generation come of age. And this business of children is really a major problem.

I have a friend whose husband in a Provincial town is a very, very prominent lawyer. He has been readmitted to the bar because he captured six tanks in 1913. He is extremely upset about it because he said, "I have been an eminent jurist for thirty years, and now it is decided whether I know anything about law by how many Frenchmen I killed in 1913." But anyway he has been readmitted to the bar. He is an attorney for some very great interests in his town, and the probability is that he will go on earning a very adequate living. But his wife told me, "We are going to leave Germany. We are going to South America where my husband has a client."

I said, "Why?"

"Because of the children. My little boy, twelve years old, who is a very nervous and high-strung child, cries himself to sleep every night and says, 'Why are we Jews?' I can't have my children growing up to be hysterics. As for my own attitude, I want to say this: My family has lived in Germany since the fifteenth century. We have always been assimilated. I have to always be a psychology of a woman of the ghetto. My little boy would come

home before this and say, 'A boy called me a Jew and I punched him in the nose.' And I would say, 'That is right. By all means punch him in the nose.' Today I wring my hands and say, 'Don't, don't!' I don't know what will happen to my little boy if he takes to punching the other boys in the nose. My psychology is that of the woman of the Polish ghetto today."

The Cold Pogrom

I don't need to tell you because I think you know as well as I do what form this so-called Cold Pogrom has taken. It has taken the form of putting out of the professions, out of the law, out of medicine, out of the teaching profession, out of the civil service, all Jews except those who actually fought at the front, or who had near relatives who fell in the war, and who have been in Germany since 1914. They were convinced that no Jews fought at the front, and they were amazed how many Jews they did readmit to the professions. But I want to say even those Jews who are readmitted to the professions work under terrific handicaps, and there is a terrific sabotage of the law itself. For instance, it is often very hard to prove that you fought on the front. You have got to present documentary evidence, and the documentary evidence has to be looked through. So I know in a great many cases this evidence is padded high, and nothing is being done about it. And in the meanwhile Jewish lawyers are simply not admitted back to the bar at all.

Furthermore, even Jews who seem to come under none of these categories are hit. I have a friend in Berlin, a very eminent Jewish surgeon. He has a private clinic. He is a great endocrine specialist. I said to him, "This doesn't affect you, surely."

He said, "Of course it affects me."

I said, "You have a private clinic. You don't hold any public position."

He said, "No, but I am a specialist, and most of my patients come from other physicians, and no German physician today will recommend a Jew. They are afraid to. Furthermore, my patients don't happen to be Jews. Most of them are of the nobility. They don't want to come to me any more, not because they are dissatisfied, but because they are afraid. Furthermore, I have worked for six years on an endocrine experiment which I wish to publish this year, and there is no scientific journal or group in Germany where I can present my information. I will go to America as a fourth assistant in anybody's office if I can get out. I am finished."

That is the situation of the Jew today in Germany.

There was a meeting in Munich while I was there. It was a meeting of stage artists in Munich, attended by five hundred stage artists, at which by 493 to 7 they voted to shut all Jews from the German stage. That is very funny. You can't believe you are in Berlin if you go to the theatre today. The German theatre is ruined anyway. A year and a half ago it was probably the finest theatre city in the world. Today it is reduced to the cultural level of a small provincial German town.

Civilized Mankind Protests

In closing I want to say this: I hope that the Jews of the world are not going to allow themselves to feel too isolated by what has happened in Germany. I assure you that there was never a time when the Jews were less isolated. The civilized people of the world protest against this nonsense which is being committed in Germany. I am absolutely convinced that it will not succeed. I am absolutely convinced that all Jews will not have to leave Germany, not anything like all Jews. I am absolutely convinced they will be reabsorbed into German economic life. In the meanwhile they have the support of millions of people who are not Jews at all. The whole world is outraged and the whole world is frightened, because if the race question starts in the world, if one starts something of this kind one never knows where it will end. This country alone all countries has the greatest reason to oppose with all its force movements of this kind, because this country is founded upon a fundamentally different technique. This country is a grandiose attempt to carry out a quite different philosophy of civilization. To carry out the belief, to put into practice the belief that what constitutes a nation is not that they are a tribe of

blood brothers as the Germans seem to think, but that they are people of different races, of different types, of different religions, who are held together by a common interest, by a common form of life, and by a common destiny.

This I may say in closing is the theory which has been the theory of civilized states since they first emerged from the tribe. If Germany wants to go back to Albania,—I suppose the next step will be to decide that all Slavs should be put out of Germany, or all red-headed people, or all black-haired people—I shall be sorrier for the Germans than I am for the Jews. (Prolonged applause.)

CHAIRMAN LEWIS: Ladies and Gentlemen: The breath-taking address of Miss Thompson I am sure has had a profound and attentive ear on your part. For myself, all that I should like to say is whether it is here or whether it is in that land where I first saw the light of day, whatever prospects the years may have for me in the future, the answer to what has been said and described by Miss Thompson: "Why am I a Jew? What is a Jew?" is not a body born by the process of natural accident in the Jewish faith or among the Jewish people, but that we here and elsewhere will continue to say as individuals "Ivri Onochi—I am a Jew, not by accident or birth but because I wish to share in the sorrows and in the joys of Yisrael. That we belong to an ancient people that has a right to exist as a separate people because of the contributions which it has made to the world's civilization, and that it would be a tragedy, not for the 15,000,000 or 16,000,000 Jews but for the non-Jewish world, if a people that has a genius of that character should be destroyed or assimilated."

The terrorizing fact in this whole horrible business is that when these things happened in Russia, Russia was a semi-civilized land. When they occurred in Poland we said, "Poland isn't a civilized country." But when they occur in a cultural Germany the terrorizing fear that grips those of us who give it thought is, "Who is the prophet who will say that it may not happen in some other Central European or perhaps Western country in the world?"

It is for that, my friends, that we want to associate ourselves in Jewish organized life so that we will maintain and be able to continue to maintain the integrity of Jewish lives, the racial integrity of our people, to continue to contribute to the nations of the world that which is specifically Jewish. In that lies the whole tragedy of this situation. Of what avail is it for the Jew to create a culture of his own, to contribute to the culture of others, to add to the culture of others, if overnight something of this character may happen to destroy all that which we have created? It is the degradation in spirit and not the body blows that this or that individual Jew may receive that

is the harrowing thing in this whole business.

I am glad to now present to you, ladies and gentlemen, the last formal speaker on the program. I say I am glad because I am personally very fond of him. I regard him as one of my dear friends, a scholar, a leader in Israel, a profound scholar, a gifted orator, a rabbi and teacher and guide in Israel, who will address us in his own inimitable fashion.

I present to you, men and women, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland.

The audience arose and applauded.

RABBI SILVER'S ADDRESS

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER: My friends: I had intended to speak to you this afternoon on the subject of Germany, but the subject has been adequately treated by the preceding speaker. You have followed your newspapers and your magazines, which have brought to you day-by-day and week-by-week the accounts of the German-Jewish tragedy. You do not wish to have your sensibilities harrowed and your emotions stirred needlessly. I will therefore limit myself to a few observations and what is really involved in this German-Jewish situation.

I will try to envisage the subject if possible from an historic perspective, for after all we are an old people, and we have accumulated a vast experience, and we have instilled a remarkable racial wisdom, all of which ought to stand us in good stead in a crisis such as we are faced with today.

Why are we all so aroused by the condition in Germany? We are not strangers to persecution. Our history is sufficiently blood-stained so that a little blood-letting in this part of the world or that part of the world should arouse such a universal sense of horror and indignation on our part. What is there unique in this situation which has caused us, all of us, so much of grief, so much of apprehension, so much of fear, so much of heart and soul searching?

Germany

In the first place, Germany is the one country in the world where rights of the Jewish people, won over a period of years and decades and generations of struggle, were taken away, abrogated. There are still many parts of the world where the Jew does not enjoy even that measure of privilege and right which the Jew possesses in Germany today. Yet we are not horror-stricken about that. In Germany rights have been abrogated. In Eastern Europe there are spots where the Jew does not possess full political or economic equality; but he has never had them there. He has been fighting his way through years out of a total disability, out of a total disenfranchisement, to a position of an economic and political equal. He has not attained the maximum yet. He hopes that some day he will attain it. There is a mean-

are of hopefulness in the situation.

After a Struggle of 100 Years

In Germany the Jew after a struggle of one hundred years has succeeded in attaining that maximum of political and economic equality. It was a desperate struggle. And only those who know the history of the Jews of Germany in the last five or six hundred years know how hard and desperate that struggle was. But finally, thank God, as a result of its own efforts, as a result of human progress the world over, the 600,000 Jews which constitute the Jewish community of Germany succeeded in attaining their goal. And then suddenly, overnight, all those rights are taken away from them, and they are thrown back to where they were more than one hundred years ago.

That introduces an element of hopelessness, of defeatism, in our struggle throughout the world. If this thing can happen in Germany, if after we have striven for generations to win our rights and finally succeeded, a change of government overnight can undo the work of one hundred years, then our positions throughout the world are insecure; then all of our strivings and struggles the world over are futile and hopeless. And that is why the thing which has happened in Germany has cast a shadow, a pall of pessimism, over the Jewish communities the world over.

A Different Type of Anti-Semitism

In the second place, the anti-Semitism of Germany today is grounded in a totally different cause than the anti-Semitism of other countries, or Jewish persecutions in the past. In the dark Middle Ages the Jews were persecuted because they were Jews by religion. The Christian world did not like to be reminded that its religion had not been universally accepted, that within its body there was a minority challenging and denying its basic tenets and dogmas. So the states inspired by the church set about persecuting the Jew in order to induce him to give up his faith and accept the faith of the majority. The persecutions were terrible. And yet there was always even in that persecution a recognition that after all fundamentally and basically the Jew was a human being quite like everybody else; he had false ideas on the subject of religion, but once he surrenders those ideas he is one of us. Always there was a way out left for the Jew. It was a pitiful way out, and proud Jews seldom availed themselves of that avenue of escape. But conversion always implied that after all, basically, the Jew was a human being like everyone else. In fact, the very church which persecuted the Jew spoke of him as the chosen people, a people which had erred, a people which had lost its way. But after all it was the chosen people, and some day when it gave up its errors it would be again the chosen people.

But in this new persecution of Hitler

there is evolved a doom, a fatalism, an irreconcilability, which we find in none of the Jewish persecutions in the past. The church never said, and the tormentors and the persecutors of the Jews in the darkest Middle Ages never said, that the Jew belonged to an inferior human species; that his mind was vicious; that his blood was polluted; that his soul was corrupt; that his very presence in the civilized society was a contamination and a menace. The church never consigned the Jew to that irredeemable degradation to which Hitler and the Nazis now attempt to consign the Jews.

Race Bigotry

Race bigotry, my friends, is far more dangerous in the world today than religious bigotry. Religious bigotry has fairly well been described. Intelligent people shy away from it almost instinctively today. But race bigotry has not yet been discredited. And many people even of the thinking classes are prone to be swayed and their emotions aroused and their primitive passions set afire by an appeal to race, to the blood count, to race idolatry. That is why the source of the present German persecution is a far more dangerous source than that of other forms of persecution in the past.

Again in the past Jewish persecution was largely, though not exclusively, a mob persecution. The Crusades, the Black Plague in Europe, let loose vast, uncontrolled mobs upon the Jewish communities, and they proceeded to destroy, to kill, to desolate whole Jewish communities. Very often the thinking people, the leaders, were ashamed of the actions of the mob and apologized for them. This persecution in Germany is not the work of a mob. It is calculated. It is deliberate. It is planned. It has been worked out metaphysically. It has been spun out through every pseudo-scientific channel. It has been written into books and brochures and texts and pamphlets. For fourteen years it has been preached and propagated from platforms, through the radio, through newspapers. I brought back from Germany with me a whole trunkload of literature aiming to justify the annihilation of the Jews in Germany on the basis of biology, of psychology, of economics, of sociology, on the basis of the highest human interests. This thing which has happened in Germany in the last few months, as Miss Dorothy Thompson quite correctly said, was not the blind impulse of a moment, not the byproduct of a revolution, where you can forgive much. This is the upshot or the realization of a program worked out carefully, studiously, with a ruthless Prussian thoroughness, over a period of more than a decade, and now finally put into practice. Why even the czars of Russia frequently felt constrained to apologize for pogroms in Russia. They were ashamed of the opinion of the world. They sometimes instigated the acts, but still they sought to throw a mantle over

it, to hide it from the gaze of the world, because they were themselves ashamed. But the German Nazis are unashamed. They are boastful about it. They preach and proclaim it as part of their contour. It is the worst, unashamed, anti-Semitism known to our history.

And then it differs in this regard also. The anti-Semite of other countries has been grounding and justifying anti-Semitism on the ground that the Jew is a clannish person, the Jew is always by himself, he doesn't want to assimilate with other people. A hundred years ago they said "The Jew speaks a different language. He wears a different kind of garb. His manners are different. He doesn't belong. He is not like one of us." So the Jew answered that kind of anti-Semitism by saying, "Give us a chance, admit us to your schools. Give us political freedom, and we will shake off these signs and symbols of the ghetto life into which we have been forced." The Nazis, on the other hand, sing a different song entirely. They are not so much opposed to the Jew who stands out by speech or garb or manner distinct and different from them. Their great wrath is poured out upon the man who is completely assimilated with them. The more the Jew is assimilated to German life the more thoroughly he is despised by the Nazis. The more thoroughly the Jew speaks the German language and the more perfectly he writes the German language, the more he moves in German society, the more dangerous they regard him. They don't want the Jew to assimilate. They want to reghettoize him. And they have succeeded in a few short weeks practically in restoring the medieval ghetto for 600,000 Jews in Germany.

The Menace of Hitlerism

And, lastly, the German Hitlerism is dangerous because it regards itself as a missionary movement. It has a great mission in the world. It isn't merely satisfied with preaching anti-Semitism within the boundaries of Germany. It wants the whole world to become anti-Semitic. Hitler is quoted as having said recently to an American non-Jew, "Why do you criticize me? I have only done the things that you would like to do. I am showing you the way to do it." Nazi-ism is a world movement, and if successful, if it is not destroyed, it will not stay within its boundaries. For the first time a metaphysical anti-Semitism, grounded in fictitious race theories, is being disseminated throughout the world and has now a great political party, a great powerful nation as its reservoir, as its authority, as its sanction.

My friends, I am not a pessimist and I am not given to prophecies of evil unduly. But I am a realist. My study of Jewish history has taught me to be a realist, however unpleasant that may be. I think that basically one of the reasons for our survival has been that we have had a vast element of realism

in our thinking. I am convinced that the Jewish people are entering today, the world over, one of the most trying and searching and desperate periods in its history, and I will tell you why: In the next few generations the whole world will be engaged in a terrible struggle, a struggle which has already begun, a struggle which received a terrific impact by the World War. That is the struggle between the old-fashioned individual capitalism and the corporate state, the struggle between a Bourgeois civilization and a socialized or socialistic civilization which is coming to be. This struggle, as you can readily see, is going to be a terrifically bitter one. The Proletariat and the Bourgeois classes will employ the same ruthless weapons in the struggle. The Nazis in Germany, the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Fascists in Italy, have no scruples in resorting to the most drastic and ruthless methods in obtaining their goal, whether one is fighting for Socialism or another is fighting for Capitalism. The Jew will be caught between and betwixt these two opposing economic forces, and he more than any other group will be made to pay the price. The Jew has always been called upon to suffer the birth pangs of a new social order, and he is being called upon to do so again.

The nineteenth century was, economically and politically speaking, our golden era for us Jews. Why? Because in the nineteenth century Bourgeois civilization triumphed. That meant the delimiting of the power of the state and the establishment of the rights of the individual. Now as an individual the Jew could compete with any other mankind quite successfully. That is why in the nineteenth century the Jew made such remarkable economic progress throughout the Western World. But the twentieth century is going to see the delimiting of the power of the individual and the accentuation of the power of the state. In the twentieth century the group and the syndicate, rather than the individual, will count. You can see it coming in your own country. That being the case the Jew everywhere will constitute a small minority. The majority in every state will control the politics and therefore the economics of that state, and in every state in the world the Jew will be a minority. And that is why his economic and political status the world over will be attacked more and more as we go on, and I think will suffer more and more as we go on.

Jews Must Be Organized

Therefore, it becomes of the utmost importance that the Jews the world over learn to organize, learn to discipline themselves, learn to exploit all their powers and resources for self-defense. (Applause.) Germany today is our battleground. If we win in Germany we win a strategic victory for all future time. If we lose in Germany we lose a strategic battle and suffer a strategic defeat for all time. We have got to fight it out in Germany. We have got

to bring every pressure to bear upon the German situation to protest, to harass that government at every step, to attempt to destroy its economic power at every opportunity (applause), because if Hitler succeeds in eight weeks to undo the work of a thousand years, if he succeeds in taking one of the noblest Jewish communities in the world, which from the days of Moses Mendelssohn to the days of Albert Einstein gave not merely to Germany but to the whole of civilization cultural and intellectual and spiritual values of such nobility, if he succeeds in making a churban of that community in a few short weeks, he will serve as an inspiration and a guide and a sanction to all our enemies the world over, and no Jewish community anywhere will be safe.

The German problem, my friends, is not a relief problem exclusively. We have got to relieve our German brethren there, those who have been dispossessed, the professional men who have been put out of their colleges, the refugees, who tens of thousands are scattered all over the world in Prague, Paris, Amsterdam, and London, on their way to Palestine. We have to help them. We have to maintain their morale. But the German-Jewish problem is much more a political problem which must be fought with political weapons. And the strongest political weapon which we have in our hands today is the boycott. (Applause.)

The League of Nations does not hesitate to write the boycott into its Covenant as a legitimate measure of bringing pressure to bear upon a recalcitrant nation which refuses to abide by the Covenant of the League. A boycott is a legitimate measure once every other measure has failed. And every other measure, protest, diplomatic intercessions, parades, every other method, whether the quiet, secretive method, or the loud, house-top method of some of our leaders, has failed. There is only one resort left to us, and that is to focus the tremendous economic power of 15,000,000 Jews the world over, who not only possess that much of purchasing power but who control such a substantial part of the export and import trade of the world, upon the Nazi regime until it is smashed! (Applause.)

Will Yield to Force

They will yield only to force, not to moral suasion. They have discounted our protests and the protests of non-Jews the world over a long time ago. They are shrewd and canny propagandists—the shrewdest and canniest propagandists in the world. They have discounted it long ago. They will yield only to pressure. They yielded to Upper Silesia because of the pressure brought to bear by the League of Nations. They yielded to the Olympics because of the pressure which other nations brought to bear by threatening to keep the Olympic games out of Germany if Germany continued to discriminate against the Jews in the Olympic games. And for the first time Hitler, Goering, and

Goebbels had to come down from their high horse and yield. They will yield on other things if we just can learn to be disciplined, to stay organized, not to permit our present indignation to peter out, but to remember that when we fight Nazi-ism and Hitlerism in Germany we are fighting not merely for the 600,000 Jews there but for ourselves and our children here, and for the Jews the world over. (Applause.)

I don't for a moment think that Hitler has written the last chapter of the history of the Jews in Germany. I am not at all of the opinion that the Jews in Germany are through. I have too much confidence in my people and too much confidence and faith in the God of our people. We have had these terrorists, these Hamans before, and we have survived them. We will survive this gang, too. But we have got to realize that in this day and age new weapons are needed in the hands of our people. These new weapons are within our reach. They are in your hands now. Use them.

Personal Observations

I was in Germany when Hitler became Chancellor. I was there during the last dying gasps of the German Republic. And in passing I want to say this: I believe that Miss Dorothy Thompson is absolutely right when she said that the Jews are not the only people suffering in Germany today. But she didn't go far enough. She should have said that we Jews are doing a very unwise thing in centering all of our protests on the persecution of the Jews in Germany. Our protest ought to encompass the persecution of others in Germany, of all men who are denied their elementary rights of human beings, of liberals, of pacifists, of socialists, of communists, if you will. Our faith, my friends, the world over is bound up with liberalism, with freedom. Once liberalism and freedom are destroyed in the world the Jewish position becomes to my mind almost hopeless. We have advanced in the world wherever democracy and freedom and liberalism made progress. Whatever reaction, tyranny, dictatorship, absolutism, was advanced, sooner or later we were victimized more than any other group. In Germany today the sacred ideals of mankind, to my mind the ultimate ideals of mankind, are being trampled under foot by a ruthless and brutal and arrogant dictatorship, and we Jews ought to protest in the name of the rights and sacred values of human beings quite as much as we protest in the name of the Jews who are persecuted in Germany.

I listened to many speeches at Hitler meetings in Germany. Crowded halls, filled with people, most of them of the lower middle class. Young people. Boys and girls. And I heard this anti-Jewish preachment shot like hot coals from the lips of these expert propagandists. "The Jews are our misfortune. The Aryan race can never live in peace with the Semitic race. The Semite is an inferior being. The Jews brought

the war upon us. The Jews caused us to lose the war. The Jews were responsible for the infamous treaty which we were compelled to sign. The Jews were responsible for the economic debacle which followed. The Jews are our communists. The Jews are our financiers and international capitalists. The Jew, the Jew, the Jew." And I could see the faces of the people inflamed. I could see their eyes become hot and shot through with passion. I was afraid for the safety and the well being of my brethren in Germany. But the German Jews seemingly underestimated all this, quite like Miss Dorothy Thompson was inclined to underestimate it. All they would say is "A lot of boobs are talking. Let them talk. Let's ignore them." They ignored them. For fourteen years this propaganda was carried on in every town, village, and hamlet in Germany. A whole generation was indoctrinated and poisoned by this kind of anti-Jewish preachment. And suddenly they woke up, the German Jews, to realize that that which they thought was a negligible vermin had become a scorpion and a viper. And then the calamities began to rain one by one upon them.

Let us not underestimate anti-Semitism in the world here or there. Let us learn to be prepared for it and fight it. If we have to go down, let us go down fighting. (Applause.) Let us not be caught unawares. Let us not be humiliated. Let us be prepared.

Few Things Still to Learn

There are a few things that we Jews may learn through what has happened in Germany. One is this lesson that I have tried to teach you this afternoon, the lesson of solidarity and discipline and group obedience and alertness. The second lesson is the lesson which the German Jew has learned, that it doesn't pay to assimilate. You don't get anywhere by it. He worked on the theory that the less Jew he will be the more welcome he will be as a German. Nothing was further from the truth. We told him that all the time but he wouldn't listen. Assimilation has not helped the German Jew. What has happened in Germany has written largely the failure of the whole theory of assimilation. You know sometimes as I read the newspapers and prominent names of German Jews are brought to my attention who have lost their positions as directors of musical conservatories, as conductors of symphonies, or driven from hospitals, I sympathize with them. But then I begin to study those names and I say to myself, "Bruno Walter. Driven from his position because he was a Jew. When was Bruno Walter a Jew? A man who was ashamed of his Jewishness! Never acknowledged it."

Then I see the name Otto Klemperer. Why I never saw his name in connection with any Jewish movement since I have known of his name. A man who twenty years ago was offered a position in Berlin if he would convert, and who wired back, "Sure, to what religion do



A group of Trenton City Lodge, No. 39, delegates, proud of their Grand Master. Left to right: Edward Juris, Joseph Fishberg, Grand Master Wm. M. Lewis, Peter Littman, Louis Kolman and Herman Lefkowitz.

you want me to convert?" (Laughter.)

I see Jews shed so many tears over the great Uhlstein, this great publisher of Berlin. He belonged to a Christian church. The irony of it is that the sins of the fathers and the grandfathers are now being visited upon the children. They are being ferreted out as Jews. They didn't proclaim themselves as Jews. My friends, when a man suffers that doesn't necessarily mean tragedy. When an individual or even a nation suffers sometimes that suffering is good for it. It is cleansing. It is ennobling. Suffering becomes tragedy only when a man doesn't know why he suffers. And the tragedy of so many of our brethren and sisters in Germany is like the little girl that you were told about this afternoon, and their parents. They don't know why they are suffering. They have lost their Jewish consciousness. They have lost their Jewish loyalties. They have lost their Jewish compensatory enthusiasms. They thought themselves Germans, and suddenly one cold, grey morning they were startled by the announcement that they were Jews.

Assimilation Is Bankrupt

Assimilation is bankrupt. If we have to suffer as Jews let us at least have some of the "anava" of being Jews. (Applause.) Believe me there are great satisfactions which one can derive from being a Jew. There is so much of grandeur and beauty and grace and charm and nobility in Jewish life! There is so much of strength and inspiration that one can derive from Jewish history, from Jewish literature. There are so many fine and wonderful things going on in Jewish life today that one can derive real nachasruch by being a Jew.

Let that which has happened in Germany be a lesson to other Jewish communities. Back to your tents, with your Jewish homes, and your Jewish schools,

and your synagogues, and your Jewish lodges, and your Jewish life. Live a real vigorous, interested, affirmative Jewish life. And face the future bravely. Give your children to know why they are Jews, so that a little child will not have to become hysterical and weep itself to sleep every night and ask its mother, "Why am I a Jew?" Train your children from infancy up into the way of a Jewish life. Armor them. Dress them in a protective armor against the slings and arrows of an adverse world. You will do them a much greater service as human beings, to their souls and to their minds, than some of our German brethren did to their children.

Learning a Lesson

Another lesson we can learn (I hope I am not taking up too much of your time. I am just in the mood for "smoozing" a lot this afternoon) is this: After every other solution of the Jewish problem has failed we thought that enlightenment would be a solution of the Jewish problem. After the French Revolution some of the leading Jews of the Western World said, "Now the Messiah has come, with liberty, equality, and fraternity all over the world. The Jewish problem is definitely solved." Others have said that the spread of science and knowledge will solve the problem, because science is international. So we have here in the most scientific country in the world the most vicious type of anti-Semitism in the year 1933. Others have said that socialism will be a solution of the Jewish problem. So now we have the strange hybrids of Christian Socialists who hate the Jew quite as vindictively as any Christian non-Socialist.

The solution of the problem, if there is such a thing as a Jewish problem, lies with the Jewish people itself, not out-

side of it. And that brings me to the last thing I want to speak about—Palestine and Zionism.

In Palestine

I was in Palestine in April and I saw the first boatloads of the German refugees come to Palestine. I spoke with many of them, and they all spoke and acted like people, the foundation of whose lives had suddenly been knocked from under them, uprooted, dazed. They had come to Palestine as to a haven of refuge. Many of them had never given a thought to Palestine before. And when they did think of Palestine they thought of it as an out-of-the-way place somewhere over there in some corner of the world, where a few impractical idealists were making a homeland for the Jewish people which nobody really needed. As far as they themselves were concerned they were Germans. They had their homeland. They had lived there for hundreds of years. They were completely integrated in the life of the country. They had fought its battles. They had died upon its battlefields. They were Germans. Why did they need a Jewish homeland over there? Yet here they were, uprooted, dazed, seeking refuge in that very homeland which these impractical idealists had builded just for people like themselves. These impractical idealists, my friends, found in Palestine not wealth or position or any of the amenities of civilized life that the Jews in Germany had or that we in America have. They found there wastes, an ungracious soil, hard rocks, malaria. And they hewed out for themselves, out of their empty, desolate land, a habitation for themselves and their children where they found what these refugees from Germany when they were at home in their land never found. They found in Palestine *menuchah nefesh*, soul rest, a home. Here in Palestine they weren't afraid that their children would come home one fine day and say they had been driven out of the schools because they were Jews. Why? Because the schools which their children were attending were not German schools or Arab schools or Syrian schools or English schools or Egyptian schools. They were Jewish schools, built by Jews, financed by Jews, where Jews taught. (Applause.) They weren't afraid that Jewish doctors would come home one day and say that after years of distinguished service in their profession they had been kicked out from the hospitals. Why? Because the hospitals where these Jewish doctors worked were Jewish hospitals, built, maintained, financed, directed, and controlled by Jews. And Jewish teachers and professors will not come home from the schools and gymnasia, and technical schools, and Hebrew universities, and say that suddenly, without notice and ceremony, they were dismissed and thrown out, because these schools and academies are Jewish institutions.

Palestine's Marvelous Spirit

I found in Palestine, my friends, a

marvelous spirit of confidence, and I asked myself, "Why this sudden spirit of confidence?" I was in Palestine in 1919. I didn't find that confidence then. I was there in 1926. I didn't find it then, either. In 1919, the country was still under military occupation. It was an empty land. In 1926, one could already see the beginnings of a real progress. But even then everything seemed to be so tenderous, so uncertain, so experimental. In 1933, I found in Palestine an air of confidence, and the Jews talked and acted as if they had now finally become convinced that Palestine was something real; that they were there to stay. (Applause.) That it had become sufficiently large, and sufficiently rooted in the soil to have the character and the quality of permanency. And this confidence wasn't merely due to the fact that the country is relatively prosperous, that in the midst of a world depression which has laid low great and prosperous countries, little Palestine was able to hold its own, without unemployment, and without business failures, and without bank liquidations, and without a government budget unbalanced; a country that was living normally. It wasn't only that which gave them confidence. It was the feeling that everything which had been achieved there they themselves achieved with their own hands, with their own brain, and with their own brawn.

The fields which they owned were their fields not because they had a deed of purchase or sale on that field, but because they themselves plowed the field and sowed the seed, and harvested the crop; because they themselves very frequently had made that field, for they found there wasteland and marshes and pestilence, where neither man nor beast could live. And by the sweat of their own brow they drained those marshes and created a field which was theirs. (Applause.) The houses in which they live in Palestine, in Jurel, in Tel Aviv, in Haifa, in those numerous colonies and settlements, are theirs, not because they bought it, not because they contracted for it, but because they themselves laid the foundations; they themselves were the masons and the carpenters and the builders and the plasterers and the plumbers and the architects and the engineers. Tel Aviv is a Jewish city of some 65,000 people, not because there are 65,000 Jews there. There are cities that have 1,075,000 Jews that are not Jewish cities. Tel Aviv is a Jewish city because Jewish artisans and craftsmen and workmen and technicians and engineers in less than twenty-five years took sand dunes, wastelands on the shores of the Mediterranean, and in less than a quarter of a century built by their own effort, their own initiative, their own substance, their own sacrifices, a city of homes, of boulevards, of parks, of institutions, of operas, a living, teeming, thriving metropolis. That is why it is a Jewish city.

That is why in Palestine you have today this confidence, this soul rest that I found there.

Compensation

There is no tragedy in Jewish life that somehow in God's providence does not bring with it seemingly some compensation. When the Jews were exiled from Spain in 1492, a community of close on to 800,000 Jews, it was said, who had lived there for more than a thousand years, were exiled. That very year America was discovered, which was destined to provide a home for over 4,000,000 Jews. In this very year when Hitler has turned Germany into a hell for the Jewish people, is forcing them from their livelihoods, is driving them into exile, is attempting to break their spirit, over there in Palestine a thriving, happy, prosperous Jewish community is developing which is opening its door to receive these refugees.

I remember the day before I left Palestine visiting the Chief Rabbi, Rabbi Kook,—quite a remarkable man in many ways. Not only a great rabbinical scholar, but profound and wise in the wisdom of the world. We talked about many things, and of course talked about the German-Jewish situation. He said to me, "Rabbi, do you think that these things which are happening today are natural, normal things? They can't be that. Here is a whole world shutting its door against the Jew. No country wants them. Palestine alone stays open. Here is a whole world suffering from an economic depression. Little Palestine alone, somehow, is economically normal. Here is Palestine wasting Jews, and here is Hitler driving Jews to Palestine. How can you account for it unless you believe that there is something of the Messianic about it all?"

He said, "That is really what the Messianic idea is. That circumstance will so arrange themselves as to make the return of Jews to Palestine inevitable. And that is what is happening." (Applause.)

That truth I took away with me from Palestine, and with that I close. First comes the idea. And if the idea is sound and true, ultimately the constellation of circumstances will be so arranged as to make that idea triumphant. Zionism was a sound and true idea. It was grounded in Jewish experience. It faced Jewish reality squarely, however unpleasant it was. Many laughed at it. Men scoffed at it. They called it visionary, and visionary, and fantastic. They even called it unpatriotic, and those who were most at ease in their respective countries were strongest in their denunciation and their opposition to it. But life, my friends, has a logic all of its own, and now circumstances have so arranged themselves as to make Zionism inevitable in Jewish life. And those who were strongest in denunciation

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reported that the first time he officiated in a synagogue, he was so tiny that he had to stand up on a box so that he could be seen.

Had fate not intervened, "Yossele" Rosenblatt would have been happy and content to remain a synagogue cantor—praying for his people, singing to his God, and composing beautiful hymns.

But a sad stroke of misfortune decreed otherwise. Those who did not know were astonished one day to find that this pious conservative cantor of undoubted devotion should apparently desecrate his religion and golden voice by choosing to appear on the vaudeville stage. And for many years afterwards, he was a familiar figure on the stages of many theatres and movies. But those few who knew admired him the more for it. For they knew the reason—and it was a good one.

He had been tempted to enter a business venture for the publication of a religious journal. The project was sponsored by men of undoubtedly good intentions, but—alas—of impractical business vision. The venture failed; and only debts—to the tune of about \$150,000—remained to survive the ill-fated publication. In addition, it had cost Rosenblatt all of his modest fortune. Then and there he pledged the balance of his life to the repayment of those debts; and from that moment on he devoted every dollar of his income to that purpose.

That explains why he went into vaudeville. That explains why he endured the agony of singing popular songs in almost every town in the United States, when every fibre of his being longed to sing in a synagogue instead. Some audiences were appreciative; many laughed at him and ridiculed the short bearded figure that stepped out of the wings wearing a "yarmelka" and a black suit. But he persisted despite all ridicule. He could say, in the proud words of the playwright, Nicholas Rowe, in his "Jane Shore":

"Yet heaven that made me honest, made me more
Than ever king did, when he made a lord."

On one point he was adamant; no matter how much money it might have meant to him, he refused to shave his beard, or appear without his head being covered. Tempting as the offer must have been, he refused to accept a contract at \$3,000 per night to sing with the Chicago Opera Company in "The Jewess," because he would have been required to shave his beard.

In synagogue or on the theatrical stage, everyone knew of his golden voice. It is not so well known, however, that he was the author of more than 400 musical compositions; and that he was able to sing in 10 different languages.

Many years ago he wrote a musical prayer to Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. More recently he composed music to Psalm 111, a work suitable for large choirs and not confined to being Jewish, which he dedicated to the late President Harding.

One element of his nature which is known to very few was his unbounded generosity, but his charities were not shouted from the housetops. It was only occasionally that the world learned of them; as for example the time he sang at a benefit performance for an old Jew who wished to raise a dowry for his daughter. Mathew Prior, in his poem, "Charity," wrote:

"Soft peace she brings, wherever she arrives,
She builds our quiet, as she forms our lives,
Lays the rough paths of peevish Nature even,
And opens in each heart a little Heaven."

Rosenblatt believed in that statement; and—what is more important—set his beliefs into concrete practice.

A family of five sons and three daughters survive him. It was always a source of great joy to him that his oldest son is a Rabbi, having graduated with highest awards from the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and is now a professor of Semitic languages at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Another of his sons has a beautiful baritone voice and has studied long and earnestly under Walter Damrosch.

The news of his death has evoked universal sorrow. No less than six thousand grief-stricken mourners attended his funeral in Jerusalem. A vast memorial service was held in Carnegie Hall in New York several weeks ago at which more than 2,500 persons attended. On the stage, which was flanked by portraits of him, 200 cantors sang sacred music including many of Rosenblatt's own compositions. Joseph Rumshinsky, famous Jewish composer of operas and operettas, and a life-long friend of Cantor Rosenblatt, conducted the service. Many of the singers were so shaken by emotion as to make it difficult for them to continue, especially while singing his "Shomer Israel"; that work was sung for the first time without his leading the music. Then when a phonograph record of his was played, the entire audience broke down and wept.

Longfellow in his poem "Elawatha" wrote of another great singer in terms fitting Cantor Rosenblatt. He said:

"Sang the song of Elawatha,
Sang his wondrous birth and being,
How he prayed and how he fasted,
How he lived, and toiled and suffered,
That the tribes of men might prosper,
That he might advance his people!"

ROMANCE OF A PEOPLE

(Continued from page 17)

mingled with defeats. The will to live gazes constantly into the face of the spectre of death. Motion—threads of motion—symbolize exilic movements.

Sura, Pumpedita, Italy, Spain, France, Poland, Germany. But through all wanderings one voice is resonant. The Torah! Israel labors! Israel is drunk with Abraham's awful desert vision. It is enslaved to Sinai's law. Spain and its inquisition! Torquaimada and his torture chambers, Hitler!

"Sh'ma yisrael adonay Eloheinu adonay echod."

Hear, O Israel, the Eternal our God, the Eternal is one.

"Behold, Messiah is chained, soldier's spears dig into his flesh. Messiah bleedeth, he stumbles, he bends, but falleth not."

1492! 1776! A new land and a new freedom!

Suddenly the stage blazes with a

new symbol of liberty. With David's star above, a new constellation surrounds it. Stars and Stripes! The temple glows with a new brilliance and an exultant voice shouts the words of the Torah engraved on the bell that first pealed American independence:

"Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

Just before the figure at the altar turns the last page of the great book is the scene of Israel at home again after ages of wandering. The reader turns the page. Messiah is near.

"And He shall judge between the peoples, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Light on the stage slowly fades. The star remains. It shines on all the world and its light is seen with joy in the far flung cities of America while a Voice gently utters the words:

"How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts."

PROCEEDINGS

(Continued from page 16)

ing it are the very ones who now stand in greatest need of it.

So while we face on the one hand Germany, with relief, and with organized political action, we must at the same time face that which is promising, hopeful, and spiritually exhilarating in Jewish life—Palestine. The Jews in Palestine, my friends, pledge themselves, each one, to take into their homes at least one German-Jewish refugee. (Applause.) Let every one of us try to make it possible for at least one German-Jewish refugee to go to Palestine. We can if we wish, in the next generation, in twenty, thirty years, make of Palestine not a little haven of refuge but a country strong, populous, numerous, creative, one of the great centers of Jewish life in the world. That is our opportunity. And that is our challenge.

The audience arose and applauded.

The Permanent in Jewish Life

What Palestine Means In The Light of the German Situation

By JUDGE OTTO A. ROSALSKY.

Court of General Sessions of New York State

When Israel dwelt in the hills and valleys of old Judea, it made its greatest contribution to the welfare of mankind.

It was then that its spirit soared to those visions of universal peace and social justice which are still the inspiration of mankind, a spirit so lofty that humanity has not yet been able to keep step with it.

It was then that Isaiah looked forward to the day when

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares,

And their spears into pruning-hooks:
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,

Neither shall they learn war any more."

It was then that Malachi asked, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?"

Above all, we must be mindful that Israel's most distinctive contributions to Civilization were made when it was permitted the opportunity to express its own spirit, in the Holy Land, in an atmosphere free from discrimination and antagonism.

It is no ordinary rebuilding that engages the attention of those interested in the movement for the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

What is being done cannot be thought of exclusively in terms of immediate material achievement. It is not a physical haven only that is the goal of our endeavor.

Today, another oppressor—Hitler—by his brutal and cowardly terrorism against the Jews in Germany, has reduced to the lowest state 600,000 Jews, loyal sons of that country.

Of course, a Hitler government based on barbarism cannot last.

The world peace cannot be founded on racial and class persecution.

The enlightened nations of the world, as they have stood by the Jews in the past, will stand by them today, and hold up their hands to secure justice and liberty, as Aaron and Hur held up the hands of Moses when he triumphantly battled against the ancient foes of Israel.

Those who think of building a refuge for the oppressed and persecuted, with no thought of the spiritual significance of the place of refuge, miss the point which is involved in the objective of the Jewish people.

The reconstruction of Palestine as the Jewish Homeland, which has been the inspiration and the faith of Jews throughout the centuries, takes on added significance through its connection with the creation of a spiritual center in Palestine.

Judge Rosalsky, one of the outstanding figures in the American judiciary, who has for years taken a leading part in the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, herein discusses the meaning of Palestine from the point of view of establishing something permanent in Jewish life, in relationship to the tragic events in Germany today.
—THE EDITOR.

In the rebuilding of Palestine, we have in mind not only the establishment of colonies, the development of industry, the beginnings of commerce, but we are thinking of a renaissance of Jewish culture, a new flowering of the Jewish genius, which has given to civilization the fundamentals of its religious belief.

In Palestine rebuilt, new ideas and ideals are to be created that will continue the Jewish contribution to civilization and the welfare of mankind.

Without economic stability, that spiritual advancement is not possible.

Only where there is prosperity and an opportunity for putting aside the constant struggle for mere existence, is it possible for the pioneers to turn to the consideration of the higher things in life.

The ordinary and natural procedure and development that holds good for other countries, does not obtain in Palestine today.

The pioneers who have gone there and staked their lives in the building of a Jewish Homeland, and who know that every penny that can be secured is necessary for the physical reconstruction of the country, are nevertheless conscious that what they are doing in Palestine rises far above the ordinary economic struggle.

They have been perfectly willing to build up the school system, although the maintenance of the schools may deprive them of necessary food.

Of primary importance to them has been the thought of the future of their children, and they have been willing to suffer privations and hardships of the severest kind in order that what the future generation of Palestine is to produce, shall be worthy of the Jewish race.

It is impossible to think of our relations to Palestine merely as a matter of simple philanthropy.

Palestine requires not only of our means, but also of our heart.

To give for the building of the Jewish National Home in the same, ordinary spirit that one may contribute to charity, is a flagrant misconception of an ideal which has burned in the Jewish heart for almost twenty centuries.

I AM NOT DEFEATED

(Continued from page 21)

that if the same amount of present time, energy and ability was devoted toward organizing a greater membership for Brith Sholom throughout the United States, that we could succeed as well, if not better, than we did in obtaining increased insurance.

I do not wish to be misunderstood by my readers. I again repeat that the quickest way to place the order on a financially sound basis, would be as a result of a larger amount of insurance, placed on our books. Please bear in mind, however, that if we increased our membership to 100,000, and each new member was to subscribe to no more than five hundred (\$500) dollars insurance, then the amount of insurance written would exceed five fold the amount obtained from the handful of members, we have today. And with this thought in mind I place the burden of responsibility upon the leaders of Brith Sholom, and we shall look forward to them for the kind of results that I know can be accomplished, providing, however, that they will dismiss the thought of calling idealism "window dressing" and confine themselves sincerely and energetically to the principles and ideals of Brith Sholom.

I know it can be accomplished. I speak from experience. If an individual lodge like Royal Lodge, could have increased its membership in a short period to about nine hundred, carrying approximately one-fourth of the entire insurance of our state, one-third of the entire insurance in the city of New York, averaging adequate members five to one against the inadequate class, why, under sincere and devoted leadership, cannot these results be obtained throughout the order?

In conclusion, I want to take the opportunity of expressing to my fellow Brith Sholomites, my deepest appreciation and sincerest gratitude for their wonderful encouragement, devoted loyalty and continued efforts on my behalf during the convention.

Their actions and sacrifices mean more to me than the results of the election, which will not lessen my activity or chill my enthusiasm for the great work that lies ahead, namely to make Brith Sholom the foremost Jewish fraternity in America.

Only those who give without their hearts being touched are capable of judging Palestine from a purely monetary point of view.

We are giving of our ephemeral substance for the establishment of things immortal in Jewish life—not merely a haven, not merely to alleviate distress, not merely for the gathering in of the suffering and of the oppressed, but for the reconstruction of Jewish life through the redemption of Zion and the establishment of a Jewish community that will be a light to the civilized world.

Feb. 1934

And so we congratulate our Palestinian comrades on their great *Bar Mitzvah* celebration, and dedicate ourselves anew to the sacred task of mobilizing the sympathy and support of American Jewry for the Jewish pioneers and workers of Palestine, and for their model organization, the Histadruth.

AGITATE, ORGANIZE, EDUCATE!

A WORD with you, members of the League for Labor Palestine.

The League is growing, the League is advancing. From all parts of the country, the most gratifying reports are reaching us of the great interest which the League has aroused in all classes of American Jewry.

College professors and rabbis, hard-headed businessmen and factory workers, students and society matrons, are rallying to the call of Labor Palestine and flocking to the banner of the League.

At last the Jews of America have awakened. Not only are they alive to the significance of Palestine as the Jew's only hope of survival and salvation, but they realize that the true builders of Zion are the Palestinian Jewish pioneers and workers who are banded together in the Histadruth.

The result of last summer's elections for delegates to the Eighteenth Zionist Congress, from which the laborites emerged as the strongest single party in American Zionism, is a straw in the wind.

A great opportunity is now offered us to build up the League in America and make of it that great ally and upholder of the Palestinian Jewish workers which was contemplated by the Histadruth when it launched Leagues for Labor Palestine in all countries of the diaspora. Shall we not avail ourselves of this opportunity of a lifetime?

And so we urge you to redouble your efforts in behalf of the League.

Agitate, organize, educate!

The National Office, though greatly handicapped by inadequate means, stands ready to lend you every assistance in the work of organization and education. But the initiative must come from you.

We are called upon to be actors in a great drama of national rebirth that is unique in the annals of mankind, and it behooves us to play our parts worthily.

So, once more, agitate, organize, educate!

Bear in mind that the League is an organization, not of full-fledged Labor Zionists, but of *sympathizers*. Any one of good character who is in sympathy with the aims and efforts of the Histadruth, is eligible for membership in the League. Do not expect applicant to know and subscribe to every tenet of Labor Zionism before enrolling him; *enroll him first and educate him afterwards*.

AGITATE, ORGANIZE, EDUCATE!

MAXIMILIAN HURWITZ.

Labor's Great Role in Palestine

(Address delivered at the Dinner of the Cleveland Professional Group of the League for Labor Palestine, Cleveland, November 21, 1933)

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I WANT to speak to you quite informally this evening about some of the things which I saw in Palestine, and particularly about the labor movement in Palestine. During my Sabbatical Year I spent a good deal of time in and about Palestine. This was my third visit to the country. My first visit was in 1919, soon after the World War. Palestine then was still under military occupation. It was then a very empty and desolate country. Here and there you could see a Jewish settlement or colony, but it was no more than some of those flowers which you see growing up among the debris of ruins. The country showed very little promise of great things.

My second visit to Palestine was in 1927. The country had become a great deal during those eight years. New settlements and colonies had been established. Tel Aviv had become a city of respectable size and importance. Industries were springing up and expanding. Nevertheless I felt then that all about Palestine there was still the air of something experimental and tentative. One did not have the feeling of permanence about the whole project. To be sure there was something definitely in the making, but one did not know whether the process would not sooner or later break down.

This year that feeling of uncertainty left me the minute I set foot in the country. The country had made such marvelous strides in these five or six years. Its development was both intensive and extensive. One had the feeling that the plant had finally sent its roots deep down into the soil and that it had become a sturdy

plant which would be able to withstand almost any storm which might sweep over it. Jewish settlements had multiplied to a remarkable degree. Trade, industry and commerce had expanded. Home building had increased. All the community and social agencies which go to make up a permanent and stable community had developed to a remarkable degree. Between 1919 and 1933 close on to 125,000 Jews had come and settled in the country.

What particularly impressed me was the spirit of confidence that one encountered everywhere. This confidence was traceable to many causes. First of all, and most evident, of course, was the fact that the country was prosperous. This fact has already been dwelt upon so often that I need not elaborate on it now. The rest of the world was passing through terrific economic tribulations. The most powerful and prosperous countries had gone down into a disastrous economic decline. Little Palestine was holding its own. There were no bankruptcies, bank failures or unemployment. Government finances were sound. It was fortunate for Palestine that it had never been over-capitalized or over-industrialized.

Five Major Developments

Palestine was beginning to enjoy the consequences of five major developments which had taken place in the country in the last ten years. The first of these was the completion of the Rutenberg Project for the hydro-electricity of the Jordan. That project,

which seemed to be more or less of a fable for nearly a decade in Zionist and Jewish circles, had finally become a reality of steel and concrete. It was finished, actually built, and it is now giving electric power at low rates to practically two-thirds of Palestine.

The second development which contributed to this spirit of confidence in the country was the highly successful development of the citrus industry, particularly the orange industry, in the country. Palestine was becoming an exporter of no mean proportions of oranges. This was bringing capital into the country. Heretofore the capital which had come into the country was largely either by way of contributions or by way of investments of private individuals. Here was capital coming into the country on the basis of what the country was producing. The citrus industry is developing so rapidly that it is expected that in 1936 Palestine will be able to export some eight or ten million crates of oranges to the various markets in Europe and elsewhere.

The third major development was the development of the chemical resources of the Dead Sea. A small town has grown up around the Dead Sea. Hundreds of workmen are now employed in extracting some of the almost limitless rich potash from the Dead Sea. That potash is now being sold in the markets of the world. It is possible that this may prove to be one of the richest sources of income for Palestine in the future.

The fourth project, which was being completed while I was there, and is now completed, was the Haifa harbor. The Haifa harbor is now one of the two or three finest harbors on the Mediterranean. It is fast becoming the point of export and import not merely for Palestine and for parts of Syria, but for the entire hinterland, for Mesopotamia, for the Iraq. Haifa promises to become the great industrial center of Palestine.

The last of the five major developments which contributed to this upbuilding of the morale of the people and to stimulating the hopefulness that one senses everywhere in the country, is the completion of the pipe-line which is to carry oil from Mosul to the shores of the Mediterranean. Twelve hundred miles of pipes have been laid right across the desert, and one of the two terminal points of that pipe-line is Haifa. Already one sees huge tanks on the outskirts of Haifa where this oil is to be stored for ultimate exportation.

For a small country like Palestine five of such major enterprises, completed within the space of less than a decade, are enough to send a current of hope, and with it renewed initiative and enterprise through the whole economic life of the country.

Another reason for this spirit of confidence to my mind is this—and this brings me to the subject upon which I want to dwell this evening—a realization that the economic foundations which have been laid in Palestine are true and sound foundations, that the economic superstructure of the country is grounded in real things built not upon sand but upon those facts of economic life which are durable.

Labor—the Most Constructive Element

The labor group in Palestine to my mind is largely responsible for this fact. I had occasion to observe quite closely the numerous factions and groupings in Palestinian Jewry, the old settlers and the new, the young and the old. I was persuaded from my close observation of men and movements in Palestine that the labor group represents today the most sound, the most thoughtful, the most constructive, and if I dare say it, the most conservative element in the Palestinian population. They have real leaders among them both in the political and in the economic fields. They know what they are about. They are facing their problems pragmatically, intelligently and courageously.

Let me illustrate what I mean. You are all acquainted with the Arab problem in Palestine. Recently we had some very serious riots in Palestine. They were not the first riots. They are probably not the last. Now, the Arab problem as you well know is a very serious one in the country. It cannot be lightly brushed aside. There is a large Arab population, at present the dominant

majority in the country, which for one reason or another has been agitated, instigated and aroused, and which is being manipulated by the small group of very clever, politically-minded Arab leaders who are trained in all the tricks of European propaganda methods and who also know what they are about.

The Jewish labor group in Palestine is facing the Arab problem forthrightly and squarely. It is not blinking the issue. It is not ignoring it. It refuses to meet the situation by any theatrical grandstand attitudes, by any bellicose gestures, by any effort to shout down the opposition or to outplay them in the game of propaganda, knowing full well that these tactics cannot succeed. They have adopted a long-range program of *rapprochement*, a program of cooperation with the Arabs, fully aware that for the time being that program is very difficult of realization. They are determined to work with the Arab, and not against him. They are reconciled to the fact that the Arab is going to remain in Palestine and will for years and generations to come be an important element in the Palestinian population.

As a means of closely approaching the Arab and of establishing a basis of cooperation with him on the plane of common labor interests, they are endeavoring to raise the standard of the Arab workman. They are encouraging the unionization of the Arab, because they believe that as the Arab rises in the economic scale, as he becomes more literate and more intelligent in an economic sense, he will realize that the interest of Jewish labor and the interest of Arab labor are not antithetical, but that both national labor groups can cooperate in the common task for mutual benefit and for the upbuilding of the country.

Now, if there is any other solution for the Arab problem, I for one, frankly do not know of it. There is no way of driving them into the desert. There is certainly no way today of reducing that population to the level of feudal serfs to serve the interest of a dominant Jewish group. Not only can we not ourselves permit any such immoral exploitation of a people but it simply cannot be done.

Eschewing Dramatic Maneuvers

There is another subject on which the labor group in Palestine has been sound level-headed, and that is the subject of the Jewish State in Palestine. The working group in Palestine, like all class Zionists, are maximum nationalists. They have not surrendered the ideal of a Jewish State in Palestine. But they realize as all people who are engaged in the business of practical statecraft realize, that no state is built in a day. They are not blatant about their ultimate objectives, they are not irritant about them, they do not fling them in the face of the Arabs. At present they are not so much concerned with ultimate objectives as they are with their present deeded rights in the country under the terms of the mandate. They first want to sink the roots of Jewish life deeper and deeper in the country. They know that they must have a preponderantly large Jewish majority in the country before the question of the Jewish State can be satisfactorily settled.

They have been criticized for it. The extreme Revisionist group has taunted them with the charge that they are time-servers and opportunists. It is so comfortable, and it gives one such a warm glow of inner exaltation when one feels that he is more "patriotic" than the other fellow, that his program is more extreme and "courageous" than that of the other fellow. But the labor leaders of Palestine who are responsible for the upbuilding work of the country cannot afford this self-indulgence. They are confronted with the day-by-day perplexing and difficult problems of construction and building, and they are determined not to be deviated from their task of upbuilding by any dramatic maneuvers which are fruitless and which may prove dangerous.

These two facts alone, their attitude towards the Arabs and their attitude towards the problem of the National State in Palestine, have given to the whole upbuilding work in Palestine a certain practical certitude which it would not have if the politics of the country were in the hands of irresponsible and belligerent politicians.

Importance of Self-Work

Another factor which the Labor Party has stressed in Palestine, and which particularly at this hour is of utmost importance, has been the idea of self-work. Palestine must be built up by Jewish labor, not merely by Jewish capital. Classical Zionism aimed at this. If you recall the history of the Zionist movement, you will remember that it was as much aimed at reconstructing the economic life of the Jew as it was at establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Classic Zionism was an effort to restore an economic balance in Jewish life, to rectify the frightful maladjustment which the Galuth had forced upon the economic life of the Jewish people—the overcrowding in the middle class, in business and in the professions, the sad conditions which are responsible for so much of the present tragedy of German Jewry.

You will recall that one of the most damaging and infuriating arguments which the Nazis used in the last fourteen years of their propaganda against the Jew was just this: that the Jew is an exploiter, the Jew lives off the labor of other people. How many Jewish farmers have we in Germany? How many Jewish artisans? How many skilled and unskilled Jewish laborers have we in Germany? But see how many Jewish bankers, merchants, and professional people! Of course we know that there are historical reasons for it. But a historical reason is an explanation, not a solution.

The classic thinkers of the Zionist Movement conceived as one of the great objectives of Zionism the normalizing of the economic life of the Jew once he is settled in his own homeland. Many Jews that go into Palestine forget this. They bring a little capital with them and start a business, and they are not particularly careful whether they employ Jews or Arabs. Many would prefer to employ the Arab because he represents cheaper labor. There is thus the danger that in the course of time we would have in Palestine an immigrant Jewish group, largely belonging to the bourgeois class, living off and exploiting a working peasant and proletarian Arab group. That would besmirch our whole noble enterprise in Palestine. That would make us an object of just criticism and contempt throughout the world. Palestine would become the classic example in the sight of the whole world of the fatal exploiting proclivities of the Jewish people.

The labor group in Palestine has been keenly aware of this danger and, therefore, fundamental to its philosophy is that Palestine, Jewish Palestine, shall be built up by Jewish labor from the ground up.

Please remember that if there is any lesson which has come out of the last ten or fifteen years of economic unrest in the world, it is that the ultimate and final verdict in the life of a nation lies with the people who live on the soil and who work with their hands. The future belongs to them. If in Palestine we are not strongly entrenched as tillers of the soil and as workers in industry, we will share the fate of all exploiting capitalistic groups in the world.

Self-work, then is a great principle of the Jewish labor group in Palestine. I have seen the Jewish worker in Palestine and there is something very fine and uplifting about him. I do not mean to wax romantic. All work is noble and all workers are ennobled by it. But there is a distinctiveness about the Jewish workingman in Palestine. His social level is high. His cultural level is high. He is literate, he is well read, many of them are well-educated. Some of them have had university training. Their minds are open to everything that is going on in the world. You sit around with them in some circle after the day's work and talk with them. I have been to very few circles in Cleveland that were as interesting and as stimulating. They have read the finest in the world's literature. They are at home in economics and sociology. Many of them have thought out for themselves a clear philosophy of life. It is challenging to come up with a group like that. In a way, it is humbling.

Insistence on Employment of Jewish Labor by Jews

Out of this principle of self-work which Jewish labor is stressing in Palestine has come the other—I ought not to call it a

principle, I should rather call it a necessity—namely, the insistence on the employment of Jewish labor by Jews. The Jewish employer is asked to employ Jewish labor and not Arab labor, not because of any hostility to the Arabs, but because in Palestine and around Palestine there is a very great reservoir of cheap Arab labor. Their standard of living is very low. The Jewish workingman cannot compete with them on that level. He and his family cannot live on three or four plasters a day. The Jewish employer—and the Jewish employer is no different from all other employers—will buy his labor in the cheapest market. If he is permitted to choose as between Arab and Jewish labor, he will, with a few outstanding exceptions, employ as a matter of course Arab labor. Jewish labor will progressively be starved out. There will be no Jewish labor in Palestine. There will be no self-work in the upbuilding of the country.

Lastly, Jewish labor has tried to emphasize the importance of cooperative enterprise in the country, of social enterprise. That ought not to be regarded today as very startling and radical. The whole world is moving in that direction. The day of unrestricted competitive individualism is drawing fast to a close. Even in such a staid and conservative land as ours we are beginning to experiment with the idea of controlled industry, which inevitably leads to some form of socialized industry.

In Palestine Jewish labor has maintained that rather than first build up a capitalist society with all its inherent weaknesses and evils, and then be compelled, in suffering and struggle, to revamp or destroy it and to build upon its ruins a socialized state, it is wiser to start now, in a new country where one does not have to destroy before one can build, from the foundations and build up some kind of satisfying cooperative social and economic life.

Realizing an Old Prophetic Ideal

On a small scale, they have already done it. They have done it, not as it was done in Russia, through the expropriation of the properties of other people and through blood and terror. They have done it through their own efforts and with capital which they themselves or friends and sympathizers the world over have provided. There are now some very fine model Jewish colonies in Palestine where the old prophetic ideal of a human society has been corporalized. Cooperative groups of one type or another exist where labor and resources and enthusiasms have been pooled without sacrificing individuality or personal freedom.

I don't know where else in the world today this type of bloodless and voluntary experiment in socialized community life is going on. In this sense Palestine is becoming a sort of proving ground for mankind, a laboratory for the peaceful cooperative commonwealth of tomorrow.

For these reasons, I believe the labor group in Palestine represents the soundest, the most constructive, the most conservative and the most promising element in Palestine.

Labor's Statesmanlike Leaders

I met some of their leaders, among them the unforgettable and much lamented Arlosoroff. Truly a remarkable man. I was with him the night before he left for Berlin. The next I heard of him was that he had been assassinated. Arlosoroff represented the high type of Western European Jew,—he had been educated in Western European ways of thought—and at the same time he represented the finest traditions and the highest ideals of Israel. He was a man of keen mentality. He understood not only movements and abstract ideas, but what is infinitely more important, he understood people. That is why he was chosen to be the head of the Political Department of the Zionist Executive in Palestine. He made friends for the movement among the British officials. He made friends among the important sections of the Palestinian population. He was struck down in the midst of his youth and his career. It is a tragic loss to the movement, to Palestine and to Israel.

I met many other of the leaders of the labor group, and they

increased still more my confidence in this group, in whose hands, the fortunes of Palestine today rest.

Zionism in Uniform

Let me close with another side of the picture. For one reason or another the labor group has not been able to capture the imagination of large sections of the youth of Palestine. The youth of Palestine, at least the most vocal section of it, tends very decidedly to the extreme right, just as the youth of many of the countries of Europe. These young people like their Zionism in uniforms. They like the martial ways of party life. They are captivated by demands for an immediate maximum program even if it can achieve less than the minimum.

I suppose the reason for this is that the Socialism of today is no longer a movement of daring and danger that it was a generation ago. A generation ago Socialism represented the ultimate extreme to the imagination of young people. The danger which is involved in being identified with an extreme movement enkindled their ardor and fascinated them.

There are today extremes beyond Socialism. On the one hand,

Communism and, on the other hand, Fascism. Socialism has become more or less a conservative movement like democracy and liberalism. Unfortunately, today democracy and liberalism cannot capture the imagination of young people. This is one reason for the defeat of democracy and liberalism in many parts of the world.

How to get around this in Palestine, I don't know. More than I know how we can get the youth in this country aroused to a high pitch of devotion and enthusiasm for those democratic and liberal ideals, which a generation or two ago were able to set fire to a nation and raise it to a high pitch of sacrifice. That is one of the great problems in Palestine. The extreme ardor of sections of Palestinian youth has led to serious riots. I suppose directly and indirectly it was responsible for the assassination of Arlosoroff.

Perhaps as the mood of the age changes, as life becomes a little more quiet and settled, these extreme movements will disappear of themselves, and the solid constructive tendencies will again gain ascendancy in human life; and Palestine's youth will again rally to them.

1929 and 1933

Impressions of My Two Visits to Palestine

By FRANCES BURNCE, Ph. D.

Teachers College, City of Boston

THE first inkling of changed conditions in Palestine came to me when the boat docked at Boulogne. Our tickets called for connections with the *Italia* at Trieste. But there at Boulogne, a representative of the line boarded the boat to tell me that there was not a berth to be had—the *Italia* was crowded! No, he could not understand it himself. Yes, it was summer—off-season—but that's the story. NO—not a possibility!

So we detoured and went by way of Port Said in order not to lose any part of our stay in Palestine.

Four years ago when I got to Palestine, I visited Lotta Levenson, who had just returned to the land after an absence of a year in America. She led me to the balcony in her home in Jerusalem. In excited tones, she pointed out building after building with these words:

"And this is new! and THIS is new! and this was only started when I left!" To me the buildings looked as if they had always been there, and I scarcely appreciated her excitement until I myself was in her position, and I began to tell my friends of the changes that had taken place since my last visit.

It did no good for me to rub my eyes and ask myself whether it was only four years—perhaps, after all, it was forty! It might have been when I remembered the quiet city of Tel Aviv, of Jerusalem with a curfew at six-thirty, alas! of Haifa with its predominant air of an Arab medieval town, of Tiberias—a forgotten Roman fortress. As for Safed, its tragedy still hung over it—a bereaved outpost of ancient Jewish learning.

Escorted by English soldiers, we went in 1929 to Jericho and to the Dead Sea—early in the morning so as to get back before sundown. A dilapidated hut housed a little Arab booth with a scratchy phonograph that derisively whined an American jazz tune, for my benefit. We went in bathing and washed off the salt water under the trickle of a primitive shower. Only the beauty of the sinister sea held us. It was not hard to imagine, to re-enact scenes of Jericho nor around the Hills of Moab. It was the Past that dominated. Our Jewish chauffeur, near whom I sat, spoke quietly of prospects, but these did not seem possible.

Again under escort we went to the Ensek (Valley of Jezreel), to the colonies, and although there detachments of soldiers were still on hand, we began to marvel, and for the first time we began

to breathe freely. Not that there were no moments of wonder—how all or any of this could have been accomplished. But the air of security, of self-reliance, of strength, made one forget what had been threatened, and what might have happened. Then they were—our workers, boys and girls, men and women—and their eyes were dauntless. But when we saw the children, we knew something of the promise that was Palestine; then some thing of added confidence and pride came to us. Here were the real builders of to-day and to-morrow. But so much was still only a promise!

I revisited the cities.

One must begin with Tel Aviv. It lords over the Jewish zone, even when one accepts the criticism of a newcomer who objected to Tel Aviv because it was not Oriental enough. No, it is not Oriental—thank heaven for that! It is rather all but a completely Western city. There are, it is true, still some dark spots in it. Toward Jaffa, for example, there is a concomitant of what we in America know as a slum, attached to the city as an integral part thereof. In Tel Aviv it smacks too much of the Orientalism that is Jaffa. But leave that district and you are in a modern, Western world. Riviera homes, coloring and all, are to be seen on many streets, especially on Boulevard Rothschild. Luxury and modernism here go hand in hand. Hotels that four years ago I had thought to be quite luxurious, have become office buildings. The proud Herzlia is now occupied by offices of the Bank and other concerns. And numerous small and large hotels have appeared.

Along the beach, I was told, a six months' absence makes it impossible to recognize the face of the shore. I could not doubt it. What I had left as an outpost of the Tel Aviv beach was now on my return the very heart of the city. And the "Hotel" hotel stood beyond the horizon—so it would have seemed to me four years ago. The Ritz—no less—with all the paraphernalia of music with one's meals and other Monte Carlo attributes, was opened less than a week before we arrived.

I called on a relative in a district unknown to me four years ago—the Yarkon, on the north side of Tel Aviv. My friend and I waded through sand dunes but finally reached the home. The district was amazing—a veritable beauty spot, but we said it would be years before it could actually become a real part of

upon working people and their friends, at home and abroad, to apply it until the working people of Germany are made free to organize into their own Trade-Unions, and until the Jewish people, residing in Germany, are accorded the equal right, with other German citizens, to enjoy all the rights and privileges to which they are morally, legally and politically entitled.

Nazi Against the World

Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi
League to Champion Human
Rights

729 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Feb 14, 1934

LABOR'S STAKE IN THE STRUGGLE

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Address Delivered at the Testimonial Dinner to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, February 14, 1934

IT is gratifying to note the very positive leadership which Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has been giving to the anti-Nazi boycott movement in the United States. The testimonial dinner which is being given to him by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, in which so many prominent citizens are participating, is a just and fitting recognition of his courageous and far-sighted labor statesmanship. Mr. Green was among the first in this country to realize that Nazism is as fatal to the interests of labor as to those of the Jewish group in Germany. The same bloody hand which laid waste the Jewish community also destroyed all the agencies and institutions of mutual help and protection which organized labor had established in Germany over a period of many years, outlawed its unions, scattered its forces, imprisoned its leaders, confiscated its funds and reduced the working men to a condition of feudal vassalage.

This, of course, was the prime objective of the Nazi movement. That is why it was so heavily financed by the big industrialists, bankers and manufacturers of Germany. The bogey of Communism which the skillful Nazi agitators raised was a ruse and a camouflage. The German Republic was never seriously threatened by Communism. It was the rising power of organized labor and the clear trend towards socialization of industry which the hard-pressed and frightened magnates of Germany were passionately eager to check and which they succeeded in checking. At least for the time being. . . . For no such victory can long endure at this late day. Those per-blind industrial rulers of Germany who have succeeded in destroying the only free institutions whereby the progress of the people could have been assured through peaceful ways of evolution have laid up for themselves a bloody day of reckoning.

It is a commonplace of Jewish history that the reactionary forces of a country which are aligned against the Jew are also aligned against the working classes. The fortunes of our people throughout the world have been linked up always with the progress of freedom and political and economic liberalism. Whenever these ideals flourished, the position of our people was satisfactory.

Wherever they were suppressed, its position became insecure and frequently desperate. Similarly the fortunes of labor are linked up with the progress of these great social ideals. The

who attack them attack also the security and rights of labor. It is, therefore, no accident of history that Nazism, which is the implacable foe of the Jewish people, is also the implacable foe of organized labor.

It is well to remember that the whole of modern anti-Semitism is to be traced back to Bismarck's Germany. It was after Bismarck turned reactionary and broke with the liberals, that the signal was given for a concerted attack upon the Jews in Germany as a means of undermining and discrediting liberalism and socialism. It was from Bismarck's Germany that modern anti-Semitism, spread to Austria-Hungary, France and Tzarist Russia. There is not an argument which the Nazis used in their fourteen years of vicious anti-Jewish propaganda after the World War that was not first propounded by the henchmen of German political and economic reaction fifty years ago. The present Nazi leaders borrowed their entire ideology from the writers, journalists, politicians and theologians who did the dirty work for Bismarck half a century ago—During, Marr, Rohling, Soeder, etc.

Even the definitive program of the Nazis for exterminating the Jews from the life of the country was formulated in scientific detail at that time—the removal of all Jews from public office and from the educational system of Germany, their exclusion from the press and from all economic activity and their disfranchisement. In the same way the international aspect of Nazi anti-Semitism was anticipated by the German reactionaries fifty years ago when they convoked the first international congress against Jews at Dresden.

Every reactionary movement has used the Jew as the pivot in the fulcrum for dislodging liberal and progressive ideas and institutions. The enemies of the Third Republic in France signified it as Jewish. Tzarist Russia pogromized the Jew because it claimed that he was responsible for the revolutionary movements which were undermining the regime. Hitler attempts to eradicate democracy by declaring that it is fundamentally Jewish and not Germanic. . . .

Fascism is a deliberate and conscious effort to restore mankind to that system of ideas and social organization which prevailed in the days before the French Revolution. If it triumphs in the world, it will also restore our people to the status which it occupied in pre-Revolutionary days — political and economic rightlessness and defenselessness. Instead of free men intrenched in inalienable human rights, we shall become members of a despised minority group in an hierarchic system of feudal vassalage—exactly the position which we occupied in the Middle Ages. It was the doctrines of the French Revolution—Liberty,

Equality, Fraternity—which opened for us the doors of opportunity in Europe and which made the Nineteenth Century for the Jews of Western Europe the Golden Age of their history. Fascism will again shut these doors against us. It has already shut them in Germany. Lacking the basis of economic idealism, Fascism must find some other social ideal as its basis. It can find it only in an intensified nationalism or racialism. Strong nationalism and racialism always spell strong anti-Semitism. They are intolerant of all minority groups.

The Jewish people is, therefore, fighting in self-defense against this rising tide of political reaction, national chauvinism and racial intolerance. But other groups, too, must wage a similar defensive war against this self-same menace, particularly trade unions which are the first to succumb whenever Fascism triumphs. It is, therefore, most logical that in the attack upon Hitlerism and Fascism, organized labor should form one unified front with the hosts of Israel against the common foe. For every anti-Semite is, under the skin, an enemy of freedom and of the working class.



Educating Children for the New Deal

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Ansel Road Temple, Cleveland

ALL over the world the New Deal has begun. In some countries it is far advanced. In others—in ours—it has only taken the first feeble, hesitant steps. But its progress is inevitable and the change which it will bring about will be permanent. The New Deal is not an emergency measure to tide over a depression. It is a reorganization of society to make future depressions unlikely. Its purpose is to refashion the economic system under which we have lived and which has now been found wanting in so many essential features. In refashioning our domestic economy, it will, of course, also refashion government. For politics is a byproduct of economics. Inevitably it will affect our moral code, our social thought and action, our attitudes and our aspirations. The New Deal will give us a new civilization. It remains to be seen whether it will be a better civilization or not. The advent of the New Deal was not a matter of choice. Life willed it and we must adjust ourselves to it. We must try to control as far as possible its future development in the hope of acquiring under it some of the desirable things which the old deal failed to give us, while at the same time conserving some of the precious and cherished values of the old dispensation.

The New Deal will not give us perfection. It will give us a new chance to mold our world a little nearer to our hearts' desire—to give our children a larger measure of security than we enjoyed, to raise some of the valleys and level off some of the peaks, to wipe out some of the glaring inequalities, to resolve the contradiction between abundance of all things and the inability of millions to partake of them, and to substitute for uncurbed competitive individualism a measure of social planning and control.

These things are coming to be. He who resists them is like King Canute vainly trying to stem the oncoming of the ocean. The readiness with which we will face the new situation, the courage and vision with which we will set about organizing for the new social order, will determine whether that new social order will be born in agony, and in blood—or not.

Our government is making a valiant

effort to lay the foundations of the new social order in peace and security. It is trying thru many new and untried devices to solve the desperate problems of

IT IS PLAIN from the record of the Cleveland convention that the schoolmen and women know all too well the magnitude of the calamity that has fallen upon the schools and the children of America. But these school people have lost neither their courage nor their commonsense. Casualties since the last meeting there have been, and well-earned retirements, but much of the old leadership is still strong and the new leadership is coming forward with its fresh energy and eager spirit ready to carry on, to rebuild, and to move forward. Measured by the quality of its thinking on fundamental problems of school and society the Cleveland convention was much the best of the fourteen February meetings which the editor of THE JOURNAL has been privileged to attend.

unemployment, to put men back to work and to make their jobs secure, to correlate production and distribution, to supervise and, insofar as it is necessary, to control industry, to raise the standard of living so that the purchasing power of the nation will be equal to its production power, to make banking, credit, and finance serve the ends of society and not the grasping ambitions of anti-social profiteers.

All this is the work not of a day or a year but of an age! Our generation will only see the incipient stages of the vast transformation. It cannot succeed if the rising generation is not prepared intellectually and spiritually for it, if the ideals underlying it are not woven into the thought-pattern of the children of today—the citizens of tomorrow.

It may be difficult for us, who are after all children of the old world, or at best children of a transition world, in which the old and the new clash and struggle for mastery, confusing us and undermining our confidence, to teach the new ideals to the rising generation with that full measure of confidence and enthusiasm which the task requires. But the task cannot and must not be shirked because it is difficult. It is an additional

challenge to the intellectual alertness and spiritual integrity of the truly great teacher.

I offer no new theory of education and no new technic of education. I am qualified to do neither. And I suspect that the catalog of new educational theories has pretty well been exhausted. I furthermore suspect that super-refinement in educational methodology is only another form of decadence. I merely suggest that greater emphasis should be placed in our education today in the social sciences and that the largest measure of freedom should be allowed in the teaching of these sciences.

If we are to work for a better social order, our children must be taught to know what is wrong with the existing social order. Its deficiencies must be uncovered, its shortcomings exposed, fairly, frankly, without passion or bias but without understatement, subterfuge, or apologetics. The child must be made aware of what the price is which society pays for these deficiencies and shortcomings in terms of human suffering, deprivations, loss of opportunities, and discontent. He should be made to realize that these undesirable conditions are not inherent or inevitable. He should be apprised of the plans and programs which have been offered to deal with these difficult problems. He should be encouraged to study them fairly and critically—and should be directed into the ways of critical appraisal. He should not be propagandized, only enlightened and guided. Care should be taken not to erect an emotional barrier between the child and certain ideas or sets of ideas which the teacher may regard as radical or revolutionary. The revolutionary doctrines of yesterday are the commonplace doctrines of today. Economics, sociology, civics, government, international relations should become the most vital and the most liberal sciences taught in our schools.

On only one thing all teachers may well be dogmatic—on the moral significance of the co-operative society which is coming to be. This has been the *immemorial dream*—heretofore the unrealized dream—of humanity since the beginning. All spiritual movements of man-

kind had this ideal at the very core of their inspiration. All great religions taught the nobility of the shared life, of the peaceful, neighborly, and cooperative life. This has been the goal of all the weary marches of civilization.

Our children should be trained to think less in terms of their careers and their personal success and material advancement and more in terms of a helpful and joyous co-worker in the common social task. [Applause] The model for emulation set before the growing child should not be the poor boy who by dint of work and thrift became rich, but the boy who by dint of the cultivation of his character and the exercise of his talents became a valuable member of the community, a builder of the better social order.

The ideal which we hold up for our children in sports—teamwork—should be stressed in all the social sciences which we teach. Sportsmanship is one of the finest qualities of character and most tragically lacking in our economic and social life. A real game is won on merit only. In a real game, ancestry, influence, position, and money count for nothing. In a real game one doesn't cheat, or bully, or play foul. In a real game opponents are, as far as possible, equally matched. When one's adversary is handicapped by weight or size or age, due allowance is made for the fact. Above all, in a real game, there are rules which the players are proud and zealous to observe. In a real game one is a generous winner and a game loser. And in a real game—it's the team that counts and the individual gladly subordinates himself to the group strategy for the sake of the ultimate victory of the team.

If men would but carry over into their economic, social, and political life some of these splendid disciplines of sportsmanship, what a cleansing of the Aegean stables there would ensue; how much more of justice and fair dealing and how much less of exploitation and cruelty there would be. For the sake of the children of the rising generations themselves, if for no other reason, they should be trained to think of themselves, as members of a great human fraternity—a co-operative commonwealth; for it will go hard under the New Deal with the lone wolf, the predatory exploiter, the anti-social omnivorous human!

Greater emphasis should particularly be placed upon the science and art of democratic government, for two reasons. [Applause] In the first place, *the sphere*

of government will be immeasurably wider in the future than it has ever been in the past. Government will expand and embrace more and more of the economic field under the New Deal. That is the very key to the new approach. Our old economic system, largely free from government control, has broken down. Government had to step in, not merely to relieve widespread distress caused by this breakdown, but to salvage the very system itself. As government steps in, it takes more and more control—at first tentatively, eventually definitely and permanently. There can be no central planning without a large measure of political control. Hence it becomes imperative, now that our economic fortunes, too, are in the hands of government—that government shall come into the hands of the trained, the competent, the morally dependable. And this is possible only if the electorate is intelligent, informed, and alert. There is national disaster in the offing under the New Deal unless we can produce political leaders whose intelligence and moral resources will prove equal to the tremendous demands which the new political economic régime will make upon them. Up to now we have been a people quite indifferent to politics. The very word among us has had an unsavory taste. We could get along—even with bad government. We can no longer! Bad government will wreck our whole economic life.

In the second place, our democratic government is now on trial. It has been challenged. New theories of government have arisen which have engulfed great nations in Europe. Dictatorship has now a host of powerful champions in the world. It has been erected into a new philosophy of government. Government by the people has been denounced as a total failure. It should be ruthlessly suppressed. Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism, regardless of their differing objectives, are united in one conviction—that progress is possible only thru dictatorship. Three hundred million people already live under dictatorship.

If democracy has any future at all, that future lies with the great historic democracies of the world—England, France, and the United States. The one hopeful fact in the onswEEPing tide of triumphant Fascism or absolutism in Europe is this: that those governments which have succumbed to dictatorship have never had a great democratic tradition. Russia, which was the first to go dictatorial, lived under the most rigorous

and oppressive type of dictatorship and had democracy only about six months during the Kerenski régime, so it was quite natural for the Russian people to pass from one form of despotic government to another, especially when the other promised so much of economic improvement to the masses.

The political tradition of Italy has not been a democratic tradition; it rather comes from the city-states of the Renaissance which were governed by men exactly the type of Mussolini, benevolent or malevolent dictators. And, similarly with Germany. The basic political tradition of that country was not democratic. The tradition of Germany for 700 years was that of small states ruled by princes or grafs or dukes to exercise absolutist powers so that, when a period of emergency arose, the people could not and did not depend upon their rather incipient democratic institutions but scrapped them in their desperation.

Now, these three great democracies, however—England, France, and the United States—have had a long tradition of selfgovernment of popular sovereignty. They have passed thru many crises in the past without destroying their democratic apparatus, their democratic machinery, so if there is any future to democratic government in the world, it seems to me that future rests solely with these great democracies. If we fail to vitalize our democratic institutions, to improve our political apparatus, so that by means of them we shall be able to solve our desperate economic problems and bring about greater justice and greater security—then democracy will go under, even here.

Under the New Deal, men will have more leisure than ever before. Out of 168 hours in the week, men will work 30 or 35 hours. They will have more time to spend on leisure than on work. How will men use that leisure? Leisure can devastate life or it can become the fruitful field for a growing and expanding life. In his leisure hours a man is free from the routine and drive of his job and he can then enjoy those adventures of mind and spirit which his routine tasks may deny him. He can recreate himself and abundantly enrich his life.

For real living we need more than a job and an income. We need beauty and knowledge. We need books and pictures and music. We need song and dance and play. We need travel and adventure. We need friends and companionship and the interchange of stimulating minds. We

seed contact with all that has been created by the aristocracy of the mind, hand, and soul thru all the ages. All this we can enjoy only in our leisure. We must, therefore, teach our children how to use their future leisure time profitably and creatively by arousing their interests in those numerous activities of the body and mind which they can pursue as amateurs in later life.

I spoke of the cooperative society. I include in that term mankind. Our children should be guided into the ways of international thought and international cooperation. In its first stages the New Deal seems to be leading to an intensification of economic isolationism all over the world, and to an intensified nationalism and militarism. The economic struggle has led many nations to attempt to solve their problems thru economic nationalism. This has contributed to aggressive and competitive nationalism, all over the world. I spent the last year in Europe, a sabbatical year's leave of absence. I traveled from land to land and from country to country. I have been in Europe many times before but I have never seen Europe so fractionalized as

it is today. The universal ideal which captivated the minds of men in the 18th and 19th centuries, the ideal of a federation of Europe, has been pushed out of the minds of men. Internationalism has become suspect. Some of the noblest ideals of mankind are today being broken on the wheel of nationalism. In some countries this nationalism is still further restricted to a fantastic race cult, and in its name citizens are being disfranchised, degraded, and denied the opportunities of education and even the means of livelihood.

This fragmentation of Europe has led to the wellknown mood of suspicion and fear which presages war. The youth of Europe is being deliberately indoctrinated with the idea of the inevitability of the next war. Everywhere one finds the youth in uniform, marching and chanting war hymns. It is now sixteen years since the last war, and a new generation is now ready for the trenches.

We must save our children from the blight of such nationalism and militarism. [Applause.] In our teaching of history, we must stress the common fate and destiny of the human race, not only the fate and destiny of our own nation. We must stress the fact of our human

interdependence. Above all, we must expose the villainy and falsity of national chauvinism, race snobbery, and religious fanaticism. We must clearly show that no nation can live unto itself, alone, and can solve its problems by itself, alone, and furthermore that no problems are ever solved by war. [Applause.] No human hopes ever blossom amidst the broken corpses of the battlefields. In peace alone can human life unfold and the ideals of mankind thrive.

Here then is our task: to prepare our children for the new day by stressing the social sciences, by frank and honest discussions of conditions as they are and of the projected plan by which to reconstruct them, by emphasizing the supremacy of the cooperative life, by preparing our youth for active participation in political life, by arousing them to those supplementary curriculum activities which in later life will enable them to use leisure creatively, and by widening their mental and spiritual horizons, so as to include the whole of humanity, the federated society of tomorrow.—Statement before the Department of Superintendence Banquet, Third General Session, Arena, Public Auditorium, Cleveland, February 26, 1934.

The Cleveland Convention

AT CLEVELAND the superintendents went to school. Thru the general subject committees and the topic groups, the administrators studied, assembled material, discussed and deliberated, and produced significant reports on the most vital issues of public education. This feature, an innovation in convention setup, was pronounced successful by participants and onlookers alike when the Department of Superintendence met in its sixty-fourth annual convention on February 24 to March 1. The program was arranged by Paul C. Stetson, superintendent of schools, Indianapolis, and president of the Department.

The convention banquet was another new departure for the Department. Twenty-two hundred and fifty people were seated at the banquet tables which completely filled the main arena of the public auditorium.

Cleveland's facilities for handling a large convention are, in many respects, second to none in the United States. The public auditorium, with its main arena and smaller meeting rooms, the splendid facilities for exhibits, and its convenient location near the downtown hotels, makes a well-centralized convention possible. The local convention committee, under the leadership of Superintendent Charles H. Lake, and the Chamber of Commerce proved most efficient in their arrangements for the convention, and most cordial in their welcome to the

more than 6000 registered delegates, and the 10,000 persons in attendance.

Despite the blizzard on Sunday afternoon, more than 3000 people crowded the Music Hall for the vesper service, which opened the convention. President William Lowe Bryan of Indiana University sounded a spiritual note in his address on "Religion and Democracy":

Where shall we find an ideal that we may believe in thru whatever darkness and danger we have to pass? . . . I believe this to be the trend of evolution and life on this planet: that life, if we may personalize it for a moment, has sought to create beings that have a maximum of freedom and a maximum of free cooperation. . . . The highest possibility is a society of persons, each independent, each free, each in large part selfdirected, yet working together in harmony toward the highest good.

And religion must be free or it is nothing. Religion cannot live under a dictator who tells us what we must believe and what rites we should have and what ecclesiastical organization we must have. We must have freedom. The individual must be able to go alone to the center of his heart to commune there mystically with his God and then must come from that communion to join with others in that free community of soul which is the Kingdom of God.

On Sunday evening the delegates were afforded a special treat in the first showing of the film drama, "The Human Adventure," which was presented by James H. Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute, by special arrangement with the University of Chicago.

"Education for the New America" was the theme for the second general session. John H. Finley, associate editor of the

New York Times, opened the session with an address on "The New Leisure Challenges the Schools." He said, in part:

When the Creator banished man from the Garden of Eden in the person of Adam and Eve, He put them under what is called the "curse" of eating their bread in the sweat of their face. But either out of love or out of pity He made a code for their descendants, the human race, that they should not work more than six days in a week. ["Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work."] An employer of labor recently asked me if a five-day week would violate this commandment. But this commandment or code is now to be interpreted in the light of the Great Commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

For ourselves who are in the adult years, and some of us with little time-fortune left, so to use our leisure as to emphasize for them the most precious things even if we may not attain them, I have written this Leisure Commandment: Remember the days of thy leisure to keep them holy. Thou shalt do with all thy might and skill thy share of the work of the world, whether on land, at sea, or in the heavens above the earth. Thou shalt keep as hallowed thy time of leisure and find thine hours of unemployment blest by thy best use of them.

Superintendent Harold G. Campbell, new executive of the schools of the City of New York, spoke on "The Contribution of the Public School":

We must, of course, proceed with the individualization of the educative process, but in dealing with each of our students as an individual we must make clear that he is one of a group and that successful living depends upon cooperative effort by the individual in the group. We must imbue our youth with a determination to strive for perfection in whatever he may undertake to do and to be mindful that he



Mr. and Mrs. Paul C. Stetson and daughter.

ON BEHALF of the superintendents of this country, in convention assembled, I express our gratitude for the patriotism of our teachers; for the unselfish and thankless service of members of boards of education; and for the sympathetic consideration of millions of patrons and citizens, without which our schools could not have withstood the adversities of the past three years.—President Stetson in a radio address, February 25, 1934.

will be judged by the manner in which he performs the smaller tasks as well as the larger ones. To help him succeed we must convince him that intensive application of mind and hand, thoughtfulness, resourcefulness, and unwillingness to say a thing cannot be done until he has exhausted every legitimate means of doing it, is the only formula. We must widen his interests, make him curious and eager to know more and encourage him to be both an analyst and a critic. At the same time we must teach him to be appreciative rather than merely tolerant of the views and opinions of others.

"Public Education and the National Welfare" was the topic of the address by George F. Zook, U. S. commissioner of education. He expressed his belief that:

Our ultimate goal is a happy, contented nation of citizens whose personal rights are respected, who are conscious that the door of opportunity is always open to them, and who know that they are expected to make a contribution to the common good. To all of these considerations education makes notable contributions. Indeed, education and national welfare are so interdependent that one is inconceivable without the other.

Ben G. Graham, superintendent of schools, Pittsburgh, reported on the 1934 Yearbook of the Department, *Critical Problems in School Administration*:

The Commission believes that the critical problems which are presented to school administration can be solved successfully only thru intelligent leadership on the part of men

who are charged with the responsibility of school administration. If the public-school system of this country is to be protected from the dangerous forces now moving against it, reorganization is essential in respect to administrative units. A public-school system cannot succeed as a part of our social order in a rapidly changing civilization with 12,070 school administrative units in Illinois, 8747 in Kansas, or 2587 in Pennsylvania. A determined effort must be made under the leadership of school administration to reduce the number of school administrative units to the end that we may achieve better schools at less cost with an equalization of opportunity for all boys and girls no matter in what part of the state they may reside.

The convention banquet constituted the third general session. The music was furnished by the Cleveland All High-school Band. Charles E. Merriam, chairman of the department of political science of the University of Chicago, who was scheduled to speak, was unable to be present owing to illness, but sent a message, which included the following:

The next generation should not be penalized because of the stupidity of the present one. Otherwise posterity will be more stupid than we are. If our poverty drives us backward toward a lower level of life, then we must go. But on the contrary, there is reason to believe that with our present resources and our present equipment, we might double ~~our~~ production and correspondingly raise the standard of living. For my part, I regard education as one of the prior charges on the national income. Expenditure for education is ~~not a dead loss~~—an investment upon which there ~~can be~~ ~~rich~~ returns—the outcome of education is not a dead loss, but a living asset.

The principal address of the evening, delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, appears in this issue of THE JOURNAL.

The Tuesday morning meeting, which was the fourth general session, opened with vocal selections by a festival chorus of 3000 voices from the Cleveland elementary schools. Addresses centering around the theme, "Some National Problems in Education," were given by Arthur B. Mochlman, of the University of Michigan, Merle Sidener, advertising specialist of Indianapolis, and William J. Schroder, former president of the Cincinnati board of education. The layman's point of view was presented by Mr. Sidener in these terms:

I don't believe we are going to get back where we belong in our relationship to the public until we ourselves regard it as just as much an obligation to educate the public as it is to educate the children.

There can be no standard plan for all communities because communities differ in size and makeup. But there can be a standard purpose and policy, which is that this thing I am talking about is essential. There can be a standard in the establishment of a department, headed by a man who has no other job than the conduct of the sales department of the schools.

Place on the head of that department the responsibility for carrying it thru just as the responsibility is on the superintendent for the general leadership of the schools. Once that is established and once we believe that it ought to be done, it will be carried out and we will have more constructive work of the type that is now found in a few centers of this country. That department's job is to inform the public constructively.

Payson Smith, commissioner of education, Massachusetts, and Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, spoke at the fifth general session. Commissioner Smith asserted:

That the teachers of this republic have not labored in vain is attested by the fact that the American people have carried on patiently, tolerantly, even good-naturedly thru the most trying experience that has ever befallen them. If our institutions are worth saving, as we believe they are, the American schools have repaid all they have cost for a generation in what they have done in the past three years.

I do not believe that education is about to choose a new and sharply divergent way. "New schools for old" is not my slogan. Then there is that other current phrase, "Education for a changing world." If education for a changing world means that we must visualize what may seem to be the inevitable form and structure of a new world and so influence and modify youth that it will conform to it, then the expression leaves me a little cold. Better let us have an education that will change the world.

Dean Russell, in discussing federal aid for the schools, declared:

Experts in school finance have come to believe that federal aid is necessary. From the study of the efforts made by the state to meet localities to provide minimum educational progress, they have come to learn what was hidden from the layman—that just as a remote district in many a state is unable to support even a minimum educational offering and in consequence state aid is needed, so an entire state, like Arkansas or South Carolina or South Dakota, may be similarly disqualified from being able to support as a state the kind of educational program that the American people deem to be the minimum. Even if there had been no depression, it would have been necessary for the national government to take a share in the financial support of education in order to maintain a minimum standard thruout the U. S.

I shall agree with anybody upon any plan of national aid to education for the next six months. But for any time beyond that, it is my public duty, it is your public duty, it is the duty of the Department of Superintendence, to express not only our hopes but our fears. We have a plan for federal aid to education, expressed in the third point of the six-point program, which gives aid to all the states upon an automatic objective basis. It has been carefully developed. It will bring immediate relief in the emergency. It will leave the power in the states and localities where it should remain. Federal aid in any other form will tend to transfer the power away from the people. Mistakes made now may take years to correct; and federal aid of the wrong kind, and the growth of the beginnings of educational despotism, however slight, will retard the development of American education for generations to come.

on. A bigger navy for the United States simply means bigger navies all around. Where then is adequate preparedness? If there be a criteria for such a military utopia of security, no preparedness group in any country has ever discovered it. It is much like chasing for the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow. But the admirals, the navy leagues, the munition makers, the airplane manufacturers, and the ship builders (page Mr. William B. Shearer) are never satisfied. The article on munition makers in the March number of *Fortune* reveals how vested interests profit from and stir up international hatreds and the race in armaments.

Moreover, history does not know of a single case in which military preparedness has been successful in preventing war. World peace cannot be brought about on the basis of threats and preparing for war. The best interests of the United States will be served by staying out of the race in armaments and pursuing what the president has called the policy of being a "good neighbor."

—RAY H. ABRAMS,
University of Pennsylvania.

International Cooperation

WHEN fires threaten a village, a well-equipped Fire Department is needed. Precautions are taken lest fuel be added to the flames.

Our world village is full of war scares which have been fomented apparently with deliberate purpose by the armament-aviation-shipbuilding industries for the sake of the contracts which war scares make possible. At the same time, areas of conflict have been inflamed with provocative writings and speeches and, in many instances, by aggressive policies.

A world League of Nations, supplemented with a World Court with affirmative jurisdiction, is the only possible Fire Department. Increase of armaments is obviously competitive. Our Vinson bill has already stimulated increased naval building throughout the world. Such measures increase the tension and are comparable with throwing oil on the flames.

The prevention of another world conflagration should be the most urgent business of our Government.

Not by the road of increasing armaments but by the road of joining with Russia in making the League of Nations a world League based on consultation and supplemented where necessary by regional pacts can the best interests of the United States be promoted, whether the other nations are ready yet to reduce their armaments with us or not.

—FREDERICK J. LIBBY,
National Council for Prevention of War.

Less Armament

THE United States needs not more armament but less armament. Any increase in our naval armament leads inevitably to a corresponding increase in the naval armament of all other naval powers. Our real strength is therefore not increased by building additional warships. The Vinson Bill has already stimulated a most ominous naval competition among the great powers of the world. The only people who are interested in increasing armies and navies are the munition builders and the military cliques whose interest and prestige lies in increasingly large armies and navies. The tax-payer will not pay the terrific cost of armament unless he is propagandized into a war mood and stampeded by a war scare. And that is exactly what is being done all over the world today. Drain the profits out of the manufacture of munition, and there will be far less war talk and patrioteering in the world.

RABBI A. H. SILVER,
The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

Status Quo

ADMITTEDLY national defense is as indispensable to national welfare as civic protection is for the protection of the property of the individual. Extremes of this proposition are equally absurd.

In 1860 the hot-heads, both north and south, had dragged this country to the brink of civil war. The mobilization of 30,000 soldiers so located as to enable them to suppress immediately any overt act was recommended.

The place to settle existing differences should have been the halls of Congress, and, had the recommendation just referred to been acted upon, Congressional action would perforce have been the only possible one. To date, the Civil War has cost ten billion dollars, and is still being paid for.

Had the United States in 1914 been in a position to notify the leaders of the bellicose groups in Europe that the first one to fire a shot would find America allied with the other side, there would have been no World War. Neither group of nations in Europe would have dared to defy the power and might of this country had this country been able to exert it promptly. The same may be said of every war in which the United States has been involved.

The other extreme, that say of a standing army of a million men, would be as ridiculous for the United States as has been its military impotence in the past. The balance between the extremes is to be found in the National Defense Act.

The Chief of Staff of the United States Army having seen war at first-hand abhors it; having observed its cost in blood and money, it is his desire that the defenses of this country should be so framed as to make war improbable. His advice is not to whittle further into our defenses. It is the advice of a trained, professional soldier whose chief desire is peace. Politicians and others should heed that advice.

—C. A. DRAVO,
Lt. Col. Infantry.

Decrease Preparation

MY conviction that the best interests of the United States call for decreased preparation for war has been strengthened within the last two years. I am confident that increased preparation has a psychological influence upon other nations. The way to encourage conference among nations, with regard to international problems, is to resort to conference and not to militaristic preparations. Increased preparation for war implies that the United States expects war, and thus encourages a competitive race in armaments.

—MARY E. WOOLLEY,
President, Mt. Holyoke College.



CURRENT LITERATURE

A Word or Two About Important Books



BIOGRAPHIES . . .

The Robber Barons — MATTHEW JOSEPHSON — HARDCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY—pp. 474—(\$3.00) —March choice of the Book-of-the-Month Club.

Continually drawing analogies between those medieval lords who built castles over important roads and exacted toll from passersby and the later nineteenth century industrial giants who, after securing control over vast amount of capital, manipulated the funds so as to exact a toll from the naive public, the author proves his title particularly appropriate.

Jay Cooke and his part in the crisis of 1873; J. P. Morgan and the skill with which he augmented a large inheritance from his father; J. D. Rockefeller, the man who blocked the channels of the oil industry; Andrew Carnegie, whose philosophy is expressed when he remarks to a friend in the publishing business that if he had to wait a year before he could tell whether he had a profit or not, he would "get out of it"; Jay Gould, the "Mephistopheles of Wall Street"; Collis Huntington, Leland Stanford, Crocker, and Hopkins, "the octopus of the west"; Jim Hill and Edward Harriman, the empire builders; the Erie Railroad Scandals; Black Friday in the Gold Market; the fights between the various "barons" for control of railroad empires; Drew, "the great bear"; all are considered and the parts they played in the history of our nation between 1861 and 1901 is displayed in ostentatious detail.

Much more scholarly and just as readable as "Who Rules America?" (reviewed last month) the chicanery, deceit, wiles, unscrupulousness, and dissipations of the leading political, social and business leaders of this era are discussed. No one, from General Grant down is spared the lash of subtle censure. Commodore Vander-

bilt marches across the early pages of the book, wielding more power than the President. While absent on a trip abroad some enemies try to take away from him his monopoly on New York real estate. He writes them a letter:

"Gentlemen:

You have undertaken to cheat me. I will not sue you for the law takes too long. I will ruin you.

Commodore Vanderbilt."

And he did.

Perhaps unconsciously, however, a moral is taught. No matter how much worldly success attained the characters in the book live unhappy lives. Drew is ruined by his erstwhile associates. Gould was a consumptive. Fiske is shot down by the lover of his mistress during a trial at law for breach of promise instituted by this mistress. The "Western Octopus" lives in constant fear of discovery of its practices, disruption of its monopoly, or financial ruin. They, too, are victims of embezzlement by a trusted partner. All of these financial giants live in constant fear of their lives and maintain a permanent bodyguard against physical violence.

This book was made possible by a Guggenheim research fellowship to the author. Undoubtedly, the aim of the work, "to write of them without anger", has been fulfilled.

MYER FELDMAN, Wharton '35.

ENLIGHTENING . . .

Business Organization and Combination — LEWIS H. HANEY — THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1934.

The book begins with a complete and informative discussion of the function of the entrepreneur with respect to business organization, showing, among other things, how entrepreneurial activities under our present system are performed by a variety of agencies.

The corporate form of organiza-

tion is considered at length both from the historical and the social point of view. With respect to the latter, attention is centered "chiefly on the ownership of the business units."

The combination of corporations is presented by means of complete descriptions of each of the various forms of association which have been created and used by the interests vested with the responsibility of conducting the business organization.

A very informative and up-to-date "critical account of the judicial interpretation of the Federal Anti-Trust laws" reveals that a tendency toward a "system of compulsory organization and control of industry" has resulted from "judicial modifications . . . culminating in virtual non-enforcement of the law."

The chapter captioned "Social Control vs. Business Organization and Combination in 1933," is especially significant in view of present day tendencies appearing in a great variety of social legislation sponsored by the powers in control of the Federal Government. In this chapter, assuming a World War background and an emergency situation, the author indicates the chief factors lying at the bottom of "our present sad condition." After stating that "in the field of business, the chief manifestation of the social control processes is found in the NRA", a discussion of the influence of this legislation on business generally is followed by arguments pro and con, finally setting forth the difficulties which may be encountered in attempts to make the NRA effective, and the changes which our business structure may have to undergo.

It is refreshing to note, in times like the present, with conditions which are more or less difficult to understand, an optimistic expression of opinion to the effect that our business organizations are possessed of some socially desirable attributes, worthy of preservation. The problem of public policy toward business organ-

Address Delivered by
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
of CLEVELAND, OHIO

at YOUTH MEETING of the
Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Nazism
WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 2nd, 1934, SINAI TEMPLE, CHICAGO, ILL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— Issued by —

Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Nazism

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Reflect the Inner Light

The Decline of the Individual

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER, *Rabbi*, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Abstract of Address Given at Friends General Conference, Cape May

The problem of the one and the many, of the individual and society, is one of the most fundamental and continuing problems in human thought. How to insure the fullest expression of the individual without disrupting society, and how to co-ordinate personal freedom with group responsibility,—that has been the major problem of sociology. The pendulum has, throughout the ages, swung between the extremes of unlimited individualism and absolute social control, between the exaltation of the individual and his submergence.

The post-war era has been dominated by the idea of state corporateness to a far greater degree than the one which preceded it. The power and authority of the state have been augmented even in those countries where no dictatorship has been established. "The tremendous accession of strength which has fallen to the part of the state in the 19th century," noted by Prof. Eucken in his essay "Society and the Individual," is nothing in comparison to the accession of strength, control and authority which has fallen to the part of the state since the beginning of the third decade of the 20th century.

Everywhere the state is stepping in to check the power and authority of the individual. The democratic apparatus which middle-class individualism created to safeguard its rights, is being pushed aside or discarded. Bolshevism, Fascism, and Naziism have this one thing in common:—they are all champions of maximum state authority. The state must have absolute

dictatorial power over the whole life of man. The individual has no inalienable rights—no areas forever exempted from group control and interference. Mussolini declared: "Here, as in Russia, we are advocates of the collective significance of life, and we wish to develop this at the cost of individualism."

There are spiritual advantages to a doctrine of collectivism as against the doctrine of private exploitation and careerism which characterized our passing civilization. Both Judaism and Christianity always doctrinally subordinated the private ambitions of the individual to the well-being of society as a whole. The highest good was the social good. Man was taught to discover the real significance of his own life in enterprises which contributed to the upbuilding of the perfect society. Primitive Christianity was actually communistic in its social structure and so were the monastic brotherhoods which derived from it. The whole purpose of the Mosaic Jubilee legislation, touching land tenure and sale, as well as the whole tenor of the social message of the prophets of Israel, was to discourage the exploitation of the masses by the classes and to curb the exaltation of the individual at the expense of the group.

Neither Judaism nor Christianity have therefore anything to fear from the spread of the doctrine of the socialized community and the collective life which is likely to dominate the New Era. The danger lies in the excessive zeal and overreaching on the part of the state which

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may lead to the complete subjugation of the individual and which in time may prove fatal to his spiritual life. Our experience of the last decade and a half in different parts of the world with experiments in the corporate society, in Communism, in State Socialism, in State Capitalism, or in the co-operative state, has given men ground for fear that the individual is being sacrificed in the process of economic and political co-ordination.

3— It is quite possible that in the New Era organized religion will have to assume the rôle of the sole surviving champion of the rights of the individual. This necessity the Christian church in Germany has already been faced with.

In the face of the amazing pretensions of the state, it behooves all religious disciples to insist that man possesses certain rights over which the state, however noble its purposes and however exalted its program, has no power whatsoever. There are sovereign rights which are man's own by virtue of his humanity and not by virtue of his citizenship in a given political group. Man has other relationships and other obligations than those to his country. There is the whole of mankind. There is the universe as a whole. There is his own inner spiritual microcosm. There is God.

The New Era is being ushered in by way of dictatorships. Whether they are passing or permanent, it is impossible to say. It is well to remember, however, that dictatorships do not of themselves and as a matter of course pass over into democracies. They do not liquidate themselves. These dictatorships, wherever established, have so far been characterized by their utter ruthlessness. This is true both of capitalistic dictatorships and of communistic. We have entered an age of sanctified ruthlessness and exalted brutality. But even more dangerous than the terrible toll of victims of physical violence is the tragic toll of victims of the spiritual and intellectual violence. Men are driven into terrified silence. Conformity is prescribed. Men dare not dissent. All opposition, all parties, all dissenting opinion in press, pulpit, classroom, platform and book is stamped out. That this is fatal to man's spiritual life is easily apparent. It tends to dry up the well-springs of man's spiritual creativeness. It destroys the soil and roots of his moral growth. When man is not allowed to stand alone, to dissent from the majority, to proclaim the truth which has been born in him through his own soul's travail, his spiritual life is destroyed. Revelations never come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel

but they were merely monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only after the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of truth that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The New Era may thus burden the church and synagogue with another task—to save man from the dark heresy of sanctified ruthlessness and brutality at the behest of a new politico-economic Messianism, and to safeguard man's spiritual and intellectual freedom in a world constricted by the encompassing wall of dictatorship. Side by side with the doctrine of the absolute, totalitarian state, runs the doctrine of competitive nationalism and intolerant racialism, both of which victimize the individual. There is a nationalism which is as instinctive as one's love of home and family and friends. It requires no artificial indoctrination and no propaganda. It is neither exclusive, intolerant nor militant. It is not a cunning tool in the hands of economic imperialism. But the western world is harassed and ridden today by a nationalism which makes a mockery of this simple, wholesome patriotism of men, employing it as a blind for shameless exploitation. The love of one's country is put under option by those who control the policies of government. A cabal of industrialists, financiers, bankers and munition-makers prescribes what the government shall do,—and the individual, bound hand and foot beforehand by the mandates of this newer nationalism, is delivered over to the drill sergeant. The youth of the world is being stampeded today into group intolerance and arrogant provincialism and into the shambles of another war by this disgraceful strategy. The individual seems helpless in the face of this cunningly stimulated mob-patriotism. The universal ideal which fixed the imagination of the best minds of Europe in the 18th and early 19th centuries,—the ideal of a federated world wherein a man could be both a citizen of his country and at the same time a citizen of the world—the ideal which enlarged man's estate and set him free for a spiritual career beyond the narrow boundaries of his own land—this ideal, so thoroughly Christian and so thoroughly Jewish—has been pushed out of men's minds by the command of a restrictive, truculent and arrogant nationalism. Internationalism, today, in many lands is blackest heresy. The youth of the world is being taught to think not in terms of international human solidarity, in terms of humanity, but in terms of exclusive, aggressive and jealous national loyal-

ties. One is first and foremost a German, a Frenchman, an Italian, a Pole, and only secondarily and not always necessarily a son of man, a child of God! Modern nationalism has unquestionably ghettoized the individual and confined him to a little corner in a fragmentized and disintegrated world.

In some parts of the world, nationalism has still further been narrowed by the concept of race. Nation has been made synonymous with race. Only those belonging to the racial stock of the majority are recognized as citizens. All others are disfranchised and politically, economically and socially degraded. This has been particularly true in Nazi Germany where race idolatry has run riot to a point where all human virtues have been subordinated to it. Hitler declared: "I prefer a German deserter to a Jewish hero."

It is clear that in a state where race becomes the criterion and prerequisite for rights and preferment, the individual is sacrificed. It is no longer a matter of personal character or ability, but of hereditary fatalism. One's claim to equality can no longer be based upon a shared human destiny or upon worth or merit, but upon a factor which is beyond the individual's control,—ancestry.

There is, of course, no pure race in the world. Anyone who has even a smattering of history knows that all through the dark centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire, Europe was a veritable stamping ground of peoples, tribes and races, who moved to and fro across its face in vast migrations, mingled and commingled, and mixed their bloods with the indigenous populations, so that today there is not one people in Europe which can rightly claim racial homogeneity. And archaeology has established that in prehistoric times the processes of racial fusion were equally operative.

Again there are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. There are races more favored than others by circumstance, by environment, by geographic position, by the fertility of the soil, or by the treasures underneath the soil. There are advanced races and backward races. There are differences between races but no biologic gradations.

Furthermore, no race remains permanently dominant. No race retains a position of supremacy for more than four or five centuries. Races are like individuals. The individual has his period of infancy and of adolescence. Then comes his period of maturity when he is able to

give expression to his powers and to make his substantial contributions to society. Finally and inevitably old age sets in and senility. No individual, however brilliant, can resist the weariness and the exhaustion which comes with age. Neither can any race.

And finally, it is a truism which need not be argued that genius is the monopoly of no one race, and civilization is the achievement of no one people.

Racial conceits and pretensions are rife in the world today and as long as these race mythologies and blood cults persist, so long will the individual as such be disadvantaged and world unity will remain, as heretofore, an unrealized dream.

There is far more race idolatry in the world today than ever before in the history of mankind. There was no color line in antiquity. The Greeks were conscious of their cultural superiority but they did not attribute it to biology. They claimed excellency on the basis of their civilization, not their blood. The Romans were splendid cosmopolites. The Jew was proud not of his race but of his religion, and the proselyte to the faith was welcomed into the life of the race. The Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people not because of their racial traits, but because of having been selected to be the servants of Jahweh to carry His moral law to the world. The Jew persisted in racial uniqueness in order to preserve the integrity of his faith. The heathen who was a scholar was held in far higher repute by the rabbis than an ignorant High Priest who could trace his descent from Aaron himself.

Christianity, of course, took over the prophetic, universalistic concept from Judaism, emphasized it, enlarged upon it, and carried it to the far corners of the earth. It is therefore no accident that Nazi racialists have been led to a repudiation of both the Old and the New Testaments and are invoking anew the dethroned tribal gods of primitive, heathen Germany. And it is no accident either that the great Christian leaders of present-day Germany have clearly seen the menace in atavistic Nazi racialism to the spirit and mission of their historic faith.

Racial imperialism like religious imperialism is a stumbling-block in the way of human freedom and progress. What is required in our day is not superheated race apologetics but a generous way of life which will give each race and to all men regardless of race, the opportunity to live their own life, to express their own soul and to

contribute their unique values to the commonalty of human life. Our age needs a form of good will which will not only tolerate racial and cultural differences but which will gladly use them for the enrichment of life.

There are people who would like to acquire good will through assimilation. They know that intolerance, in the last analysis, is due to the existence of differences—racial differences, cultural differences. They would therefore do away with intolerance by obliterating these differences. But that is paying too high a price! The thing gained is less than the thing surrendered.

I like to be on the best of terms with my neighbor. I invite his friendship even as I proffer mine—but only on one condition: that he respect my individuality even as I respect his. He must take me for what I am even as I take him for what he is, not for what each of us would like the other one to be. I am what I am. I have been molded by centuries of distinctive cultural experiences. I am a unique racial precipitate. I wish to remain what I am. I am ready to acknowledge that my neighbor has the same right to retain his individuality and his racial and cultural distinctiveness. It is on the basis of such contrasts which are not conflicts that I would build a real comradeship of free men and good works.

When it is claimed that if the Jew would surrender everything except his "personal religious views," the anti-Semitic disease would disappear and all would be well with him, the spokesmen of the Jewish group reply that the German Jews for decades practised this very theory of assimilation. They tried in all ways not to be different. Their group consciousness had dwindled to a vanishing point. And yet—such is the patent bankruptcy of this whole thesis—the most virulent anti-Semitism developed in Germany, and in place of a self-willed "difference," a legal, prescriptive and discriminating "difference" was forced upon them as a mark of shame. Even non-Aryan Christian clergymen who certainly never suffered from excessive Jewish group-consciousness have been "differentiated" and stigmatized in the land of classic Jewish assimilation.

"Social unity" or "cultural unity" is just as dangerous a slogan to raise in modern society as "racial unity." Too many noble ideals of mankind are being broken on the wheel of totalitarian obsessions in the world today for liberal churchmen, lay or cleric, who value individualism and exalt personality to permit themselves

to become champions of "unification" crusades in American life.

What is needed in the world today is not race or religious imperialism, or mystic yearning after cultural or social unification, after the monolithic society which crushes the individual, but the courageous reassertion of that liberal, generous, tolerant view of life which our present unhappy age has so tragically lost, but to which it will have to return if life is to be livable, and if men and minorities are to be saved from the tyranny of the mass and the curse of regimentation. If we men of faith are to remain faithful to the classic ideals of our religions we must set about rekindling the light of the ideal of one Humanity of free men and we must redirect the aspirations of men towards it. Then the questions of state and race and nationalism will assume their proper place of secondary importance in human life and mutual adjustments will then be made far more simply and naturally than is possible today. The lost perspective will have been restored.

A Prayer

I knelt to pray when day was done,
And prayed, "O Lord, bless every one;
Lift from each saddened heart the pain,
And let the sick be well again."
And then I woke another day
And carelessly went on my way.

The whole day long I did not try
To wipe a tear from any eye;
I did not try to share the load
Of any brother on the road;
I did not even go to see
The sick man just next door to me.

Yet once again, when day was done,
I prayed, "O Lord, bless every one."
But as I prayed, into my ear
There came a voice that whispered clear:
"Pause, hypocrite, before you pray;
Whom have you tried to bless today?"

God's sweetest blessings always go
By hands that serve Him here below."
And then I hid my face, and cried,
"Forgive me, God, for I have lied:
Let me but see another day
And I will live the way I pray."

—THE EVANGEL—

Then some day while you are listening to that tranquil Professor X you will suddenly say to yourself: "Wait a minute, Thomas. Pack up the sneers. This guy may not know a diesel from a dynamo, but he's pitching you some hot ones, with plenty of stuff on the ball, and it's time you got in here and connected with some of it!"

From that time on, you will begin to appreciate Oberlin. You will find that you have been trying to buy riveting machines in a jewelry store. You will realize that you have come to Athens and have seen only the street cars. There in Oberlin is your fabulously rich treasure house of knowledge.

You will find it an astonishing place, once you get into the spirit of it, and nothing more astonishing than the sanctity of opinion. Where else will you hear socialist and capitalist, devout and atheist, idealist and materialist, speak from the same platform? Where else will you find the hopes and futilities of world peace so anxiously discussed? Where else would you find professors honest enough to dissent with their government engaged in war?

Among faculty and students alike you will find every intellectual denomination, from the genius to the parrot of platitudes. You will find a heterodoxy of conflicting opinions such as, in generations past, would have parted

father from son and split congregations into segments invoking hell fire upon all who dissented from their credo. You can always find a good argument in progress on the Campus. To the pedant such confusion is alarming, but to you it will be stimulating. You will learn to test your ideas in the fire, and right or wrong they will be yours. And while you may strongly suspect that someone who disagrees with you is something of an ass, you will learn to admit the possibility of your being an even greater ass yourself.

You will be disappointed when you leave Oberlin, not at the knowledge you will take with you, but at the riches you must leave behind. I should warn you, too, that you will probably have too many attacks of mental dyspepsia to make the four years spent at Oberlin the happiest of your life—they may be the unhappiest.

Out of it all you will step into a new world, with your vision sharpened, your powers of analysis strengthened, your immense curiosity immensely increased, and a perspective that only such an experience can bring. For your type of mind, I submit, that is worth four years out of reach of an adding machine.

Yes, you say, but for one who is going into business isn't it a pretty long shot to gamble four years in what appears to be a wholly unbusiness-like place? Perhaps, but it is worth the chance. You will be one of the few business men who can see over his own back fence.

The Decline of the Individual

ADDRESS BEFORE PUBLIC AFFAIRS SOCIETY BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

THE problem of the one and the many, of the individual and society, is one of the most fundamental and continuing problems in human thought. How to insure the fullest expression of the individual without disrupting society, and how to coordinate personal freedom with group responsibility—that has been the major problem of sociology. The pendulum has, throughout the ages, swung between the extremes of unlimited individualism and absolute social control, between the exaltation of the individual and his submergence.

Man begins historically as an indistinguishable member of a strongly coordinated community. He develops into greater freedom of thought and action as the life of the community moves into the higher ranges of civilization. In eras of decadence, individualism degenerates into anarchic subjectivism, turns anti-social and actually tends to destroy the individual.

There are epochs when the social gospel must be stressed, because individual privilege has been allowed to exploit the group. This has been true of our times when the masses which possess considerable *formal* political and economic freedom, do in actual practice enjoy very little of either. They are in large measure dependent upon political organizations and economic arrangements in the control of a minority which systematically exploits them. There are other times when the essential rights of the individual must be championed in the face of a dangerous encroachment of group tyranny.

Professor Eucken, in his essay, "Society and the Individual," called attention forcibly to the "anti-individualistic influence of the tremendous accession of strength which has fallen to the part of the state in the course of the 19th century. This accession has been due for the most part to economic complications in the face of which every merely individual effort has seemed hopeless. . . . The increasing complication, the technical development of civilization, demands a closer correlation of the separate forces and more organization of the whole, and therefore calls for a guiding centre. (Today we call it central planning.) . . . Thus the visible power of the state and the invisible power of society are united against the independence of the individual". . .

If that judgment of Professor Eucken held good when it was written in the days before the World War, how much more pertinent and re-enforced is it today, with state and class dictatorships riding in triumph through two-thirds of the civilized world!

The post-war era has been dominated by the idea of state corporateness to a far greater degree than the one which preceded it. The power and authority of the state have been augmented even in those countries where no dictatorship has been established. "The tremendous accession of strength which has fallen to the part of the state in the 19th century" is nothing in comparison to the accession of strength, control and authority which has fallen to the part of the state since the beginning of the third decade of the 20th century.

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The 19th century witnessed the triumph of bourgeois society which sought to delimit as far as possible the powers and functions of the state and to extend and establish the rights of the individual. The development of private capitalism in the 19th century necessitated and achieved a large measure of freedom for the individual and a sharply circumscribed corporate control. The 20th century is witnessing the final collapse of this system of unrestricted competitive individualism.

Everywhere the state is stepping in to check the power and authority of the individual. The democratic apparatus which middle-class individualism created to safeguard its rights is being pushed aside or discarded. Bolshevism, Fascism, and Nazism have this one thing in common: they are all champions of maximum state authority. The state, they claim, must have absolute dictatorial power over the whole life of man. The individual has no inalienable rights—no areas forever exempted from group control and interference. Mussolini declared: "Here, as in Russia, we are advocates of the collective significance of life, and we wish to develop this at the cost of individualism."

I

There are spiritual advantages to a doctrine of collectivism as against the doctrine of private exploitation and careerism which characterized our passing civilization. Both Judaism and Christianity have always doctrinally subordinated the private ambitions of the individual to the well-being of society as a whole. The highest good was the social good. Man was taught to discover the real significance of his own life in enterprises which contributed to the upbuilding of the perfect society. Primitive Christianity was actually communistic in its social structure and so were the monastic brotherhoods which derived from it. The whole purpose of the Mosaic Jubilee legislation, touching land tenure and sale, as well as the whole tenor of the social message of the prophets of Israel, was to discourage the aggrandizement of the individual at the expense of the group.

Neither Judaism nor Christianity has therefore anything to fear from the spread of the doctrine of the socialized community and the collective life which is likely to dominate the New Era. All spiritual movements of mankind had this ideal at the core of their inspiration. The peaceful, neighborly, cooperative life has been the goal of all the weary marches of civilization. All religious education has been directed towards training men to think less in terms of personal career and success and more in terms of co-worker in a common social enterprise. Life is again vindicating classic religious ethics, in that the cooperative commonwealth is actually coming to be; and in the future it will go hard with the lone wolf, the predatory exploiter, the anti-social omnivorous man.

The danger lies in the excessive zeal and over-reaching on the part of the state which may lead to the complete subjugation of the individual and which in time may prove fatal to his spiritual life. Our experience of the last decade and a half in different parts of the world with experiments in the corporate society, in Communism, in State Socialism, in State Capitalism, or in the

corporative state, has given men ground for fear that the individual is being sacrificed in the process of economic and political coordination.

Whether the suppression of the individual is only a necessary incident in the transition from one social order to another and freer social order, or whether together with dictatorship it will become a permanent feature of the new social order, is for the present a matter of conjecture. But for the time being at least it is alarming to behold in the lands where the corporate ideal of the state has made the greatest headway, the total conscription of the individual in the service of the autocratic state. All thought is regimented. Education becomes propaganda. Every writer becomes a functionary of the state. Attempts are made, as in Germany, to make even the church an adjunct and a propaganda agency for the political state, a mouthpiece for its dogmas and pretensions. The right of the individual to quest for himself in the fields of the mind and the spirit is denied. A new orthodoxy has been enthroned. It is now proclaimed that absolute truth as regards social ethics, government and economics, even private morality, has already been revealed. It is in the safekeeping of a minority political group—a new priestly hierarchy. The individual must accept the dogma of the regime, unquestioningly and submissively, or he is anathema. This new state absolutism, backed by its vast punitive power, is far more dangerous than the old and now discredited absolutism of the church. The latter was frequently held in check by the secular arm of government. At least the secular and the ecclesiastical attenuated each other's powers. But with the decline of the political power of the church and the ascendancy of the absolute authoritarian state, the individual is at the complete mercy of the latter, without recourse and without refuge.

It is quite possible that in the New Era organized religion will have to assume the role of the sole surviving champion of the rights of the individual. This necessity the Christian church in Germany has already been faced with, but for the time being, at least, the German Evangelical church has succumbed to the totalitarian state. It has been coordinated. The point of view of Dr. Krause, *Gauleiter* of the Berlin section of the German Christians, has won the day. "National Socialism must not be judged from a Biblical standpoint; it is the Bible and the Church which must be judged from a Nazi standpoint. The Nazi state embodies the totality of God."

In the face of the amazing pretensions of the state, it behooves all religious disciples to insist that man possesses certain rights over which the state, however noble its purposes and however exalted its program, has no power whatsoever. There are sovereign rights which are man's by virtue of his humanity and not by virtue of his citizenship in a given political group. Man has other relationships and other obligations than those to his country. There is the whole of mankind. There is the universe as a whole. There is his own inner spiritual microcosm. There is God.

The New Era is being ushered in by way of dictatorships. Whether they are passing or permanent it is impossible to say. It is well to remember, however, that

dictatorships do not of themselves and as a matter of course pass over into democracies. They do not liquidate themselves. These dictatorships, wherever established, have so far been characterized by their utter ruthlessness. This is true both of the capitalistic dictatorship and of the communistic. The latter in its revolutionary zeal to attain quickly the good life actually sacrifices all the values which men have always identified with the good life. We have entered an age of sanctified ruthlessness and exalted brutality. But even more dangerous than the terrible toll of victims of physical violence is the tragic toll of victims of spiritual and intellectual violence. Men are driven into terrified silence. Conformity is prescribed. All opposition, all parties, all dissenting opinion in press, pulpit, classroom, platform and book is stamped out. That this is fatal to man's spiritual life is easily apparent. It tends to dry up the well-springs of man's spiritual creativeness. It destroys the soil and roots of his moral growth. When man is not allowed to stand alone, to dissent from the majority, to proclaim the truth which has been born in him through his own soul's travail, his spiritual life is destroyed. Revolutions never come to groups. ~~At best, to quote Pestalozzi, the collective existence of our race can only civilize itself cannot cultivate us.~~ There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only after the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of truth that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The New Era may thus burden the church and synagogue with another task—to save man from the dark bereavement of sanctified ruthlessness and brutality at the behest of a new politico-economic Messianism and to safeguard man's spiritual and intellectual freedom in a world constricted by the encompassing wall of dictatorship.

II

Side by side with the doctrine of the absolute, totalitarian state, runs the doctrine of competitive nationalism and intolerant racialism, both of which victimize the individual. There is a nationalism which is as instinctive as one's love of home and family and friends. It requires no artificial indoctrination and no propaganda. It is neither exclusive, intolerant nor militant. It is not a cunning tool in the hands of economic imperialists. But the western world is harassed and ridden today by a nationalism which makes a mockery of this simple, wholesome patriotism and employs it as a blind for shameless exploitation. The love of one's country is put under option by those who control the policies of government. A cabal of industrialists, financiers, bankers and munition makers prescribes what the government shall do—and the individual, bound hand and foot beforehand by the mandates of this newer nationalism, is delivered over to the drill sergeant. By this disgraceful strategy, the youth of the world is being stampeded today into group intolerance and arrogant provincialism and into the slambles of another war. The individual seems helpless in the face of this cunningly stimulated mob-patriotism. The universal ideal which fired the imagination of the best minds of Europe in the 18th and early

19th centuries—the idea of a federated world wherein a man at one and the same time could be a citizen of his country and a citizen of the world—the ideal which enlarged man's estate and set him free for a spiritual career beyond the narrow boundaries of his own land—this ideal, so thoroughly Christian and so thoroughly Jewish—has been pushed out of men's minds by the command of a restrictive, truculent and arrogant nationalism. Internationalism, today, in many lands is blackest heresy. The youth of the world is being taught to think not in terms of international human solidarity, but in terms of exclusive, aggressive and jealous national loyalties. One is first and foremost a German, a Frenchman, an Italian, a Pole, and only secondarily and not always necessarily a son of man, a child of God. Modern nationalism has unquestionably ghettoized the individual and confined him to a little corner in a fragmented and disintegrated world.

In some parts of the world, nationalism is still further being narrowed by the concept of race. Nation has been made synonymous with race. Only those belonging to the racial stock of the dominant majority are recognized as citizens. All others are disfranchised and politically, economically and socially degraded. This has been particularly true in Nazi Germany where race idolatry has run riot to a point where all human virtues have been subordinated to it. Hitler declared, in one of his recent outbursts, "I prefer a German deserter to a Jewish hero."

It is clear that in a state where race becomes the criterion and prerogative for rights and preferment, the individual is sacrificed. It is no longer a matter of personal character or ability, but of hereditary fatalism. One's claim to equality can no longer be based upon a shared human destiny or upon worth or merit, but upon a factor which is beyond the individual's control—ancestry.

Unfortunately, pseudo-scientific propaganda for racial imperialism is wide-spread in the world today. The doctrine of racial superiority was used as a cover for the vicious motives of the last war. It has always been a blind for economic imperialism. The people in the South used it as an excuse for exploiting the colored man and for denying him his elementary human rights and his legitimate opportunities. The white man's burden becomes the black man's curse, and the brown man's, and the yellow man's.

It has again been invoked in present-day Germany, as a camouflage for economic reaction, which is defending itself with such desperation, as inflammable propaganda material for the purposes of political incitement and stampede in order to achieve certain objectives which calm reason would fail to achieve, and as compensation for all the rights and liberties which a Fascist dictatorship takes away from the citizens.

Some peoples which have a large element of mysticism in their make-up are particularly addicted to race idolatry. Mysticism is at bottom religious romanticism and romanticism is essentially an historic throw-back, a hankering after older forms of social life and organization, a retroversion to herd mœurs, folkways and myths, to what is thought to be the protoplasmic racial soul. A hundred

years ago Heinrich Heine called attention to this recurrent manifestation of mysticism among the German people. In Nazism, the German mass is again manifesting these strong mystic, primitivist and collective tendencies. Race has again surged to the forefront of popular obsession and the cosmopolitan spirit of Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe and Kant is, for the time being, homeless in Germany.

It is not necessary for me at this time to point out the fallacies of this economically motivated race propaganda—this artificial division of mankind into "Herrenrasse" and "Untermenschen." There is, of course, no pure race in the world. The story of racial fusions which have gone on everywhere in historic and pre-historic times has been sufficiently attested by anthropology and archaeology, and is sufficiently convincing to everyone but the propagandist who has an axe to grind. And there are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. There are races more favored with circumstances, by environment, by geographical position, by the fertility of the soil, or by the treasures underneath the soil. There are advanced races and backward races. There are differences between races but no biologic gradations. And no race has a monopoly upon genius or creative capacity.

III

There is far more race idolatry in the world today than ever before in the history of mankind. There was no color line in antiquity. The Greeks were conscious of their cultural superiority but they did not attribute it to biology. They claimed excellency on the basis of their civilization, not their blood. The Romans were splendid racial cosmopolites. Roman citizenship was not restricted to any one racial group within the far-flung empire. Roman citizenship which at first was the privilege of only the few who lived in Rome was soon extended to the limits of the empire, and under Caracalla it was universalized throughout the vast empire. The Jew was proud not of his race but of his religion, and the proselyte to the faith was welcomed into the life of the race. The Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people not because of their racial traits but because of having been selected to be the servants of Jahweh to carry His moral law to the world. They were a covenanted people, a kingdom not of supermen but of priests. Their prophets kept them from excessive pride by reminding them:

"Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto Me

"O children of Israel? saith the Lord.

"Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt

"And the Philistine from Caphtor

"And Aram from Kir?"

Jahweh was the God of all nations. Israel's prerogative lay only in arduous moral and religious pioneering. When that ceased, when Israel no longer wished to bear the burden of religious leadership, it knew itself to be rejected of God.

Christianity, of course, took over the prophetic, universalistic concept from Judaism, emphasized it, enlarged upon it, and carried it to the far corners of the earth. "The God that made the world and all nations therein, he, being Lord of Heaven and earth . . . made of one blood every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." The organic racial oneness of the whole human family is nowhere in the Bible more clearly and forcibly enunciated. And again: "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all, and is rich unto all that call upon him." The entire concept of race which is fatalistic and exclusive is subordinated to the concept of faith which is volitional and all-inclusive. "And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise." (Gal. 3:28).

It is therefore no accident that Nazi racialists have been led to a repudiation of both the Old and the New Testaments and are invoking anew the dethroned tribal Gods of primitive, heathen Germany. And it is no accident either that the great Christian leaders of present-day Germany have clearly seen the menace in atavistic Nazi racialism to the spirit and mission of their historical faith and are so strenuously resisting it.

The Middle Ages knew very little of that racial chauvinism which is so rampant in our day. There was no talk of race purity in the Middle Ages. It was with the rise of nationalism and of colonial imperialism among the Northwestern European peoples, particularly during the last century, and the consequent exploitation of the backward races, that the necessity arose for some ideologic justification of such exploitation. It soon appeared in the form of pseudo-scientific theories of race superiority. These theories gained prestige and popularity as the European peoples proceeded to conquer, subject and despoil backward peoples. Some apologists even employed High Church terminology such as "Bearing the White Man's Burden" to savor the miserable mess of imperialistic pottage, by means of which European peoples robbed other races of their birthright of freedom. And, again, the "white man's burden" became the black man's curse and the brown man's and the yellow man's.

Modern nationalism has fallen under the blight of this race idolatry, particularly among a people like the Germans who are not empire-builders and therefore politically provincial and among whom national unity is a quite recent achievement and hence still a matter of hallelujah. The novel doctrine is now being loudly proclaimed that a nation must be racially homogeneous and every national within the state who can not trace his ancestry back to the racial stock of the majority is an alien and an intruder. Racial minorities are almost everywhere disadvantaged in the modern state and so are, of course, all the individual members of such racial minorities.

Racial imperialism, like religious imperialism, is a stumbling-block in the way of man's freedom and progress. What is required in our day is not superheated race apologetics but a generous way of life which will give each race and to all men regardless of race, the opportunity to live their own life, to express their own soul and to contribute their unique values to the commonality of human life. Our age needs a form of good

will which will not only tolerate racial and cultural differences but which will gladly use them for the enrichment of life.

There are some very high-minded men in our country who rightfully would resent any charge of racial intolerance, who nevertheless by their fond hankering after an American social and cultural unification, a sort of American *Gleichschaltung*, are unconsciously contributing to that very intolerance which they would repudiate. They are opposed to the existence of various social groups, based largely upon racial identity, in American society. They assume that there must be only one social group in America, and one thorough-going cultural tradition. The Jewish community for example is sometimes criticized by these people, who clearly are not anti-Semitic, for its separatism, its solidarity and its refusal to assimilate.

To which the spokesmen of the Jewish group would reply that cultural uniformity is not a prerequisite of American democratic society or of any other democratic society, that such uniformity is not intrinsically preferable and that cooperation and good will in common national tasks are possible in spite of the existence of differences.

When it is claimed that if the Jew would surrender everything except his "personal religious views," the anti-Semitic disease would disappear and all would be well with him, these spokesmen reply that the German Jews for decades practiced this very theory of assimilation. They tried in all ways *not* to be different. Their group consciousness had dwindled to a vanishing point. And yet, such is the patent bankruptcy of this whole thesis, the most virulent anti-Semitism developed in Germany,

and in place of a self-willed "difference," a legal, prescriptive and discriminating "difference" was forced upon them as a mark of shame. Even non-Aryan Christian clergymen who certainly never suffered from excessive Jewish group-consciousness have been "differentiated" and stigmatized in the land of classic Jewish assimilation.

"Social unity" or "cultural unity" is just as dangerous a slogan to raise in modern society as "racial unity." Too many noble ideals of mankind are being broken on the wheel of totalitarian obsessions in the world today for liberal churchmen, lay or cleric, who value individualism and exalt personality, to permit themselves to become champions of "unification" crusades in American life.

What is needed in the world today is not race or religious imperialism, or mystic yearning after cultural or social unification, after a monolithic society which crushes the individual, but the courageous reassertion of that liberal, generous, tolerant view of life which our present unhappy age has so tragically lost, and to which it will have to return if life is to be livable, and if men and minorities are to be saved from the tyranny of the mass and the curse of regimentation. If we men of faith are to remain faithful to the classic ideals of our religions we must set about rekindling the light of the ideal of one Humanity of free men within an economic system which will permit true freedom, and we must redirect the aspirations of men towards it. Then the questions of state and race and nationalism will assume their proper place of secondary importance in human life, and mutual adjustments will then be made far more simply and naturally than is possible today. The lost perspective will have been restored.

The Contemporary Writer: Social Critic, Propagandist, or Artist?

By WARREN TAYLOR

THE serious writers of our own time fall inevitably, it seems, into one of three groups: first, that of the social critics, who try to show us what is wrong with our age; second, that of the propagandists, who are confident that they can tell us what we can do to be saved; and last, that of the artists, who want to give us a quickened sense of life. To all of these groups, no doubt, the present is a most trying time. The propagandist is kept busy offering solutions for the evils which the social critics point out. The artist finds men so interested in the game of getting and trying to keep property that they give him no attention. Popular prophets assure us that our headaches are the worst anyone could suffer. Never, they say, has there been such a confused age, such an unsettled society; never has there been such a total collapse of values. Looking to religion for some affirmation of purpose in life, they find that the faith and idealism (and they might add the self-satisfied assurance) of the Victorians swept away in a tide of thought which places men in nature and not above it,

a little lower than the gods. Confining their surveys solely to contemporary society, they find that it shelters barbarians of the first order, and that, as its economic systems become paralyzed or crumble, the activities of the good life vanish. Seeking a stronghold in man's ability to reason, they discover that his thoughts are merely a patchwork of repressions and prejudices. One of these prophets, Joseph Wood Krutch, concludes, "Ours is a lost cause and there is no place for us in the natural universe." The laboratory, he says, has brought disillusion; emotions have decayed; and man has fallen so low there can be no tragedy. But surely this view reflects more ignorance than insight. Mr. Krutch has erred in allowing the scientists to hurt his feelings. His laments belong to the child who cries when he is told that the face in the moon is not that of man but merely that of the moon. But to the point—in this welter of distressing uncertainties, what is the place of the man who wants to write? What should it be? Should it be that of a social critic, of a propagandist, or of an artist?

The writer as social critic today is either an escapist or a prosecuting attorney. When he is an escapist, he finds the society of our time unendurable and flees from it. Mr. James Branch Cabell, who belongs to this group, says with conviction: "I quite fail to see why, in books or elsewhere, anyone should wish to be reminded of what human life is actually like. For living is the one art in which mankind has never achieved distinction." To make his own life livable, Mr. Cabell creates a world which is populated only by romantic figures who please his fancy. Mr. T. S. Eliot, in 1929, at the age of forty, pictured himself as an aged eagle who could no longer stretch his wings. He announced in a pontifical manner that he would try to shelter himself against the storms of experience in the quiet cloisters of Seventeenth Century Anglican theology. These types of despair do not bring humility and hope to men; they bring defeat and self-pity. The escapist voices a loss of courage and a smallness of soul; he tries to impose strictures on life that is illimitable. He rejects the values of being and becoming; change is too trying for him. Having lost a quickened sense of life, he finds repose for his own soul in the small world he creates for himself.

Other writers who assume the role of social critic remain to view what they are certain is the wreckage of the life of man. Making of themselves prosecuting attorneys, they shake the dust from the carpets of their minds into the faces of their jurymen readers. Mr. Theodore Dreiser, insisting on his right as a social critic, sued a motion picture company for omitting, in its film version of "An American Tragedy," his indictment of society. At another time, however, he disclosed his inability to judge. He confessed: "I catch no meaning from all I have seen, and pass quite as I came, confused and dismayed." Mr. Sinclair Lewis, who has done as much as anybody to make writing the adjunct of sociology, told the Swedish Academy that the modern writer is oppressed "by a feeling that what he creates does not matter." Mr. Lewis might also have pointed out the fact that the writer as social critic does not count in the future. His work may be of value at the time it is written, but it is only a sociological document or a novelty to men who live after him and in other conditions. Although Ibsen said that he would be content with the results of his work if it could serve to prepare the spirit for the morrow, he would, if he were living, have to admit that the values we find in it now are artistic and not sociological, just as the values we find in the Theatre Union's current play, "Stevedore," are values of the theatre and not of social reform, values which can incite only confused minds to political action. The novels of Dickens and of Thackeray, irrespective of their faults, you have read, but this may be the first and last time you hear of Disraeli's "Sybil," Mrs. Gaskell's "Mary Barton," or Kingsley's "Yeast" and "Alton Locke," all of them criticisms of Nineteenth Century English society. In this chapel, in the year 2034, another group of students, then as old as you are now, may hear also for the first and last time, of Mr. Lewis' "Elmer Gantry," Mr. Robert Herrick's "Waste," or Mr. Dreiser's "The Titan," and "An American Tragedy." The writer

as a social critic may be worth a great deal. I do not wish to say that he should not exist, but he is not an artist. He does not bring life into art or art into life.

I

The propagandist is kind to society. He believes that he can heal its wounds. He is a religionist; he wants his readers to become his disciples. D. H. Lawrence, one of the group, prescribed a kind of vitalism, a mystical trust in one's physique, as a cure for one's ills. "My great religion," he once wrote, "is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood tells and believes and says is always true." Lawrence's religion is individualistic; that of most of the propagandists of our time, however, is more extensive. It centers in widespread social reforms. Mr. Bernard Shaw seldom loses a chance to say that Trade Unionism in all professions must give way to Socialism. That Socialism means an equality of income or nothing, and that under Socialism no one would be allowed to be poor, whether he wanted to be or not. Mr. Upton Sinclair, in his novel, "Boston," discloses the prophet Isaiah as an early exponent of his brand of socialism. Mr. H. G. Wells, who does not hesitate to clutter his novels with exhaustive discussions of religious, historical, economic, and sociological problems, insists that the writer ought to class himself "not with the artists but with the teachers and priests and prophets," possibly because it fits his case so admirably. But it does not fit the cases of Joseph Conrad, or John Galsworthy, or Thomas Hardy. The work of the propagandist bears a message, just as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" bears a message. It may be one worth the attention of large numbers of readers, and if Wells, or Shaw, or Sinclair, or Lawrence wants to deliver it, no one can object, but it does not follow that the writer at his best is a prophet, that prophets are artists, or that great artists must be great prophets or great social critics. This distinction is always an important one: perhaps peculiarly so now because in this country a group of writers, headed, I believe, by V. F. Calverton and Granville Hicks are trying to establish a program which is based on the conviction that art, if it exists, must ally itself with the class struggle and that the artist, who must shape and rebuild his environment, can do so only by adhering to the proletarian tradition. To them, art must be "a drive to action"; the artist must be a reformer; he must champion the exploited in their struggle with the exploiters.

This is a theory of journalism, of publicity, not of art. In it, the writer himself is exploited by a political party; he is being exploited by the false notion that it is his business to tell society what is wrong with it and how it may save itself. That such views should be so easily foisted on a reading public indicates, it seems, a lack of critical intelligence on the part of the public. And that lack, in turn, exists, I should say, because there is not now in this country either a school of literary criticism or a large school of readers which cares to make distinctions. The serious writer cannot depend on the judgment of book reviewers who control the critical apparatus of this country, men who are often, fittingly enough, also officers in clubs which want to sell books

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The Jewish Weekly Newsmagazine

Every Friday

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Micketz

Chanukah — 5695

THE very surface meaning of Chanukah arouses in our hearts an eager response. This festival commemorates the struggle of a small people in behalf of its freedom and independence. A small people, for centuries dominated by foreign rulers, at last sides to become master in its own house. A desperate conflict which rages for more than three years against the powerful Ptolemy-Syrian empire, and after many bloody encounters and in the face of overwhelming odds wins through to victory.

In this day of encircling hate and of seemingly helplessness in the face of mounting persecution, it is good to have this festival of Chanukah recall to us that once upon a time we were a valorous and courageous people, ready at the point of death to defend its national sanctities, and unwilling to be the littlecock of destiny, passive and helpless in the hands of tyrants and oppressors. There is an epic and heroic quality to Jewish history which is frequently forgotten by the Jewish spokesmen of our people for whom Jewish history is bracketed between code and commentary. No history records as many things against tyranny and oppression as ours—both within and without as does the history of Israel—from the first revolution against Egyptian slavery, through the revolution of the Maccabees, until the last revolution of the Bar Kochba which could be crushed only af-

ter the most desperate resistance and by the overwhelming force of the iron legions of Imperial Rome.

Chanukah is one of the happiest manifestations of the unsubdued courage and the sacrificial loyalty of which our people is capable when the great hour of testing comes.

The will to live was always strong among us. Thus, of course, is the prime reason for our survival. We always wanted to live, and to live our own lives. We resolutely defended the kernel of our inner being, our soul's inviolability, our spiritual autonomy when the sword was struck from our hands and we could no longer defend ourselves by physical prowess. We continued to wage war against all the threatening and the disintegrating forces about us with spiritual arms, with resolution and firmness and stubbornness and martyrdom. Everywhere we built impregnable citadels and fortresses, not of masonry and stone, but mightier ones by far, and irreducible—synagogues, schools and Jewish homes—wherein the pristine life and spirit of our people continued fresh and vigorous and unabated.

The Jew has a voracious, an insatiable hunger for life. His God is a God "who desireth life." Behold the amazing tidal energy with which Israel is setting itself today to the task of rebuilding its national life anew in its ancient homeland. See the overflowing and on-rushing will to live which the chalutzim are manifesting today—those true heirs of the Maccabees of old.

Only unquenchable youth, filled with the love of life and moved by its glorious urgency, can set about "rebuilding the old, waste places." Only vision and hope and courage can build upon ruins. We have always known how to build upon ruins. We knew how to borrow the flame from our soul's inner sanctuary and kindle lights in the darkness—Chanukah lights, lights of rededication.

The grandeur of Chanukah increases from year to year as the people which once, in blood and battle, achieved the victory which made Chanukah possible is again vindicating itself through struggle and sacrifice making possible a new "Chanukat ha-Bayit"—a rededication of the Temple of Israel's life in the land whose youth is being renewed by a faith which never knew age.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

Audience Offered Art Treasures at Concert

LOMON GOLUB appeared Wednesday evening (November 28) before a group of Jewish lovers, in the parlor of the Cincinnati Woman's Club. As interpreter of his own compositions, he presented four groups of original songs. Mr. Golub was unusually fortunate in the co-operation of Blanche Brant Sharon, who, at the piano, contributed her subtle and mellow art.

The composer treated his audience to Jewish motives built into modern forms. He created moods which his listeners shared; and he created tense moments, which the audience re-lived. Motives

from the stately chant of the Haftora benedictions, from the graceful recitative of the Song of Songs, from the mode of the Psalms, and chiefly from the "study" chant (Gemora Nigun), form the musical kernels of his best songs. Contributions to a people's culture are not fashioned of the chance fancy carried by an idle breeze. They grow out of and are nourished by a genuine cultural heritage; else their life is that of a date palm planted in Labrador.

The opening song was of a tender, passionate, reverent nature. Its increasing fervor produces a dramatically cumulative effect

that must carry conviction. Built on the idea of the Yiddish lines by A. Almi, the following English text of the song suggests its emotion:

In prayer, the world pleads for her children,
For suckling babe and rav'nous cub,
For serpent's young and insect grub,
For struggling briar and sappling shrub;
In prayer, the world pleads for her children.

In prayer, the world pleads for her children,
For tyrants and for men oppressed—
The weak, the wicked, and the blessed.
Alike, all suckle at her breast.

In prayer, the world pleads for her children.

In prayer, the world pleads for her children.

Believing eyes observe her care,
Believing ears shall hear her prayer;

Believing souls her faith must share—

In prayer, the world pleads for her children!

—A. I. C.

It would be impossible and unnecessary here, to comment on each song of the program. From the second group, I would make special reference to "The Cup," a song of restrained emotion, interpreting the pulsating poem of Frug. The text uses the legend of the cup into which God, when witnessing Israel's greatest sufferings, drops his tears. When that cup will be filled, our redemption will come. A child, crushed by the tragedy of life, innocently asks if perhaps the tears have not dried up. In pious anguish, the mother prays:

"God in Heaven, have compassion!
Add unto Thy cup, my tears."

"The Hand" with text by Gross, produces in music and words, a poem of life's sunset.

In the third group, there stands out, the setting of Yehosh's verses: "On the Immigrant Ship." The piano whips up the dark and angry waters. There is a light on deck. A group surrounds a board box—a coffin. Only God knows who is the Jew laid there, and whence he came. Someone recites a Kaddish. The coffin sinks; the sea swallows it. The silent assembly disperses. The dead is forgotten. Only the Jew who recited the Kaddish, standing alone, hears from the deep roaring waves, what seems the answering voice of "Amen." The music leaves us in the mystery of symbolism.

In the last group, was "Tanchum," one of the best of Golub's songs—a drama in the heart of a Talmud student, sung to what is perhaps Golub's most successful medium, the "study" chant.

At the composer's invitation, the listeners joined him in given refrains and shared his songs.

The concert was followed by a tea in Golub's honor.

A. Irma Cohen.

Beth Jacob Synagog

Dr. Abraham Cronbach, professor of social studies at the Hebrew Union College, will be the guest speaker at the late Friday evening services at the Beth Jacob Synagog on December 7, at 8:15 P. M. His topic is: "A Chanukah Message—Israel Wants Peace." Mr. George Lieberman will conduct services and Mr. Maurice Lyons will chant the prayers.

EVERY FRIDAY

VOL. XIII, No. 48

DECEMBER 7, 1934

5c Per Co

Equality For Saar Jews Promised

Jews In The News

(Called from J. T. A. Dispatch)

Reich Gives Guaranty for Year on Rights in Pact

Rome (JTA).—Equal rights for the Jews in the Saar, but apparently for one year only, were guaranteed by Germany in an agreement signed here by representatives of the French and German governments on problems concerning the Saar region, should the Saar plebiscite favor return to Germany.

Makes Plea for Refugees in Radio Address

Schenectady, N. Y. (JTA).—An earnest appeal for American Christian groups to come to the aid of German refugees who are in dire need was made here last Monday by James G. McDonald, League of Nations' High Commissioner for German refugees, in a speech over a nation-wide radio hook-up of the National Broadcasting Company.

Mr. McDonald reviewed in detail the year and a half of work for the refugees, pointing out that 30,000 had been settled in new homes during that period, thanks to the work of private organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, which had raised funds for the refugees.

The present situation of the refugees and future prospects are, however, desperate, Mr. McDonald stated. The day-to-day need of the refugees, particularly in Paris and Praha, was great, he declared.

The attitude of the German government, Mr. McDonald pointed out, was making refugee work increasingly difficult.

"It has been a great pleasure for me to see the results of the re-training of the youth in nearly all of the countries bordering on Germany. Young men and women who until six months or so ago had never been engaged in any manual labor have already proved that they can become capable artisans."

The agreement was sanctioned by the special committee which the League of Nations appointed to deal with the Saar plebiscite and was ratified by the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva.

It is due to the insistence of the League of Nations that Germany has agreed to the special paragraph in the agreement guaranteeing the rights of the Jews, Julio Lopez Olivan, Spanish delegate to the Saar committee appointed by the League of Nations, declared.

Cautions Pessimists

Disclosing to the representative of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that the agreement is valid for one year only and that Germany had refused to accept a longer term which the Saar committee proposed, Mr. Olivan advised that the Jews of the world should not

be too pessimistic about the fate of Saar Jewry.

Diplomatic circles here were somewhat surprised to find that Germany has agreed to assure full equality for the Jews in the Saar. This concession by the German government is taken in diplomatic circles here as a sign that the French government has made the question of Jewish rights in the Saar one of its major conditions.

Official Statement

According to the agreement France will receive from Germany about \$60,000,000 compensation in addition to 11,000,000 tons of coal from the Saar mines, in case the January plebiscite turns the Saar back to Germany. Germany is to guarantee equal rights for all inhabitants of the Saar regardless of race, language and religion. Equal rights are also to be guaranteed to all as far as social insurance and state relief is concerned.

Receive Quotas All Organizations

Pritz Is Congratulated on Able Leadership in Fund Drive

THE Jewish Welfare Fund campaign closed with a meeting of campaign workers Tuesday at campaign headquarters, 517 Keith Building. It was announced that all the participating organizations will receive their full quotas, as assigned to them in the campaign.

The largest percentage of increase obtained on the designated quotas recorded by any division in the campaign was obtained by the division headed by Gus H. Hill and Jack Lauer.

Additional teams to go over the top were announced as follows: Big Brothers Association, Sigmund Cohen, captain; B'nai B'rith, Herbert Kahn, captain; Bureau of Jewish Education, Samuel M. Schmidt and Dr. M. S. Schulzinger; Wise Temple Brotherhood,

Joseph Levine; Price Hill Team, Julius Holzberg and Maxwell Lyons; Rockdale Temple Sisterhood, Mrs. Harold Moss; Parent-Teachers' Association of the Bureau of Jewish Education, Mrs. A. Liscow; Chalutzoth, Mrs. Samuel Schmidt, and Daughters of Israel, Mrs. J. Diamond. The Junior Group, headed by Arnold Berman, also was praised for its fine showing.

The Community Council congratulated Carl E. Pritz, chairman, on the record achieved in the campaign in the face of the difficult economic situation.

The Campaign Executive Committee gave a vote of thanks to the chairmen of the various divisions, team captains and workers for their splendid work in the campaign, praised the loyalty of the contributors, expressed appre-

Chicago.—Ernest A. Grand, nephew of the late Julius Ewald, won first prize of \$250 in a competition to design and decorate the interior of a theater to be incorporated in the new building being erected for WGN Chicago Tribune radio station.

The winner, who designed Adler Planetarium, won over competitors, including many of the leading architects of the city. He is thirty-one.

Moscow.—Although he is only twenty-two years old, Lev Kanterovich, Soviet Jewish mathematical genius, is already Professor of Mathematics at Leningrad University, head of the Leningrad Institute of Mathematics and Mechanics, and has written and published forty-three mathematical treatises which have been translated into other languages. Kanterovich is well-known in mathematical circles in Europe and the United States.

London.—Neville Laski, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Sir Oswald d'Avigdor Goldsmid, newly elected president of the Jewish Colonization Association, will leave for the United States early in December. It was announced here last week.

For the numerous material gifts received both from Jewish and non-Jewish contributors and tendered a vote to the Board of Cincinnati "for its loyal support."

The co-operation of all the forces, the committee pointed out, assures all the worthy causes included in the Fund of the amount of their respective quotas.

Mr. Pritz announced that contributors who failed to complete their designation can notify headquarters of any designation change of designation until December 15.

EVERY FRIDAY

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FEBRUARY 8, 1935

5c Per Copy

Towards A "Total" Jewish Program

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Two hundred and forty-one Reform Rabbis, members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, issued a statement last week in which they expressed themselves as being in full accord with the principles and ideals of the Palestine Labor Movement. They did not, of course, endorse any action of the Histadruth, nor did they commit themselves to any particular approval of any and all of its present actions. They hailed the basic principles basic in the program of the Palestine Labor Movement which they believe to be in complete consonance with the prophetic idealism of Israel's faith.

This statement of the Reform Rabbis has a twofold significance. First, it reveals the very liberal economic views which have come to prevail among the leaders of Reform Judaism in America. And secondly, it dramatizes the remarkable "volte face" which has taken place in recent years among Reform Rabbis with reference to Palestine.

Change Gratifying

In many a community today it is infrequent to find the rabbi of the Reform or Conservative congregation, the one who speaks against economic reaction or official corruption or professional wheedling. In fact, our Jewish "role leaders" have become severely perturbed over this "radicalism" of the American Jewish clergy, and some of them are busy looking about for ways to muzzle

the enthusiasm of the 241 Rabbis for the "rehabilitation of Palestine as the Jewish homeland" is even more significant. This number represents the overwhelming majority of the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. What a remarkable change has come over the face of the Jewish community in the last few years! And

how gratifying? Truly, life achieves results which neither dialectics nor logical persuasion can ever hope to achieve...

Havelock Ellis in his introduction to J. K. Huysmans' "A Rebours" makes the interesting observation that the essential distinction between the classic and the decadent in art and literature is to be found in the fact that in the classic the parts are subordinated to the whole, whereas in the decadent, the whole is subordi-

Heavy Rains

Palestine Towns Flooded in Three-Day Downpour

Jerusalem (JTA).—Communications and transport in Palestine and Transjordan have been completely disrupted by a three-day tropical storm which raged here.

Rain, wind and hail have made the Haifa-Jerusalem road impassable. Bridges along the route were washed out and the telephone and telegraph systems were crippled. Only one wire is open between Jerusalem and Haifa.

Both sides of the Jordan were under water and communication between Palestine and Amman, capital of Transjordan, was interrupted.

The citrus crop, Palestine's most important crop, appears to have suffered little damage from the storm.

Three steamers, which landed 2,000 Jewish immigrants, had the greatest difficulties in landing their passengers. Unable to proceed to their destinations, the helpless immigrants are stranded in Haifa, where they are being temporarily housed in government warehouses.

The flood proved a boon for Jerusalem, which has no modern water supply system, and depends on rainwater. Half the amount of water used in one year by the city was caught in cisterns.

nated to the parts. "The classic strives after those virtues which the whole may best express; the latter manner (the decadent) depreciates the importance of the whole for the benefit of its parts and strives after the virtue of individualism." This is a fair distinction; and we should like to apply it to the philosophy of Zionism.

What Zionism Is

Zionism, as we see it, aims at the classic balance in Jewish life. Judaism is a compound of many elements. Many tributaries flow into its historic channel—prophecy, legalism, mysticism, nationalism. In recent years some zealous and mostly uninformed partisans have attempted to reduce Judaism to what is only a fraction of itself—to race or nationalism or folk-ways or theological abstractions. Quite unconsciously they are falsifying Judaism. It is a mark of our decadence in the diaspora that so many of our people have lost the sense of the classic harmony in Jewish life and are attempting to substitute a part for the whole.

Zionism is the national effort to restore the lost harmony of Jewish life. It aims at a reconstituted totality of Jewish existence.

Politically we are deficient because we lack a national home. Therefore Zionism strives to fill

(Continued on Page 7)

Local Zionists Announce Resolution

At the last Zionist District Executive meeting held on Thursday, January 31, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Zionist District Executive opposes the bringing of Jabotinsky to Cincinnati to speak on Revisionism and looks with disfavor upon any members of the District who facilitate the bringing of Jabotinsky to Cincinnati."

Jews In The News

(Culled from J. T. A. Dispatches)

London (JTA).—Dr. Julius Becker, prominent journalist and former president of the Zionist Federation in Switzerland, was appointed by the Executive of the Jewish Agency last week to represent the Agency in Geneva to deal with diplomatic matters concerning the Palestine mandate and to foster Jewish interests among members of the League of Nations.

Dr. Becker succeeds the late Victor Jacobson, who died several months ago in Switzerland. Although he succeeds Mr. Jacobson, Dr. Becker will not hold membership in the Jewish Agency, as did Mr. Jacobson.

New York (JTA).—There are 9,830 kosher butchers throughout the United States doing an annual business of \$196,000,000, according to a survey made by the Retail Kosher Meat Code Authority prior to its first annual convention at the Hotel Commodore here on March 3 and 4. The figures indicate an increase of 2,830 butchers and \$56,000,000 in volume over those of ten years ago.

The statistical survey shows that the State containing the fewest Jews—Nevada with a Jewish population of 264—has no kosher butcher. Other States lacking a kosher trade are Idaho, Montana, North and South Dakota. This is in contrast to New York which contains, 2,274,463 Jews, and more than half, or 5,286 of the kosher butchers.

The State of Ohio ranks sixth with 340 kosher meat retailers.

Tel Aviv (JTA).—After ten days of serious illness, Meir Dizengoff, mayor of Tel Aviv, recovered sufficiently to attend the opening last week of an art exhibition of the works of the Jewish artist Chana Orloff.

Hope had been abandoned for the mayor, who is seventy-four years old.

EVERY FRIDAY

The Jewish Weekly Newsmagazine

EVERY FRIDAY is dedicated to the promotion of the interests of the Jewish community within itself and as an integral part of the entire community of Cincinnati.

VOL. XIV FEBRUARY 8, 1935 No. 6

SAMUEL M. SCHMIDT, Editor
RONA S. SCHMIDT, Assistant Editor

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SUNSET, 6:07

Adarl 5, 5695

Terimah

Ruthless, Relentless and Despicable

WE feel certain that every fair thinking and conscientious Jew must be experiencing keen resentment because of the unwarranted and despicable, ruthless and relentless attacks which the Jewish Daily Bulletin has launched against the Histadruth (The General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine) and against all those who are supporting and helping the work of Labor Palestine.

These attacks and vituperations have been so venomous and so palpably unfair that they have definitely placed the stamp of Revisionism upon the paper and its management.

Here it must be pointed out that the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Bulletin are under the same management and are supported practically by the same budget derived largely from the personal contributions of very wealthy Jewish individuals and from subventions received at the hands of Jewish Welfare Federations in which all groups in American Jewish life participate. The Jewish Daily Bulletin, and the J. T. A. by aligning themselves definitely with the Revisionists, have therefore betrayed their trust as impartial Jewish news agencies.

It would be an insult to the standing and dignity of Palestine Labor for us to attempt to defend the achievements of the Histadruth which has won the admiration, love and respect of world Jewry through its immutable idealism, its stubborn faith and its self-sacrificing devotion for the future generations of a laboring Jewish Palestine. The Histadruth and its leaders have earned this recognition on the part of world Jewry through thirty years of unflinching and devoted service to the cause of a rebuilt Jewish people and homeland in Palestine.

Nor do we wish at this time to use space in pointing out the maliciousness and falsifications in many of the statements about the proclamation of the 241 Reform rabbis in favor of the Histadruth which the Bulletin has printed recently and the deliberate, despicable insinuations about Labor Palestine and the National Labor Committee for the Jewish Workers in Palestine, popularly known as the Gewerkschaften Campaign. Suffice it to state that to date the Bulletin

has failed to print even a single one of the many letters of protest which it has received, but has found room to print letters and statements of Revisionists and outright opponents to the very idea of making Palestine The Jewish National Home.

The J. T. A., as well as the Bulletin, deserves much credit for the service which they have rendered to world Jewry in the past, and, which we hope, they will continue to render in the future. We have used these very columns in unstinting praise of the J. T. A. and its director, Mr. Jacob Landau. The present action of the Bulletin may be likened to some peculiar cows who fill the milk pail brimful with delicious milk and then give it a kick and spill it all out.

Blessed May Be the Hands that Work for Peace

IT is indeed gratifying to know that the Tifereth Israel Congregation of Walnut Hills has taken upon itself the mission of bringing about peace between the Vaad Ho-ir (The Union of Orthodox Congregations) and the opposition group consisting of members from three congregations outside of the Vaad which have recently organized. Although the Tifereth Zion Congregation has not succeeded in its first attempt to bring about peace, it has nevertheless absolutely refused to align itself with either side in this controversy.

We wish to congratulate the leaders of the Walnut Hills Congregation for its firm stand in behalf of peace in Jewish Orthodoxy in Cincinnati. We feel certain that by remaining impartial and by refusing to take sides, the Tifereth Israel will soon succeed in its efforts to bring about a peace which will stimulate a creative solidarity in our Orthodox group. We extend our greetings to Messrs. Wartik, Mendelson and Greenberg, the Committee on peace of the Tifereth Israel Congregation, and we wish them success in their endeavors.

* * *

Cincinnati Orthodoxy has much at stake in the present controversy between the Vaad Ho-ir and the opposition group. For years, the Orthodox Jewish community has remained unorganized and inarticulate. With the coming of Rabbi Eliezer Silver, the Orthodox group has succeeded in organizing itself and becoming more or less articulate. To be sure there is yet much to be done towards the complete and proper organization of our Orthodox element. A beginning, however, has been made and considering the many previous attempts to organize which have hitherto failed, we must admit that the present beginning, though still unsatisfactory, must be considered as a positive achievement which must be protected. We have learned through sad experience that it is much easier to tear down than to build up. We must not be too ready to jeopardize that which has been obtained with such difficulty. We feel certain that the Vaad Ho-ir and the opposition group realize the importance of safeguarding that which has already been achieved and that neither side will in the future make any step which will endanger that which has already been accomplished.

Every Friday

Avondale Synagogue

Sabbath services, Friday evening at 5:40, (Licht Benschon at 8:30) and Saturday morning at 8:30. Rabbi Feinberg and Cantor B. officiating.

The Junior Congregation meets in the Bais Midrash at 8:30.

The Women's Study Circle, under Rabbi Feinberg's guidance, begins a new term with a new course—"Study of the Bible from the Beginning." All who wish to join this class. There is no charge. Sessions begin at 10:00 A. M. on Wednesday morning and continue until 11:15.

The Isaac M. Wise Temple

On Saturday, February 2, John M. Versteeg of the Walnut Hills-Avondale Methodist Church at Ashland and McMillan, will occupy the pulpit of the Isaac M. Wise Center. Dr. Versteeg is a speaker of unusual charm, eloquence and cogency. For his sermon Saturday he has chosen the subject, "Trust and Providence."

On Sunday, February 10, Dr. Heller will speak on the subject, "Two Years of Hitler."

Loeb Again to Head Community House

Alvin M. Loeb has been renominated for presidency of the Jewish Community House, a unit of the United Jewish Social Agencies.

With him were renominated Bernard Pepinsky, first vice-president, Sigmund Cohen, second vice-president, and Mrs. Aaron Bamber, secretary.

New Board members are: Emanuel B. Brandes, Dr. Sam Cohen, Mrs. Joseph M. Gass.

Renominated Board members include: Philip A. Cohen, Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Mrs. Mark C. Guder, Harris Ginberg, Emil Gotheim, Clarence Heldman, Walter Hyman, Mrs. Clarence D. Jay, Jeffrey L. Lazarus, Maxwell L. Emanuel S. Marks, Dr. Robert Rothenberg, Lester Rothstein, Harry C. Segal, Miss Bessie S. ton, Randolph Trager, Mrs. Joseph Ullman, Gordon Weil, Myron W.

Ex-officio Board members are Julius Holzberg and Maurice Sievers, president and secretary respectively, United Jewish Social Agencies.

Honorary directors: Alfred B. man, Mrs. E. L. Heinsheimer, Ben Lowenstein, Sidney E. P.

Miss Helen Bottigheimer, headworker.

Yiddish Kultur Farsh

The Yiddish Kultur Farsh will hold a meeting this evening, February 8, at 8:30 P. M. at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Arnold, 40 S. Warwick Apts., 3362 East Road.

A "Total" Program

(Continued from Page 1)

want for the sake of retrieving the true equilibrium of our corporate life, not because nationalism is the "summum bonum" the sole goal of our existence. The Jewish people never idealized nationalism "per se."

Culturally, we are disadvantaged. The shelter of the ghetto is gone and the sharp winds of alien cultures are sweeping over group life and scattering it. The culture of a minority needs the security of isolation—political, economic and religious. Such isolation is no longer possible for the Jewish group even in this mad, tolerant, post-bellum world of ours. Zionism would therefore give to our national culture the security of a home, as well as the richness of a national soil.

But Jewish culture is not just another culture, a replica of the cultures of the peoples of Europe. It differs from them not only in content but in spirit. In a sense it is their challenge and their condemnation. One of the tragic casualties of assimilation has been the surrender of the sovereign inheritance of our unique culture to a simulated identity with other peoples. Our terrestrial Jerusalem is a replica of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Our classic creations of the past were tipped with the fires of a uniquely world-purpose — prophecy . . . Both the Written and the Oral Law were aimed at making Israel "a holy nation"—not just another nation. This is a conception as astounding as it is unique.

Our literature is, in the broadest sense, "religious" literature. It is creative literature, if you will, the championing, in preachment, song, or philosophy of a few vital and transcendent moral and religious ideals.

Perfect Society Is Goal

A Jewish culture which is devoid of its Messianic theme, its ideal passion and its profound spiritual faith, is a delusion and mockery.

Zionism never lost sight of this

quintessential truth. Its roots were always in the Messianic ideal of our people. This ideal in turn, is bound up with the prophetic vision of "aharit hay-yamin"—the ultimate vision of a perfect society. Up to the latter half of the nineteenth century, the restoration movement was entirely and avowedly religious in character. Towards the close of the century, the influence of certain European philosophies of nationalism upon some of the leaders of our movement introduced into Zionism a note of secular nationalism and the pseudo-philosophies of race and culture.

There is not enough of truth or vitality in these concepts of nation, race or secular culture to inspire or to hold a generation of Jews to Jewish loyalty. They are a scant viaticum, hardly sufficient "tsaidah laderek" for so hard a journey. The total Jewish program—the moral idealism, the religious values, the cultural treasures and the national aspirations of Israel—might achieve this miracle.

Opening Saturday

On Saturday, February 9, Mr. Sam LaPedos will formally open a fruit and vegetable market at 3480 Reading Road, opposite the Avondale public school. Mr. LaPedos, who was formerly established in business in Westwood, aims to bring to his store the finest of high-grade vegetables and fruits at amazingly low prices.

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BUREAU NOTES

The following members have been elected to the Board of Trustees of the Bureau of Jewish Education for the forthcoming year:

I. A. Abrohams, Oscar Berman, Max Bernstein, Dr. Samuel Brown, Nelson J. Cohen, Dr. E. Gamoran, Max Hirsch, Jos. Gootman, Morton J. Heldman, Wm. Hirschfeld, Julius Holzberg, A. B. Horowitz, Louis W. Kahn, Jacob W. Mack, David Monnes, Dr. Louis A. Lurie, Mitchell Meyers, Nathan Ransohoff, Adolph Rosenberg, Samuel M. Schmidt, Dr. M. S. Schulzinger, Robert M. Senior, Maurice J. Slevens, Leo Weinberger, Louis Wiesen, Dr. A. M. Wigser, Moses Wilchins, A. B. Wise, Samuel Zussman.

The new officers will be elected from among the Board of Trustees at their next meeting.

Members of the Talmud Torah Committee chosen Sunday are:

Abraham Berman, Morris Dunskey, Dr. E. Gamoran, Albert Goldmann, Joseph Gootman, J. David Jacobs, Nathan Kaplan, Morris Kasir, M. S. Mark, H. Morgenstein, Frank Posner, Sol Richmond, Isador Rosenberg, Samuel M. Schmidt, Samuel Shapiro, Kalman Shneider, Dr. M. S. Schulzinger, Harry E. Touff, Dr. A. M. Wigser, A. B. Wise, Dr. Mendel Zelig.

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Cleveland, Ohio

Editor, Every Friday:
In Accord with Medical Aid Plan

In your issue of January 4 you printed a letter from David Schreiber suggesting that a group of Jewish families organize themselves for the purpose of creating a fund whereby they may all receive medical services as they are needed.

May I say that I am heartily in accord with such a movement and would gladly join in with the efforts of a group here were there to be one organized.

I know that Chicago and, I believe, New York, too, has a few such organized groups. Each member contributes a stipulated sum annually and in return receives all medical service throughout the year.

Eli Strauss.

Takes Issue

Editor, Every Friday:

Even if I were not in accord with the policies of the Jewish Center I would feel it incumbent upon me to respond to your editorial.

I admit the importance of your epistle in as far as it epitomizes the crux of the "Jewish problem." I am not concerned with your patrescent diatribe against the organization, nor with your petty criticism of its director. In my estimation those facets of your editorial are negligible and inconsequential.

For two thousand years Jews have endured persecution, pogroms, massacres and every vilification by the anti-Semite. Has the Jew profited by these excruciating experiences? Your letter answers "No"! It is not enough that the Jew must be persecuted by the anti-Semite—he must also be persecuted by the Jew. Dog hate dog!

The Center is endorsed by men of perspicacity and integrity. I am not criticising your opinion of it.

approval of it is your pre-
do criticize your meth-
man crisis has brought
about a feeling of unity and kin-
ship with our fellow Jews. Must
you employ Nazi means? If you
had come with suggestions for im-
provement, if you had been willing
to assist in the advancement of
such a necessary institution, if you
had desired to co-operate—But sa-
botage! That is an unforgivable
crime.

Until the Jews stop fighting
amongst themselves we can expect
justifiable persecution.

Danessa Bachrach.

No doubt Miss Bachrach has not
read the editorial of which she
speaks. We would reluctantly ac-
cuse her of so far misunderstanding
that which she reads. Had
she read the editorial, she certainly
would have noticed that not only
were there suggestions mentioned
in the item in question but the
fact is also mentioned there that
the Every Friday has co-operated
and offered suggestions to the Cen-
ter on many previous occasions.—
Editor.

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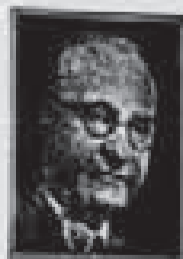
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These Are The Facts

There is absolutely no tax on kosher meat, with the exception of 25c per cattle, killed kosher. This means 25c on about 350-400 pounds of kosher meat. Were it not for the large number of cattle, killed kosher for consumption outside of Cincinnati this income would not be enough for local kosher supervision. This in no way effects the retail price of kosher meat.

The shoachim pay one cent for each chicken, killed kosher. One-third of one cent pays for the actual cost of metal bands placed upon the legs of the chicken, and two-thirds of a cent goes to pay for kosher supervision. The cost of killing a chicken kosher is 2 cents less today than it was 3 years ago.

Nothing of the above income goes towards paying any salaries of the rabbi or teachers in the Yeshivah.



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becomes an adult. Generally speaking it would seem that the later years of high school offer the time when special guidance should be given to youth in cultivating activities which may be carried on through life. One simple method which aids in accomplishing this result is the rule regarding participation in varsity sports in high school and college, restricting the individual to the representation of Alma Mater in the maximum of one or two seasonal sports. If this restriction be combined with the possible stimulus to participate in recreational activities having "carry over" possibilities during off seasons when varsity participation is denied, the results may be highly effective.

Just a word about method in administering guidance. It is my opinion

that the most effective type of guidance is that which is not so labelled. All teachers may well feel a positive responsibility for seizing the many opportunities afforded to guide their pupils in wise choice of activity. Some teachers are naturally more gifted than others in this field of leadership. If there be a guidance department in the school system or a teacher assigned to this particular responsibility, let it be considered that the task of this department or this teacher is not to administer all the guidance that is offered by the school organization but rather to organize all of the combined resources available in the school system to the end that each pupil may receive the best possible assistance in his choice of recreational activities.



"WE ARE GOING TO MOVE FORWARD AS A BODY—"

COURTESY GIRL SCOUTS OF AMERICA

How Youth Faces the New World

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

THE life of young people a decade ago was determined by the war. The life of young people today is being determined by the depression. Those who were twenty or twenty-five years of age ten years ago were influenced by that complex of ideas which the war and its aftermath brought about. Their outlook, attitudes and standards were fashioned in the world's mood which prevailed at that time. The mood was one of release—release from tension, release from danger, release from the discipline of a militarized life under which people lived through the war years. Following the war the world went on an emotional spree.

A decade ago there was a marked note of cynicism in social thought. Men were disillusioned by the outcome of the war and by the peace which followed it. The war aims had been pitched so high for

popular consumption and the actual results were so thoroughly disappointing people felt let down, somehow betrayed. They felt ashamed of their own feeble spiritual exaltation. In compensation they adopted an attitude of hard-boiled realism. They became "hard-boiled." The spirit of "debunking" was in the air.

It was also the era of breath-taking prosperity which was to end so disastrously in the debacle of '29. Everyone was caught up in a flood-tide movement of expansion, speculation, and get-rich-quick enterprises. The number of millionaires was growing from day to day and the successful money-maker was the hero of the hour. Men had unquestioned faith in the great captains of industry and in their oracular pronouncements. They listened to them on all subjects. The universities granted them honorary degrees and they themselves had be-

gun to vote themselves medals for their historic achievements.

The young people of that generation were fashioned by that mood and by that environment. As a result we had what came to be called the "revolt of youth," that emotional release from disciplined ways of thought and conduct. It was the "Jazz Age." Sex, for the first time in our history, became the most popular and accepted topic of drawing-room conversation. Sex license was looked upon as modernism. Cheap talk passed for brilliant conversation and vulgar manners for intellectual emancipation. It was the age when the American people decided to nullify the Prohibition Law, not by repealing it, but by ignoring it. Young people symbolized the nullification attitude by getting drunk and by exulting in their bravado. Our young people felt secure. Their futures were secure. Things were getting bigger and better every day. . . .

The young people of 1935, however, are the children of the depression. They are being influenced by a different kind of world from that of a decade ago. It is a hard world. Fortunes have crumbled. Men have been ruined. Nations have been impoverished. Want, actual want, has come into the homes of many of these young people. Desperate efforts, new and strange devices, are being resorted to in an effort to salvage the economic system which has broken down. Everywhere there is insecurity, fear, struggle, frustration. Men talk of dictatorships, revolution. Young men who are graduates of high schools and colleges are unable to find work and are compelled to see their careers retarded. Their future prospects are gloomy.

The whole nation has been sobered. We no longer feel as though we were embarked upon an uninterrupted eco-

nomie joy-ride, out for a roaring good time. We are no longer cynical. The hard boiled mood, the debunking mood has left us. We are now pathetically reaching out for some vision which will sustain us in these dark days. We have set ourselves as a people to a searching self-analysis and to a study of the whole economic system under which we live. We are no longer worshiping our financial wizards and our captains of industry, because we discovered the clay feet of many of these idols—their knavery, their frauds, and their stupidity. We are reaching out for a new social order—for something more stable, more secure and more decent. We are launched upon great new experiments. Vast transformations are taking place. New conceptions, and new ideals are gaining currency. New types of leaders and new standards of leadership are being evolved. Our young people are being fashioned and determined by this new environment in which they find themselves.

You hear no more today about the "revolt of youth." The "Jazz Age" is at its ragged tail end. The debunking age has petered out. This is not due to the fact that our young people today have become angels. Not at all. They have been sobered. They have been forced down to the bedrock of realities of life.

Whenever I visit schools and colleges in various parts of the country I am told by teachers that their young people are more interested in economics and in the social sciences than before. They are becoming more independent in their thinking. They want to know why these things have come to be, what is the way



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"WE ARE GOING TO WIN
THROUGH AS A TEAM"



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out, and what is the next step. I do not want to imply that young people today are caught up by any crusading zeal for the Kingdom. But that they are more vitally and earnestly concerned with serious economic and political groping and questing is quite clear. Life has driven those problems definitely within their world of primary interests.

Our young people are no longer thinking of soft, comfortable berths, of getting rich quick. They are thinking about getting a job. They do not want to waste their years and their talents. They want a chance to work. They are also beginning to seek some additional forms of compensation in life other than the material. They have sensed that life may deny them these material compensations. They are reaching out for other compensations, for intellectual, aesthetic or spiritual satisfactions, realizing how uncertain and fugitive the material are.

I believe that this generation is a far

better one than the generation of a decade ago. Hard as their lot is, I think that in comparison with the lot of their brothers of ten years ago, theirs is a better and happier one. I believe that ultimately they will come through—if as a nation we come through at all—manlier, sturdier, and finer.

To what may our young people of today look forward? In the first place they can look forward to a world of greater security in which there will probably be less of great private wealth but more general well-being. The standard of living of the favored few is likely to be lowered while that of the masses is likely to be appreciably elevated. The peaks will be leveled off, but many of the dark, deep valleys will be raised. This will do no harm to any one's essential life. Men do not require great wealth for happiness and fulfillment. They require a chance to work, an opportunity for self-expression, decent homes, and a measured security and protection against

the disabilities of old age, sickness, and unemployment. Just because the prospect for great private wealth may not be so great in the future as in the past, it does not follow that the life of young people will be less rich in opportunity. There will always be opportunities for people to excel. There will also be the joy of gratifying work. There will always be room for challenge and competition. Man's social significance will not be impaired in the future, as it has so often in the past, by a monetary evaluation of human worth.

Our young people are entering a world in which there will be much greater leisure than ever before. What will they do with it? Working hours will progressively decrease. The machine will require less and less of man's labor. If our young people will learn to use leisure time purposefully, their lives will be far more beautiful, exciting, and interesting than the lives of people in gen-

ations past. To complete his life, man requires much more than work and an income. He needs friends, books, music, play, travel, contact with all that has been said and created by the aristocracy of the mind and the hand of man throughout the ages. Leisure time, creatively exploited, makes these contacts and experiences possible.

Our young people are entering a world in which there will be far more team work than ever in the past. It is going to be a much more socialized world—a cooperative world in which the individual will have to play according to the rules of the game, one in which the lone wolf, the predatory exploiter, the anti-social omniverous individual will have a very hard time of it.

The new cooperative commonwealth which is coming to be will lay stress not so much upon the private career of the individual or upon personal success as upon his social cooperativeness, his team-work. The ideal presented to our children today should not be that of the Horatio Alger type of hero—the boy who by dint of industry and thrift becomes a rich and successful man—but the ideal of the boy who by the exercise of his best qualities of mind and character becomes a useful and cooperative member of the community, a builder of the new social order.

We are going to move forward as a body. We are going to win through as a team. In a team the individual sub-

jects himself to the purpose and strategy of the whole team for the ultimate victory of all the players.

I look forward to the new world and to the prospects which await young people therein certainly without pessimism. I fully realize how hard it is for our young people at the moment. But the moment will pass. The long-range prospect is that of an exciting world, a world in which there will be tremendous things to do. It will be a hundred years before a new social order is worked out, a hundred years before poverty and war are destroyed. It will be a hundred years before democracy is perfected and firmly established. Every person who has his wits about him will have a chance to work for the coming of such a world, and will find spiritual and intellectual stimulation and satisfaction in the work.

Our world is a good world for young people to live in. It challenges all that is strong and resourceful in man. It is a hard and exacting world but a world fit for strong men and women—the kind of world they really need.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS DEMONSTRATE HOW TO MEET EMERGENCY WITH FIRST AID. TO KEEP FAITH WITH YOUTH ADULTS MUST HELP CHILDREN TO BECOME SELF-SUFFICIENT AND RESOURCEFUL



COURTESY CAMP FIRE GIRLS

Youth and Unemployment

FRANCES PERKINS

Secretary, United States Department of Labor

DURING the early years of the depression the question uppermost in the minds of many people was, "What will be the effect on our children of these years of unemployment and family distress?"

Already we are beginning to find the answer to that question. The children who were 10, 12, or 15 years of age back in the year 1929 are of high school and college age today. What have the past five years done to them? What does the future appear to hold for them? What is their own attitude toward the world in which they live?

If we are to take the word of thousands of these young people themselves, the answer seems to be that many of them face the future with anxious hearts, with baffled minds, and with uncertainty as to their work opportunities.

Youth—if we include young people from 16 to 24 years of age within the meaning of this term—embraces one-sixth of the total population of the United States. The intelligence, courage, and idealism of youth have played an important part in building our Nation. Today, more than ever, we need the optimism, the faith, the enthusiasm, and the dauntless spirit which have always been considered the special attributes of youth to help us overcome our problems and find our way safely into the new world of tomorrow. The challenge which we have to meet is therefore, that of providing not merely some measure of relief or occupation for the young people today but also opportunities for useful endeavor which will enable them to develop the special abilities and capacities of which the world stands in need.

Of the more than 20,000,000 young people of both sexes from 16 to 24 years of age inclusive listed in the 1930 Census, more than 5,000,000 were neither at work nor in school. Nearly half of this group was under 21 years of age. The employed group 16 to 24, inclusive, to-

taled over 11,000,000, some of them being listed as attending school also. Those attending school only in that year totaled over 3,800,000, of whom over 3,500,000 were under 21 years of age.

Between Census years, the only source of information as to nation-wide trends in juvenile employment is in the reports assembled by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor from state and local officials in charge of the issuance of employment certificates to children leaving school to go to work. The majority of these reports relate to children 14 and 15 years of age, but about one-third of the states from which the bureau receives state-wide or partial statistics issue certificates to boys and girls 16 and 17 years of age. These reports show that while there had been an actual increase in child labor in 1929, there was a great decrease in 1930, the year the Census was taken. Young people as well as adults were thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. Each year after 1929 the employment certificate figures indicated a further decline until 1933, when, for the first time there was a slight upturn in the number of employment certificates issued to 16 and 17 year old boys and girls. During 1933 the number issued to 14 and 15 year old children declined still further, especially during the last four months of the year after the NRA codes began to eliminate those under 16 from industrial and mercantile occupations.

The increasing percentage of attendance at high schools and colleges during recent years is proof that many young people went back to school or enrolled for postgraduate courses. The fact that so many of our young people have stayed in school upon arriving at the legal working age, or have returned to school after vain efforts to find a job, is one of the brighter aspects of the experience of the past few years.

There comes a time, however, whether it be completion of grammar school, high

The Rights of the Individual

By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

IT IS quite possible that in the new era organized religion will have to assume the rôle of the sole surviving champion of the rights of the individual.

In the face of the amazing pretensions of the state, religion may have to insist, and religious spokesmen in Nazi Germany have already had to insist, that man possesses certain rights, over which the state, however noble its purposes and however exalted its program, has no power whatsoever. There are sovereign rights which are man's own by virtue of his humanity and not by virtue of his citizenship in any given political group.

It is clear that the new era is being ushered in by way of dictatorships. Whether these are passing or permanent, it is impossible to say. These dictatorships, wherever established, have so far been characterized by their utter ruthlessness. This is true both of capitalistic and of communistic dictatorships. They are equally unscrupulous when they get into action. Both have no compunction whatsoever about trampling upon the prostrate body of human rights. For both, the end justifies the means. Both raise political violence to a principle. In the fury of class struggle the mandates of personal morality and basic human decencies and amenities are entirely lost sight of. We have entered an age of sanctified ruthlessness and exalted cruelty. The Dark Ages could offer no comparable records of mass brutality.

But even more alarming than the toll of victims of dictatorship's physical violence is the tragic roll of victims of its spiritual and intellectual violence. Men are driven into terrified silence. Conformity is prescribed. Men dare not dissent. All opposition, all parties, all dissenting opinion in press, pulpit, classroom, platform, and book is stamped out. The threat of all this to man's spiritual life is clear. It tends to dry up the main-springs of his spiritual creativeness. When man is not allowed to stand alone, to dissent from the majority, to proclaim the truth which has been born in him through his own soul's travail, his spiritual life is destroyed.

The new era may thus burden the Church and synagogue with another task—to save man from the dark, ghastly heresy of sanctified ruthlessness and brutality, to preach anew and with increased fervor the mandates of reasonableness, tolerance, and charity, and to safeguard man's spiritual freedom and autonomy in a world constricted by encompassing walls of dictatorships.

The new era is likely to witness the intensification of racial and national intolerance. Bitter economic distress is leading to national economic isolationism. Each nation is attempting to become economically self-sufficient. Nations are entrenching themselves behind tariff walls and other artificial economic barriers. The world is becoming fractionalized to a degree unknown in the past. The Universal idea which fired the imagination of men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea of a federated world, of an integrated humanity has been pushed out of man's mind by the demands of a blatant, militant, and provincial nationalism. The youth of the world is

THE MISSION of the Church and the Synagogue is to save man from sanctified ruthlessness and brutality and to safeguard his spiritual freedom and autonomy in a world constricted by encompassing walls of dictatorships, says Dr. Silver.

being taught to think not in terms of international solidarity and humanity, but in terms of exclusive, aggressive, and competitive nationalism. In countries like Germany, nationalism is even further restricted to a fantastic race cult, and in its name citizens not

of the majority race are being disfranchised, degraded, humiliated, and the very means of livelihood denied them. Here race idolatry has run riot to a point where all human virtues have been sacrificed to it.

What is required in our day is not super-heated race or national apologetics nor mystic yearning after social or cultural coördination, but a generous and tolerant way of life which will give each race and nationality the opportunity to live its own life, to express its own soul, and to contribute its unique values to the commonality of human life. Our age needs a form of good will which will not only tolerate differences but which will gladly use them for the enrichment of life.

Judaism and Christianity have a message and a mission which overleap national boundaries and race barriers. They speak not to the racial man or the national man, but to the man *qua* man. They speak of truths and values which all men need for their spiritual and moral sustenance and which all men may cherish regardless of their color, their station, or their nationality. Neither Judaism nor Christianity has always been faithful to the universalistic, international implications of their respective teachings. In the new era they will have an historic opportunity to confront the rampant, nationalistic, and racial aberrations of a confused and disintegrated world with their strong, ancient gospel of "One God in Heaven and one humanity on earth."

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Social Work in the Diocese of New York

(Continued from page 582)

they resolved themselves into a Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor they encountered opposition in spite of the fact that Bishop Henry Codman Potter was its friend and sponsor. It is out of this pioneer movement that there has come the social service commission of the diocese and a recognized Department of Christian Social Service within our National Council.

The diocesan commission, organized under a canon adopted in 1911, has from that time had the services of a full-time executive. It has been the function of the commission to provide to the people of the diocese an accurate appraisal of proposed welfare legislation; and through conferences, study groups, and the distribution of literature it has sought to inform the minds and quicken the conscience of Church people with respect to needs and problems which thwart the Father's purpose for the life of our world. It has served to demonstrate that the Church is at least not unmindful of the burdens which life lays upon the underprivileged and that it seeks, as it prays, for a more Christian way of life.

house accommodates 84 beneficiaries. It is a thoroughly modern building, charmingly furnished, with a chapel affording the privileges of the Church to those unable to go out, and a faithful chaplain who ministers to the household. A solarium on the roof and a library, kept up to date, are among the features which make this a contented family.

Trinity Chapel Home on Bussing avenue in the Bronx is a very real home for a small group of aged Churchwomen.

THE DAUGHTERS OF THE KING had its beginning on April 4, 1885 in the Sunday school class of Mrs. Margaret J. Franklin at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in East 74th street (now the Church of the Resurrection). A simple rule of prayer and service was adopted with the object of strengthening the spiritual life especially among women and girls. Other groups were soon formed and these were welded into a National Order. The first national council was held at St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City, in November, 1891. From this small beginning in New York the order has spread through Canada, England, France, and Switzerland, as well as the foreign mission fields of the Episcopal Church. The golden jubilee was celebrated in April, 1935.

The first branch of the Girls' Friendly Society in this country was organized in Lowell, Mass., in 1877. New York was not far behind for in March, 1880, a branch was formed in St. Anne's parish and the second in November, 1880, at St. John's, Waverly Place.

It would be impossible to touch on all the Girls' Friendly Society in New York has done during all these 55 years and it is too well known to need repetition.

In 1885 Mrs. Mortimer Fargo, encouraged by her rector, the Rev. Henry Mottet, of the Church of the Holy Communion, called a meeting at which the Church Periodical Club was organized, with the purpose of providing reading matter for those who could not afford it. And the secondary purpose of expressing a missionary spirit and friendliness by the exchange of letters.

On Mrs. Fargo's death in 1892 Mrs. J. L. Chapin (who had been interested from the beginning) succeeded her, and in that same year the club was incorporated and Mrs. Charles B. Curtis was the first president. Branches were rapidly formed in other dioceses and the organization took a definitely national position at the General Convention in Washington in 1898 when Bishop Talbot presided at the meeting. On the death of Mrs. Chapin, Miss Mary E. Thomas, the present executive secretary, succeeded her. New York may be justly proud of this work, originating here and literally reaching to the uttermost parts of the earth.

ST. FAITH'S HOUSE, Tarrytown, deserves to be more widely known. In 1901 Miss Lena McGhee opened this house for the care, protection, shelter, and training of young unmarried mothers. Here the Church can, and does, minister to her own children (many of whom are here through no fault of their own), unhampered and unhindered. The girls and their babies remain at St. Faith's at least a year, frequently longer, if very young. Mrs. William Usher Parsons is the president and worker-in-charge, and is doing a work the value of which cannot be overestimated. The Rev. Fr. Huntington, founder of the Order of Holy Cross, is chaplain.

From this we naturally come to think of the Church Mission of Help because Fr. Huntington, through his long experience as chaplain of St. Faith's House, and his work at Holy Cross Mission on the East Side, felt tremendously that the Church should do this work.

In 1911 his appeal to Bishop Manning, then rector of Trinity, brought the characteristic instant response, and Bishop Manning called the first meeting of men and women at Trinity rectory, (now the Church Mission of Help headquarters), and started the Church Mission of Help. Men and women have always served on the board, but the preliminary survey and accumulation of facts, which convinced Church people of the need of this work, was done by a devout Churchwoman, Miss Emma L. Adams. She was a trained social worker and became the first secretary. Mrs. John M. Glenn of New York, who is now president of the national organization, was at the first meeting and has been actively interested in the work from its beginning. The Church Mission of Help is now working in 18 dioceses.

THE National Church Club for Women was organized in 1919, "for women in good standing in the Church and loyal to the Constitution of the United States of America, and obedient to the canon laws of the Church." Mrs. Howard Townsend Martin was the first president. She was succeeded after some years by Mrs. Haley Fiske. The present president is Mrs. Samuel Seabury.

The first home of the club was No. 9 Park avenue. In 1922 the club moved to its present charming quarters at 130 East 57th street, where its spacious and homelike lounge on the 17th floor, with unlimited sun and the view over the city, serves as a delightful setting for a great variety of activities.

The club each year sponsors a valuable program of talks, lectures, and classes on subjects vital in the Church's life today. There is a Lenten Sewing Class each year and for five years the members have maintained emergency relief work for a group of women. Rooms are available for members or guests who wish to live there for a brief or longer period.

To the vision and initiative of Miss Agnes Emily Warren and the inspiring leadership of Mrs. Hamilton R. Fairfax, the first president, the Churchwoman's League for Patriotic Service owes its existence. It was organized in April, 1919, to conserve the energies of the women who had proved their ability in war work. Mrs. Henry Gansvoort Sanford is the president of this group of women who are carrying on a program of activities too numerous to be touched on here.

Among other organizations through which women work in New York is the Guild of St. Barnabas for Nurses. This guild has a large opportunity in the diocese of New York.

The Orphans' Home and Asylum on Convent avenue is another old institution which owes its beginning to the Rev. Dr. Tuttle of St. Luke's, Hudson street. In 1851 two little children were left to his care. Unable to place them in either of the existing homes, he started this one. He served on the board until 1859 when the management was transferred to a board of women.

Hope Farm, Dutchess county, for children was founded by Bishop Greer, but he frequently said that without the zeal and indefatigable efforts of Miss Florence Rapallo there would have been no Hope Farm.

The Peabody Home for the Aged; and several houses where all that skill and love and spiritual ministrations can do for the incurably ill is done; the House of the Annunciation, the House of the Holy Comforter, and the Home for Incurables, all have women on the boards and in most of them women have almost the entire management.

In every parish and mission there is at least one guild of faithful women. Their work not only meets pressing parish needs, but also serves others farther away.

THE NEW POSITION OF THE JEW

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

(The following is a transcript of an address delivered by Rabbi Silver at the Brooklyn Jewish Center on Oct. 21, 1935)

It is clear that the western civilization is undergoing today a radical transformation, and with that transformation radical changes are taking place also in the status of the Jew in the western world.

There have been three great movements which were responsible for the making of what we call western European civilization; three world movements which fashioned and determined the conflicts of ideas, standards, affiliations and attitudes which were identified with the term "modern Europe"—western European civilization. These three world movements were the Renaissance, the Reformation and the French Revolution. The contributions of each of these world movements are being challenged today, and in many parts of the world rejected.

The Renaissance was responsible for rediscovering the authority of the individual, as against the authority of traditional convention. The Renaissance enabled man, in the course of time, to discover within himself sources of intellectual sanction quite apart from those ideas which were imposed upon him by tradition. The center of gravity swung back to the individual man to become the criterion, the source of intellectual authority. The Renaissance was responsible for inaugurating that great movement which we call Humanism, which has greatly shifted the center of interest and made human reason and the intellect of man the basis of civilization. The source of authority ultimately created an intellectual judgment in the world.

The French Revolution rediscovered for man his political thought. The State, instead of being an end in itself, became under the purging fires of the revolutionary ideas loosed by the upheaval, the servant of the individual. The State existed in order to enable the individual to fulfill his political destiny in the world instead of being the tool of the State. The State was the servant of man. Man was enthroned.

The Protestant Reformation, which antedated, of course, the French Revolution,

interfered with the religious authority of the individual. Instead of finding religious authority in a sacred book or in a sacred theologic tradition, or in a sacrosanct church, religion had to seek its sanction and its authority in the soul of the individual. In each instance, therefore, from the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and from the French Revolution, the individual emerged triumphant against organized authority and tradition. The scope of the individual was greatly enlarged in our western civilization and became characterized by nothing so much as this fact, that the individual had a vast amount of freedom, intellectual, spiritual and political, which in other days he did not possess.

All these three movements have been challenged in our day; and in some countries their achievements have been destroyed. Other standards, harking back to the pre-Renaissance and pre-Revolution days, have been reinstated.

"We should not underestimate ourselves. We are a very important people in the world economy today, and we should not become panicky. Some of the Aryans have discovered this fear in us and are exploiting it. We cannot be downed, we will not be intimidated. We are going to fight in every part of the world for our just human rights."

Thus, for example, in the case of dictatorships, the authority of the individual to think for himself, and to express his own opinion, the right of what we call the freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, has been denied. Whether it is a dictatorship of the Right or a dictatorship of the Left the individual must take a definite pattern given to him by the party in power or the dictator in power.

All education has been made a tool of the State. Every writer, every journalist becomes a State functionary. Most of the education in these countries and most of the writing are merely party propaganda.

Any slight diversion on the part of the individual from the pattern set by the State is punishable by concentration camps and by death. Minds have again been shackled by the State and the gains of the Revolution are being lost; similarly all the political gains of the French Revolution which have been the gains of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are being lost.

Political independence is no longer being tolerated. The citizen is again the tool of the State, to be used by the State to serve its political purpose. Constitutional guarantees no longer exist. Charters of liberty have been scrapped. What we, in our Declaration of Independence, call the inalienable rights of man—which means the rights which belong to a human being quite apart from the fact that he is a citizen of the State; rights which cannot be taken away from him by any group or any State; inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—these no longer exist in countries such as Germany, Italy or Russia. The State has again taken complete control over the political beliefs of the individual, and in place of religious freedom and religious tolerance which were given to western Europe by the Protestant Reformation ultimately, we have today in some countries definite suppression of religious freedom. In other countries we have attempts on the part of the government to foist a new type of

religion upon the individual. Religious freedom no longer exists. You have a new form of religious intolerance.

Thus, as I have indicated, western Europe is now passing through a radical transformation of its entire civilization, and with it the status of the Jew will suffer serious changes. No one, of course, can foretell what this new civilization will really be like. It is still in the forging process, still on the mould, so to speak. But some of the larger contours and outlines can be seen.

There is going to be a tremendous increase in State concentration, in State corporateness and in State absolutism. The nineteenth century saw a development of individualism in western Europe and the rise of a large middle class, the bourgeoisie class, which did not want the State to meddle too much in the life of the people. The Industrial Revolution which developed so rapidly in the nineteenth century, called into existence a great new class of industrialists, traders, merchants,

(Continued on next Page)

entrepreneurs who wanted to exploit foreign markets in distant colonial possessions. The individual wanted a free hand. The individual wanted to be free from any government control, and so the purely middle class demanded and achieved the minimum of State control. The State kept out of economies.

IN the twentieth century, especially since the world war, the trend is in the other direction. Due to the breakdown of this competitive individualism in economics the State has been called on not merely to care for the victims, but to try to salvage the system. It took control timidly at first, but more definitely and permanently later, so that we are now seeing in all parts of the world unprecedented increase in the powers of the State.

Many departments of our lives, which were heretofore free from political interference on the part of the State, are now chiefly within the supervision and control of the State.

Bolshevism, Fascism, Nazism, quite regardless of what their ultimate objects are, are vitally and firstly dictatorships. They may be on the Right, or, as the Bolsheviks, on the Left, but all these three forms of dictatorships have one end in common; they are all interested, whether for the time being, or for the permanent regime, a maximum State control over all departments.

I remember three years ago when I was in Rome. I had the opportunity of an interview with Mussolini. I had just come from Germany where Hitler had just been made chancellor by Von Hindenburg—if you will recall it came like a thunderbolt—and I had seen another great democracy go under and the beginning of a new State. Among the things which I asked the Duce—in view of this growing State control in many parts of the world—was where does the authority of the State end, and where do the rights of the individual begin? Has the individual any area which is exempt from the interference of the State? Mussolini simply and straightforwardly said: "Beyond the State—Nothing."

Here, as in Russia, they were endeavoring to cultivate a collective significance of human life and were doing it quite deliberately at the expense of the individual.

Now this new State is in a sense much more thorough-going and is much more dangerous than the church

absolutism in the middle ages. The church absolutism was challenged by the secular institutions, by the government, by kings and by feudal laws who viewed the right of the church to this supremacy with disfavor. But today the control of the State is so thorough that there is no recourse for the individual. The church itself is co-ordinated.

The churches in Germany have been struggling desperately to retain something of their independence, but they will eventually be obliged to yield if this regime continues much longer in power.

NOW what does this mean to the Jew? Why do I say that this is likely to affect the status of the Jew? Because State control means the control of the majority within the State, and by that I mean the political majority in the sense that we know it in a democratic country. The State is bound to reflect the points of view, the prejudices, of the majority, and the minority will be at a disadvantage. Such control means majority control, and all minority groups, especially the Jewish minority group, will certainly be at a great disadvantage.

In the nineteenth century, situated as we were, as individual pitted against another individual, the Jew, with no State interference, could hold his own against his neighbor. And he did hold his own. The Jew is a good businessman, a good trader, a good merchant and a good entrepreneur. The result was that in the early part of the twentieth century the Jew gained in most parts of the western world a solid economic position. But now, when the State begins to interfere in economic processes, now that the State begins to say who shall engage in what business, and to what extent, the Jew, or the minority group, will always find itself out in the cold.

In Poland, since the war, the Jews have almost completely been forced out of business, and quite logically, because the State has to serve the interest of the great majority, and the great majority are Poles, not Jews. Therefore when there are positions to be given the State will give them to the members of the majority group.

So now it is not the individual Jew against the individual Christian in a free competitive world, but the individual Jew against highly organized bureaucratic States that makes his economic position extremely difficult.

In the last hundred years, the Jew had counted politically in western European countries because his political rights were not dependent upon the party in power, and, regardless of changes that took place in a government at any given time, his political and spiritual rights were not in danger. He was living under constitutional guarantees. He was recognized as a citizen, and that gave him a sense of security. But under a dictatorship there are no constitutional guarantees, and the Jew is again thrown back upon a condition of defenselessness and helplessness.

If the dictator in power, or the party in power, is friendly toward the Jew, he is unmolested. Such is the case in Italy. Mussolini is not an anti-Semite, and the fifty thousand Jews in Italy are not troubled. If the dictator happens to be poisoned with "Jew-baiting" then the position of the Jew will suffer. All constitutional guarantees have been burned, scrapped, thrown to the winds, and he is dependent, as he was in the past, before the French Revolution, upon the whims and will of an individual, a clique or a party.

THERE is one other factor which is attacking the status of the Jew in the world. Every thoughtful man understands that in the next few generations the bitterest conflict in the world will be a conflict of militant capitalism on the one hand, and militant socialism on the other. Between those forces who want to conserve the center of gravity and those forces who want to change it there will be a bitter struggle, and it will be a struggle to the knelt. Now the Jew will by no means be left between the two. He will be shot at from both sides. Especially will reaction to the extreme right use anti-Semitism as a weapon in its campaign against socialism and communism. This does not mean that the reactionary forces are particularly interested in the Jewish problem. They do not like the Jew, of course, but they are concerned with the larger issue of destroying in the world those ideals of the French Revolution of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, and of reorganizing a system of society which antedated the French Revolution, in which the minority controlled the destinies of the majority; and if they can use anti-Semitism as a means of casting suspicion upon these ideals of the French Revolution, they can tie up the demand

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THE NEW POSITION OF THE JEW

(Continued from Page 6)

of a new economic order of independence.

In their minds there is already resident a hatred and distrust of the Jew inherited from the past. This old game was practiced sixty years ago and more in Germany. Bismarck played it, and if you will read the literature written in Germany at that time, you will be astounded at its similarity in point of view and ideas with the writings of the Nazis in the last seventeen or eighteen years. Bismarck's interest was not to make the lot of the Jew intolerable in Germany; it was to discourage reformation in Germany, and he therefore flooded his country with violent anti-Jewish literature, which the Nazi merely copied.

Reaction uses anti-Semitism. It will use it in the future.

• • •

Militarism, which today is the battle-cry of the Nazis, is also part of the strategy in this war between the Right and Left.

Hitler and his henchmen having deprived the German people of liberty and equality, having destroyed their free institutions, having brought them to the position of tools in the hands of the State—what can he give them in return? The dictator in Russia gave the people a classless society. Hitler could not give them that, because Hitler is there to see that the present economic order remains, so he seizes upon the Aryan idea to raise the destiny of his power. In other words anti-Semitism is being used in an economic war. I want you to know that. I want you to be fully aware that religion is being used today in an economic war as it was used in the middle ages.

I remember reading not long ago a story of a Jewish community of Posen. In 1520 the Jews of Posen had a few stores in the market place which the Christians resented. They petitioned the government to shut down these stores, giving as a reason that some pious Christian passerby might be tempted to buy, and the government was forced to meet their wishes. Thus the Jewish stores were closed because they were in prominent locations. In the middle ages they used religion as an economic weapon, and they are trying it in the modern State. Jewish stores on principal locations are being

closed, and the whole economic position of the Jew in Germany is being destroyed. This being the case, I feel that we Jews have entered a very serious epoch in our history, and that we shall have to begin our fight again for our basic and fundamental human rights. I think this struggle will not be realized tomorrow or next year or five years from now. This is a world movement which will have to run its course. We Jews will have to defend our position, politically, economically and socially in the world. We can do it if we remember a few simple things to do and a few simple things not to do. In the first place I do not want my people to be discouraged at what is happening in the world today because the progress of Jewry in the world has never been a steady one, always a broken one. We have entered what seems to be momentary retrogression, and that retrogression should not discourage us. Rather it should make us more alert and united in our fight of self-defense. I think we should fight better for our positions in the world in the first place if we become realists, if we stop being alarmists, if we face facts as they are, if we do not over-estimate or under-estimate. Wishful thinking has been one of the curses of Jewish life. We must not permit ourselves to fall into the frame of mind that the whole world is against us. The whole world is not against us. We must not permit ourselves to think that we have no friends. We have friends, many of them, and we have enemies, many of them, and powerful ones. But do not magnify little, inconsequential things concerning religion and make them tremendously important facts.

In the second place we will fight better in the world if we learn how to organize. Why should we be judged by our political position in the world? Among the American people you have Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists. You have every difference of political opinion. You have group interest combatting individual interest. We are not a religious sect. We are a people and should be judged as such.

We must learn to organize not merely among ourselves, but with other peoples. We are not the only minority group that is suffering in the world. There are other groups that are immi-

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mentally in danger. We must discover them and unite with them for the common gain. They are our allies. In other words, we have to find some new diplomacy. We will fight better for our rights if we stop talking about ourselves as a weak people, as a little people, as a down-trodden people. You are not weak, you are strong. A little, weak people could not have survived two thousand years of persecution. We would have gone off the pages of history centuries ago.

We should not under-estimate ourselves. We are a very important people in the world economy today, and we should not become panicky. Some of the Aryans have discovered this fear in us and are exploiting it. If you, Jews, do not overcome this, you may suffer what the Jews in Spain suffered in 1492. If you do not allow them to exploit our "timidity" a timidity which is growing among sections of our people, they will stop exploiting it. We cannot be downed, we will not be intimidated. We are going to fight in every part of the world for our just human rights.

Jews have been expelled from Germany before, lived in ghettos before, and the ghetto walls collapsed. The Jew is not going to give up one of his strongholds because Hitler, Goering and Goebels do not like the Jew. We will not always be fighting as we are fighting today—with our backs to the wall—if we have our own home to go to. That is why Palestine has become the most vital factor in the whole situation. The very fact that we have a homeland will give us courage and strength to fight. That is why it is so important to make Palestine as prosperous and strong as it possibly can be.

I remember reading a book written about fifteen or twenty years ago, in which the author made this categorical statement: "From now on no western European nation will ever pass a law discriminating against any group of its citizens on the basis of their religion or on the basis of their race. This is not conceivable."

What is inconceivable is most conceivable in Jewish history. Jewish history has a logic of its own.

Dr. Theodore Herzl wanted to summon the first Zionist Congress in 1897. He decided to hold it in Munich, a city with a large Jewish community. The German Jews, however, did not want the Congress to meet in

Munich. Germany was their fatherland, and Berlin their Jerusalem. The meeting was not held in Munich. Herzl had to move it to Basle. But the Jews in the Munich of 1937 are very thankful that there is a Zionist movement.

* * *

What therefore is required in view of these great changes that are coming over the world? It is for us, Jews, to save our hopes, soothe our hearts, and approach the problems, one by one, clearly, thoughtfully, without prejudices, without shame and effectively. We should resist anti-Semitism as vicious contumely. We must live as a distinct group. We must understand that a certain degree of affliction will always exist. Insecurity brings out the strength in us. Today we are in a period of upset. We should prepare ourselves for the future. We will not make the same mistakes made by our brothers in Germany.

I told a story to the Hadassah of Jewish women in New York, and I will tell it to you:

When I was in Germany in 1933 and saw Hitler made chancellor by Von Hindenburg, I was stunned by the sense of overhanging gloom. I started for the synagogue and was there during the services. A little boy came up to the pulpit. It was his bar-mitzvah. He began to read the *maftir*, the same *maftir* that many years ago I read when I was bar-mitzvah. It was the last chapter of Isaiah, and as I sat there these words came clearly through the synagogue out of the mouth of this little boy; and they came to me like a refreshing wind: "For us the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain."

That is the expression of the indomitable will of Israel to be. As long as we are strong in our loyalty and in our devotion to the basic fundamentals of Jewry, as long as we maintain our high standards of life, as long as we maintain the identity of the Jewish home and Jewish family life, as long as we maintain our institutions, our synagogues, our schools, so long shall we be an indestructible people and no Hitler in the world can menace us.

Hitler and his regime are three years old. We are 3,000 years old.

CLUB CALENDAR

All children of Center members are eligible for membership in these groups and are cordially invited to join in their activities:

The Maccabees. Consists of boys 11 to 15 years of age. Meets on Saturday evenings at 7:30. Mr. Jackson Goldstein, Leader.

Girls Group. Consists of girls 13 and 14 years of age. Meetings are held on Saturday evenings at 7:30. Mrs. Bernhardt, leader.

Girl Scout Troop. Meetings are held every Wednesday evening. Miss Lilian Cantor, Scoutmaster.

Boy Scout Troop. Now being re-organized. Date of first meeting will be announced shortly.

Boys and Girls Intermediate Group Consists of boys between the ages of 16 and 18 and girls 15 to 17 years of age. Regular meetings are held on first and third Saturday evenings at 8:30 o'clock.

Junior League. Membership open to girls 17 to 20 years of age and boys between the ages of 18 and 21. Dates of future meetings will be announced at a later date.

JEWISH IMMORTALS IN FOOTBALL

(Continued from Page 11)

Weinstock of Pitt, at present playing with the professional Philadelphia Eagles, and Dave Smukler, junior at Temple, were widely mentioned for the honors. Pitt several years ago also boasted of another fine Jewish gridder—Paul Rader.

Princeton still cherishes the name of Jake Slagle, who six years ago used to tear enemy lines apart. At Colgate they still tell stories of Julius (Indian) Yablock, who many term one of the finest defensive backs of all time. "Yabloy" was a Boy's High player whom Andy Kerr saw great possibilities in and seized. Yablock incidentally is this season coaching St. Francis College, a Jesuit school in Brooklyn, where his star is also a Jew—Izzy Friesenthal.

Catholic University of Washington turned out a fine gridder in Milt Gross, while George Washington University was enjoying the antics of Ted Isaacson. At Rutgers, another Brooklyn boy, Jack Grossman, impressed some as being one of the best players the school ever had. Grossman is now playing for the Brooklyn Dodgers, professional team, which is making a determined bid to win the National League title.

The pros have not been attracted by the Jews, except in several cases, notably Friedman, Newman, Grossman and Weinstock. Isaacson is now with the Chicago Cardinals, and "Buckets" Goldberg with Green Bay.

Rutgers has also boasted of Tex Rosen, while only last year Syracuse had twin stars in Walter and Milt Singer. Walt has had a try at the pro game with the New York Giants, for whom Friedman and Newman played.

West Point, since it is a government school, is prone to show little racial discrimination. Lazer, a few years ago and Carl Goldenberg today, are two Army aces. Columbia was quarterbacked by Harry Kaplan, while Dartmouth still remembers Phil Glazer, All-America lineman, and Guy Bromberg, a guard. In the same territory, Colgate hears much of Samuels.

Among two smaller institutions, Milt Socolow, a Brooklyn athlete by way of Manual Training High School, made good at Lafayette, while Capt. Snokey Kobrowsky is said by his Trinity College coach in Hartford to be deserving of All-America mention. He won't get it because he is playing for a small team.

In New York City, N. Y. U. and City College have naturally been abundant in Jewish material. Fordham, too, has one or two Jewish players this season. Captain Nat Machlowitz, at N. Y. U., is probably the finest Jewish ball-carrier in the country today, an opinion based on experts' judgments that he is the best ball-toter in the city, which, including as it does, Al Barabas of Columbia Rose Bowl fame, means much.

Charlie Siegel of the same school is another fine player, while Abe Scheur, nee Itzkowitz, made his mark as an outstanding lineman. Irwin "Red" Klein and Perry Geffen, also of the Violets, take rank with outstanding Jewish players at the Hall of Fame school.

City College in the past has had good players. Goldhammer and Dubinsky are probably the best in recent years. Brooklyn College had one back, Sid Glickman, who at another school might have attained prominence.

Another player who achieved almost as much fame as a boxer—he was intercollegiate champion—is Bernie Kaplan of Western University. Dave Umansky, former Jefferson High back, is now a star at the University of Richmond. Dotted here and there can be found a host of other stars, each of whom is contributing a great deal towards eliminating an impression that a Jew cannot be a good football player because he lacks "guts."

A MARXIST ANSWER

(Continued from Page 8)

Wise certainly does not know whether the mass of American Jewry is not behind the statement in question. The mass of American Jewry is behind any statement that might help the enslaved Jews in Germany, or that will serve as a reply to an allegation that has been twisted into a criminal accusation.

The proposition to all normally minded persons is a simple one: the Nazis claim Marxism was ruining their land and Marxists are Jews; therefore Jews must be liquidated. It won't alter Nazi policy to prove that Marxism is not Jewish. But for the world it is necessary to knock this prop from under the Nazi platform. It is also equally necessary to remove this prop from the platforms of such fascist and anti-Semitic groups as may be found in this country.

Brooklyn Jewish Center Review

CENTER DRAMATIC GROUP TO HOLD SEASON'S FIRST MEETING
NOVEMBER 21st

The Center Players will hold their first meeting for the Season on Thursday evening, November 21st at 8:30 o'clock.

Mr. Phil Gross, well known dramatic director will be present to outline the work for the group during the current season.

Center members who are interested in any phase of amateur drama, are cordially invited to attend this meeting.

JAMES WATERMAN WISE
FORUM SPEAKER NOV. 18th

The speaker at our weekly Forum on Monday evening, November 18th at 8:15 o'clock will be Mr. James Waterman Wise, author, editor and lecturer. The subject of his address will be: "Does America Need Fascism?"

Mr. Wise, who is the son of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, is a forceful speaker and a brilliant and independent personality. He is the author of a number of interesting books and until recently he was the Editor of the monthly publication "Opinion".

Admission to the lecture will be free to Center members upon presentation of their 1935 membership cards. To all others a charge of twenty-five cents will be made.

COMING SOCIAL AFFAIRS
of the Center

Nov. 27th—Wednesday evening seven o'clock to midnight. Thanksgiving Dinner - Dance. Reservations now accepted at \$1.50 per person.

Dec. 24th—Tuesday evening at 8:30 o'clock. Membership Social Meeting. Special Chanukah program of entertainment. Admission free. Center members only.

Dec. 31st — Tuesday evening. New Year's Eve Revel. Dinner de Luxe—Dancing and Entertainment. Subscription \$5 per person.

German forests and who has been in the German picture for over two thousand years is suddenly declared to be a stranger in Germany,—an alien within his own gates. And who declares him to be a stranger? The swarthy Adolf Hitler,—who became a German citizen by a trick, only five years ago; his deputy, Rudolf

Hess,—who was born and reared in Egypt; his Minister of Agriculture Darre,—who was born and reared in the Argentine; and his philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg,—who was born and reared in Baltic Russia, of Baltic Russian parents.

Who is the stranger in Germany?

"TRANSVALUATING JEWISH VALUES"

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Paragraph 5 of the Declaration of Principles of Reform Judaism which was adopted by the Pittsburg Rabbinical Conference in 1885 reads as follows: "We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."

This declaration is noteworthy in that it was the first of its kind ever made by an assembly of Jewish religious leaders, lay or cleric. No similarly constituted conference anywhere in the whole history of Israel up to that time declared categorically: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community."

The early Reform Rabbis of America were certainly more eager to formulate Principles and Declarations than were their confreres in Germany. They did not shrink from dogmatic pronouncements, nor did the old adage of Erasmus—*omnis definitio periculosa est*—discourage them. The fact that they had to reckon with far fewer restraints in the New World, traditional or institutional, and with an inchoate Jewish community and a minimum of local Jewish history, undoubtedly gave wing to their spacious and care-free theologic depositions. What impresses one, however, is the fact that it was in the United States, of all countries, where such a declaration on the subject of Jewish nationalism as one finds in the Pittsburgh platform was made, one cannot account for it except on the basis of its being an importation, an exotic plant brought to these shores by immigrant Rabbis from Germany and transplanted here without any particular reference to soil or climate. For there was nothing in the American Jewish scene in the Eighties that made such a declaration urgent or significant. There was no political pressure from without, no need to placate organized anti-Semitic forces, and no

necessity to purchase political equality through any public renunciation of earlier ways of life and thought. Nor was there visible any strong nationalist movements among the American Jews of those days.

Anti-nationalist tendencies among German Jews were most marked because German anti-Semitism was virulent and uncompromising, and German nationalism, following the War of Liberation, intense and oppressive. The opposition to the political emancipation of the Jews in Germany was bitter and relentless throughout the nineteenth century, continuing into the twentieth and achieving a complete victory under the Nazi regime in our day. Rising like a miasma from the poisoned soil of the Dark Ages, Jew hatred has swept uninterruptedly like a pestilential plague through German life and literature, infesting masses and classes alike, poisoning the hearts and minds of liberals as well as reactionaries, of poets, philosophers, statesmen, historians, musicians and churchmen. The venomous anti-Jewish Nazi propaganda literature of the last fifteen years drew its inspiration program and slogans from the prolific school of Jewbaiting preachers, pundits and pamphleteers of the Bismarkian era, and they, in turn, derived their leading ideas from their precursors in the post-Napoleonic era, whose mentor and model was the liberal, anti-clerical philosopher Fichte whose attitude is summed up in his statement: "The only way I see by which civic rights can be conceded to them is to cut off all their heads in one night and set new ones on their shoulders, which shall contain not a single Jewish idea. The only means of protecting ourselves against them is to conquer their promised land and send them there." The Nazi cry "Juda Verrecke" is the authentic echo of the "Hep, Hep", cry shouted by frenzied mobs in the streets of Frankfort and Hamburg a century and more ago. There is an unbroken line of ideologically formulated, metaphysically sanctioned and artistically embellished Judacophobia in Germany, centuries old, unmatched anywhere else in the world. It was in such a milieu that the Jews of Germany

struggled for their civil and political rights. If, therefore, Jewish lay and religious leaders attempted to throw overboard all the racial and national baggage of Israel in the fond hope of calming this sea of hate, if they believed that they could exorcise anti-Semitism by professions of patriotism, and in an age of "crescendo" nationalism, they could solve the Jewish problem by a corresponding "diminuendo" of Jewish nationalism, one can understand their problem and forgive their blindness.

German Jewry might have been sobered in the Seventies when the great reaction set in and anti-Semitism flared up again. Treitschke, Bernhardt, Stecker, Duerer, Marr, Mole—all the fore-runners of the present-day Nazis—told them exactly how the German people felt about the Jews and why and what the German people would do to them when the hour of decision arrived. But the German Jews continued in their ineluctable optative mood, confident as was Rabbi Auerbach at the Rabbinical Conference of Frankfort, that: "In our day the ideals of justice and the brotherhood of men have been so strengthened through the laws and institutions of modern states, that they can never again be shattered. We are witnessing an ever nearer approach of the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth through the strivings of mankind (quoted from Philipson's 'The Reform Movement in Judaism,' p. 178.) This was uttered in Frankfort in 1845. Frankfort of 1935 is, of course, a sad and discouraging refutation of all this apocalyptic romancing in which German Jewry immersed itself in those days. The catastrophe of 1933 broke the back of assimilation in Germany. The whole improvised philosophy of Jewish history which is expressed in the doctrine that we are not a nation but a religious community has proved bankrupt and has been liquidated in the very home of its origin.

It would have been far better for the Jews of Germany if they had kept alive a stronger national self-consciousness. They would then have faced the Nazi attack as a clash between national groups within a political state—something quite common in Central and Eastern Europe, and their defeat they would have regarded as a political defeat and not as the loss of their entire patrimony, as a banishment from their one and only cultural and spiritual home.

How confidently Ludwig Geiger of Berlin proclaimed thirty years ago: "Any desire to form together with his coreligionists a people outside of Germany is, not to speak of its impracticability, downright thanklessness toward the nation in whose midst he lives—a chimera; for the German Jew is a German in his national peculiarities (sic!) and Zion is for him the land only of the past, not of the future. (Quoted in J. E. Vol. XIII, p. 673.) Thirty years later,

Germans whose "national peculiarities" were all German, were fleeing from Germany and finding refuge by the thousands in the land which was never the land of their past but which very definitely must now become the land of their future. The Munich community which forced the transfer of the first Zionist Congress, scheduled to be held there, to Basel, is now grateful that some of its sons and daughters are finding a haven and a new hope in the land which those "unpatriotic" Zionists had built...

They were all too dogmatic, these Geigers and Maybaums and Vogelsteins! It is well to spin philosophies of Jewish history. It is dangerous to ignore the realities of Jewish experience. The timeliness and convenience of a given theory of Jewish life are not the only tests of its validity. It must be viewed against the background of the accumulated historical experiences of our people, tested as it were, in the crucible of the ages. Certainly, the hope that such a theory might be approved by our enemies gives it no sanction whatsoever; for our enemies can rationalize their hates quite as rapidly as we can rationalize our hopes, and they have never been known to relent because of any sweet and appetizing definition of Jewish life which we offered them.

Ever since the first dispersion of our people in the sixth century, before the Common Era, and the subsequent voluntary and involuntary migrations which by the beginning of the Common Era saw the Jewish diaspora extend from the Gates of India to the Pillars of Hercules and from the Caucasus to Ethiopia, and their further diffusion throughout Europe in the twenty centuries which followed, up to the present-day world-wide diaspora, Jews have faced the two-fold task of adjusting themselves to their given political and cultural environments and at the same time of remaining loyal to themselves as Jews. Because of this two-fold responsibility there was always an element of stress, tension, and conflict in Jewish life in the diaspora. There always will be. Human history is replete with the clash and conflict of nations, races, peoples, religions and classes. The Jewish nation had its full quota of these conflicts when it was a political nation in Palestine. It certainly could not escape them as a non-political and scattered nation in the diaspora. Those who could not stand the strain of Jewish existence disappeared. Myriads of such Jews were lost to us. Many others were forcibly assimilated. Those who cannot endure the pressure of Jewish life today, will also disappear—if they can. The newer racial anti-Semitism of the Nazi type is making such desertion extremely difficult. It is impossible to propound any formula for Jewish survival in the diaspora—if we really mean survival—free from a measure of stress and conflict.

In our history we never had a uniform plan or formula for survival. Such a formula, if it is to be something more than academic, must take into account not only the shifting interests and needs of the Jews themselves but also the varied and changing political and economic milieu in which Jewish groups find themselves. A formula which would be valid for Jewish communities living in an empire like that of ancient Persia, Greece or Rome which embraced numerous nationalities and allowed them full national autonomy short of political independence would not meet the situation of a Jewish community living in a closely-knit, uni-cultural, national state like modern France, Germany, or Italy, and a formula valid for these countries would not be adequate for a multi-national state like Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Russia. A Jewish community living in the midst of a people whose cultural niveau was far inferior to its own, would face altogether different problems of adjustment than one living in the midst of a superior culture.

But there was always the will to survive! not in all sections of our people, to be sure, nor at all times, but certainly in sufficiently large sections of our people at all times to have enabled Israel to survive to this day. And at all times, this will to survive, this basic loyalty to their corporate existence and to the substantial elements of their total heritage, projected the necessary strategy, the adequate technique for survival. This strategy was dictated not by any abstract speculation or by apologetics but by the life-hunger of the race, the indefeasible will to live, the compelling sense of destiny. The source of inspiration was always within, rising from the profound hidden depths of the racial, the instinctive, the primordial.

So great was this desire not to die as a people, that when it found its life besieged and threatened, it threw additional bulwarks around its security and raised stronger walls of defense. It did not hesitate to impose upon itself in the centuries following the second Destruction, a code of discipline which was far more rigorous than any military discipline, and which effectively safeguarded the individuality of the people and secured it against disintegration. The people, as a whole, never relaxed its vigilance. It never whittled down its requirements or its survival program to appease enemies or detractors. It never countenanced a minimal program to satisfy others. It always insisted upon a maximum program to protect its own life.

Some of the great ideals of Jewish life were evolved in response to the nation's vital needs of survival. This is particularly true of the so-called mission idea. There is nothing of the mission idea among the prophets who preached before the Babylonian exile. It is a product of

post-exilic times and received its classic formulation at the hands of the anonymous author or authors of Isaiah 40-66 (plus 34-35!) who, living during the Babylonian captivity as some maintain, or in the latter half of the Persian period as Torrey and others maintain, preached to a far-flung diaspora of the new opportunity and challenge which has come to Israel because of its dispersion to convert the whole world to the worship of the One True God, thus making Judaism the first "missionary" religion of mankind.

The pre-exile prophets, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and the prophets of the transition era, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, know nothing of any historic mandate upon Israel to convert the world. The idea of mission did not enter into Jewish religious thought until almost a thousand years after the Jews had settled in Palestine and, in all probability, would never have made its appearance if the people had not been exiled.

The source of the mission idea must be looked for in the fact of the Dispersion and not in any automatic spiritual development of prophetic Judaism. It was evolved, consciously or unconsciously, in response to a desperate national emergency, out of the indomitable will to live of the race, as a means of strengthening the morale of the scattered hosts of Israel and of giving meaning and dignity to their exile and their vast tribulations. It was a noble compensatory ideal, warranted by the fact that Israel did possess a religious outlook which far transcended that of the heathen, and a moral code of superior excellence. Israel knew itself to be a great people because of the spiritual heights to which it had attained in its religious and ethical development. This achievement made it contemptuous of the superstitions and idolatries of the world about it. But politically it was a small, scattered and defeated people—a "worm" among the nations, despised and condemned. Wherein shall this proud but defeated people, of which only a miserable remnant now remained in the waste and desolate places of Judea, whilst its hosts were captives and exiles in foreign lands now find that indemnifying conception of destiny which would take the edge of their defeat, sweeten the bitterness of exile, and restore confidence to those utterly cast down? The answer was soon forthcoming—the cup of comfort to the parched lips:

"I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and have taken hold of thy hand, and kept thee and set thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nation; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." (Is. 42:6-7.)

Note that this ideal of the mission is not a denial, a revision or a substitution for any other

concept heretofore held basic in Jewish thought but only a supplement, an addition, another bulwark for national security. It does not supplant nationalism. It re-enforces it. It does not look upon the dispersion as a blessing. It confronts it as a tragic fact which, however, must not be permitted to endanger the survival of Israel. It does not assume that the Jew must remain in exile in order that Yahweh may become the God of all the nations. It does not proclaim that Israel is no longer a nation but only a religious community, whose sole *raison d'être* is the conversion of the Gentiles. It does not divorce religion from nationalism. The prophecies of Second Isaiah ring with the recurrent refrain of Israel's approaching restoration of Palestine. And when the prophets speak of Restoration they are not thinking of "the colonization of Palestine as a philanthropic effort deserving of general support" (a concession made to Palestine even by anti-Zionist Reform Rabbis), but of the rebuilding of the political life and home of the Jewish nation.

Any one, therefore, who attempts to exploit the historic mission idea of Israel as an argument against Jewish nationalism or against the rebuilding of Palestine or in justification of the Galut is guilty of gross distortion of an idea which is very clearly and unambiguously defined in its original sources. The prophets did not believe that the Jews should continue to live in exile, nor that they should welcome the Dispersion as a blessing for the sake of their mission. They did not say that the Jews were exiled *in order* that they might become God's witnesses to the Gentiles. They exhorted the Jews in exile to find strength in defeat. They sought to sustain them by the thought that though they had been driven into exile their significance in the economy of the world was not at an end. On the contrary, they now had the glorious opportunity, through the example of their steadfastness to Yahweh, and through the moral tone of their lives, to acquaint the whole heathen world with their great spiritual heritage—the true knowledge of God, and the nobility of His worship.

Nation, race, land, language were always vital and indispensable concepts in Jewish life, indissolubly associated of course with religion. It was never a case of one or the other. They were all one, organically, united. There were times when one or the other had to be stressed. Whenever one of these factors or survival was threatened, the strong instinct of the people rallied to its defense. Hence in our history we find eras of accentuation of one or another of these several concepts and eras of attenuation. But never was any one of them abandoned—until the time of the Reform Rabbis of Germany which is, of course, a very recent and seemingly a rapidly vanishing phenomenon.

There is striking similarity to be seen between the Ethereotic position taken by Paul and that taken by the extreme leaders of Reform Judaism; and had these men been as consistent as Paul, and had they translated their loquacity about the mission of Israel into a real missionary propaganda as did Paul and his followers, the logic of events would also have brought about the secession of their group from Jewish life. For they, too, were denationalized Jews. They, too, conceived of Israel as "a candle which lights others and consumes itself." They, too, tried to erect Jewish life upon the slender, sagging stilts of a few theologic abstractions. They, too, felt the Law to be a burden. They focused their anti-nomistic odium on the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch. The Bible they spared, for after all the Bible was sacred also to Christians. . . . But those laws of the Bible, against which Paul inveighed—circumcision, Sabbath observance and dietary laws—came under their obloquy also. The use of the Hebrew language in public worship, they maintained, was not only unnecessary from a legal point of view but from any other point of view. (Frankfort Conference). They, too, believed that the world was on the threshold of great new beginnings, bewitched by the hope of "maranatha." To them, too, as to the apocalyptic visionaries of the First Century, the Kingdom of God was just around the corner. . . . Listen to the words of Article 5 of the Pittsburgh Declaration which echoed similar sentiments among Reformers everywhere: "We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of truth, justice, and peace among all men" They, too, converted the national Messianic hope of Israel into a Pauline apocalypse. A Messianic hope not bound up with the restoration of Israel to Palestine is simply not found in Jewish religious literature anywhere from the time of the Second Isaiah to our own day, except, of course, in the writings of these Reformers and some of the Hellenistic apocalyptic writers who through allegory and other devices attempted to universalize the teachings of Judaism found in the Torah so as to impress the non-Jewish world with the excellency of the Jewish faith, and who converted the Jewish national Messiah into an "incarnation of a divine power who should judge men at the end of days." National restoration was the very heart of the Messianic ideal from its very inception. To substitute for this national ideal an anti-national, purely transcendental, nebulous "Messianic Age," on the plea of religious evolution, is to be guilty not of revision but of distortion. It is both new and counterfeit.

Fortunately the view of these men did not pre-

vail. They were quickly challenged. The masses of Jewry recoiled from them. The facts of life soon dissipated the fumes of their universalistic romancing. They have now been completely liquidated in the very land of their nativity. The United States, because of its peculiar political and social configuration, for a time gave scope to those ideas and they were received with considerable favor among certain classes of our people, particularly among our German-Jewish immigrants. But they are being rapidly abandoned.

It is idle, of course, to talk of our people as no longer a nation but a religious community, in the face of the fact that millions of Jews are today recognized by the law of nations as national minorities in Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, millions more recognized as a distinct nationality in Soviet Russia, where an autonomous Jewish region is actually being built and hundreds of thousands in Palestine where a Jewish homeland is being created under the terms of a mandate of the League of Nations which recognizes not only the national existence of the Jewish people but its historic claim to a national home. It is not only idle to repeat the religious community shibboleth of the early Reformers in our day but also quite fantastic and ridiculous.

It should be borne in mind, also, that nationalism is sometimes forced upon the Jew, even when he does not particularly crave it. In the struggle, for example, between the numerous nationalities in Eastern and Central Europe, each clamoring for self-determination, the Jews, living in their midst, have to take sides or declare themselves to be an independent nationality. It was a case of accepting the cultures of Ruthenians, Croations, Slovaks and of other nationality groups which were far inferior to their own or of asserting their own. No Jewish group was as completely denationalized as were the Jewish communists of Russia. They were anti-religious, anti-Zionist, anti-Hebraist. Their sole allegiance was to the proletarian class. And yet, with the triumph of Bolshevism, these very Jewish communists have been forced by the logic of events not only to carry on as members of a Jewish national Soviet Russia but to undertake the building of a separate Jewish Republic in Siberia. One cannot, therefore, in the face of these political realities in Jewish life today, maintain the theologic fiction that the Jews are only a religious community.

And what of the myriads of our people who are non-religious or anti-religious, who can accept neither the theology of Judaism nor its code of religious observances, Orthodox Reform, and who are yet very loyal and active Jews! Is there no room for them in the household of Israel? There would not be, if we regarded Israel as a "religious community" exclusively.

But being a nation, and not a religious community, there is room in Israel for all Jews, except for those who do not wish to be Jews and who declare "We have no portion or inheritance in our father's house" . . . And these are being tragically reminded in some parts of the world that even though they forsake their inheritance in their father's house, they will not find their portion or inheritance anywhere else in the world.

Should we not rather regard it as providential that in these days when formal religion is losing its hold upon great numbers of our people and when this loss threatens to undermine our existence as a people, that the national and racial sentiment has been rekindled among many of our people so that they wish to remain Jews and to link up their destiny with the destiny of Israel in some if not all of the spheres of its creative life?

The Jewish people produced the Jewish religion, but people and religion are not synonymous terms. The Jewish religion is a colossal and world-revolutionizing concourse of spiritual ideas unfolding themselves in the life of a people of a particular character and temperament. But the Jewish religion does not exhaust the full content of the Jewish people. In relation to its religion, Israel is both imminent and transcendent as is every great artist in relation to the creation of his genius. Judah Halevi declared: "If there had been no Jews there would have been no Torah, and the Jews did not derive their high estate from Moses, but Moses derived his high estate from the Jews."

The Jewish religion is the noblest creation of our people and our supreme gift to civilization. It possesses such vast reservoirs of spiritual truth that it has been able to sustain and inspire generations upon generations of our people and retain their sacrificial loyalty under all circumstances and upon all levels of culture. It thus became the strongest factor in the survival of our people, the enduring tie. It is doubtful whether the Jewish people can long survive in the diaspora without it—unless the other survival factors are reinforced to a degree which will compensate such a major loss. Jewish secular cultural autonomy may be possible in countries where the Jewish groups achieve minority rights. In such countries the Jewish group may survive even if divorced from strong religious loyalties. This is possible, though not probable. But in countries where minority rights are not possible, where there exists no active anti-Semitism which forces the Jew back upon himself, the task of Jewish survival will become increasingly difficult as religion loses its influence upon Jews and therewith also its power of national conservation. Those religious leaders, therefore, who are today teaching the religion of Israel to their people, are not only leading them to fountains

of living truth which can sweeten and refresh their individual lives, but are also conserving the most potent force which throughout the ages has sheltered and preserved the Jewish people.

But they should not substitute a part for the whole—even if it is the major part. Havelock Ellis, in his introduction to J. K. Huysman's "A Rebours," makes the interesting observation that the essential distinction between the classic and the decadent in art and literature is to be found in the fact that in the classics the parts are subordinated to the whole, whereas in the decadent, the whole is subordinated in the parts. The classic strives after those virtues which the whole may best express; the later manner "the decadent depreciates the importance of the whole for the benefit of its parts, and strives after the virtue of individualism."

Jewish life also possessed in its great epochs this classic balance, and the aim of religious

leaders today should be to restore it. Many tributaries flow into the historic channel of Jewish life. In recent years some zealous and mostly uninformed partisans have attempted to reduce Judaism to what is only a fraction of itself—to race or nationalism or folkways or theologic abstractions. Quite unconsciously they are falsifying Judaism. It is a mark of decadence in the diaspora that so many of our people have lost the sense of the classic harmony in Jewish life and are attempting to substitute a part for the whole.

It is the *total* program of Jewish life and destiny which the religious leaders of our people should stress today—the religious and moral values, the universal concepts, the mandate of mission, as well as the Jewish people itself and all its national aspirations. Thus the strength and security of our life will be retrieved, and whether in Palestine or in the diaspora, we shall move forward unafraid upon the road of our destiny.

●

THE MESSENGER

Messenger, I hear thy feet
Above the turmoil of the street;

I recognize thee from afar
In thy shining avatar.

To us who seek, to us who grope,
Come and say there still is hope;

To us who waver and who stray,
Come and say there is a way.

We know no longer false from true,
We raze old shrines, and build no new.

Forgotten are all the hymns we sang,
We chat with the gods in a jargon of slang.

A fata-morgana we took for a goal;
So come and light with faith our soul,

And show us the way the clouds to cleave—
How quering soul may live and believe.

PHILIP M. RASKIN.

despotism: the despotism of the proletariat, which was successful in Russia, or the despotism of big business backed up by the veterans of the World War, which won out in Italy and Germany.

We can pass all the laws needed to make a utopia. We can set up iron-clad constitutions protecting the machinery of a democracy, but unless we have an intelligent people to make it function, the result will be despotism of one sort or another. Many of the South and Central American Republics have constitutions modeled after ours, and laws which parallel those of the United States very closely; yet in only one or two of these countries (located in temperate zones) have we seen anything like the operation of a government based upon the will of the people. Everywhere else are dictatorships, despotisms, either military or political.

Coming back to H. G. Wells. When someone, not long ago, referred to his statement about the fate of civilization, he commented sadly that it was still true, but that education had not yet started. In some countries, so-called education is moving backward. Instead of being enlightened, the young people in five or six of the greatest countries of the world are being poisoned with propaganda which it will take years to counteract. It would have been had enough could education have started at scratch in 1919, but in 1939, twenty years later, the schools of Russia, Germany, Italy, and other countries will have been working for years to prevent their people from hearing the truth or recognizing it when it is heard. Those who direct the destinies of schools, even in the most democratic countries, are not always willing that true education shall have a chance. The delegates from New Zealand and Australia at the Rotary International meeting of 1933 would scarcely believe me when I told them that there is not a school history of the United States which can be used both north and south of the Mason and Dixon line.

I think of a history of the United States written by my dear friend, Lawton Evans of Augusta, whose father was the last Confederate general to surrender. A certain superintendent introduced that book into the schools of Wisconsin. He was fired. The members of the G. A. R. Post did not wish their children to read of the things which General Sherman had done in demonstrating his theory that "war is hell." It is only during the last six years that American history textbooks have dared tell the truth about the beginning of our war with Spain in 1898. Recently I sat by a distinguished member of our group and he was amazed when I told him that Spain had completely surrendered and that McKinley had in his pocket Spain's answer, yielding every single point, when he went before Congress and asked to have war declared.

We must face the truth. We must teach the truth. We have thrown into the laps of these young people problems that we have dodged or have not solved. Praise God they will do a better job than their fathers. In them lies the hope of democracy.

EVALUATION FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE LAYMAN

RABBI ABRA HILLEL SILVER, ANSEL ROAD TEMPLE, CLEVELAND, OHIO

I have always thought that the principle of free discussion in a classroom was an ideal and desirable principle. I never knew that the principle when applied actually in a classroom at the hands of an inspired teacher could be quite as thrilling as it turned out to be this morning. To watch the play of minds of the young people, the give and take, the eagerness to participate, the basic fairness in the approach on the part of all of the young people, was in itself the most convincing testimony, if testimony were needed, to the soundness of the principle of free discussion in our schools and in our academic institutions.

One of the memorial enterprises of the human mind has, of course, been the pursuit of truth. Ever since the beginning of his reflected life, man has gone out in quest of truth. He has succeeded only in part, in that he has achieved enough of truth to give him a sense of confidence, but not enough to make him entirely wise.

But this quest for truth, unshackled, fearless, has been man's magnificent adventure upon earth. It has been his cross and his crown and his immortality. One of the proudest possessions in the modern world is just this: the free spirit of inquiry, the autonomy of the human intellect, the subtlety of the human mind. And one of the unfortunate aberrations of our day, one of the tragic consequences when so much of the world's thought has been roiled and become muddy, is that this human intellect is again being made subject to the interest of the party in control of the state.

In this new world where the trend is so definite in the direction of state absolutism and totalitarianism, attempts are being made to make the human intellect subservient to the platform of the group in power. The spirit of free inquiry is being throttled in many parts of the world, and that spirit frequently leads to the concentration camp. Thought is being regimented. Free research, which in its results does not conform to the set pattern of the political program and platform of the party in power, is anathema. Every writer must become a state functionary.

Education in many parts of the world is no longer education but indoctrination. Children are not being taught to think but being trained to obey. Attempts are being made in some parts of the world today to rewrite the accumulated knowledge of mankind, especially in the fields of social sciences, to rewrite them from the point of view of the state of the bureaucracy in power—attempts to rewrite history, economics, law, and science of government.

In Germany there are people today who boast that they have nationalized truth—but they are teaching their young people to think with their blood. In other parts of the world, they are teaching young people to think with their stomachs whereas there is only one way to think and that is to think with the mind. In those parts of the world where education is being dis-

torted, education has ceased to become education and has become propaganda, and a teacher has ceased to be a teacher and has become a pedagogue, and leaders of youth have fast become drill sergeants.

We used to think that ignorance was the greatest menace to civilization, the greatest deterrent to human progress. It is no longer so. Today I believe the greatest deterrent to human progress and the greatest menace are not ignorance and illiteracy but propaganda, which is far more menacing because it is far more cunning and shrewd and purposeful and organized.

There has been developed in our day a complete technic for befuddling the human mind, for undermining human reason with slogans and half truths and three-quarter truths and catchwords and appeals to the emotional animality in the masses in order to make the worst appear the better reason. Wherever democracy has been destroyed in the modern world, it has been destroyed thru this deadly technic of propaganda, especially among the youth of the world.

I believe it was Hitler who said that the germinating power of great change, that is, the force that brings about radical changes in society, is not so much insight as hysteria! And that is it—hysteria! The purpose of propaganda is to substitute hysteria for education! So that when you do not educate your young people in the social sciences, in the art of government, when you do not educate them in the sense of enlightening them, informing them, making the available knowledge and truths and facts accessible to them and training them in the ways of critical appraisal and critical evaluation, you are not sending them out into the world as the sort of unbiased, impartial people who will be able to make correct decisions on vital questions but you are sending them out to become easy and ready victims of the first high-powered propagandists that will attack them!

In view of this tendency which is developing in all parts of the world, including our own country, toward state concentration, toward an increase in the accession of power by the state, it becomes necessary again to begin a fight for what we called in our Declaration of Independence, the inalienable rights of man.

This battle was fought to a victory one hundred and fifty years and more ago and it was first waged around the issue of religious freedom. When the Virginia Act, which was finally adopted in 1785, was being drafted and the question of religious freedom came up for vital discussion, it was suggested by one of the religious liberals of that day in that convention, and the man was George Mason, that there be included a provision that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion. James Madison vigorously opposed the phraseology of that drafted resolution because he said, and wisely said, that when you grant a state the right to tolerate this religion or that religion, you are by implication suggesting that the state has a right either to tolerate or prohibit, whereas the right of religious freedom, the right of a man to worship God, is a natural right belonging to man, over which the state has absolutely no power. The founding fathers of our Republic were wise enough to under-

stand the full force of the argument of Madison, and it was Madison's position which was finally adopted.

In our federal Constitution, the principle of freedom of speech and freedom of the press definitely falls within the same category of belonging to man as his inalienable right and not as a privilege bestowed upon him by the state. The framers of the Constitution were quick to embody this principle, this basic conviction, in the first amendment to the Constitution when they said that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Freedom of speech is something beyond the office, the control, the supervision, and the legislation of government. It belongs to the individual himself because he is a human being, because he is a child of God, and not because he happens to belong to a certain political organization of the state.

Now, why do I speak of that at this particular time? Because to me freedom of speech means significant speech in significant places. Freedom of speech means freedom of significant speech in such places where that speech is likely to have social significance—in the pulpit; on the platform; and particularly in the most significant place in a democracy, a classroom. Therefore, the teacher enjoys that freedom of speech as an inalienable right, not as something granted to him by the state or by a board of education or by a community which pays the taxes. It belongs to the individual teacher as his right.

Why did the founders of our country take the trouble to write these convictions of theirs into the basic law of the land? Because—and this is the essential word which I should like to leave with you—they wanted to protect the individual against the ever-present menace of state encroachment against the possible tyranny of the state. They wanted to safeguard certain provinces, certain areas in the individual's life to be forever his own, without which the individual becomes the tool, the plaything, the subject instead of the master of his state.

Therefore, the battle for academic freedom, which many of you are waging today is in its profoundest sense a battle to preserve the classic traditions of American government and American civilization. Remember, it is not only fascism which destroys academic freedom, whether it be of the Latin or Nordic variety; it is every government which bases its philosophy of totalitarianism, of absolute domination of the individual life in every sphere of activity—that is the deadly foe. Dictatorship such as we have in the Soviet Union has also destroyed academic freedom; and please remember in changing over from capitalist to the socialist form of society, you do not thereby insure the principle of academic freedom. It is only in a climate and in a mood of liberalism, in a society where individual rights are constitutionally guaranteed that you can talk about and experience academic freedom.

Therefore, those of you who are championing academic freedom today are not, in the profound sense, enemies of the free form of government but its staunchest friends and supporters. The intelligent teacher—and we

had an opportunity to observe this morning an intelligent teacher at work with his pupils—who teaches a social science is fully aware that his job is not to make converts, not to make party members, and not to incite his students into political or economic action. That was tried abroad, and the youth abroad, many of them still in their intellectual swaddling clothes, half-baked intellectually, were incited and driven into the arena of political action and thought, and made, as you well know, a very sorry mess of it. Hitler and Mussolini capitalized to the "nth" degree young people's natural reactions, favorable reactions to the heroism of nationalism and racialism and militarism, and the greatest devotees of fascism are the young people of high-school age.

It is not necessary to drive our young people who are still in the stage of learning into definite camps to become devotees and converts and disciples. The wise teacher is interested in opening doors and lifting curtains and informing, not in propaganda. When the wise teacher approaches the problems of the present economic order, he will endeavor to lay bare to uncover to the eyes of the students in his class, all the deficiencies of the present economic order fairly, frankly, without passion, without bias, but also without any attempt at subterfuge or apologetics; he will make known to his pupils the price which our present society is called upon to pay for these deficiencies in terms of human suffering, of deprivation, of lost opportunities, of tension, of conflict in our society; and he will draw the attention of his students to the plans and programs which have been suggested as a means of dealing with these difficult problems and he will encourage his students to study these plans as critically, as fairly, as dispassionately as they can and will guide them into the proper ways of critical judgment and appraisal.

Is this a fair thing to ask of a teacher? Is it a necessary thing? If it is fair and if it is necessary, then what is, I ask you, the purpose behind the proposed teachers' loyalty oaths? Is it to stop these discussions in the classroom? Is it to turn over these young people to agitators and propagandists outside of the classroom? If so, then it is a dangerously shortsighted policy of fear and despair. What good are oaths of loyalty if they are not accompanied with spontaneity and sincerity? And if there is that spontaneity and sincerity, what need is there for loyalty oaths?

Much of this counsel of suppression, of classroom terrorization, is the counsel of fear, and I, for one, refuse to be stampeded into fear about the future of American democracy. I refuse to believe that American democracy is in danger of either communism or fascism. There is no visible demand on the part of the great masses of the American people for the overthrow of our democratic institutions. The American masses are not inclined to destroy these institutions because they sense, even tho they have not reasoned it out to the last detail, that these institutions have served the advancing needs of American life for generations and have given us values and goods and desirable things to a greater extent than has any other form of government of mankind. They believe that these

institutions can be made to continue to function in order to serve the advancing needs of American life.

There may be a greater menace, tho not as great as some people would lead you to think, than that which has been called the American fascism. The menace therein lies in this: that as a general principle, it is not radical ideals which have overthrown democracies but orthodox ideals which have outlived their usefulness and refused to die.

America is going to move forward. It always has. It must move forward. But, it is not written in the book that it must move forward along the lines or the ruts already defined by Moscow or Rome or Berlin. America has a tradition of its own. It has a national genius of its own, a political science of its own. It has its own way of doing things. It has pioneered in the past. It may pioneer in the future. It may well be that it is going to be the destiny of America to find the synthesis between individualism and collectivism, retaining that which is wholesome and desirable in the old dispensation (and there has been and there is much that is wholesome and desirable in the old dispensation) and adding to that what the new trend toward a collectivistic civilization will give to it of value and worth.

It is not written in the book of destiny that America must leap from what we choose to call rugged individualism to what I choose to call rugged communism. We may work out our own salvation. The Slavic model of Moscow may have much to teach us and we may learn much from it. But, on the other hand, we ought to remember that in establishing communism in Russia, they did not have to run counter to a tradition of one hundred and fifty years and more of personal liberty, of free participation in government, of basic inalienable rights. That form of dictatorship established there did not run counter and did not do violence to any essential feature in their national culture whereas in our culture, fashioned by generations of living, personal liberty, individual rights, free participation in government, inalienable rights, which are of the very warp and woof of our living and thinking, when we come to form our approach to a collectivistic society, we may want to make these vital traditions of free American life essential features of the pattern of the new economic order.

And so it is clear to me that whether we are going to do what I am speaking of, attempt thru the process of trial and error, thru experimentation as we have done right along, to find the synthesis, we are certainly going to make every effort to do so before we come to a dictatorship of the right or of the left, and these efforts may prove easier, more hopeful of success if we do in every school in the land what was done this morning.

If we make accessible to the young unfolding minds of our rising generation the sources of knowledge, of facts, of truth; if we allow teacher and pupil in the classroom to discuss informally but in a spirit of deepest earnestness and consecration these vital things affecting the American political, economic, and social life; if we make the American tradition dear

and precious to these young people by allowing them intelligently to use and exercise that tradition during the formative years of their lives in the schoolroom—this is the hope of democracy!

GENERAL SESSION
WEDNESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 26, 1936

PHYSICAL EDUCATION BECOMES A FUNDAMENTAL

CARL L. SCHRADER, STATE SUPERVISOR OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION,
BOSTON, MASS.

The purpose of this address is not so much to plead for recognition of physical education, as to clarify on the one hand its meaning and purpose, and on the other, and perhaps mainly, to point out the erroneous conceptions and fallacies under which physical education in many places is still permitted to operate. That the blame for this latter condition must be shared by school administrators as well as by the exponents of this particular field, is obvious. On the one hand we have the narrow and on educational and unsafe concept of excessive interscholastic competition, and on the other an array of high sounding objectives to which the practice carried on bears no semblance.

Just as it was not the purpose of forward-looking educators when bringing art and music into the school program, to create other Michelangelos and Van Dykes or Beethovens, so was physical education not intended to create a lot of Babe Ruths or Tildens. The fact that we may, and as a matter of fact do, discern genius in any of these mentioned cultural fields does not alter the original underlying purpose, which I believe to be an opportunity for an apprenticeship upon which intelligent choice and habit may be built.

It is safe to say that those who conceive physical education as a way of living more fully and sanely are primarily interested in putting education into play and into athletics rather than in putting play and athletics into education. Physical education so conceived, that is, recognizing in the activities merely the tools thru which to obtain desirable educational results, must of necessity accept biologically basic facts and pedagogically and socially sound practises.

Physical education is primarily concerned with the building of organic vigor and power, and with the mastering of neuro-muscular skills. But it also makes valuable contributions to health, to character, and to the worthy use of leisure. The primary objectives, namely organic power and neuro-muscular skills, intelligently accepted and with the teaching and administration intelligently carried on, will make the contributions toward health, character, and the worthy use of leisure an inevitable and accompanying result.

To think of physical education merely in terms of health would mean to center attention upon a corrective, rehabilitatory, therapeutic, hospital-

ized procedure of a bygone age rather than upon the developmental, preventive aspect of modern physical education. One reason often advanced for stressing the health objective and even changing the name of physical education to health education, is that it is easier to obtain funds from the public to maintain such a program.

Expediency, however, should not deter us from enlightening the public as to the deeper meaning of physical education. This expediency becomes particularly distressing when health education on the one hand attempts to teach as facts matters upon which the medical profession is still divided, and then, on the other hand, encourages and tolerates practises which the medical profession as a body recognizes as detrimental to health and proper development.

We who are engaged in teaching or are administering teaching are entrusted primarily with helping the child to grow. That is our function. This growth is a many-sided process, but having accepted the oneness of the human being, growth must be stimulated in all these directions. Just as we have recognized the mentally retarded, and have found and are applying means of helping them to grow, so must we recognize the physically and socially retarded and use intelligence to help these to grow. One may think that because the physical lacks are so obvious as compared with the mental shortcomings that here at least we are doing our best. The fact that we are not is undoubtedly due to this very obviousness, which is misleading. Only when we recognize that physical growth goes on in segments instead of uniformly do we realize that outward appearance is no guide for functional vigor, or activity achievement a safe device to determine organic power. We are thinking of the growing boy or girl whom we have in our schools, and not mature college men and women.

In the field of competitive athletics we still too often mistake bigness for organic power, when in reality the husky looking freshman entering high school may be a far greater risk in competitive sport than the smaller and leaner type. Biology teaches us that frequently, in rapid growth in height and breadth, the vital organs have not kept pace with this growth, and these organs are therefore less well conditioned to stand the great strain which some games and sports demand, particularly in competition. To drive or even to encourage boys and girls in this condition to maximum performance is dangerous, and surely a gross violation of any health program. The fact that such physically, and probably also pubescent, precocious do not experience a breakdown while in school or within a few years after leaving school is no proof that they have not been harmed. Only too often do organic weaknesses, traceable to early extravagances, manifest themselves later in life. Growing youth needs much of its energy for growing, and while intelligently guided activity, even to the extent of great exertion, stimulates this growth, exhaustion is positively destructive and inhibitive to this growing process. The element of fatigue is an important factor and the ability to recognize its warning and heed it is a

District Grand Lodge

No. 2

5th Annual Meeting

B'nai B'rith

Cleveland, O. May 23, 1937

President deemed it unnecessary to repeat details concerning the Tri-State lodges. He acknowledged his appreciation to A. B. Hirschfeld for his devoted services as Deputy, and to Charles Rosenbaum for his support and encouragement which lent much to the progress attained. He considered that the visits and addresses of President Taxay to the Tri-State lodges gave additional impetus and inspiration to the membership.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

I. W. Garek, Chairman of the Committee on President's Message, read his report, which referred the various parts of the Message to appropriate Convention Committees. The Committee commended the inspiring Message of the President, his zeal, ardor and self-sacrificing devotion to his duties, and his oratorical talent which enabled many members throughout the District to rededicate themselves anew to the ideals of B'nai B'rith. The report concluded:

"Each and every member of this Committee, and every representative here assembled, extend to our beloved President, Rabbi J. Marshall Taxay, the deepest and sincerest appreciation for his untiring efforts, prophetic vision, wisdom and leadership, and we pray to the Almighty that the talents which he possesses as a rabbi, teacher, leader, counselor and orator will be continuously at the disposal of the B'nai B'rith for many years to come; and we say to him, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant'."

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The Convention adjourned at 6:15 P. M. and reconvened the following morning at 10:00 A. M. The evening was devoted to Convention Committee sessions.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1937

The invocation was offered by Rabbi Harold Goldfarb.

Those State Deputies and Presidents of State Associations who did not have the opportunity to do so during Sunday's proceedings where their reports are recorded, read their reports.

The Secretary read a message of greeting from Fred L. Marcus, Jr., sent by cable from London.

The President presented Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, who delivered the following address which, on motion, was ordered to be incorporated in full in these Proceedings:

"I don't know what to say to you people at this time, not having heard the addresses which preceded my coming here. I had hoped to be in session with you yesterday but I was confirming the children at Bellefaire yesterday afternoon, and it was a great experience.

"One doesn't realize the good work that a great organization like yours is doing from merely reading reports or statistics, but when one comes upon the living expressions in terms of young people, fine boys and girls, whom an organization like this has helped to grow up in fine young manhood and womanhood, and when one thinks of what would have happened to these young people but for the collective solicitude and love of a great organization like yours, one thanks God that there is such an organization in existence.

"The B'nai B'rith has had a long and distinguished career but I don't know of any time in its history when it has been more alert and more enterprising and more helpful than at the present time. It really is a joy now to go into a B'nai B'rith meeting; at least it's so in Cleveland. I don't know much about the organizations in other communities, but I imagine that you have the same experience elsewhere. There has been a surcharge of new energy and new purpose in the organization, evidently due to the fact that your leaders are recognizing that there is something great and momentous to be done in Jewish life at this time; and you, in your way, are attempting to do it.

"There is just one thought that I would like to leave with you this morning. It might sound a bit heretical, but I think it is something which should be said to a gathering of men such as this. We have gone through four trying and searching years, ever since official political anti-Semitism was established in Nazi Germany. We react to that challenge of official political anti-Semitism—programmatic anti-Semitism—not sporadic or irresponsible anti-Jewish sentiment on the part of individuals or groups, but organized programmatic and deliberate

antisemitism on the part of a government—I say that we reacted to this in a rather intelligent way. While we have not been able to act as yet, and while we have not had a well-thought out plan of counter-attack, because we weren't really prepared for just that sort of thing, nevertheless, I believe, that the Jewish people, as a whole, reacted to the situation in a very intelligent, and, to the degree that it could be effective, in an effective manner. We did not take it lying down. We did not cower or cower nor did we become hysterical. I have heard that last charge made frequently. I don't think that it is justified. We reacted, by and large, as normal human beings who had been attacked, who had been attacked, and against whom every conceivable method was used to humiliate and degrade them would react, first in protest, then in action calculated to undermine the infamous regime responsible for it, and finally in extending relief to the men, women and children who were the innocent victims of that shameless inquiry.

I believe that the time has now come in our life in this country to turn our attention away a bit from this problem; not in the sense of ignoring it or making light of it, but in the sense of surmounting it, and devoting ourselves more assiduously and more constructively to the task of building in this country the finest Jewish community we can build, and in doing all we can in this country to avert the possibility of some such thing happening here.

I believe that psychologically we ought to guide ourselves into calmer waters. I believe that the menace of Fascism is far less today than it was a year or two or three years ago, and Fascism, of course, by implication, means an attack upon the rights and privileges of every minority group and particularly the Jewish minority group. I believe that Fascism has reached and passed its zenith in the world. I believe that it has received what probably will come to be regarded as its death blow in Spain. Fascism had an easy time of it in Germany and an easy time of it in Italy because in neither of these countries was it resisted—it was a walk-over; there was no revolution. The one place where the forces of reaction encountered determined popular resistance was in Spain, and they were stopped in their tracks. Ultimately they are going to be defeated. From now on Fascist adventurers will hesitate before launching a Fascist adventure in any country, because it has

been proved to be too costly and too bloody an affair for the privileged classes—too costly an affair to themselves and not merely to the force which they seek to destroy. Consequently, I am inclined to think that the democratic forces of the world are going to grow stronger long now on rather than weaker.

"The ideals which for a time came under a cloud in the world—the ideals of democracy and liberalism and tolerance and good will—which for a few years came to be looked upon as the small change of an antiquated and discredited epoch in civilization, these are now regaining their prestige and their currency in the world. Democracies have finally learned how to organize to resist Fascist adventures. Fascist governments have failed to deliver the goods, and while they can terrorize their people for another year or another five years, they cannot keep their people in permanent subjection. They must satisfy their people economically. This they have failed to do and will continue to fail to do. This being the case, with democracy on the ascendant again and reaction on the decline, it behooves us Jews to reorientate ourselves from a psychology of crisis and tension to a more normal and deliberate way of thinking and feeling.

"I think that a great organization like yours which has a history of constructive effort over a long period of years ought to lead the way in America to a tranquilizing, if you will, of Jewish life, to a quieting of its temper, and a slowing down of its emotional tempo. Specifically, I mean that in our speeches and in our meetings and in our appeals for new members, and in our appeals for funds we should lay less emphasis on and talk less about anti-Semitism and the danger to the Jew here in America and talk more about the positive and inspiring value of Jewish life and the constructive tasks in which we ought to engage ourselves.

"It is the easiest thing in the world, my friends, to stampede people into joining temples and societies and into giving money for relief by frightening them with anti-Semitism. It's the easiest thing in the world but, to my mind, it's the most dangerous thing in the world because you undermine morale and ultimately you will give the Jew in America a feeling of being a hounded individual—which he is not of being in every sense different from every other citizen in the

United States—which he is not. You will be forcing him, psychically, into a self-made spiritual ghetto.

There is no warrant for it. If ever the time comes that we will have to face serious and active anti-Semitism in America we will face it. I don't think that that time is here. I hope that it will never come. But certainly we ought not to act as if it were already upon us and voluntarily create for ourselves a mood of panic and fear and despair.

In other words, I would strongly urge upon you, as I have been urging upon Jews all over the country, to get down to the positive business of Jewish living; to devote yourselves constructively to the rebuilding of Jewish schools, to raising your children into a fine sense of Jewish loyalty and a deep appreciation of Jewish values; to the strengthening of the Jewish home, the synagogue and of all Jewish communal activities and organizations. These are, these have always been our instruments of survival. These have always been the agencies which have nourished and fed our lives, which have given us the positive satisfactions of Jewish life, and these must continue to be the foci of our attention and interest in the days to come.

Ours is the largest Jewish community in the world. We are close unto five million souls. There has never been a Jewish community of this size anywhere in the world unless you think of the old Great Empire, which is now split. There has never been a Jewish community comparable to the strength, the capacity, and the rich promise of the American Jewish community.

Let's think a little more of it. Let's think a little more of what we are going to do with this great community of five million souls. Let's try to work positively in *this* country for the preservation of the basic American traditions of freedom, liberty and human equality so that our community, along with others in this gracious land, will be secure and will be able to carry on its life in tranquillity and peace.

I conclude, therefore, with this one thought: I don't know that it's necessary to make it, but lest it be overlooked, I make it. We owe as much to the American Jewish community in terms of our energies and interests and constructive thinking as we owe to any community

across the seas. The time has come for returning to the classic high ways of Jewish life. We have been diverted, unfortunately, we had to be diverted, by the tragic events of the past few years. Now the time has come definitely to return to the highway of Jewish living which consists in positive efforts towards a richer and fuller and more satisfying Jewish life in consonance with the great American life about us. We ought to stop thinking of ourselves apprehensively as an isolated camp in the midst of a hundred and twenty millions of other people. If we do that we shall have given the anti-Semite his first and greatest victory. We ought to continue to think of ourselves, as we have ever right to do, as being integrally and essentially part and parcel of the great America; that we are some of the strands which are woven in its marvelous tapestry; that we *belong* here like every other group. We have no apologies to make. We do not have to justify ourselves. We do not have to tell the world that we have earned the right to be Americans. We do not have to proclaim our virtues or to apologize for our shortcomings, all the time.

"We ought to live normal lives as American citizens. The anti-Jewish world is going to become tired of us if we continue constantly to rasp and irritate and complain. It will respect us far more if we devote ourselves to the things which make for a fuller and nobler life of the American people. As you build finer Jewish homes, as you train your children into finer manhood and womanhood, as you make your religious institutions more vital, as you build finer philanthropic agencies, you contribute to the sum total of American life and at the same time you are helping to enrich and to conserve Jewish life.

"Hitlerism is going down to ultimate defeat. Hitlerism is a new phenomenon. It is doomed. Unless you have lost all faith in human progress and civilization—and what right has a Jew to lose such faith, having back of him two thousand years of crisis and tragedy and the record of how he survived them?—I say, unless you have lost all faith in the capacity of man to redeem himself, to solve his most difficult problems, unless you have lost all faith in man's yearning for freedom and justice and brotherhood, you must believe that Hitlerism and Fascism and mediaevalism which are now having their day, because of the aftermath of war and depression, are doomed.

to certain and inescapable defeat. And if they are doomed to defeat, then Jewish rights all over the world are destined to be restored, and the Jew is destined to carry on his career throughout the world—including Germany.

"Therefore, it behooves us to face our future courageously, hopefully, without panic, without fear, without suspecting everybody around us, to carry on as sons and daughters of a people to whom it was said long ago: 'Al tirah avdi Yakov. Do not be afraid. O, my servant Jacob. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee!'"

The address was received with rising applause of the Convention.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO SUPREME LODGE CONVENTION, 1938

The following rules were adopted on Sunday governing the election of representatives of the District to the Supreme Lodge triennial convention to be held in 1938:

1. Representatives and alternates to the next Supreme Lodge shall be elected from the nominees before this District Grand Lodge, as follows:

2. The election of representatives shall be by ballot, and each ballot shall contain the names of twenty-six (26) nominees, and any ballot which shall contain names voted for more than or less than such number shall not be counted as a deposited ballot.

3. Representatives shall be elected by plurality vote and the twenty-six (26) candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be delegates entitled to represent this District in the Supreme Lodge in the order of the number of votes cast for each. In the event this District shall not be entitled to as many as twenty-six (26) delegates, those of the twenty-six (26) elected in excess of the number to which this District is entitled, shall be the first alternates in the order of the votes cast for them.

4. The election of alternates shall also be by ballot. After the election of delegates, there shall be nominations for fifteen (15) alternates, who shall be elected by plurality vote and those candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected alternates. The candidates so elected as alternates shall among themselves have the right of representation in the order of the number of votes each receives; the highest having the first and the lowest the last right of representation after the list of the twenty-six (26) delegates shall have been exhausted.

5. In case of a tie vote or votes among the delegates or alternates, such tie or ties shall be resolved by lot.

6. In the event that any representative shall be unable to attend the 1938 Supreme Lodge Convention, it shall be his duty to notify the President of the District at least fifteen (15) days before the Convention, except in the case of an emergency, and thereupon a duly authenticated certificate shall be granted to the alternate first entitled to receive it; and this shall be done as many times as may be necessary to fill the delegation.

7. In case vacancies arise, by reason of the inability of a sufficient number to attend the Supreme Lodge Convention from the delegates, representatives or alternates, the General Committee shall be empowered to fill the same, and in any matters relating to the representation of this District Grand Lodge in the Supreme Lodge or otherwise provided for, the General Committee shall have power to act for and on behalf of this District Grand Lodge.

The President had appointed the following tellers: J. W. Gans, Chairman, Leo Weinberger, A. B. Hirschfeld, Samuel J. Mandel and Arthur S. Schlesinger.

Mimeographed ballots were distributed, listing nominations from the floor of the Convention the previous day, and nominations which had been submitted by the lodges except as to those who had withdrawn their names from the contest, and excepting the name of Alfred M. Cohen, who had been elected by acclamation of the Convention on Sunday. One-hundred and sixty-seven ballots were used in the election of delegates, four of which were improperly mailed.

THE DECLINE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

ABRA HILLEL SILVER*

THE problem of the one and the many, of the individual and society, is one of the most fundamental and continuing problems in human thought. How to insure the fullest expression of the individual without disrupting society, and how to coordinate personal freedom with group responsibility—that has been the major problem of sociology. The pendulum has, throughout the ages, swung between the extremes of unlimited individualism and absolute social control, between the exaltation of the individual and his submergence.

Man begins historically as an indistinguishable member of a strongly coordinated community. He develops into greater freedom of thought and action as the life of the community moves into the higher ranges of civilization. In eras of decadence, individualism degenerates into anarchic subjectivism, turns anti-social and actually tends to destroy the individual.

There are epochs when the social gospel must be stressed, because individual privilege has been allowed to exploit the group. This has been true of our times when the masses which possess considerable *formal* political and economic freedom, do in actual practice enjoy very little of either. They are in large measure dependent upon political organizations and economic arrangements in the control of a minority which systematically exploits them. There are other times when the essential rights of the individual must be championed in the face of a dangerous encroachment of group tyranny.

Professor Eucken, in his essay on "Society and the Individual," called attention forcibly to the "anti-individualistic influence of the tremendous accession of strength which has fallen to the part of the state in the course of the nineteenth

century. This accession has been due for the most part to economic complications in the face of which every merely individual effort has seemed hopeless. . . . The increasing complication, the technical development of civilization, demands a closer correlation of the separate forces and more organization of the whole, and therefore calls for a guiding centre, (To-day we call it central planning.) . . . Thus the visible power of the state and the invisible power of society are united against the independence of the individual" . . .

If that judgment of Professor Eucken held good when it was written in the days before the World War, how much more pertinent and re-enforced is it today, with state and class dictatorships riding in triumph through two-thirds of the civilized world!

The nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of bourgeois society which sought to delimit as far as possible the powers and functions of the state and to extend and establish the rights of the individual. The development of private capitalism in the nineteenth century necessitated and achieved a large measure of freedom for the individual and a sharply circumscribed corporate control. The twentieth century is witnessing the final collapse of this system of unrestricted competitive individualism.

Everywhere the state is stepping in to check the power and authority of the individual. The democratic apparatus which middle-class individualism created to safeguard its rights is being pushed aside or discarded. Bolshevism, Fascism, and Naziism have this one thing in common: They are all champions of maximum state authority. The state, they claim, must have absolute dictatorial power over the whole life of man. The individual has no inalienable rights—no areas forever exempted from group con-

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trol and interference. Mussolini has declared of Italy: "Here, as in Russia, we are advocates of the collective significance of life, and we wish to develop this at the cost of individualism."

There are spiritual advantages to a doctrine of collectivism as against the doctrine of private exploitation and careerism which characterized our passing civilization. Both Judaism and Christianity have always doctrinally subordinated the private ambitions of the individual to the well-being of society as a whole. The highest good was the social good. Man was taught to discover the real significance of his own life in enterprises which contributed to the upbuilding of the perfect society. Primitive Christianity was actually communistic in its social structure and so were the monastic brotherhoods which derived from it. The whole purpose of the Mosaic Jubilee legislation, touching land tenure and sale, as well as the whole tenor of the social message of the prophets of Israel, was to discourage the aggrandizement of the individual at the expense of the group.

Neither Judaism nor Christianity has, therefore, anything to fear from the spread of the doctrine of the socialized community and the collective life which is likely to dominate the New Era. All spiritual movements of mankind had this ideal at the core of their inspiration. The peaceful, neighborly, cooperative life has been the goal of all the weary marches of civilization. All religious education has been directed towards training men to think less in terms of personal career and success, and more in terms of co-worker in a common social enterprise. Life is again vindicating classic religious ethics, in that the cooperative commonwealth is actually coming to be; and in the future it will go hard with the lone wolf, the predatory exploiter, the anti-social omnivorous individual.

The danger lies in the excessive zeal and over-reaching on the part of the state which may lead to the complete subjugation of the individual, and which in time

may prove fatal to his spiritual life. Experiences of the last decade and a half in different parts of the world with experiments in the corporate society, in Communism, in State Socialism, in State Capitalism, or in the corporative state, have given men ground for fear that the individual is being sacrificed in the process of economic and political coordination.

Whether the suppression of the individual is only a necessary incident in the transition from one social order to another and freer social order, or whether together with dictatorship, it will become a permanent feature of the new social order, is for the present a matter of conjecture.

For the time being at least it is alarming to behold in the lands where the corporate ideal of the state has made the greatest headway, the total conscription of the individual in the service of the autocratic state. All thought is regimented. Education becomes propaganda. Every wife becomes a functionary of the state. Attempts are made, as in Germany, to make even the church an adjunct and a propaganda agency for the political state. A mouth-piece for its dogmas and permissions. The right of the individual to quest for himself in the fields of the mind and the spirit is denied. A new orthodoxy has been enthroned. It is now proclaimed that absolute truth as regards social ethics, government and economics, even prime morality, has already been revealed. It is in the safekeeping of a minority political group—a new priestly hierarchy. The individual must accept the dogma of the régime, unquestionably and submissively, or he is anathema.

This new state absolutism, backed by its vast punitive power, is far more dangerous than the old and now discredited absolutism of the church. The latter was frequently held in check by the secular arm of government. At least the secular and the ecclesiastical attenuated each other's powers. But with the decline of the political power of the church, and the ascendancy of the absolute authoritarianism

state, the individual is at the complete mercy of the latter, without recourse and without refuge.

It is quite possible that in the New Era organized religion will have to assume the role of the sole surviving champion of the rights of the individual. This necessity the Christian church in Germany has already faced.

In the light of the amazing pretensions of the State, it behooves all religious disciples to insist that man possesses certain rights over which the state, however noble its purposes and however exalted its program, has no power whatsoever. There are sovereign rights which are man's by virtue of his humanity, not by virtue of his citizenship in a given political group. Man has other relationships and other obligations than those to his country. There is the whole of mankind. There is the universe as a whole. There is his own inner spiritual microcosm. There is God.

The New Era is being ushered in by way of dictatorships. Whether they are passing or permanent it is impossible to say. It is well to remember, however, that dictatorships do not of themselves, and as a matter of course, pass over into democracies. They do not liquidate themselves. These dictatorships, wherever established, have so far been characterized by their utter ruthlessness. This is true both of the capitalistic dictatorship, and of the communistic. The latter in its revolutionary zeal to attain quickly the good life actually sacrifices all the values which men have always identified with the good life. We have entered an age of sanctified ruthlessness and exalted brutality.

Even more dangerous than the terrible toll of victims of physical violence is the tragic toll of victims of spiritual and intellectual violence. Men are driven into terrified silence. Conformity is prescribed. All opposition, all parties, all dissenting opinion in press, pulpit, classroom, platform and book is stamped out. That this is fatal to man's spiritual life is

easily apparent. It tends to dry up the well-springs of man's creativeness. It destroys the soil and roots of his moral growth. When man is not allowed to stand alone, to dissent from the majority, to proclaim the truth which has been born in him through his own soul's travail, his spiritual life is destroyed. Revelations never come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only after the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of truth that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The New Era may thus burden the church and synagogue with another task—to save man from the dark heresy of sanctified ruthlessness and brutality at the behest of a new politico-economic Messianism, and to safeguard man's spiritual and intellectual freedom in a world constricted by the encompassing wall of dictatorship.

Side by side with the doctrine of the absolute, totalitarian state, runs the doctrine of competitive nationalism and intolerant racialism, both of which victimize the individual. There is a nationalism which is as instinctive as one's love of home and family and friends. It requires no artificial indoctrination and no propaganda. It is neither exclusive, intolerant nor militant. It is not a cunning tool in the hands of economic imperialism. But the Western world is harassed and ridden today by a nationalism which makes a mockery of this simple, wholesome patriotism and employs it as a blind for shameless exploitation. The love of one's country is put under option by those who control the policies of government. A cabal of industrialists, financiers, bankers and munition makers prescribes what the government shall do—and the individual, bound hand and foot beforehand by the mandates of this newer nationalism, is delivered over to the drill sergeant.

By this disgraceful strategy, the youth of the world is being stampeded today into

group intolerance and arrogant provincialism—and into the shambles of another war. The individual seems helpless in the face of this cunningly stimulated mob-patriotism. The universal ideal which fired the imagination of the best minds of Europe in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—the idea of a federated world wherein a man at one and the same time could be a citizen of his country and a citizen of the world—the ideal which enlarged man's estate and set him free for a spiritual career beyond the narrow boundaries of his own land—this ideal, so thoroughly Christian and so thoroughly Jewish, has been pushed out of men's minds by the command of a restrictive, truculent and arrogant nationalism.

Internationalism, today, in many lands is blackest heresy. The youth of the world is being taught to think not in terms of international human solidarity, but in terms of exclusive, aggressive and jealous national loyalties. One is first and foremost a German, a Frenchman, an Italian, a Pole, and only secondarily and not always necessarily a son of man, a child of God. Modern nationalism has unquestionably ghettoized the individual and confined him to a little corner in a fragmented and disintegrated world.

In some parts of the world, nationalism is still further being narrowed by the concept of race. Nation has been made synonymous with race. Only those belonging to the racial stock of the dominant majority are recognized as citizens. All others are disfranchized and politically, economically and socially degraded. This has been particularly true in Nazi Germany where race idolatry has run riot to a point where all human virtues have been subordinated to it. Hitler declared, in one of his recent outbursts, "I prefer a German deserter to a Jewish hero" . . .

Unfortunately, pseudo-scientific propaganda for racial imperialism is widespread in the world today. The doctrine of racial superiority was used as a cover for the vicious motives of the last war.

It has always been a blind for economic imperialism. The people in the South used it as an excuse for exploiting the colored man and for denying him his elementary human rights and his legitimate opportunities. The white man's burden becomes the black man's curse, and the brown man's and the yellow man's.

Some peoples which have a large element of mysticism in their make-up are particularly addicted to race idolatry. Mysticism is at bottom religious romanticism, and romanticism is essentially a historic throwback, a hankering after older forms of social life and organization, a retroversion to herd mores, folkways and myths, to what is thought to be the protoplasmic racial soul. A hundred years ago Heinrich Heine called attention to this recurrent manifestation of mysticism among the German people. In Nazism, the German mass is again manifesting these strong mystic, primitivist and collectivist tendencies. Race has again surged to the forefront of popular obsession and the cosmopolitan spirit of Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe and Kant is, for the time being, homeless in Germany.

It is not necessary for me at this time to point out the fallacies of this economically motivated race propaganda—this artificial division of mankind into *Hörrasse* and *Untermenschen*. There is, of course, no pure race in the world. The story of racial fusions which have gone on everywhere in historic and pre-historic times has been sufficiently attested by anthropology and archaeology, and is sufficiently convincing to everyone but the propagandist who has an axe to grind. And there are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. There are races more favored by circumstances, by environment, by geographical position, by the fertility of the soil, or by the treasures underneath the soil. There are advanced races and backward races. There are differences between races, but no biologic gradations. And no

race has a monopoly upon genius or creative capacity.

There is far more race idolatry in the world today than ever before in the history of mankind. There was no color line in antiquity. The Greeks were conscious of their cultural superiority, but they did not attribute it to biology. They claimed excellency on the basis of their civilization, not their blood. The Romans were splendid racial cosmopolites. Roman citizenship was not restricted to any one racial group within the farflung empire. Roman citizenship which at first was the privilege of only the few who lived in Rome, was soon extended to the limits of the empire, and under Caracalla it was universalized throughout the vast empire. The Jew was proud not of his race but of his religion, and the proselyte to the faith was welcomed into the full life of the race. The Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people, not because of their racial traits, but because of having been selected to be the servants of Yahweh to carry His moral law to the world. They were a covenanted people, a kingdom not of supermen but of priests. Their prophets kept them from excessive pride by reminding them:

"Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto Me
O children of Israel? saith the Lord.
Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt
And the Philistine from Caphtor
And Aram from Kir?"

Yahweh was the God of all nations. Israel's prerogative lay only in arduous moral and religious pioneering. When that ceased, when Israel no longer wished to bear the burden of religious leadership, it knew itself to be rejected of God.

Christianity, of course, took over the prophetic, universalistic concept from Judaism, emphasized it, enlarged upon it, and carried it to the far corners of the earth. "The God that made the world and all nations therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth. . . made of one blood

every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." The organic racial oneness of the whole human family is nowhere in the Bible more clearly and forcibly enunciated. And again: "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all, and is rich unto all that call upon him." The entire concept of race, which is fatalistic and exclusive, is subordinated to the concept of faith, which is volitional and all-inclusive. "And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise." (Gal. 3:29)

It is, therefore, no accident that Nazi racialists have been led to a repudiation of both the Old and the New Testaments, and are invoking anew the dethroned tribal gods of primitive, heathen Germany. And it is no accident, either, that the great Christian leaders of present-day Germany have clearly seen the menace in atavistic Nazi racialism to the spirit and mission of their historical faith, and are so strenuously resisting it.

The Middle Ages knew very little of that racial chauvinism which is so rampant in our day. There was no talk of race purity in the Middle Ages. It was with the rise of nationalism and of colonial imperialism among the Northwestern European peoples, particularly during the last century, and the consequent exploitation of the backward races, that the necessity arose for some ideologic justification of such exploitation. It soon appeared in the form of pseudo-scientific theories of race superiority. These theories gained prestige and popularity as the European peoples proceeded to conquer, subject and despoil backward peoples. Some apologists even employed High Church terminology such as "Bearing the White Man's Burden" to savor the miserable mess of imperialistic pottage, by means of which European peoples robbed other races of their birthright of freedom.

Modern nationalism has fallen under the blight of this race idolatry, particularly among a people like the Germans, who are not empire-builders and therefore po-

litically provincial, and among whom national unity is a quite recent achievement and hence still a matter of hallelujah. The novel doctrine is now being loudly proclaimed that a nation must be racially homogeneous, and that every national within the state who can not trace his ancestry back to the racial stock of the majority is an alien and an intruder. Racial minorities are almost everywhere at a disadvantage in the modern state. So are, of course, all the individual members of such racial minorities.

Racial imperialism, like religious imperialism, is a stumbling-block in the way of man's freedom and progress. What is required in our day is not superheated race apologetics, but a generous way of life which will give each race, and to all men regardless of race, the opportunity to live their own life, to express their own soul, and to contribute their unique values to the commonalty of human life. Our age needs a form of good will which will not only tolerate racial and cultural differences, but which will gladly use them for the enrichment of life.

There are some very high-minded men in our country who rightfully would resent any charge of racial intolerance, who nevertheless by their fond hankering after an American social and cultural unification, a sort of American *Gleichhaltung*, are unconsciously contributing to that very intolerance which they would repudiate. They are opposed to the existence of various social groups, based largely upon racial identity, in American society. They assume that there must be only one social group in America, and one thorough-going cultural tradition. The Jewish community, for example, is sometimes criticized by these people (who clearly are not anti-Semitic) for its separatism, its solidarity and its refusal to assimilate.

When it is claimed that if the Jew would surrender everything except his "personal religious views," the anti-Semitic disease would disappear and all would be well with him, these spokesmen

reply that the German Jews for decades practiced this very theory of assimilation. They tried in all ways *not* to be different. Their group consciousness had dwindled to a vanishing point. And yet, such is the patent bankruptcy of this whole thesis, the most virulent anti-Semitism developed in Germany, and in place of a self-willed "difference," a legal, prescriptive and discriminating "difference" was forced upon them as a mark of shame. Even non-Aryan Christian clergymen who certainly never suffered from excessive Jewish group-consciousness have been "differentiated" and stigmatized in the land of classic Jewish assimilation.

"Social unity" or "cultural unity" is just as dangerous a slogan to raise in modern society as "racial unity." Too many noble ideals of mankind are being broken on the wheel of totalitarian obsessions in the world today for liberal churchmen, lay or cleric, who value individualism and exalt personality, to permit themselves to become champions of "unification" crusades in American life.

What is needed in the world today is not race or religious imperialism, or mystic yearning after cultural or social unification, after a monolithic society which crushes the individual, but the courageous reassertion of that liberal, generous, tolerant view of life which our present unhappy age has so tragically lost, and to which it will have to return if life is to be livable, and if men and minorities are to be saved from the tyranny of the mass and the curse of regimentation. If we, men of faith, are to remain faithful to the classic ideals of our religions we must set about rekindling the light of the ideal of one humanity of free men within an economic system which will permit true freedom, and we must redirect the aspirations of men towards it. Then questions of state and race and nationalism will assume their proper place of secondary importance in human life, and mutual adjustments will be made far more simply and naturally than is possible today. The lost perspective will have been restored.

lost and less fit to live than millions like this poor man's child. Oh God! to hear the insect on the leaf pronouncing on the too much life among his hungry brothers in the dust."

What does it mean to be a liberal? The sentry in Gilbert and Sullivan's "Iolanthe," you will recall, expressed the conviction:

"Every boy and girl who is born alive
Is either a little liberal or else a little conservative."

How common it is for us to take a perfectly splendid adjective and invest it with some special or unique meaning. This has been the fate of the word "liberal." Nazi Germany sneers at liberalism as being the doctrine of weaklings. In my visit to Berlin in the summer of 1935 I heard thunderous denunciations by the Nazi statesmen of liberalism as a policy. The Soviets in Russia likewise reject the liberal viewpoint, because with them it does not go far enough and indicates a certain lukewarm policy of radicalism. Well, if I mistake not, the word "liberal" means simply "free." Are there any limits to freedom? Should we permit any person or government to define liberalism for us? I am persuaded that nowhere in the world is there more vigorous challenge being made than in the United States to demonstrate the attachment of our people to the democratic idea of individual freedom. To continue our loyalty to this ideal means to demand complete liberality of thought and action. I would not for a moment contend that there are not other denominations where liberal thought is the rule, but I do say that none of the Christian philosophies is more hospitable to the idea of religious freedom than is Unitarianism. The liberal young person will find himself at home there. He will be given no orders as to where or how his intellect shall operate. No creed will be imposed. No books will be officially approved or disapproved. In the same way that modern youth is democratic, even as the American habit is democratic, so we contend is democracy the keynote of Unitarianism. If democracy is to survive in the world, the opportunity for young people in the field of liberal religion is obvious.

IV

Lord knows that there is enough for young people to accomplish that we have left undone—slum clearance, development of honest business methods, the elimination of the spoils system, sound efforts to elevate and dignify morals, a better distribution of wealth without taking away the incentives to industry and self-denial, utilization of our new leisure, the habit of obedience to law, and fundamentally a new spirit of sportsmanship which regards the game as worth more than the prize, and puts the man above the dollar.

Liberal religion today not only recites the glories of the past but asks what about the future, concerns itself with the business of living, with the importance of character, education and the glory of daily work. A religion which will survive will be that which relates itself to the daily life of the people, and while we are talking about the obligations of young people, let us not forget that there is no power greater than the power of a good example. We cannot expect them to set us an example of patriotism, decency, loyalty and

honesty. The mission of the liberal young people of tomorrow is to insist upon freedom of thought, democracy in government, the courage to act upon their convictions and the recognition of the dignity and worth of the individual soul. Louis Untermeyer describes their task in these words:

The quiet and courageous night,
The keen vibrations of the stars,
Call me, from morbid peace, to fight
The world's forlorn and desperate wars.

The air throbs like a rolling drum—
The brave hills and the singing sea,
Unrest and people's faces come
Like battle trumpets, rousing me.

And while Life's lacy banner flies,
I shall assail, with raging mirth,
The scornful and untroubled skies,
The cold complacency of earth.

Unitarian young people of today, America's leaders of 1950, may cherish the conviction that there is no fellowship that comprises a larger percentage of men and women who prove their religious conviction by assailing "the cold complacency of earth."

None of our Unitarian hymns has been sung more repeatedly or more enthusiastically or more appropriately by our young people than that which rings out this challenge to liberal youth. I wish it could be our National Anthem:

Go forth to life, O child of earth,
Still mindful of thy heavenly birth.
Thou art not here for ease or sin
But manhood's noble crown to win.

A UNIQUE INSTITUTION

For years I have believed, and have tried in my ministry to carry this belief into action, that a Unitarian church is a unique institution. Other churches may tolerate intellectual freedom; we encourage it. By our very tenets we make no least concession to the arbitrary and emotional dogmatism of the dictators— theological, economic, or political. And it is well that we oppose them—for if they should have their way, our faith in freedom would land us in a concentration camp. That concrete and painful is the jeopardy of human freedom today!

Years ago, at a Unitarian conference, one of our ministers boasted in his address that he had a church of working people. In the discussion period that followed, one of the wisest Unitarian ministers it has been my good fortune to know arose and said, "My church is neither for the rich nor the poor, but for 'folks.'"

Surely in these days of increasing class-consciousness our churches are challenged to bear silent but powerful witness that in at least one social organization people are people and not members of some particular class division. I am afraid that far too many Unitarian churches are but cliques of the intellectual or social elite. With our great spiritual and democratic heritage we should cultivate with religious fervor a spirit of brotherhood which transcends class lines, and strives for a sympathetic and first-hand understanding of all sorts and conditions of people.

Dr. Dilworth Lupton in Niagara address.

PRESENTATION

At the Wednesday morning business session the presiding officer, in behalf of the American Unitarian Association, presented to the members of the Hymn Commission copies of "Hymns of the Spirit" bound in imported morocco, full gilt edged and inscribed by the president of the Association.

Some Fundamental Needs of Human Life

Abba Hillel Silver

RELIGION in its profoundest sense is obedience to law—moral law, spiritual law. This obedience is predicated upon a recognition that there is such a thing as a spiritual order, which is sustained and regulated by eternal spiritual laws. The religious objective is the fulfillment of these laws, and the religious discipline is the proper control of our thoughts and actions so as to bring them within the province and dominion of these laws. Sin is self-banishment from the kingdom of moral law, and repentance is the effort to return to it.

In the animal world there is, of course, no such thing as moral law. There only the physical laws prevail. There is no wrongdoing among animals. Animals are not conscious of sin. In many ways man, too, because he belongs to the animal world, is held in the vice of these physical laws. Like the animal, he, too, kills and consumes, and very often lives by the law of the claw and the fang.

But because man is more than animal, a higher species in the organic kingdom, he is subject also to another set of laws, utterly unknown to the lower animal world—laws of generosity, pity for the weak, forgiveness, humility, self-restraint, self-sacrifice and the quest of peace and of knowledge.

This moral law is defined in detail by every classic religion. It varies only in details. Time and conditions determine the width of the channel. But the stream is the same. Man does not always live up to the mandates of the moral law, for man is man, and not God; but man must recognize it, acknowledge it, and aspire towards it. He may fall short of the goal. He may go astray. But always he must try to find his way back, and the way is always open to him.

I

It is only when a man denies the very existence of the spiritual order, and accepts no code which is based upon spiritual postulates, that he is irrevocably lost. This adherence to a moral law which is more than social usage or temporary improvisation is one of the fundamental needs of human life. Attempts to approximate the moral ideal are made by every ethically-motivated age, and the code which it evolves is the index of its moral progress. It is not, however, the ultimate definition or expression of the whole moral law.

It is characteristic of every settled and established culture that it produces an effective code of conduct which people accept as a matter of course—a moral atmosphere, so to speak, which they breathe as naturally as the air about them. This code, this mandated way of life, is universally recognized and enforced by public opinion. At times such a code becomes too rigid and constrictive, and some free spirits rebel. But, for the most part, this fixed and settled regimen of moral life is the greatest boon to an age, for it sustains, shields and directs men. The lives of most men are held together by moral routine. It is the social mechanism which keeps men's lives from falling apart. Only the rare few whose life's interests are so com-

pletely focused in a central ideal, which rises far beyond the level of the age and which like a peak thrusts itself up into higher realms, can dispense with the cement of social standards and moral conventions.

Unfortunately for our age, it has no such universally-recognized and accredited code of conduct. All our moral ideas have again been thrown into the crucible. There is hardly a single moral concept in private or in public life which may be said to receive the universal sanction and endorsement of our generation. Marriage, fidelity, industry, patriotism, tolerance, liberty, peace, democracy—these moral principles which a previous generation accepted almost axiomatically, as fixed rules of life and guiding stars, have in our day become the subject of the most bitter controversy and negation. It is not that everybody does not observe them in practice. It is that they are being denied in essence and rejected in principle by so many—and by organized groups, classes and governments even more than by individuals. What should be the natural source of moral guidance and authority—governments—are today polluted cesspools of moral iniquity. Organized governments are today, through their moral license, their opportunism, cynicism, terrorism, broken pledges, piracy and gangsterism, confounding the moral lives of their citizens and undermining whatever authority the moral law may still possess among them.

This is particularly true of dictatorships. Here the state arrogates unto itself moral sovereignty. The state is itself the right—the state can do no wrong. The process of state idolatry has been proceeding at a steadily-increasing tempo in the western world ever since the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Since Machiavelli and Luther, the concept of the state's moral self-sufficiency has fearfully advanced. Since Hegel and Fichte the state has been apotheosized. This doctrine, of course, degrades national morality to political strategy, and gives us the kind of world we have today—a world which is being carried along headlong in the crazy currents of its own criminal follies to its tragic doom.

The classic religions of mankind bestowed no such moral immunity upon the state or upon any class within the state. They proclaimed a supreme moral law which was binding alike upon government and people, upon kings, nobles, priests and commoners. In the name of such a compelling and overarching moral law a prophet could point the finger of accusation against an erring king, and cry out, "Thou art the man!"

Not only is the state claiming today ultimate moral validity, but classes within the state demand man's highest and exclusive loyalty. Not to the spirit of God in man—in mankind—does man owe his supreme allegiance, but to the party which best serves his political or economic interests. Local attachments are transfigured into moral absolutes. And the party, self-freighted with exalted mission and heroic destiny, may resort to all forms of violence, cruelty and deception without compunction and without hesi-

tation. The party is the final judge of its own conduct, and accountable only to itself.

There are individuals who have become so obsessed with this class loyalty, and so insensate to the universality of the law of the spirit, that they will denounce as shamelessly immoral the very practices and technique which they condone and defend when employed by their own party.

Well meaning but confused liberals are particularly subject to such moral aberrations. Their great eagerness to see the kingdom come speedily causes them, for example, to see the mote in the eye of the Fascist but never the beam in the eye of the Communist. Bloody purges, perversion of justice, denial of all freedom, militarization and terrorization, are unfortunate historical necessities when committed by their friends, but blackest crimes when committed by their enemies.

II

The reality and the imperative of the moral law derive from an awareness of the reality and of the presence of God. "For I am the Lord" is the warrant and authority for all the great moral teachings of the Bible. The source of the laws of the spiritual world, even as the source of the laws of the physical world, is not man, but God, and a God not made in the image of man but a God according to whose dimly-glimpsed spiritual likeness man endeavors to fashion his own unfolding life. Faith in God gives man the courage to follow through along ethical lines even though the immediate consequences are pain and suffering. God is man's confidence in his bitter and seemingly unending struggle. God links man's world of aspiration with the world of cosmic existence. Man's faith in God gives him the assurance that he lives in a purposeful and intelligent world, that there is law and not chaos in his spiritual life, and that his ethical strivings possess definite cosmic significance. "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place" is the most comforting and inspiring thought of the whole immortal Psalter.

It is easy to say that man should cultivate an attitude of detached skepticism towards the enslaving universe, seeing that he knows so little about it, and center his attention entirely upon the cultivation of his own life in society. One should play and enjoy the game of life regardless of "whether he saw the thing as comedy or high tragedy or plain farce."

But the problem cannot be thus cavalierly dismissed. It has a way of intruding itself, even into our most heroic and emancipated moods. Life wants to know its terms of reference to the universe. Men who vibrate to the force of ideas and who are sensitive to their implications will not live contentedly or joyously, or struggle for an ideal sacrificially, when they become convinced that life is nothing more than a plain farce. No idealist ever died upon the cross for a cause which he knew to be a stupid comedy.

Life is not a game, and men cannot be summoned to the high disciplines of life by an appeal to sportsmanship. For the very idea of sportsmanship is predicated upon the conviction that the game is fair, the rules of the game just and reasonable, and that man has a chance to win. But if life is known to be

without purpose, or intelligence, or fairness, or justice, and man is unalterably doomed to defeat, then it is preposterous to summon him to valor and nobility on the basis of sportsmanship.

Thus faith in God is another fundamental need of human life.

III

A sense of the worth of the individual is still another. Man needs a sense of dignity in order to develop morally. Man's patent finitude, his frailty, the brevity of his life, the pain and sorrows of his days, and the ignoble desires and acts of which he is capable, need to be compensated for or attenuated by a vision of his nobility and power. "What is man that thou art mindful of him" must find its answer in "Yet hast thou made him but a little lower than the angels." The rabbis said that man is a coworker of God in creation, and that every man has the right to say "for my sake was the whole universe created." Thus man must be "built up" in self-esteem and in confidence in order to bring out the best within him.

Unfortunately in our day society moves to submerge the individual, or rather to reduce his stature.

Everywhere the state is stepping in to check the power and authority of the individual. The democratic apparatus which middle-class individualism created to safeguard its rights is being pushed aside or discarded. Bolshevism, Fascism, and Nazism have this one thing in common—they are all champions of maximum state or class authority. The individual has no inalienable rights—no areas forever exempted from group control and interference—no inviolable worlds.

There are spiritual advantages to a doctrine of collectivism as against the doctrine of private exploitation and careerism which characterized so much of our passing civilization. Both Judaism and Christianity always subordinated in doctrine the private ambitions of the individual to the well-being of society as a whole. The highest good was the social good. Man was taught to discover the real significance of his life in enterprises which contributed to the upbuilding of the perfect society. Primitive Christianity was actually communistic in its social structure, and so were the monastic brotherhoods which derived from it. The whole purpose of the Mosaic Jubilee legislation, touching land tenure and sale, as well as the whole tenor of the social message of the prophets of Israel, was to protect society against masterful and aggrandizing individuals.

Neither Judaism nor Christianity has therefore anything to fear from the spread of the doctrine of the socialized community and the collective life which is likely to dominate the new era. All spiritual movements of mankind had that ideal at the core of their inspiration. The peaceful, neighborly, co-operative life has been the goal of all the weary marches of civilization. All religious education has been directed towards training men to think less in terms of personal career and success and more in terms of a co-worker in a common social enterprise.

The danger lies in the excessive zeal and overreaching on the part of the state which may lead to the complete subjugation of the individual and which

in time may prove fatal to his spiritual life. Our experience of the last two decades in different parts of the world with experiments in the corporate society, in Communism, in State Socialism, in State Capitalism, has given men ground for fear that the individual is being sacrificed in the process of economic and political co-ordination.

Whether the suppression of the individual is only a necessary incident in the transition from one social order to another and freer social order, or whether together with dictatorship it will become a permanent feature of the new social order, is for the present a matter of conjecture. But for the time being at least it is alarming to behold in the lands where the corporate ideal of the state has made the greatest headway the total conscription of the individual in the service of the autocratic state. All thought is regimented. Education becomes propaganda. Every writer becomes a functionary of the state. Attempts are made, as in Germany, to make even the Church an adjunct and a propaganda agency for the political state, a mouthpiece for its dogmas and pretensions. The right of the individual to quest for himself in the fields of the mind and the spirit is denied. A new orthodoxy has been enthroned. It is now proclaimed that absolute truth as regards social ethics, government and economics, even private morality, has finally been revealed. It is in the safekeeping of a minority political group—a new priestly hierarchy. The individual must accept the dogma of the régime, unquestioningly and submissively, or he is anathema. This new state absolutism, backed by its vast punitive power, is far more dangerous than the old and now discredited absolutism of the Church. The latter was frequently held in check by the secular arm of government. At least the secular and the ecclesiastical attenuated each other's powers. But with the decline in the political power of the Church, and the ascendancy of the absolute authoritarian state, the individual is at the complete mercy of the latter, without recourse and without refuge.

There are other fundamental needs of human life. I have not spoken of man's physical and biologic needs, of his social or his esthetic needs—these are all fundamental needs, and the task of civilization has been to satisfy each of them separately and all of them harmoniously. I have spoken only of these because our age is in danger of forgetting them.

A Letter from an Englishman

Magnus C. Ratter

Mr. Ratter, minister of the Unitarian church at Rawtenstall, England, was an unexpected visitor at the conference. Unfortunately he had already left Niagara Falls when the chairman called upon him for a brief word. We have invited him to speak that word in these pages.

I may not flatter; you are above that. I cannot comment: I do not know enough. But in response to friendly request I will tell of two pieces of work—to my knowledge not carried out here—which I have attempted with modest success.

Two years ago I instituted a marriage celebration in my church. The purpose is that all who participate may return thanks for the joy and the grace realized in marriage. The order of ser-

vice is like to others familiar to you, but prayers, reading, music, hymns and sermon all express one theme, the beauty and sanctity of marriage. Men were encouraged that Sunday to give their wives a bouquet.

A commemoration card was designed. The Praying Hand on a blue background carried a photograph of the church, its date and Rawtenstall Unitarian Church clearly printed. Upon this card was inscribed the maiden name of the bride, the name of the bridegroom, the date of wedding, names of officiating minister and church where the marriage was consecrated. This made it so that all participating carried away with them a card peculiarly personal. In this time of novel experiment we may never condemn, we should however emphasize the enduring beauty of a noble home life. Beauty is its own sufficient witness.

The second thing of which I wish to speak is the religious teaching of Albert Schweitzer and Robert Bridges. The essence of their teaching, I deem it to be ours, I have written as The Tenfold Reverence:

Thou shalt reverence the life that is within thee, the lives that are without, and the Creative Life, God, upon whom all things depend.

Be kind to all animals; do not thoughtlessly kill any bird, insect or wayside flower; they all have their lives and their joys.

While deepening personal reverence for scripture, the prophets and all saints, seek diligently till others equally noble are discovered.

Reverence one morning as holy and keep it quiet for daily meditation, think upon the Friendship of God, the Unity of Man, and the Life Eternal.

Hold fast to thine own integrity, seek always for the higher motive in others, assured that guardian spirits attend to guide and inspire.

Give heed to the natural laws of health, that physical well-being and mental joy may strengthen for noble service, now and afterward.

Honor thy father and thy mother, be kindly affectioned toward brothers and sisters; so shall the natural relationship become a spiritual oneness.

Thou shalt hold sacred the life-creating power within; nor soil it in any wanton contact.

Do not strive for sudden wealth; there is truer happiness in a higher affection.

Finally, it is required of thee, as in a spirit of pure adoration, to work for God uninfluenced by fear of punishment or hope of reward.

The Medieval Church educated the people through the Miracle and Morality Plays. They acted their doctrine. The following is an attempt to adapt their technique.

To differing young people I gave each a sentence. The commission was: think this through, then with your friends interpret it as a three-minute play of your own devising, without words. Our evening was successful in numbers and—now significant—in ethical instruction.

Axioms as The Tenfold Reverence can be changed; its brevity allows that they be easily remembered. The Beatitudes, the Eightfold Path, are immortal poetry. Let us in the coarse prose of our time speak the essential thought of our religion in terse manner.

With thanks to the Beacon Press I have also held a candle-light service. Preceded by a midnight ramble, A Celebration to the Dawn, held upon a hill top, was very lovely. Our time of silence there was broken by the morning carol of the birds, breaking into song; they felt the dawn we could not yet discern.

I am deeply persuaded that with America lies great promise for the future. You carry Immanuel in your hidden life. Despite all contraries this is a great, even a religious age. It is a great joy to share its vibrant promise.

his job more than three minutes without having to be spoken to? What makes John sit and day dream, when he should be studying?

The answers are sometimes easily found, but sometimes requires many hours of study and thought and consultation with the parents. The causes may be physical and a physician needed; they may lie partly in certain home situations—jealousy of a brother or sister, irregular or conflicting kinds of home discipline, or certain early and sometimes forgotten experiences which have left their stamp

on the child's emotional attitude. They may lie partly in the school situation—unwise handling by a teacher, school work that is unsuitable or poorly understood. Whatever the causes, they need to be found before a permanent remedy can be applied.

Find the Causes First

Mental hygiene attempts to help parents and teachers to find the causes and in the light of these findings to remedy them, rather than merely to treat the undesirable symptoms through rewards and punishments.

The Decline of the Individual

• by **RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER**

Cleveland, Ohio

General Session, Region Three

EVERYWHERE the state is stepping in to check the power and authority of the individual. The democratic apparatus which middle-class individualism advanced to safeguard its rights is being pushed aside or discarded. Bolshevism, Fascism, and Nazism have this one thing in common: They are all champions of maximum state authority. The state, they claim, must have absolute dictatorial power over the whole life of man. The individual has no inalienable rights—no one is forever exempted from group control and interference. Mussolini declared: "Here, as in Russia, we are advocates of the collective significance of life, and we wish to develop this at the cost of individualism."

There are spiritual advantages to a doctrine of collectivism as against the doctrine of private exploitation and capitalism which characterized our passing civilization. Both Judaism and Christianity have always doctrinally subordinated the private ambitions of the individual to the well-being of society as a whole. The highest good was the social good. Man was taught to discover the real significance of his own life in enterprises which contributed to the upbuilding of the perfect society. Primitive Christianity was actually communistic in its social structure and so were the monastic brotherhoods which derived from it. The whole purpose of the Mosaic Jubilee legislation touching land tenure and sale, as well as the whole tenor of the social message of the prophets of Israel, was to discourage the aggrandizement of the individual at the expense of the group.

Neither Judaism nor Christianity has

anything to fear from the spread of the doctrine of the socialized community and the collective life which is likely to dominate the New Era. All spiritual movements of mankind had this ideal at the core of their inspiration. The peaceful, neighborly, cooperative life has been the goal of all the weary marches of civilization. All religious education has been directed towards training men to think less in terms of personal career and success and more in terms of co-worker in a common social enterprise. Life is again vindicating classic religious ethics, in that the cooperative commonwealth is actually coming to be; and in the future it will go hard with the lone wolf, the predatory exploiter, the anti-social omnivorous man.

Sacrificed for Coordination

The danger lies in the excessive zeal and over-reaching on the part of the state which may lead to the complete subjugation of the individual and which, in time, may prove fatal to his spiritual life. Our experience of the last decade and a half in different parts of the world with experiments in the corporate society, in Communism, in State Socialism, in State Capitalism, or in the Corporative State, has given men ground for fear that the individual is being sacrificed in the process of economic and political coordination.

Whether the suppression of the individual is only a necessary incident in the transition from one social order to another and freer social order, or whether together with dictatorship it will become a permanent feature of the new social order, is for the present, a matter of conjecture. But for the time being, it is alarming to behold in the lands where the corporate ideal of the state has made the greatest headway, the total conscrip-

tion of the individual in the service of the autocratic state. All thought is regimented. Education becomes propaganda. Every writer becomes a functionary of the state. Attempts are made, as in Germany, to make even the church an adjunct and a propaganda agency for the political state, a mouthpiece for its dogmas and pretensions. The right of the individual to quest for himself in the fields of the mind and the spirit is denied. A new orthodoxy has been enthroned. It is now proclaimed that the absolute truth as regards social ethics, government and economics, even private morality, has already been revealed. It is in the safekeeping of a minority political group—a new priestly hierarchy. The individual must accept the dogma of the regime, unquestionably and submissively, or be in anathema. This new state absolutism, backed by its vast punitive power, is far more dangerous than the old and now discredited absolutism of the church. The latter was frequently held in check by the secular arm of government. At least the secular and the ecclesiastical attenuated each other's powers. But with the decline of the political power of the church, and the ascendancy of the absolute authoritarian state, the individual is at the complete mercy of the latter, without recourse and without refuge.

By Virtue of Man's Humanity

In the face of the amazing pretensions of the state, it behooves freedom-loving men to insist that man possesses certain rights over which the state, however noble its purpose and however exalted its program, has no power whatsoever. There are sovereign rights which are man's by virtue of his humanity and not by virtue of his citizenship in a given political group. Man has other relationships and other obligations than those to his country. There is the whole of mankind. There is the universe as a whole. There is his own inner spiritual microcosm. There is God.

Side by side with the doctrine of the absolute, totalitarian state, runs in Fascist lands, the doctrine of competitive nationalism and intolerant racialism, both of which victimize the individual. . . .

Youth Stamped

The youth of the world is being stamped today into group intolerance and arrogant provincialism and into the shambles of another war. The individual seems helpless in the face of this cunningly stimulated mob patriotism. The universal ideal which fired the imagination of the best minds of Europe in the Eighteen and early Nineteenth centuries

—the idea of a federated world wherein a man at one and the same time could be a citizen of his country and a citizen of the world—the ideal which enlarged man's estate and set him free for a spiritual career beyond the narrow boundaries of his own land—this idea, so thoroughly Christian and so thoroughly Jewish—has been pushed out of men's minds by the command of a restrictive, truculent and arrogant nationalism. Internationalism, today, in many lands is blackest heresy. The youth of the world is being taught to think not in terms of international human solidarity, but in terms of exclusive, aggressive and jealous national loyalties. One is first and foremost a German, a Frenchman, an Italian,

a Pole, and only secondarily and not always necessarily, a son of man, a child of God.

Racial imperialism, like religious imperialism, is a stumbling-block in the way of man's freedom and progress. What is required in our day is not super-heated race apologetics but a generous way of life which will give each race and to all men, regardless of race, the opportunity to live their own life, to express their own soul, and to contribute their unique values to the commonality of human life. Our age needs a form of good will which will not only tolerate racial and cultural differences but which will gladly use them for the enrichment of life.

Must History Repeat Itself?

• by W. W. WHITEHOUSE

Dean, Albion College

Parent-Teacher Divisions,
Regions One and Four

TO THE question: "Must history repeat itself?" the majority will reply—"Naturally, there is no other way." For today, the spirit of adventure and the nerve to believe that the future lies in our own hands, is nearly paralyzed. In the past, the theological dogma of predestination—that regardless of individual effort ultimate destinies were set—gripped men's attitudes and superstitions. Now there is rampant an equally crippling belief that depressions, wars, political crises, social disasters of one sort and another inevitably come around with almost rhythmic precision.

We of the P.T.A., educators and socially alive citizens, will not accept this vicious doctrine. If we are true to the best insights of science and knowledge, we will repudiate this strangle hold of fatalism. Rather, we will strive to set a new pattern for civilization which shall avoid many of the glaring errors of yesterday.

Social Direction Is Keynote

At the outset, let us understand that the keynote of progress is not mere change, but is "social direction." True, that term covers multitudes of sins of bureaucracy and mismanagement, as it is mouthed by would-be-leaders in political life. Happily, it also covers the earnest efforts of humble citizens. As Lillian Wald, the founder of Henry Street Settlement has pointed out, tenement moth-

ers abhorring dirt and danger and drink for their children sent representatives to Albany to influence the course of legislation, and actually succeeded in doing so.

Planning for the future is not a new feature of human nature—it is as old as man. I remember a mongrel I observed in the wilds of primitive America. After surreptitiously burying a bone, he would return wagging his tail with a fine sense of social security.

Some Debunking to Be Done

If we fully sense the importance of planning ahead, we must debunk ourselves of the illusion that prosperity is the eternal heritage of America. For instance—we must accept the established facts concerning the calamities that inflation inevitably brings. We must see written in the flood records of such an afflicted city as Johnstown, Pennsylvania, the warning word "conservation." We must accept the warnings of erosion and dust storms as guides for policies and activities to be quickly inaugurated and painstakingly maintained.

Can Trends Be Predicted?

The question arises: Can accurate predictions be made as to currents and trends? We can look back over the enormous expansion in population that occurred during the nineteenth century, and note its effect on wars, immigrations, educational policies. But can we foresee the influence of a lessened rate of population growth which now prevails?

To be sure, there are obstacles to scientific appraisals of social problems. We deal with men over long periods of time—not with guinea pigs, wherein observations may extend over many generations in a short while. But we are blessed with records of the past, and as Santayana has wisely said: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

Two errors are apt to attend our efforts toward social direction. The first, oversimplification of the problem. We may accept a distant goal as a plateau and fail to take the necessary steps to attain it. It is very well to hitch a wagon to a star—but some stars are so remote from the earth to be practically hitching posts. Problems are complicated. The boy who would fly a kite today, Germany must limit himself to a three hundred foot string, so Mr. Hitler says because of aeroplane maneuvers.

The Other Extreme!

At the other extreme, we must avoid the pessimism and paralysis of mind which results from our apparent helplessness. We have, in the midst of confusion, certain clearly accepted general principles to guide us in specific situations. We believe, let us say, in the totality of American life. We know here in the North we have cheap abundant salads in winter time because we have no tariff boundaries between ourselves and the southwest. Can we not see the fallacy of dairymen in New York State trying to keep milk from flowing into New York City from the surrounding states? Or can we repudiate the provincialism which protests property taxes in Michigan that the people of Oregon may live more decently? No axioms for national safety have been formulated, as for instance, by the Brookings Institute. In spite of the baffling problems, we know enough to do more wisely than we do.

Minority May Be Right

Special interest groups, mob hysteria, propaganda, deeply ingrained habits of thought, make the course of wise planning difficult. The educator and scientist will say "history need not repeat itself if there is enough foresight and encouragement." We see clearly enough the wisdom of the minority which twenty years ago opposed war. Will we be the same voices when they talk of present day preparedness for war?

We look to such groups as the P.T.A. for an enlightened public opinion which will not stone its prophets.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

Jan 8, 9, 10, 1938 Cincinnati Ohio

62.

Chairman Loeb introduced Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, member of the Board of Directors of the Council, chairman of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Cleveland and the new national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal.

OFFERS REALISTIC STATEMENT OF STATUS OF PALESTINE

RABBI SILVER: A gathering such as this is entitled to a realistic statement about the status of Palestine today. It is also entitled to an accounting of what was done with the funds given to the United Palestine Appeal during the past year and an explanation of the budgetary requirements of the coming year.

The year 1937 was not a happy year for Palestine nor for Jews in communities anywhere throughout the world. It was also not a happy year for countries generally, either politically or economically.

The risings which spread over Palestine in 1936 were resumed towards the second half of 1937. The problem of security in Palestine is as yet unsolved but seems on the way of a solution.

Ever since the assassination of District Commissioner Andrews, the Palestine government has taken seriously the representations which we have been making for a number of years, and has taken definitely aggressive action to stamp out organized gangsterism in the country. With the removal of the Mufti, the breaking up of the Arab Committee, and the sending of officials into the country to see business it is to carry through orders, the prospect of the restoration of civil peace in Palestine is brighter today than it has been for many years.

Risings Have Had Serious Economic Effects

In keeping with the demand which we have been making upon the authorities, a large armed Jewish police force has been established, adding to a sense of security in the country.

The risings have been serious and no one is inclined to underestimate them. On the other hand, there is great danger of exaggerating them. Within the last two weeks, I received a communication from a friend in Palestine, who is occupying a very important office there, one whose judgment I trust. He writes, "So far as security is concerned, we have to register an energetic protest against the reactions of certain Jewish sections to the newspaper reports. One might really think that a civil war was raging in Palestine and taking a large daily toll of victims. That is not true. We have to deplore losses of life, but the ordinary daily life goes on with its traffic on all roads, and apart from certain elements, who are not inwardly linked with the country, the Yishuv is in no way discouraged".

But the risings of the past two years have had a serious effect upon the economic life of the country. The risings frightened capital and investors away. Immigration into the country has been curbed first by the conditions of disorder themselves, and secondly by governmental edict. During the last year there were only 11,000 immigrants, while in the year preceding there were 30,000, and the year before that, 1935, there were some 60,000. Because of the contraction of emigration, investments and credits, and immigration, economic activity declined and unemployment appeared.

Settlers Carry On Despite Setbacks

Added to the difficulties of the last year was a bad orange crop. The citrus industry in Palestine, as you know, is one of the key industries. Last year more than 10,000,000 cases of fruit were exported from Palestine, and this bad orange crop has affected many another industry in the country. But we ought to bear in mind, making full allowance for these very serious facts, that they help neither the political difficulties nor the economic situation in Palestine today. Much older and wealthier countries than Palestine are suffering, and the brave little Jew in Palestine has been carrying on in spite of the checks and curbs and disappointments.

During this last year, 16 new Jewish settlements were established in Palestine. Building construction and land acquisition have been progressing. Within this last year some 25,000 dunams of land have been acquired. Building construction in the principal cities of Palestine has been going on at the rate of a quarter of a million a month.

A gratifying factor in the economic situation this year is exports, which exceeded last year's by some \$10,000,000.

New Industries Developing in Face of Disturbances

Another gratifying factor, indicative of the determination and resourcefulness of the Yishuv, is the building within the past 16 months, during the very condition of disturbance, of the lighter basin, at Tel Aviv, the development of a whole new industry in Palestine.

There are beginnings today of a coastal shipping service, a passenger service between Palestine and southern Europe, and a fishing industry.

People in Palestine believe that the return of security, together with the investment of public funds in important key industries of the country, will stimulate anew economic activities in Palestine. Of course, the political uncertainty has been the most troublesome and confounding factor. The absence of a consistent political line and the continual political improvisation, which unfortunately today is so characteristic of the whole foreign policy of Great Britain, has led to a certain mood of apprehension, which serves to check new enterprise and initiative.

There has been in the last 16 to 20 years a steady development of Jewish enterprise, facilitated and stimulated in the belief that the Mandatory Government would live up to the terms of the Mandate itself. I say that not with any bitterness or sense of indicting the government as a result of its failure to carry out the letter and the spirit of the Mandate. The withholding of necessary aid, the frequent curbs and checks, the numerous commissions sent into the country to investigate -- to disturb really, the succession of white papers contradicting each other, the periodic permission and restrictions of immigration -- all these factors converted what should have been a steady evolution of a great colonizing project into a soothing cauldron of political unrest.

Says Zionists Did Not Seek Jewish State

The situation today is politically again in suspense. This is not the place nor the time to discuss the merit or lack of merit of the recommendation for the partition of Palestine. I have been opposed to partition. I spoke against it at the Zionist Congress, and I have spoken against it since. I have given the reasons for my position, and those reasons, I am afraid, are not necessarily the reasons of other people. My position on partition has been on the basis of Zionism and not non-Zionism or anti-Zionism. But it ought to be born in mind by all, Zionists or non-Zionists, that Zionists did not ask for partition; that Zionists did not raise at this time the question of a Jewish State in Palestine; that all Zionists, regardless of whether they are today in favor of partition or not, wished to continue as best as they could under the Mandate. The idea of partition was thrust upon the Zionists at the point of the bayonet; upon the threat that if it is not accepted, drastic measures would be taken to restrict Jewish immigration, which was not to exceed 12,000 per annum. This practically meant its liquidation.

Partition Believed Indefinitely Postponed

Furthermore, it should be remembered by all of us that the question of partition is not now imminent. The White Paper issued a few days ago makes that very clear. A new technical commission is to be appointed. This technical commission will have the liberty to reexamine other solutions of political problems of Palestine. One may draw the conclusion from the White Paper that partition is indefinitely postponed. But whether it has been indefinitely postponed or not, it is clear as far as our problem is concerned that partition is not on the agenda.

All of us should bear in mind that if after a new canvass of the situation we yield to the contention which the colonial office still upholds that partition is the best solution of all the problems, the need for funds in Palestine will be less, but greater. For the chief argument for partition has been, and in the eyes of the proponents still is, that it will remove all that trouble and make it possible within the next 15 or 20 years to bring into the country a much larger number of Jewish immigrants than at any time in the past. That will, of course, require vast sums of money.

Partition Issue Should Not Affect Fund Raising

If partition does not go through, then surely we shall carry on as before. Our work will carry on into the millennium, not only to maintain the institutions established in Palestine, but to increase the number of our settlements in the country. I say this to bring home to you with force the fact that, as far as the United Palestine Appeal for 1938 is concerned, the unsolved question of partition should not affect the contribution of American Jewry to Palestine. I would like to read a sentence or two in this connection from the president of the Zionist organization, Dr. Chaim Weizmann:

"The more rapidly and the more securely our work progresses in Palestine the more certainly will the country's future accord with our desires.

"The immediate task that we face is the acceleration of settlement work on the land, upon which we must concentrate our efforts in the coming months. Thousands of chalutzim in and outside of Palestine are anxiously awaiting the opportunity to settle on lands already acquired by the Keren Hayesod. But they are unable to do so until the necessary funds are available to maintain them during the initial period. These funds are supplied through the Keren Hayesod, which is seriously hampered by lack of funds.

Dr. Weizmann Urges Purchase of Additional Land

"Wells must be sunk, marshes drained and swamps cleared. This is essential before the cultivation of the soil may begin. Unless generous support is forthcoming, large tracts of land, though sure, will remain derelict and uninhabited. Whilst the claims of Zionism are based on other than the grounds of ownership and cultivation of the land, experience has shown how much stronger our claims are on the solid basis of actual settlement.

"In this critical hour it is the duty of every one to make the supreme effort in support of the national funds. Only thereby can we make possible the rapid and effective settlement of every inch of land in Jewish possession.

"I have heard of the tendency among some to be less generous now because they believe that immigration, being restricted, money for settlement is unnecessary.

"This is a fatal misconception. Immigration follows and is dependent on our capacity to settle land reserves with the funds at our disposal. The more land that is settled, the greater is our claim to increased immigration; whilst, conversely, a drop in immigration figures is a sure sign that our resources of land and money have fallen below the safety level.

"More specifically, we are faced with the immediate problem of consolidating 19 new settlements established since the disturbances. These are mostly in outlying districts. They are isolated and vulnerable. Their consolidation will cost more than \$2,500,000, of which a large part is immediately required.

Pleads for Fuller Utilisation of Lands Already Bought

"Our problem has a twofold urgency. Funds are necessary immediately for assistance to newly settled groups, and to facilitate the establishment on the land of thousands of trained pioneers who are languishing, awaiting the opportunity to escape from intolerable conditions to participate in the upbuilding of the national home.

"The old formula is perhaps more appropriate today than ever before: 'Give today and give generously - tomorrow may be too late.'

My friends, the budget which was set up by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which is composed of Zionists and non-Zionists, and which some of you who are present in this hall this evening had a hand in fashioning, calls for \$7,735,000. The itemised budget is available and provides for land purchase, afforestation, immigration, settlement of German Jews in Palestine, promotion of business and industry, all the educational work in Palestine, security measures and for political activity.

American Appeal Goal is \$4,500,000

The American share in this budget is \$4,500,000 because the American Jews represent more than half of the total Jewish community of the world which is not dependent for relief on other communities. And as far as the resources are concerned, the American community possesses far more than half of the resources of that portion of world Jewry still able to give.

It is 20 years now since the Balfour Declaration. It is 40 years since the great man of dreams and visions, Dr. Theodor Herzl convened the first

Zionist Congress in Basle. Much water has run under the bridge since that time. Many revolutionary changes have come in Jewish life. Many political volcannoes have shaken the Jews' well-being the world over. The war and its consequences, which called into being great relief and reconstruction organizations; Communism, which has isolated a great settlement of world Jewry; the vast new migrations of our people which have created a new Gehenom in the world; the upsurge of the most fearful anti-Semitism which we have known in our history. All these have befallen our people in the last two, three or four decades, but the thesis proclaimed in 1879 by Dr. Herzl has in spite and because of these upheavals been vindicated in a three-fold way.

Dr. Herzl's Thesis Considered Vindicated

In the first place, his program has been vindicated. In fact the nations of the world have recognized its validity. They have accepted the claim of the Jewish people to a national existence, a national home, and have incorporated it into an international document signed and sanctioned by the nations of the earth.

In the second place, that thesis has been vindicated by world events and the tragic experiences of our people in the last two decades. Those who most violently resented and resisted the Palestine movement were by force of circumstances and not by logic compelled to accept it as a new hope for their life and the lives of their children, a place which they could call their own home.

And finally, this dream has been vindicated by Jewish loyalty, Jewish ability, Jewish enterprise and Jewish sacrifice. People said it couldn't be done. People reasoned with cogent logic and proved that Palestine had not the physical resources to maintain the Jewish population; that it is backward, forsaken, an Oriental hinterland; that the Jew is not a pioneer.

Story of Jewish Pioneering Should be Told to Young Generation

These people argued well, but the obstacles were overcome by the faith of the Jew. The deeds accomplished are non-controversial. I say it, not because we are given to romanticism, or sentimentalism, but because what our people achieved in Palestine in less than a decade constitutes Jewish history. The story should be told particularly to our young people at this time when so many governments and parties and propaganda machines, highly geared and highly financed, are pouring out day after day and hour after hour their scurrilous denunciation, despoliation and degradation of our people, seeking to undermine their morale, seeking to portray the Jew as an exploiter -- not a creator, not a builder, but one who waits until others do the hard work and then comes in to carry on the "shacher-macher" work.

In this day we are attacked as we have never been attacked in the history of our people. It is important for the sake of the rising generation to tell them simply and factually the story of this example of Jewish pioneering, the like of which mankind has not seen in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, we all too frequently underestimate ourselves, and accept the world's low estimate of us. That is perhaps a feature of the beaten spirit of the "galuth". We magnify our faults and exaggerate them. We forget that we walk no better for abusing our crutches.

Sees Need for Reinspiring Jewish People

Tell the Jewish youth of America what the pioneers did in a "blasted, sandy, ugly, dreary, infamous land;" what a handful of pioneers, untutored in agriculture, coming from the ghettos of various countries or with soft hands from the universities, did to a neglected, stripped, barren desert in a few short years; how they converted an Oriental hinterland into the most modern country with towns, cities, schools, hospitals and a university and centers of culture; how they built 200 settlements; how they drained marshes and how they revived a language and culture. The story ought to be told because we are all today, my friends, members of the free-masonry of tired hearts. We have all gone through 20 years of Jewish persecution and we all show the effects of it. It is important at this time to begin reinspiring our people.

I was in Palestine this summer. I was there three times before. I saw Palestine when it was still under military occupation following the World War. In 1936 I visited some of the new colonies. I remember one colony particularly "Pirat Zovi", which was dedicated to the memory of a famous man, one of the foremost Orthodox Rabbis of Eastern Europe. That colony was settled by 100 young men and women, many from Germany, who live their lives according to the strict discipline of the Orthodox.

Describes Difficulties of New Colony

They were living in improvised barracks. It was a little colony, surrounded by a wall of wood and broken stone to protect them against marauders. In the center of the compound was a tower, on top of which was a searchlight. During the day there was a watchman or a watchwoman constantly scanning the surrounding country, while the young men and women built walls, dug ditches or prepared the ground for sowing.

Half of the men and women had not slept under a roof since the colony was established, and one-third of them were down with malaria. One was so ill at the time, we had to take him to a hospital in our automobile.

They were young people living in heat and dust, surrounded by dangers, living in rudimentary, primitive fashion. Some came from homes of culture, and I asked myself, "Why are they doing what they are doing? What future are they looking forward to, what rewards are they expecting here?" I put the question to my guide, an old Palestinian, who lived and worked and suffered there for many years. He answered quite simply in Hebrew, "They are giving content to their lives." That answered all my questions.

Young People in Palestine are Confident of Overcoming Obstacles

These young people and thousands like them, had in them the glow, the uplift, the inner contentment which comes from the realization that they are building something fine and permanent in the country. When I saw that, as I saw it there and in a dozen other settlements, among the young men and young women in the Huleh swamps, with the certainty that at no time will they ever come back alive, I felt confident. I should like to communicate that confidence to you this evening -- that the Palestine Yishuv will surmount all the difficulties that confront it today, and there are many.

There are no sureties, there are no backers, there are no accident insurance policies for building a national home. We have had discouragements in the past and we are going to have many more discouragements in the future. We are prepared and rather hardened to catastrophes. Both you who are devoting yourselves largely to the Joint Distribution Committee and you who are devoting

yourselves to the United Palestine Appeal -- what we all need in the cause of World Jewry in this critical time is Faith. A people whose morale has been rooted out by fear and despair, whose leaders have come to the edge of a precipice, is a people that is doomed. If we cling to our indomitable faith, if we rely upon our Jewish solidarity, if we fall back in these days upon our "obstinate Judaism", we shall win throughout, and in Palestine too. I haven't despaired of the "Am Kshai Gref" -- the stiff-necked people. I have not despaired of Jewish life in Poland, in Germany and in Rumania. My Jewish history gives me faith in survival.

Calls for Strong, Courageous Leaders

Our people today are willing to follow strong, courageous leaders, leaders who see clearly -- not those suffering from myopia, who see clearly only the things at hand; or leaders suffering from hyperopia, who see only distant things but not the things at hand; or those suffering from another form of eye disease which doctors call nyctalopia, who see clearly in the daytime, but whose vision is dimmed at night, when darkness falls and certain people lose their vision and their hopes.

Let us speak to our people today hopefully. Let us not lose the opportunity to instill the hope that Jewish life in Poland is not doomed; that Jewish life in Rumania is not doomed. When the people are in a crisis, speak to them hopefully. Our prophets spoke reproachfully to the people when the people were prosperous, when they needed the lash, the whip to restore them to sanity and to balance, to decency in living. Then only did they proclaim them doomed. But when the people lay broken and bleeding, crushed, they said, "Nachamu, nachamu imi" -- "Comfort ye my people, do not be afraid, my servant Jacob."

Jews Must be Given Faith Future

I know of nothing more important, as far as maintaining morale and sanity is concerned, and banishing threat and fear in some circles of our people, than for us to tell our people what is true -- that we are today in the trough of flux and reflux, in the rhythm of our economic process. We are at the ebb of receding tides, but the tides after a distance flow back again. As they flow back, there will come a golden flow to mankind, as well as to our people. When the sea was in front and the Egyptians were behind them, the leader of the Israelites said: "Daber el B'nai Yisroel v'Yise-u" -- "Speak unto the children of Israel and let them go forth."

If I as a Rabbi and Israelite have any word to convey to an assembly of Jewish leaders in these days, when out of 10,000,000 graves there are war ghosts, if there is one word that I should like to convey to our people it is this: In confidence, in calmness of spirit and in tranquility of mind will you be saved. Do not sacrifice any noble cause of your people because of fear or threat. We must continue to fight for our social, civil, political and economic causes.

We must not assume that the year 1938 is the last year in the calendar; that dictators have definitely come to stay and that all ideals of equality are gone forever.

Palestine Will Give Jews National Status With People of World

We must continue to believe in human progress; in the coming of a new day of reconciliation, of emancipation. When that day comes, our position in all the world will become normalized again. We must not give up in Palestine the national home, which will give the Jewish people a national status with the people of the world, just because of shifting political winds, because of the report of this Commission or that. The Messianic hope of our people is an old millennial

hope which has outlived many an empire, and in our day we have seen in part the fulfillment, but only in part. And the fulfillment comes in spite of the difficulties, in spite of the obstacles, in spite of the shocks and curbs. The great day will come when we shall be in Palestine a free, prosperous and contented Jewish people, at home physically, at home politically, at home spiritually.

BRUNNEN LUKS: Rabbi Silver, I hesitate even to attempt to express to you the thanks of this gathering because I feel that such an eloquent talk demands thanks in fully eloquent terms which I do not possess. You have noticed our signal of distress and have given us strength, and for that strength we are now grateful to you more than I can say.




THE DEMOCRATIC IMPULSE IN JEWISH HISTORY

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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This outstanding paper was presented by Rabbi Silver at the Third Annual Institute of Judaism of Temple Israel, Saint Louis, on February 21, 1938.

EINE, whose poetic insight frequently bordered on the prophetic, wrote somewhere of the time to come when "freedom will speak everywhere, and its speech will be Biblical." Hitler, whose hatred of freedom and democracy is surpassed only by his hatred of the Jews, somewhere volcanically erupts this pronouncement: "Democracy is fundamentally Jewish, not Germanic." Friend and foe alike seem to agree here that there is an organic relationship between Judaism or the Jew and the ideals of human freedom and liberty. Thomas Huxley called the Bible "the most democratic book in the world," and re-stated what many a historian had noted before him, that "throughout the history of the Western World, the Scriptures have been the great instigators of revolt against the worst forms of clerical and political despotism. The Bible has been the Magna Charta of the poor and of the oppressed." The role which the Bible played in all the Protestant reform movements, in the English and American revolutions, and in the movements for social justice and economic reform in the Western World is a story too long and too well known to warrant re-telling at this time and in this place. It is not therefore accidental that the attack upon human freedom and human rights under the Nazi regime, which alone of all Fascist regimes has dared to face the ideologic implications of its position, has gone hand in hand with a violent attack both on the Old and the New Testaments, and on the essential teachings of the entire classic Judaeo-Christian tradition.

It is highly interesting to note how persistent and dominant has been the democratic impulse in Jewish history—like in the political life of the people as in its economic and religious life.

When the nomadic forbears of Israel appeared on the frontiers of

Canaan to begin their amazing career in the world they had already been acted upon and determined by countless generations of desert experience and mores. The hard, uncertain and migratory conditions of desert life make for a rude equality and a primitive freedom among the wandering tribes. There are no kings in the desert. The tribal head is only the first among equals. The desert knows of no military aristocracy, for all adult males are fighters. No family claims especial nobility of ancestry for all members of a clan are blood relations. The rule of the rich is unknown for the disparity between rich and poor is slight and many tribes are communistic in structure. No priestly hierarchy exists and ritualistic functions are in most instances performed by the lay head of the family. The nomadic tribe is a rudimentary political, economic and religious democracy. Numberless centuries stamped these features upon the character of these desert ancestors of Israel long before they entered the settled agricultural life of Canaan.

From their scattered entrance into Canaan until the establishment of the monarchy, centuries elapsed—turbulent and formative centuries, during which the tribes of Israel in their various groupings were led by war chieftains, summoned by the people to command whenever an emergency arose. These chieftains returned to civilian life when the emergency was past. The desert tradition strenuously resisted national consolidation under one sovereign ruler. Only the threat of foreign invasions, particularly that of the Philistines, forced the tribes to seek political unification under a monarch. A reading of the Biblical records shows how distinctly distasteful this compulsory monarchization proved to the best spirits of the people. Constrained to yield to a necessity, they nevertheless refused to make any intellectual concessions to it. The prophet Samuel interpreted

the demand for a king as rebellion against God, as evidence of the people's sinfulness and degradation and as a culpable mimicry of the heathen. Centuries later the Rabbis voice the same dislike and distrust of kings: "God said to Israel: My children, did I not wish you to be free of the fear of kings and royalty—even as the denizens of the wilderness are free of the fear of man. But you chose otherwise! . . ." Contrast this Judaic point of view with the Greek of Plato and Aristotle. The ideal policy, Plato maintained, was the monarchy and the ideal ruler of his Republic was the king who was also philosopher and warrior. Aristotle regarded kingship as "the primary or most divine form of government."

Among the peoples of antiquity, even among the most enlightened, kings were deified, sacrifices were offered to them and the most extravagant titles and attributes were ascribed to them. Thus the kings of Egypt were addressed as "Lord of heaven, lord of earth, sun, life of the whole world, lord of time . . . creator of the harvest, maker and fashioner of mortals . . . giver of life to all the host of gods" . . . There was no king-worship in Israel, and a Hebrew king to whom an heathen ruler sought to attribute miraculous healing powers replied: "Am I a God, to kill and to make alive?" . . . The highest tribute which the Bible pays to a ruler is: "He did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord" . . .

No revolutionary literature of mankind breathes a profounder distrust of royalty and indicts in harsher terms the ways of kings, their despoliations and corruptions, than the eighth chapter of the First Book of Samuel. Reflected in the Biblical account of the rise of the monarchy, one finds not only the struggle between the theocratic and the monarchic systems of government,—between priesthood and kingship,—but also and more particularly the unrelenting conflict between the democratic and the autocratic principles which raged throughout the political history of Israel, and, as we shall see in a moment, through its economic and religious history as well.

Hard was the road which royalty traveled in Israel. Its kings, with rare exceptions, never arrived at that absolutism possessed by the potentates of other ancient Oriental kingdoms. Straightway upon the selection of Saul, the prophet Samuel was quick to define and circumscribe the scope

and powers of the king: "Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord." The contents of this book may be gathered from the Deuteronomic code where the king is forbidden not to multiply horses and wealth and wives, and above all, not to permit his heart "to be lifted up above his brethren." Samuel loses no time in impressing upon his people that allegiance to the Lord must at all times be prior to allegiance to the king.

At decisive moments the people asserted their authority against the will of the king. Frequently they rebelled. Not upon the heels of Saul's election a revolution broke out, led by people whom the dynastic chronicler terms "base fellows" — but revolutionists have always been called "base fellows" . . . These "base fellows" despised Saul and cried out: "How shall this man save us?" This revolution was seemingly of such proportions that the kingdom had to be "renewed" in Gilgal. Samuel himself anointed the rebel David, king, during Saul's lifetime, not because he disliked Saul—for the Bible takes occasion to point out that Samuel loved Saul and mourned for him when misfortune overtook him—but because Saul had usurped powers not delegated to him and because he did not follow rightly the instructions of the prophet.

David's reign was beset with revolutions and upon the death of his son, Solomon, the empire was rent in twain by a popular revolution against royal oppression and arrogance. At times the people dethroned one ruler and elected another in his place. At least in five instances the Bible clearly states that the populace elected the king.

The kings were constantly under the moral surveillance of the prophets—these stern monitors of the great democratic desert tradition of the race. In the name of a law higher than that of kings, Samuel faced Saul, Nathan denounced David, Shemaiah threatened Rehoboam, Jehu imprecated Baasha, Elijah anathematized Ahab, and Jeremiah pronounced doom upon Zedekiah, because "he humbled not himself before Jeremiah speaking in the name of the Lord."

The Babylonian exile put an end to the relatively brief era of kingship in Israel. Thereafter and for a period of almost half a millennium the Jews were governed by priest-leaders and by assemblies and councils of their representatives—Judean Areopagites—who directed whatever of political

onomy the people possessed. There followed a brief interlude of Hasmonean sovereignty and of the Idumean dynasty under Roman tutelage, and checkered with rebellions, and then the great dispersion of the people took place. Since that time and for nearly nineteen centuries Israel scattered all over the world, existed without king, pope or potentate and yet retained a fairly integrated and disciplined national life. In many countries they possessed large measures of autonomy and everywhere they developed an adequate technique for communal administration and for self-government, democratically-controlled. Thus the first revolutionists of history who began their national life by an act of self-emancipation from the yoke of Egyptian bondage, never quite lost throughout their colorful career the love of freedom and the pride of free men. Impressed with the dignity and the inalienable worth of the life of man and aware of a noble ancestry commonly shared by all Israelites, they boldly and proudly proclaimed: "All Jews are the sons of kings!"

The economic thought of ancient Israel was likewise surcharged with a democratic idealism. The elaborate system of Biblical social legislation designed to shield the members of the community against exploitation, monopoly, loss of patrimony and enslavement was the expression of a mighty faith in human equality and solidarity. Great and exalted are the implications of the doctrine:—"for unto me are the children of Israel slaves; they are not slaves unto slaves."

The great social message of Israel—its heroic code of justice—is incomprehensible without an understanding of the pervading democratic spirit of the race. Every individual life was conceived to be inviolable, a reflex of divinity and an end in the cosmic scheme. Every act of wrong and injustice which mars the life of a man, defaces also the image of God. Oppression and exploitation are therefore more than violations of the laws of society. They are sacrilege and blasphemy. They thwart life—God's life in every man; they distort and mutilate that which is the end and goal of all being—the free and untrammelled unfoldment of every human personality.

And it was from the lips of men who had drunk deep of this democratic tradition of the race that the first great cry for justice and econ-

omic freedom leaped out upon the world. It was the intrepid spokesmen of the immemorial desert traditions of equality who wielded the scorpion whip of their fury upon those who ground the faces of the poor and turned aside the way of the humble. It was they who pleaded the cause of the orphan and the widow, the beaten and the broken of life.

This democratic impulse is strongly in evidence also in the religious history of Israel. A bitter and determined war was waged through the ages upon ecclesiastical dictatorship. Among ancient peoples theocracy was tantamount to priestly domination and assumed the form of an esoteric ritualism presided over by a privileged and exclusive hierarchy. The racial genius of Israel lifted theocracy from the plane of sacerdotalism unto the plane of moral idealism and proceeded to summon all men, regardless of birth or station, to share in a kingdom of moral values, to live as equals in the free domain of the spirit.

Here again, the prophet was the protagonist of the democratic tradition. He was the pitiless enemy of priestly privilege. Prophecy was not only the protest against idolatry—against the theriomorphic polytheism and the anthropomorphic monotheism of the day. It was not only the up-reaching of the morally sensitized spirit of the race for a nobler and juster order of society. It was an impassioned claim, springing from the very depths of the people's essential self, for full lay participation in the spiritual heritage of the race and for unrestricted democratic leadership in religion.

The priest, to be sure, was privileged to teach the Law, and his lips may keep knowledge. But so also may the layman who qualifies himself for that service. The word of God may come to all men, to the shepherd, the tradesman, the dresser of sycamore trees, to the humblest of the humble. The priest may perform the indispensable ritual of the sanctuary—but he is possessed of no occult powers, no inviolate office, no exclusive sanctity, no preferred moral status. He must submit to the same moral law which is binding alike upon king, priest, prophet or man of the people.

The prophet was as resolute in his denunciation of priests for moral delinquency as of kings, false prophets or common people. In a religious democracy there are no moral immu-

nities for select groups. Jeremiah interprets his divine call to mean that he must become a "fortified city and an iron pillar, and brazen walls, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land." Jeremiah and his spiritual kinsmen dared to call the priests, bulwarked behind the spurious sanctity of their office, vile, profane, murderers, despisers of God's name, polluters of the sanctuary, violators of the Law, teachers for hire . . . In none of the religious literature of ancient peoples can one find such unsparing criticism of priestcraft.

The great rebellion of Korah and of the leaders of Israel against the hierarchical claims put forth by the priestly class recorded in the Book of Numbers, is the classic instance of the refusal of the Jewish laity to assign special sanctity and privilege to any group in Israel. The rebels were not non-descript malcontents. They were the "princes of the congregation, the elect men of the assembly, men of renown." "And they assembled themselves together against Moses and against Aaron (whose names are here used by the priestly writer for his own end) and said unto them: ye take too much upon yourselves seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them; wherefore then lift ye up yourselves before the assembly of the Lord?" It was of course no answer to have had the earth conveniently swallow up these rebels alive. Korah's contention was echoed and re-echoed through all succeeding generations; for the racial daimon, the essential genius of the people spoke through him.

The priestcraft sought to make of the Jewish laity in relation to the sanctities of their faith "zarim"—strangers. Prophecy sought to make of them "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Similarly the false prophets sought to restrict the privilege of prophecy to a few "concessionaires" or professionals. When Eldad and Medad began to prophesy in the camp, Joshua, who here acts as the spokesman of the older tradition of professional prophecy, cried out unto Moses: "My Lord Moses shut them in!" But Moses, who represents the true genius of Israel replied, "Art thou jealous for my sake? Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put His spirit upon them."

In post-exilic times the scribes and rabbis continued the democratic tra-

dition of the prophets and extended it. With the destruction of the Temple democratic Judaism scored a major victory. Thereafter a new institution began its ascendancy in Jewish life—the Synagogue—the creation of Jewish laymen and the noblest and most democratic achievement of Israel. This lay institution soon became the spiritual center of Jewish life. Through the succeeding centuries it was the home of the democratic religious leaders in Israel who frequently felt themselves called upon to challenge the ecclesiastical hierarchy which had entrenched itself in the Temple. The Bible was edited and canonized largely by lay leaders. The right of teaching the Law and of interpreting it both legally and homiletically was steadily taken over by them. They simply repudiated the priestly monopoly of the Torah. They proceeded to ordain prayers and to fix the lay ritual.

The ritual of the synagogue was in itself a triumph of democratic thought. It depended upon no priest or Rabbi or other indispensable functionary. It called for no special locale or shrine or sanctuary. Its liturgy was completely dissociated from sacrifice and all forms of sacramentalism. Wherever ten Jewish laymen assembled for worship, there was a synagogue. Lay leaders framed laws and regulations for the guidance of the people. In the course of time, they even prescribed laws for the priests and supervised the performance of the priestly duties within the Temple itself. The status of the priest was radically changed. He came to be merely a commissioned agent of the people, possessing only delegated authority. Thus even the High Priest on Atonement Day was reminded by the Elders of the Tribunal, the Zik-keng Bet Din, composed largely of laymen: "we are the representatives of the Tribunal and thou art our representative and the Tribunal's; we adjure thee by Him who caused His name to dwell in this House not to deviate in a single instance from the instructions which we have given thee" . . .

The protracted struggle between the Sadducees and the Pharisees was but another phase of the historic conflict between the autocratic and democratic principles in Jewish life. The sadducees, clinging to a tradition common to all the priestly classes of antiquity, maintained that they were the sole monitors of the Law and the exclusive repository of legislative

power in matters religious. They resented what they regarded as unsecular usurpation and the unholy intrusion of laymen into precincts sacred unto themselves.

The Pharisees, on the other hand, who were the spiritual heirs of the prophets, declared that "God hath given unto all as an heritage—the kingdom, the priesthood and the sanctuary." "The Torah which Moses commanded us is the inheritance of the house of Israel." Hence every Israelite properly trained is qualified to share in the sovereign freedom of teaching and expounding the Law, of discovering its recondite meanings and of applying it to the problems and conditions of his time.

It is no accident of history that Israel was the first nation in the world to develop a universal system of popular education for both young and old, rich and poor. Among no other people was so much stress laid upon the education of children, of all children. The school took precedence over the synagogue. The first charge upon a community was the maintenance of its schools and the support of its teachers. A city without a school was to be shunned as doomed. A scholar who studied the Torah but did not teach it to others was regarded as a contemner of God's word. On the other hand he who taught a child Torah was assured of a portion in the world to come. Especially praiseworthy was he who taught the child of an Am Ha-aretz—the unlettered common man. The watch-word of the Men of the Great Community was "Raise up many disciples." It was no idle boast of Josephus when he declared: "Our principal care is to educate our children well"; and one need but read Nathan Hannover's account of the remarkable system of education which was in operation in the Polish Jewish communities, seventeen centuries later, to realize how uninterrupted the tradition of democratic education continued in Israel throughout the ages.

The Pharisees took the Bible injunction "And ye shall be called the priests of the Lord" to be more than a figure of speech. They set about to train the children of Israel into a discipline and a mode of sanctified living which would justify this appellation. Many of the regulations touching dress, conduct and food which they prescribed for the laymen were in the first instance intended for priests only. They wished to bridge the gap between priest and

layman, to democratize the concept of sanctification.

Some of the extremists among the Pharisees, holding that sanctification was the prerogative of all Israelites and in an effort to outpriest the priests, organized the Haburah, a fraternity which in matters of Levitical purity was even more exacting than the code binding upon priests. Members of such a Haburah regarded even the uninitiated High Priest as an Am Ha-aretz. Back of this exotic fraternity was the thought that holiness even in its ritualistic sense belonged to no hereditary class but must be and can be acquired by anyone through a rigid discipline of self-purification.

There came a time however, when Pharisaism itself became undemocratic. Post-exilic leaders early maintained that prophecy ceased with the exile. Thereafter religious truth could come only by way of the interpretation of the Scriptures, not by way of revelation. In matters of law even the Bat Kol, the Voice echoed from Heaven,—a species of attenuated revelation—is to be ignored. The method of interpretation became as a matter of course more and more involved and technical as time went on. Only the skilled and the carefully trained students who were acquainted with all the intricacies of Rabbinic hermeneutics came to be regarded as qualified teachers. Religious leadership was again narrowly restricted. An ever-widening gulf set in between the Rabbinic scholars and the masses. When the legal system of the Rabbis was finally codified in the Talmud and assumed an authority second only to that of the Bible, Rabbinism became as strongly entrenched in it, as exclusive and domineering as the priests had been in the Temple. An aristocracy of learning—a dry, hard, exclusive learning, quite inaccessible to the common man, superseded the aristocracy of sacerdotalism. The masses were again excluded from their spiritual patrimony.

The people were bound to rebel; and they did rebel. In the popular Messianic movements during the two centuries following the compilation of the Talmud we already find strong anti-Rabbinic tendencies. But the great rebellion expressed itself in two ways; Karaism and mysticism.

Karaim sought to break the domination of the Rabbis by completely repudiating their authority to interpret the Bible and by appealing to a literal reading of the sacred text. It is true

that Karaism was, in a sense, a throwback to Sadduceeism but it was prompted by none of the older priestly presumptions of religious franchise and vested interests. It may also have been motivated by a resentment of the large infusion of Persian thought and superstition in the Talmud.

Jewish mysticism was an effort to re-discover a world in which the religious spirit of the race could again adventure free and undeterred, and where the souls of men, starved by Rabbinic formalism, could feed again upon the glories and glamour of new revelations. Like Karaism Jewish mysticism sought its freedom in the Bible, but unlike Karaism it sought it not in a literal reading of Scriptures, nor in Halachic or Hagadic interpretation such as Rabbinism adopted, but in an occult, mystic probing of its inner spiritual meaning. The Jewish mystic developed a technique quite as elaborate, as ingenious and as amazing as that of the Rabbis. Just as the Rabbis had employed Biblical phrases, words and letters in their dialectics to expound the law and the moral, so the mystics turned every phrase, word and letter of the Bible into a visible revelation of invisible truth. By means of his highly refined methodology the very letters of the Torah dissolved in a world of spirituality. And in that world the Jewish mystic found that prophetic freedom which was denied him elsewhere.

Centuries later Chassidism expressed the same spirit of revolt. It was a popular democratic uprising as evidenced by the astounding rapidity with which the movement swept through Eastern-European Jewries. It was a magnificent attempt to restore the treasures of the faith to the masses and to rescue Judaism from a cold, meager, subtilized Talmudism and from a coterie of Rabbis who had become estranged from the people, exclusive and to a degree also exploiting. Chassidism declared: "The essence of Judaism is that a man should walk in wholesomeness and simplicity of spirit without any subtleties." Chassidism was a great yearning of simple men for the wider spaces of the spirit. It was a wish to tap anew the clear springs of religious inspiration and to bring on a new age of faith and miracles and wonderment and revelation.

It should be noted however, that the continued demand for democracy

in Israel was motivated largely by a desire not for things secular but for things sacred. It was not a clamor for mere political rights and for the rule of the many in place of the few. It went much deeper. At the heart of it was a tremendous dogma, the like of which is not to be found among any other people, — an astounding ideological fixation, if you will, a spiritual "fiction" of marvelous potency woven by the racial psyche and forever after inseparable from the life and thought processes of the people. God had made an eternal covenant with the whole House of Israel, the Israel as a people should become His pledged servant and emissary. The covenant was made with every Israelite,—king, priest, prophet and common man. "Ye are standing this day all of you before the Lord, your God, your heads, your tribes, your elders, and your officers, even all the men of Israel, your little ones, your wives, and the sojourner that is in the midst of thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water; that thou shouldest enter into the covenant of the Lord thy God, and into His oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day; that He may establish thee this day unto Himself for a people, and that He may be unto thee a God, as He spake unto thee and as He swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob. Neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath, but also with him that standeth here with us this day before the Lord our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day."

For the first time in the history of mankind a whole people conceived of itself as having been consecrated into an everlasting priesthood and as having been commissioned to perform those functions which among other peoples were relegated to a small official group of priests. Religion was never so democratized.

"And ye shall be unto me holy men!" Nothing is so basic in the religious philosophy of the Bible as the concept of the covenant and its implied sanctification of the whole people of Israel. And strange and difficult as this paralleled idea of the mass ordination of a whole people may appear, Israel clung to it tenaciously throughout its history. It became the essential tradition of Israel.

Religion IN A TROUBLED WORLD

**A Forum on problems that concern all of us,
conducted by William Dinwoodie**

AS WE write these lines, events in Europe are moving with startling rapidity.

Steel-helmeted soldiers are moving across their borders into neighboring countries. Bewildered Jews, young and old, are feeling the lash of the oppressor. A churchman, daring to shout out against the pagan practices now being adopted, has been shunted off to a lonely concentration camp.

Where is it all leading?
Where does religion stand
in the midst of the
strife?

What would
Christ say if He
were to return
to earth in the
flesh today, and
move in and out
among the
passing throng?

Because Jews have suffered the most in the present chaos in central Europe, we invited an outstanding American Jew with a wide social and international vision to come to the WAR CRY's forum and answer some pointed questions. He is Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland.

Rabbi Silver may be described as the "voice of Judah" in America. For twenty years and more he has been looked upon as a spiritual leader "in the household of Israel."

A member of the administrative committee of the World Zionist Agency, he also is vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America and national co-chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. With Samuel Untermyer of New York, he organized the first movement in the United States to fight the enemies of the Jews in Europe and to champion American ideals against insidious propaganda.

As he takes his place on the platform, we see that he is still a comparatively young man—only 45 years of age—with dark hair combed straight back from a high forehead. There are flecks of gray about the temples.

His face is angular and his most distinguishing feature is, perhaps, his eyes. Dark and set wide apart, they carry something of his own deeply emotional nature to his hearers on the other side of the pulpit.

HIS voice is resonant and his choice of expressions—like the simple phrases in Pearl Buck's books—have a quality of prose poetry that is found all too seldom outside the Bible. Listen for a moment as he outlines his philosophy on the rights of the minorities.

"Any government," he says, "which, in the twentieth century, sets about singling out men on account of their race or religion for political disfranchisement or economic discriminations or social degradation, is underwriting its own doom."

"It is doing its best to raise, train and equip the malecontents and revolutionaries of tomorrow who will destroy it, root and branch. You can hold persecuted people down for a time with bayonets or, what is more effective

than bayonets, with lying propaganda.

"But propaganda, sooner or later, must succumb to truth, and as far as bayonets are concerned, it was Napoleon who declared there is one thing you cannot do with them—you cannot sit on them."

"The shot which will usher in the next World War will probably be fired, as it was at Sarajevo in 1914, by some individual in the name of an oppressed minority. Europe today is rushing headlong back to 1914."

Now for the questions—and Rabbi Silver informs us he is most happy to answer them.

"If Christ were to return to Jerusalem, Rabbi, what message do you think he would bring to His oppressed people, the Jews, in Europe and elsewhere?"

"The message would be: 'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of

evil against you falsely . . .'" (Matthew 5:11).

"Would Christ, in your opinion, look upon the return of the Jews to the Holy land as a fulfillment of Bible prophecy?"

"Yes. Bound up with the messianic faith of Israel at all times was the restoration of the people to Palestine and the rehabilitation of its national life."

"In the light of the present rearmament race, what would be the text of your sermon if you were preaching to the rulers of the world?"

"My text would be: 'For not by their own sword did they get the land in possession. Neither did their own arm save them. But Thy right hand, and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance, because Thou wast favorable unto them . . .'" (Psa. 44:4 R.V.)

"What are the main points you would seek to bring out in your sermon to the rulers?"

"I would stress the old but forever ignored truth which mankind should have learned by now after having passed through so many seas of blood—that no victory is ever achieved through arms, and that no permanent security is ever established through physical power. It is only in 'the light of God's countenance,' in the building of a social order based on justice, truth and the supremacy of a moral law that a nation can find its enduring salvation."



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, a leader among Jews of the world.

"What is your favorite Bible passage?"

"Psalm 90, beginning—'Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations."

"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God."

"Thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men."

"For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night."

In our next issue the Forum will present Dr. ROBERT ELLIOTT SMITH, Secretary Emeritus of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

EXPERIMENT

(Continued from page 5)

man then, Jack, and Bill was the superintendent. I always thought he had an interest in the plant—but just look at him now! The thing doesn't seem real to me. I can't believe it yet!"

Shortly, as he had promised, Bill Bagley returned.

"Well, Ed," he said, swinging a leg over an adjoining stool, "I haven't seen you for years. How goes it?"

"Not bad, Bill. This is my son, Jack. Jack, this is Mr. Bagley."

"Pleased t'meetcha, boy. Chip off the old block, eh, Ed? Well, I see you're training him to hold his liquor like a man—ha, ha! It's many a bottle we used to kill in the old days. Remember?"

Ed Milroy colored to the roots of his hair. "No, no, Bill. It's nothing like that. As a matter of fact, I—" He broke off, and the unfinished remark was lost in the excitement of renewing an old acquaintance.

"Have one with me, Ed," said Bill, quickly. "Why, sure, of course you're going to, what are you talking about! Charley! Oh, Charley, two shots over here, for me and Ed Milroy, an old pal of better days. Of better days," he crooned. "Never mind, now, Ed. Forget it, do you hear? Think I'm going to meet an old pal after all these years and let him get away without a little drink?"

And his voice droned on and on, and it seemed it would never end.

The door was locked, presently, in compliance with the law. But behind drawn shades the drinking went on.

And at a very late hour indeed, Ed Milroy and his son emerged from the place, Jack holding his father by the arm, and glancing up and down the

street. In a few moments he was whistling for a cab.

"6478 Clinton," he said to the driver, who helped him get his father in the car.

THE following morning, which was Sunday, Ed Milroy was not up with his accustomed promptness. When he did appear he avoided the gaze of his

wife and son, showing every indication that he would be only too glad too escape from the house. But he spent the afternoon in his favorite chair, glancing through the Sunday papers, though reading without interest, and running through paragraphs over and over again.

As dusk was falling he dropped his paper to the floor. He arose with the air of one who has made a final decision, and faced Jack who was sitting across the room.

"Jack," he said with sudden determination, "there is no use pretending there is nothing wrong. I made a plain fool of myself last night. I mean that, without knowing it, I have always been a fool. And the hardest part of it was that I took my own son along to witness my humiliation."

Jack spoke with equal earnestness. "Forget it, Dad. You see, I know how it happened. I know you didn't mean to."

"But that's not it," his father objected. "Mary? Mary!" he called.

His wife appeared presently from the kitchen. "Yes, Ed?"

"Mary, I want to tell you I've been a fool. I haven't been nearly as strong as I fancied I was; I simply was never tempted. And when the pinch came, why, I found a strong will wasn't enough."

"Mary . . . er, are you going to the ball tonight?"

"Of course. I always go, Ed."

"Well, let me know in plenty of time, will you? I want to go along."

"But what about me?" Jack quietly asked. "I saw as much as I want to of one side, only last night. Tonight I think I'll see the other side. For keeps."

Quotable Quotes

• THE FIRST CHOICE a natural mind makes is a life of sin and pleasure.—Owens.

• THE MEN WHO GIVE up the old faith are the same persons who plead for latitude as to general conduct.—Spurgeon.

• SCRIPTURE is a book for life; and as life is full of affliction, so the Word of God abounds with counsel and comfort for the afflicted.—Saphir.

• WHAT YOU KEEP to yourself you lose, what you give away you keep forever. What is the good of hoarding your money? Death has another key to your safe.

• GOD'S VERY SERVICE is wages; His ways are strewn with roses, and paved with joy that is unspeakable and full of glory, and with peace that passeth understanding.—Thomas Brooks.

COLONEL F. AGNEW SALVATIONISTS REVIEW

The General

The General, on March 30th, met 2,000 young people in council in Clapton Congress Hall, London, Eng. This was the largest young people's council ever conducted by the General, and it finished with a most remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The prayer meeting was led by the Chief of the Staff, Commissioner J. McMillan, and 414 young people knelt at the altar.

The Commissioner

The Winnipeg Citadel Band furnished the lure which induced the Commissioner to leave his many engagements and responsibilities and spend a few days in Winnipeg, Canada. It is not often the Commissioner pays a visit to other Territories, but on March 27th to 29th he conducted officers' councils and chaired the band's annual festival. The Commissioner also expects to conduct meetings in Toronto during the week-end of April 23rd and 24th.

Youth Crusade

The International Youth Crusade is off to a splendid start in the Central Territory. During February the targets set for the whole campaign in young people's seekers and Corps Cadets were reached, with 21 percent to 27 percent to spare. Every other activity showed up splendidly and gave every evidence of a finish away over the targets fixed by the Commissioner. Of Torchbearers Club memberships, with 3,000 as the target, 1,120 were secured in February alone.

Grand Rapids Inspection

Brigadier and Mrs. H. Pugmire are making the most of their grand opportunity in the Western Michigan Division. We had the pleasure of spending three days with them on Divisional inspections, and of conducting meetings at Grand Rapids 1 and 2 Corps. Other new comrades who were greeted were Adjutant F. Bush, Financial Secretary, and Major Mabel Neal and Adjutant Snow of the Citadel Corps.

In addition to inspections of the corps, the Men's and Women's Social Institutions were visited by the Field Secretary, Lt.-Colonel Chesham, and Major Marshall. Adjutant Wm. Jobe, manager of the Men's Social, has had a splendid year and is facing the present recession without fear.

Major Hazel McLeod, superintendent of the Grand Rapids Home and Hospital, furnished 80,000 meals in that institution during 1937. At the Grand Rapids Home we greeted Major I. McLeod, superintendent of the Milwaukee Home and Hospital, who has recently undergone a serious operation.

Army Music

Band interests occupy a considerable part of the attention of the Commissioner and the T.H.Q. staff at the present time. First there is the Milwaukee Band Festival, which took place on Sunday, April 30. A report of this mammoth undertaking appears on pages 8 and 9 of this issue.

A Chicago Band Festival is being planned for June 1st, and will include every senior and junior band in the city. It is being sponsored by the Chicago Staff Band for the purpose of stimulating and encouraging corps bands.

On June 20th the fourth annual Music Camp will be opened by the Commissioner at Camp Lake, Wis.

This year the curriculum will include vocal as well as instrumental instruction.

An octet of Staff Bandsmen is to accompany General Higgins (R) on his visits to Peoria, Bloomington, Springfield and Decatur, Ill., from April 25th to May 1st.

The Chicago Staff Band will accompany the Commissioner to Omaha, Nebr., for meetings on May 22nd.

All would-be bandmasters are urged to take the bandmasters' course offered by International Headquarters, London. Information may be secured by writing to the Field Secretary, Lt.-Colonel Chesham.

The Commissioner's Letter

A letter of inspiration and counsel was sent by the Commissioner to every corps commander in the Territory, to be read in the first soldiers' meeting in April. Past victories are mentioned, but present needs and efforts emphasized. The Commissioner finds his greatest joy and satisfaction in promoting intense activities in connection with the building up of the Kingdom of Christ.

Illinois Advances

Major T. M. Larsen is giving special attention to the young people and

RADIO PROGRAMS

(All programs are given in Central Standard time except where otherwise indicated)

APPLETON, Wis.—WBY, 1260 kilocycles. Broadcast daily, except Sunday from 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. "The Appleton Church of the Air."

CALUMET, Mich.—WHDF, 1410 kilocycles. World's Broadcasting System, Copper Country Station. Broadcast every Thursday, 7:00 to 7:15 P.M. (Eastern Standard time). Program, "The Promise Box," sponsored by the corps commanders.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa—WMT, 680 kilocycles. Broadcast of music and addresses every Sunday morning, 9:30 to 9:45.

CHICAGO, Ill.—WJJD, 1130 kilocycles. Broadcast of sacred songs by Salvation Choristers of T. H. Q. every Saturday from 8:45 to 9:00 A.M.

DETROIT, Mich.—WJRN, 1560 kilocycles. Weekly broadcast of a portion of Detroit Citadel Corps' Sunday night meeting from 8:15 to 9:00 (Eastern Standard time).

DETROIT, Mich.—WMBC, 1420 kilocycles. Program of song and Gospel messages, broadcast on the last Saturday of every month from 9:00 to 9:30 P.M. (Eastern Standard time).

DODGE CITY, Kans.—KGNO, 1340 kilocycles. Program of Bible messages and music known as the "Gospel Hour," every Friday from 9:25 to 9:45 A.M.

FLINT, Mich.—WEDF, 1350 kilocycles, 8:45 P.M., every Thursday (Eastern Standard time); music by Flint Citadel Band; program under direction of Major John Ward.

FLINT, Mich.—WMPC, 1280 kilocycles. Broadcast every Friday from 12:50 to 1:15 P.M. (Eastern Standard time). Includes singing and Bible talks, sponsored by the Flint Broadway Corps.

FOND DU LAC, Wis.—KFIZ, 1240 kilocycles. Broadcast daily, except Sunday, from 9:00 to 9:15 A.M. A Salvation Army program known as "The Story Behind the Song."

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—WIRE, 1480 kilocycles. Broadcast every Saturday morning, 9:15 to 9:30. Program of old-fashioned hymns.

JAMESTOWN, N.D.—KRKE, 1370 kilocycles. Morning Devotional, conducted by Major Clara Shelton every Sunday from 9:30 to 10:00.

JANESVILLE, Wis.—WCLO, 120 kilocycles. Broadcast known as the "Good Cheer Club" for children, every Thursday from 10:45 to 11:00 A.M., and a special broadcast, direct from the Army Hall, every Sunday from 4:30 to 5:00 P.M.

KEARNEY, Nebr.—KGIW, 1310 kilocycles.

Corps Cadets of the Illinois Division. He recently conducted eight junior soldiers and transferred two from the junior to the senior roll at Hammond, Ind.

At the Corps Cadet rally conducted by the Major at Bloomington there were 250 present, and 42 Corps Cadets consecrated themselves to God for service. A family of five were enrolled as soldiers at Rock Island; four senior soldiers and seventeen junior soldiers were enrolled at Princeton.

Shelbyville, Ind.

The Youth Crusade was successfully launched in Shelbyville, Ind., by Brigadier J. Atkinson, where large crowds of young people gathered at his afternoon meeting. Forty-two came to the altar for salvation, and new enthusiasm and interest have been stirred up in the corps. Captain P. Kiefer, the corps officer, was greatly encouraged.

Promoted to Glory

The Commissioner has been informed by the Chief of the Staff that Commissioner Johan Ogrim (R) was called to his Eternal Reward on Saturday, March 12th. For some years he has been in retirement in Sweden. Previous to retirement, Commissioner Ogrim was Territorial Commander for Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Germany. He had nearly reached his 85th birthday when he passed away.

Mrs. Lt.-Col. Andrews

Mrs. Lt.-Colonel Henry Andrews was promoted to Glory recently from a little village in Essex, England. Her

Adj. Dorothy Sheaff alternates with local pastors in conducting daily devotional services, from 8:00 to 8:30 A.M.

MADISON, Wis.—WIBA, 1290 kilocycles. Salvation Army program, "Church of the Air," conducted by Adj. Phil Geringer, with Ministers' Association cooperating; broadcast daily, Mon. through Fri., 9:30 to 9:45 A.M.

MANDAN, N.D.—KGCW, 1240 kilocycles. Broadcast every Wednesday evening, 7:00 to 7:15 (Mountain Standard time). This program, known as "The Salvation Army Album," is under the direction of Capt. Kenneth Marshall.

MANITOWOC, Wis.—WOMT, 1210 kilocycles. Broadcast known as "The Sacred Melody Hour," every Tuesday from 4:15 to 5:00 P.M.

MUSKEGON, Mich.—WKBC, 1500 kilocycles. Army programs as follows: No. 1 Corps; Fri. 8:15 to 8:30 P.M.; Sun., 7:30 to 8:00 P.M. (direct from Citadel). No. 2 Corps; Sat., 5:00 to 5:15 P.M. (All schedules given in Eastern Standard time). Program sponsored by Major V. Hoffman.

NORTH PLATTE, Neb.—KGNF, 1480 kilocycles. Capt. Wm. Kyle alternates with local ministers in conducting morning devotional services daily, from 8:00 to 8:15.

PEORIA, Ill.—WMBD, 1440 kilocycles. Salvation Army program sponsored by Divisional Headquarters every Friday from 8:00 to 8:45 P.M.

RICHMOND, Ind.—WBRV, 1500 kilocycles. Broadcast every Monday evening, 7:15 to 7:30.

ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—WMIN, 1370 kilocycles. Morning devotional, weekdays from 6:00 to 6:15 and every Sunday morning from 8:30 to 9:00. Program directed by Brigadier H. E. Burtenshaw.

SHEBOYGAN, Wis.—WHBL, 1300 kilocycles. "The Chapel of the Air," broadcast daily (except Saturday and Sunday) 4:45 to 5:00 P.M. "Vesper Services," broadcast every Sunday from 8 A. Temple, 6:00 to 6:30 P.M. Major John Kelly announces both programs.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—WCBS, 1420 kilocycles. Broadcast every Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 4:15 to 4:30 P.M. Salvation Army Gospel hymn request program led by Adj. Paul A. Nelson, assisted by Organist Raymond Patton. Sidewalk Gospel Service from 7:30 to 8:00 P.M. every Saturday.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—WTAX, 1210 kilocycles. "Your Favorite Hymn Program," presented by Adj. Paul A. Nelson and the Springfield Corps every Tuesday, 9:30-9:45 P.M.

SPRINGFIELD, Mo.—KWTG, 120 kilocycles. "Salvation Army Radio Family Altar" program conducted by Major Dallas P. Leander, corps commander, every Sunday at 8:15 A.M.

VALLEY CITY, N.D.—KOVG, 1500 kilocycles. Capt. W. Lahn alternates with local pastors in conducting daily devotional services from 8:15 to 8:30 A.M.

Yorkland, the late Lt. Colonel Henry Andrews, was killed on military medical service in India in 1915, and was posthumously awarded the V.C. for gallantry. Dr. Andrews was graduated from two Chicago medical colleges and spent more than five years in this city preparing for his medical missionary work in India. Mrs. Lt.-Colonel Andrews served for many years in India before and after her marriage, and her bravery and courage were outstanding.

Windsor Home and Hospital

In addition to the large and splendid General Hospital which the Army has operated for many years in Windsor, Canada, Commissioner G. Carpenter has recently opened a Home and Hospital for unmarried mothers in that city. The Home is in a rented building, and the people of Windsor have been very generous in supplying new furnishings. The first patient to

(Continued on page 10)

COMING EVENTS

COMMISSIONER W. A. McINTYRE

(Territorial Commander)

*TORONTO, Canada.—Sat.-Sun., Apr. 23-24.
*JACKSON, Mich.—Wed., Apr. 27. (Dedication of building)

*CHICAGO, Ill.—Thurs., Apr. 28. (Self-Denial Ingathering for Training College Division)
*INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Fri., Apr. 29. (Army Hostel dedication)

*LA CROSSE, Wis.—Sat.-Sun., Apr. 30-May 1.
*INDIANAPOLIS 2, Ind.—Wed., May 4. (Dedication of building)

*SPRINGFIELD, Mo.—Sat.-Sun., May 7-8. (Dedication of building)

*JOPLIN, Mo.—Mon., May 9. (Dedication of building)

*HANNIBAL, Mo.—Tues., May 10. (Dedication of building)

*PEORIA, Ill.—Thurs., May 12. (Self-Denial Ingathering)

*WARSAW, Ind.—Sun., May 17. (Dedication of building)

*INDIANAPOLIS 3, Ind.—Mon., May 19. (Dedication of building)

*OMAHA, Nebr.—Sat.-Sun., May 21-22. (Y.P. Councils)

*LINCOLN, Nebr.—Mon., May 23.

*BEATRICE, Nebr.—Tues., May 24.

*PREMONT, Nebr.—Tues., May 24.

*GRAND ISLAND, Nebr.—Wed., May 25.

*KEARNEY, Nebr.—Wed., May 25.

*NORTH PLATTE, Nebr.—Wed., May 25.

*CHICAGO, Ill.—Thurs.-Mon., May 26-30. (Scandinavian Congress)

*CHICAGO, Ill.—Wed., June 1. (Chicago Band Festival)

*DETROIT, Mich.—Sun., June 5. (Dedication of camp buildings)

*DETROIT, Mich.—Mon.-Tues., June 6-7. (Officers' Councils)

*KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Sat.-Sun., June 11-12. (Y.P. Councils)

*CHICAGO, Ill.—Mon., June 13. (Commissioning of Cadets in Moody Institute Auditorium)

*DES MOINES, Ia.—Sat.-Sun., June 18-19. (Iowa Golden Jubilee)

*CAMP LAKE, Wis.—Sun., June 19, to Tues., July 3. (Music Camp)

(Mrs. McIntyre will accompany)

GENERAL E. J. HIGGINS

PORT HURON, Michigan—Monday, April 18th, to Sunday, April 24th.

PEORIA, Illinois — Wednesday, April 27th.

BLOOMINGTON, Illinois—Thursday, April 28th.

SPRINGFIELD, Illinois — Friday, April 29th.

DECATUR, Illinois — Saturday, April 30th, and Sunday, May 1st.

COLONEL FLETCHER AGNEW

(Chief Secretary)

PORT HURON, Mich.—Sat., April 26. (Public meeting)

CHICAGO (Temple), Ill.—Sun., June 12, afternoon and evening. (Farewell of Cadets)

DIVISIONAL INSPECTIONS

Colonel Fletcher Agnew

Lt.-Colonel A. E. Chesham

Major John Marshall

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Fri.-Sun., Apr. 22-24.

DETROIT, Mich.—Fri.-Sun., Apr. 29-May 1.

PEORIA, Ill.—Fri.-Sun., May 6-8.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Fri.-Sun., May 20-22.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Fri.-Sun., May 27-29.

OMAHA, Neb.—Fri.-Sun., June 2-6.

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O'mai B'nai Grand Lodge No. 2
86th annual meeting, Denver, Col.
June 19, 1938

ADDRESS OF RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

June 22, 1938

MY DEAR FRIENDS:—I was deeply moved this evening, sitting here and listening to the installation ceremonies. There was a spirit here which though very imponderable was, yet, very real. It was a beautiful spirit which emanated from this great throng of men and women towards their chosen leader who is now retiring, and to the one who is being installed for new service. I was impressed by the fine quality of Jewish leadership here represented. As long as we can keep this quality of leadership in Jewish life in this country, Jewish life is secure. You know, that one of the things which distinguishes our religion from other religions is that we have no priestly hierarchy, and that all duties are equally shared by laymen, and by Rabbis.

I need not praise this Order. Its record of more than nine decades of service in every field is tribute enough. I want to speak a word about the fine men whom you have this evening inducted into office for the coming year, and more particularly, about my good friend who is to be your President for the coming year, Philmore Haber. You have chosen wisely. You have placed at the helm of your organization for the coming year a man whom I know to be adequately equipped, both intellectually and spiritually, for the service which he will render. A good Jew. A good American. A man of sound judgment; and in these days, sound judgment is, perhaps, the primary requisite in Jewish life.

I want to speak to you briefly of some of the things which are closest to our hearts today. I want to reason with you about some of these things, so that we may gain a truer perspective on ourselves and on the problems which confront us today. I look upon this hour as an hour both of indecision and of decision. The hour of decision will follow the hour of indecision. I shall tell you what I mean by that. I can best illustrate what I mean from a chapter in American history. There was a period in American history when Americans thought that

they could come to terms with slavery; that this country could remain permanently half-free and half-slave. Some of the wisest heads of this nation devoted themselves to the task of finding a compromise which will enable this country to remain half-free and half-slave. You may recall that such a compromise was actually worked out in the famous Missouri Compromise. Those who in those days maintained that such a compromise was impractical, that this country could not remain half-free and half-slave, were denounced both in the North and in the South. The term "abolitionist" was used as a term of contempt, throughout the nation. But the abolitionist proved correct after all, because inherent in the institution of slavery was the motive of expansion. Slavery in order to exist had to expand, and whenever new territory was opened up and carved into new states, the slave-holding interests, bent upon capitalizing the profits involved in slavery, initiated aggressive campaigns to extend slavery into those new territories and new states. The free states, on the other hand, in order to maintain freedom within their own boundaries had to fight for the limitation of slavery in the new states lest the overwhelming vote in Congress would come to be a pro-slavery vote. With the result that the conflict, far from being eased and attenuated through compromise, was sharpened, as time went on and the conflict moved inevitably and irresistibly through its fateful course, finally plunging this nation into a tragic Civil War which lasted more than four years.

Compare this story with what is happening in the world today. An attempt is being made in the Western World today to come to terms with dictatorships. There are wise heads throughout the world who maintain that it is possible to establish a *modus vivendi*, a reconciliation between the dictatorial states on the one hand, and the free Democratic states on the other hand. In other words, to keep the Western World permanently half-free and half-slave. Prime Minister Chamberlain of England is today the outstanding and commanding champion of this idea of compromise through concession. Those who maintain that such a compromise is impossible are being denounced as visionary, irresponsible and reckless idealists. But here again, I am afraid, these people, the so-called irresponsible and reckless idealists, will prove right in the end; for, involved in dictatorship, is also the

motive of expansion. Dictatorship, to continue must expand, witness the expansion of the Fascist States in the last few years in Ethiopia, in Austria, in Spain, in China. Tomorrow it will be Czechoslovakia. There is an uncontrollable impulse toward expansion inherent in dictatorship.

A day of reckoning in my humble judgment which will involve the whole world is not far off. There are people who say that what is happening in those Fascist countries over there are the internal affairs of those countries, and that nobody should meddle with the internal affairs of those countries. Just as it was maintained in this country before the Civil War that what the Southern states do with their slaves is their own affair, and not the affair of the Federal Government. But, unfortunately, the matter is not quite as simple as all that. The invasion of Ethiopia was not an internal affair of Italy, nor was the invasion of Austria an internal affair of Germany. Internal affairs sometimes become internal combustions which explode and set the whole world afire. Sarajevo in 1914, was not a local, internal affair. The shot which was fired there killed ten millions of people throughout the world.

WRHS

A day of reckoning, my friends, is coming. I am persuaded that dictatorship will collapse. Not because I want to see it collapse. I do want to see it collapse. But this is not wishful thinking that I am indulging in at the present moment. The modern form of tyranny which we call dictatorship will collapse! Because it is no new philosophy; no new word; no new hope; no new solace; no new kindling vision for mankind. It is only the latest form of a thrice-repudiated human tyranny; perhaps, the ugliest of all forms of oppression which mankind lived with in the past, experienced, and finally destroyed. Modern dictatorship, as exemplified by Germany and Italy, is nothing but a thinly veneered form of large-scale gangsterism. It is brigandage. It is thievery. It is brutality on an international scale! As such it will destroy itself. But until it destroys itself, until that era of madness in which we now find ourselves will have passed away, the Jewish people throughout the world will suffer a tremendous amount of hammering. We will find ourselves upon the anvil, beaten by personal and imper-

sonal forces. The old adage of the rabbis will come true, as it has been true in the last five or six years.

"When the rock falls upon the pitcher the pitcher is broken.
When the pitcher falls upon the rock the pitcher is broken."

In a world of moral stampede, and that is the kind of a world in which we live, it is the weakest that is trampled upon first. You need not look very far for the cause of anti-Semitism; you need not speculate about it or philosophize about it. Unfortunately, we do too much of it today. The reason for the suffering of the Jewish people in the world is that it is a minority, and that it is a weak minority.

I want to say a word about minorities: The World War was caused by the oppression and exploitations of minorities, and the new world war is likely to be caused by it also. When in the decades preceding the War of 1914, the German empire began its famous *Drang nach Osten*, its push towards the East, and the Tzarist Empire began its imperial invasion of Southeastern Europe, both of those empires began to play off the minority groups one against the other; they used them as pawns. All the minority peoples were oppressed, and it was easy to incite them and to arouse their national aspirations. The man who fired that pistol in Sarajevo was a member of one of these minority, discontented and oppressed groups. The peace treaties, realizing the menace which unprotected and oppressed minorities represented in Europe, established the principle of Minority Rights. They made minorities the wards of collective security inherent in the League of Nations. The Jewish minorities in Poland, Lithuania, Rumania and elsewhere, were also given international protection through covenanted treaties. But with the breakdown of the League of Nations and with the collapse of international security, the minority problem has again become menacing and war-breeding. Empires have again begun to exploit minorities for their imperial interest. Hitler is today playing exactly the same game which the Kaiser played in the years before 1914, when he sets himself up as the champion of the Sudeten Germans, for example, in Czechoslovakia. He is doing it not because he is interested in the protection of a minority group, because if he were interested in the protection of a minority group he would not have

taken a defenseless minority of six to eight hundred thousand men, women and children in Germany and Austria and broken them, as he has broken the Jewish groups in the last five years. He is not even interested in the protection of the German minorities, for only a few weeks ago he made a gift of a quarter of a million Germans in the Tyrol,—the most persecuted minority group in Europe today,—the one that is being Italianized as ruthlessly as any group was ever subjected to foreign domination and exploitation—he made a gift of that German minority to Mussolini! What he is interested in is the exploitation of a minority to disrupt a country which happens to be in the way of the imperial march of the Reich toward the East.

This problem of minorities is again becoming very acute. Sooner or later Europe will have to solve it. And when Europe will set about solving it, either before another World War or after another World War, the minority status of the Jewish group in Europe will also approach a solution. It will have to be established sooner or later that every man has a right to live in the place where he was born, regardless of his race or religion. It will have to be established that to drive out a minority people which you do not happen to like is an international crime which the nations of the earth, in self-defense, will have to punish!

I speak of this because I like to envisage the Jewish problem against the background of world problems. I should like to have you conceive of the Jewish problem in its relation to the world problem, because if you isolate the Jewish problem and try to solve it in and by itself, you will be driven to despair. In that direction madness lies. The problem of the Jewish minority in Central and Eastern Europe is more difficult than out of all other minorities for this simple reason: All other minorities have a homeland to which to appeal. The Jewish minority has no homeland. The Hungarians in Transylvania for example who are today a part of Rumania, and who feel themselves quite as much exploited as the Jews in Rumania, may appeal to Hungary, and Hungary has friends in the council of nations. Likewise the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Germans, the Slav minorities. They have homelands to appeal to. The Jewish minority has none. That, my friends, when you come to think about it, is perhaps the

most valid and the most powerful argument for Zionism. I speak now not as an official Zionist, but as a Jew trying to understand the position of the Jew in the world.

You know, men frequently speak of the International Jew. Actually, the Jew is no more international in the sense of being found in many parts of the world, than the Englishman or the German. You can go to any part of the civilized or the uncivilized world today and you will find Englishmen. You can go to any part of the civilized or uncivilized world today and you will find Germans. They are far more international than the so-called International Jew. But what is the difference between them and us? The difference is merely this: They come from somewhere. They come from a homeland and, therefore, they go somewhere, to another homeland. We, unfortunately, are compelled to go from one homelessness to another homelessness. That is why the rabbis long ago made this very keen observation. They said "Non-Jews are never in exile." They become colonists in other countries. They become citizens of other countries. But because they come from national homelands, they are never in exile. The Jewish people in many parts of the world finds itself in exile because it has no national homeland of its own. The strongest argument for Zionism is not the possible return of the Jews from all parts of the world to Palestine, nor the fact—which to my mind is not a fact—that Jewish life is liquidating all over the world, but the promise of finally giving to our people political status in the world: normalizing our existence in the world with that of all other people who have homelands of their own. We ask for no more and no less than that which all other peoples have. There are millions of Germans living in the United States. They are good citizens. There are millions of Frenchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen and Italians living here. Nobody questions their right to American citizenship and to full participation in American life. We want to enjoy the same privilege—namely that of having a national homeland for our people as such, and the right as individuals to live where we want to live—a right possessed by other peoples.

I go back to where I started. As long as this era, this mad era, will last, and no one knows how long it will last—sometimes the de-

cision comes quicker than you expect. As it happened this evening, I am afraid that we are in for a considerable amount of hammering. What, then, should be our attitude?

I recommend to you, my friends, no heroics. I ask, first of all, from my fellow Jews the exercise of a degree of stoicism. There is something fine about a man (or a people) who suffers and endures in quiet dignity. There is something indecent in too much yammering and too much complaining and too much lamentation. There are peoples today who are suffering far more than the Jewish people. The Spaniards, for example, are forced to see their men, women and children blown to bits by foreign invaders who hurl death upon them from the skies. They are dying not in tens of thousands, but in hundreds of thousands—mutilated, torn into shreds, destroyed. Yet, there is something fine and noble about the Spanish people, even in its hour of tragedy. It fights and it endures! There is dignity in its suffering. The Chinese are suffering today far more than we are, and there is something fine about them, too. I wish we had a little of this stoicism in our life.

I think there is something pathetic about our morbid craving for the world's approval—this constant demanding on our part, even if not expressed in so many words, to be told by others over and over again how fine we are and how good and deserving. Our forefathers were never much concerned about the approval of other peoples. They were very much concerned about the approval of their God. If our forefathers had been concerned about the approval of other peoples, they would have assimilated long ago. They could have received such approval in overwhelming ways simply by baptism.

But they persisted true to themselves. They *challenged* the world. They *outfaced* the world. They endured the contumely and the persecution of men, because they felt that it was the right thing to do. They had a great truth which they treasured, which they believed was worth living for, suffering for, and dying for.

I know how hard it is to live in uncertainty and insecurity; but, my friends, when you are aboard a ship and the ship is caught in a

storm, the security of that ship lies in keeping moving, not in standing still; in breasting the waves, in moving forward!

When the spies that were sent to spy out the land of Canaan returned and reported to Moses that the land was inhabited by giants and the fortifications of their cities could not be surmounted or reduced, the whole people that had wandered for forty years in the wilderness waiting for the day when they would be able to enter Canaan suddenly broke out in wild lamentations. The Rabbis said that day was the 9th of Ab, and because they broke out in lamentations on that day instead of boldly proclaiming: "Let us go up and conquer," that day became a day of lamentation and calamity for our people for all future generations. Tisha-be-Ab became in Jewish history a day of destruction and mourning.

I ask not only for a sense of stoicism in Jewish life, but also for courage to face adversity, to wrestle with it as Jacob wrestled with the Dark Angel in the long night and overcame him and wrested out a blessing from him. Jews ought to learn to do more fighting and less talking! What do I mean by "fighting"? There are periods in a people's history when it must envision its destiny in different ways. Sometimes our rabbis say that God appears to men as He did at Mount Sinai, as an old man, wrapped in a "Prayer Shawl" and studying the Torah." At other times God appears as a young man, as a man of war, as He did at the Red Sea.

When the waters were in front of the children of Israel and the Egyptians behind them, and there was nowhere to turn, when they faced not only security or uncertainty but actual danger, then their destiny took on the quality of youthful daring and fearless courage. The signal was given. "Speak unto the children of Israel and tell them to go forward! March into the Red Sea! Face danger and overcome it!"

I should like to call upon the Jews of America to learn to fight. Do not permit yourselves to be put on the defensive. That is the way of defeat. The only successful defense is offense! There is no occasion for us Jews to put ourselves on the defensive, to apologize for ourselves for our existence or for our life in this country. We were

here as early as any other people. We builded here as honorably and as well as any other people. We have been as patriotic as any other people. We have served this nation in peace and in war as wholeheartedly and as sacrificially as any other people. We have no reason to apologize for ourselves. The thing for us to do is to bring out into the open those who attack us; to reveal to the American people the true character of those who are the enemies not merely of Israel but of America. The Nazis are not merely *our* foes! They are the foes of America! Eighteen of them were indicted two days ago in an American Company as *spies*. They are not merely the foes of America. They are the mortal enemies of every nation they go to. Those who were responsible for the "putsch" which failed in Brazil were not Brazilians, but German Nazis! Those who are instigating revolt in Mexico, and, incidentally, those who are instigating anti-Semitism in Mexico are not Mexicans. They are German Nazis! Let us tell the American people the truth. Let us tell them that these Nazis represent the same mentality, the same arrogance, the same brutality which America had to face in 1917. Let us take the offensive! Let us tell the American people that all the talk about the Nazis being the champions of the world against Communism is a hoax and a fraud and a miserable deception. They are not interested in Communism. They are interested in extending the frontiers of the German Empire over Europe! Learn to take the offensive! Fight not by words merely, but by action!

My dear friends, any Jew who after reading what has happened in Vienna in the last few weeks—still persists in trading with Germany is a fool or a knave or a traitor. Break the back, break the economic backbone of that government!

I advise Stoicism, Fighting and Unity! I do not make a fetish of unity. I do not know why five million Jews in America must all think alike and act alike and speak alike. I am sufficiently a Democrat and a liberal to want to give my own people the same right to diversity of opinion and point of view as I would give to any other people. I do not believe in regimentation. Very often those who talk most about Jewish unity have in mind their particular brand of unity. They want you to unite with *them*! On the other hand, there is such a thing as

unity, and there is such a thing as anarchy. We cannot afford that luxury today. We must learn ways of cooperating on fundamental things; ways of merging and fusing our thinking and our action for a few indispensable objectives! I am grateful that finally some sense is coming into American Jewish life. The four organizations who for years have tried to outplay one another, or outguess one another and outrival one another—perhaps not all four of them, but only one or two of them—perhaps all four of them have finally come to a realization that these days are all too critical for such disunion, and that effectiveness, efficiency, and sanity demand some form of cooperative effort. Such a union of forces may perhaps save us from much of the noise which is going on in Jewish life today; much of the turning and fussing, particularly in the public press, much of parading our differences and washing our linen in public. Perhaps there will come into Jewish life a certain restraint, a discipline, a dignity which I am afraid it has lacked in recent years. Stoicism, aggressive action, unity!

And, lastly, my dear friends, I recommend to you a four-square defense of American institutions. The maintenance of American democratic institutions, not because they are *our* salvation but because they are the salvation of mankind. There are not many great democracies left in the world any more. When you mention England, France, the United States and perhaps one or two of the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland, you have said it all. If the treasured values of mankind are to be conserved they must first be conserved in this, the greatest democracy of the earth, the United States of America. We have a particular reason for wanting them conserved, not only because we love America but because those ideals are the very life-blood and marrow of the four-thousand-year old tradition of Israel. In a sense, they were born of us. Our spirit gave life to them. The rights of the individual, the dignity of human personality, freedom—every page of our Bible rings with them. They are the mighty words which were first proclaimed on the hills of Judea and in the cities of Samaria. They are our gift to mankind and we must defend them and maintain them. But not by words. They cannot be defended and they cannot be maintained by words! If these institutions are to be saved in our country, they must be saved through economic justice. If

you will give to the American people economic security, a sense of well-being and contentment, these institutions will not be challenged and will not be endangered. But if this land will continue to present the spectacle of millions unemployed—it is inconceivable that a land which holds more than half of the gold of the world; a land three thousand miles wide, rich with all the treasures of God Almighty, in mines and rivers and soil; a land possessed of most highly developed technological science; all the factories that it needs for the production of all the goods its people needs, and all the brain and all the will power—if it will continue to permit millions and millions of citizens to go without the elementary necessities of life, to be thrown out of their jobs periodically and forced to charity and relief—then there is the very real danger that our democratic institutions will be destroyed. If you ask me, as I have been asked, over and over again, "Can it happen here?" My answer will be, "It all depends on *what* will happen here?" If we can put our men back to work; if we can give men security against the disabilities of unemployment, of sickness, of old age; if we can give our people a sense of belonging, of being partners in an enterprise which is to their advantage, then our democracy is as secure as Gibraltar.

Economic prosperity will also liquidate anti-Semitism. It is the only thing that will liquidate it. When men are at work they do not fall an easy prey to irresponsible demagogues and agitators. If you wish to save American democracy, my friends, do so by working with might and main for the establishment of those conditions of economic justice which will bring peace of mind and contentment to all.

There are also some inner fortresses which you B'nai Brith people can help to strengthen in these critical times. I mean our faith, our synagogues, our schools, our Jewish homes. They are truly our fortresses.

I am thinking always, as I am sure you are, about our young people. What is facing them? Our young boys and girls who are growing up in this unsettled, chaotic world. There is no way of guaranteeing their future. There is no way of guaranteeing any individual's future today. You cannot lay up enough money in any strong box in

this land which will be strong enough to protect any one's future. But you can armor your children. You can give them protective armor against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. Steel them! Harden them against fate! It can be done. And it is the Jewish school that can do it! The synagogue can do it! The Jewish home can do it! These are the *only* institutions which can do it! Give your boys and girls a sense of not being alone in the world, the sense of "The Guardian of Israel sleepeth not nor slumbereth . . ." Give them the confidence that God walks with them through life. Give them something of the sense of historic continuity which is the synagogue's. Give them the knowledge of how a small people, buffeted by fortune, has survived through so many centuries, and has come into the Twentieth Century, not a broken and helpless people, but a people sixteen million strong, which occupies positions of leadership and importance in every field of human endeavor. Give them the feeling that they are not members of a little poverty-stricken, broken-down and out-lived people. I am tired of hearing these adjectives applied to Israel! If we were so weak and so helpless, do you think that we would have survived all of accumulated devices which the cruel ingenuity of so many peoples evolved to destroy us? These twenty centuries they weeded out the weak from among us. They weeded out the soft and the cowards from among us. We have come down to this day a great, creative, vigorous, and energetic people. The four million Jews in America are an example of it. Make your children feel that. Give them a sense of pride in their people. The synagogue will do it for them. The school will do it. Give them a true Jewish education, not a smattering, but a full-orbed course in Jewish learning. Let them read their Bible lovingly, and in their hours of trial ponder these words of ancient prophecy: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee."

These are mighty words, healing words, cheering words to read today. Let your children read them.

Give them a Jewish home, not merely a physical home, but a spiritual home, a home which will be to them a "mikdash me'at"—

small sanctuary throughout their days,—the traditional Jewish home of holiness, love, piety, and mutual devotion. A home where the table was the altar of God. Where, on entering it on the Sabbath Eve, the father would be able to invite the angels of God to come and dwell therein. Don't secularize your home too much, because it must serve as a refuge for us and our children. Whatever happens outside, in the home we must be able to find peace, and renewed hope.

This is what I mean by strengthening our inner fortresses. I am thinking not so much of ourselves who are already middle-aged and some of us are already old. But of our children. For our children's sake let us build wisely and strong.

As for the future, that, my friends, is in the hands of God! God never forsook us; never! In Egypt, in Babylon, in Spain, in Russia. Why should Germany be different? Down the ages we have marched to our appointed destiny. On our lips is a song, "God is my strength and song and He is become my salvation." The Guardian of Israel! He is guarding today our people who are wandering on the seven seas, exiles from their homes. His hands are stretched over them. He will shield and protect them. The Guardian of Israel! He is with them today who are building with the sweat of their brow and their souls a new homeland in Palestine. The Guardian of Israel! He is with you tonight as you meet, men and women of Israel, to rededicate yourselves to the immortal ideals of your people. The Guardian of Israel! He neither sleepeth nor slumbereth!

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Some Aberrations Of Our Day

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER
The Temple—Cleveland, Ohio

(Abstract of an Address Before the Missouri State Teachers Assn. Convention at Kansas City, Nov. 16, 1933)

NO generation has had its intellectual and emotional life subjected to such swift and radical changes as ours. Hence we have the kind of a world which we have—a jittery world, out of balance and full of aberrations. There are four major aberrations which are victimizing this present age.

The first aberration is THE ATTEMPT TO RE-ENSLAVE THE HUMAN MIND. One of the immemorial enterprises of the human spirit has been the untrammelled quest for truth, often in defiance of tradition, authority or the prejudices of the hour. Our age unfortunately is guilty of organized large-scale efforts in many countries to undo the work of the ages. The intellect is again shackled to the political dogmas of the state. Thought is regimented. Any deviation from the prescribed pattern is heresy and leads to the concentration camp. Education has been connected with indoctrination. Children are not taught to think. They are trained to accept and obey. The social sciences and, in some instances, even the exact sciences, are being rewritten to conform to the political, economic, racial or nationalistic dogmas of the party in control of the state. The Nazis boast that they have

"nationalized" truth, that they train their youth to "think with their blood". One cannot think with his blood or his stomach. It is only with his mind that a man can think and that mind must be free to think.

In our country, too, attempts are sometimes made to muzzle education, to intimidate teachers and to punish the expression of unpopular or unconventional views.

Our age has not enough of education and too much of propaganda. Civilization today may be said to be a race between education and propaganda. Propaganda in our day has perfected the art of befuddling the minds of men with half-truths, slogans, catchwords and primitive emotional appeals. It has elaborated a technique for stampeding people into doing that which in their sober judgment they would never think of doing.

Education under Fascism, Nazism and Communism is clearly and avowedly propagandistic and dogmatic.

The second is THE SUBMERGENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL. In the wide-spread trend towards co-ordination and "Gleichhaltung", which utilizes the school as its most powerful weapon, the individual, as such, is steadily being

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submerged. There is much to be said for the spiritual values which may be derived from stressing the collective significance of human life as against self-seeking and careerism. The great religions of mankind have always sought to teach men to link up their personal lives with great social purposes. But the co-ordination tendencies of the modern absolutist state is quite another matter. It is regimentation of the most tyrannical sort and it is fatal to man's spiritual and intellectual life. It tends to dry up the well springs of creativeness and originality in man. Under Fascism, Nazism or Communism, the teacher must perforce become a drill sergeant.

The third aberration is THE NARROW, INTOLERANT NATIONALISM which is again provincializing mankind. Nationalism as preached in Germany and Italy today is something quite different from the wholesome instinctive love of country. It carries with it a dangerous romantic mysticism, which has evolved fictitious concepts such as "national destiny" and "mission", pure rationalization for predatory expansionism and economic piracy. This nationalism is forcing the youth of the world into a crabbed and suspicious provincialism. The universal ideal which kindled the imaginations of the great thinkers of mankind in the 18th and 19th centuries and which inspired the best of European and American culture is being pushed out of men's minds and in its place there enters a constrictive, truculent and

intolerant nationalism. In Germany and Italy this concept of nationalism has been further narrowed to an insolent and rabid racialism. In the Soviet Union an economic dogmatism divides the world into two hostile camps, and men's minds are constricted within this intolerant dogma.

The fourth aberration is THE GLORIFICATION OF WAR as national destiny. Fascism is the idealization of war. The goal of all education in Nazi Germany is "Wehrhaftigkeit" — complete preparedness for war. In Italy children, almost from infancy, are trained in the science of soldiering. Hitler wrote in "Mein Kampf": "It will be the task of the Nationalist State to see to it that an adequate education is given to youth IN ORDER TO PROVIDE FOR A GENERATION PREPARED FOR THE FINAL AND GREATEST DECISION ON THIS EARTH." This task is being carried out relentlessly in Germany today.

It is the urgent task of education in a democracy today to resist these tendencies which are fatal to all that democracy stands for.

Children should be trained to detect propaganda. We need a course in our schools and high schools in the diagnosis of and prophylactic against propaganda.

Democratic education should stress the classic ideal that the state exists for the people and not the people for the state. It should "debunk" state idolatry. It should direct men's minds to a wise balance between private and collective management of human life.

Sufficiently large areas in every field of human thought and endeavor must be preserved for the individual in order not to cramp his initiative and his spirit of adventure. Else human life is doomed to a frightful robotism.

Democratic education should wage war upon chauvinism and national isolationism and should steadily stress international cooperation and the ideal of human solidarity.

Democratic education is education for peace and against war. The school should encourage the rising generation to think not in terms of the inevitability of war and preparedness for war, but in terms of setting up such competent international agencies and instrumentalities as will lead to collective security and to a lessening of the occasions, the opportunities and enticement of war.

SCHOOL BOY BUS DRIVERS

From an article in "School Management" for September.

The amazing school bus system in North Carolina, a state which has a bad highway accident record, is well told in an article in the May issue of "Fleet Owner". Every school day, 4,179 buses, 3,600 of which are driven by high school students, 16 to 18 years of age, transport 300,000 school children from 1,226 rural consolidated schools to and from their homes.

In the current school year, 1937-38, to date there has not been a

fatality or single major accident in the entire system. Last year, there was only one fatal accident and according to Mr. C. C. Brown, the Director of this School Bus System, this is a nation-wide all-time record.

According to "Automobile Facts", the nation's average transport cost per pupil is \$19.27, but the North Carolina cost is \$6.00 per pupil per year. The United States Office of Education reports that 3,250,658 students were transported by buses during 1935-36, one in eight per school population. Ohio ranks second to North Carolina in number of children transported—277,860 pupils a day at a cost of \$19.97 per child per year. Texas carries 275,000 children at \$11.82 per child. New York transports 123,460 for \$42.19 per pupil.

Many of the hundred counties in North Carolina had found that in most instances, students made better drivers, were more cautious, more dependable, took more interest in the children than most adult drivers. The State pays each schoolboy driver \$9.50 a month and the jobs are eagerly sought. Of course, the drivers must be of the highest character, with excellent records in studies and deportment, and high intelligence ratings. While North Carolina school children study, mechanics and inspectors travel from school to school in service trucks checking and double checking, fueling and lubricating the equipment. Major repairs are made in the county garages.

Social Work Must Come Of Age

By LEONARD W. MAYO

Asst. Exec. Director, Welfare Council,
New York City

*We must banish narrow professionalism and "Agency Mindedness" in a new birth
Social Statesmanship!*

(Condensed from an address at the Annual Meeting of the Section on Dependent
Children, May 23, 1938, Hotel Commodore, New York City)

THERE are in the United States, according to estimates based on the 1930 census, something like 20,100,000 young people between 16 and 24 years of age, inclusive. Of these, about 5,200,000, or approximately a fourth, are out of school and without work. Here in New York City, according to the latest census, we have over 1,174,000 young people in the same age group. Of this number, according to the Youth Study conducted under the auspices of the Welfare Council, 400,000, or over a third, are out of school and without work.

Obviously, a problem so deeply rooted in our economic, political and social life can have no easy solution. But, as social workers and citizens, we can hardly take the attitude that because we cannot at once make over the universe there is nothing we can do. There are certain things I believe New York City can do and in which this Section along with other sections of the Council should have a part both now and in the future.

These suggestions are presented with full knowledge that some represent long range objectives which may not be reached for many years. It is true, however,

that if the immediate steps we take are taken with the long range goals in mind, the latter will be much more accessible and our ultimate chances of reaching them much greater.

1. There is desperate need for more realistic and effective vocational guidance and vocational training in our public schools and child caring institutions. I say this with full knowledge of the fact that the improvement in the public schools of this city along these lines has been nothing short of remarkable during the last decade. Yet New York City must have at some central place extensive occupational, industrial and employment information to an extent which is not now available.

There is ample evidence to show a wide disparity between the jobs for which we train and those which are actually available. We have made much more progress in analyzing a child's abilities than we have in analyzing the employment needs in the community. If adequate information on occupational and industrial trends were made available and were properly used by public schools and child caring institutions it would well nigh revolutionize guidance and training.

Journal of the Nat'l Assoc. of Deans of Women
Mar. 1939

How Can Schools and Colleges Foster Democracy in the Students?¹

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Democracy has every chance to succeed in the United States if we take sensible precautions and if we educate the rising generation into an appreciation of the purposes, the techniques, the privileges, and the responsibilities of democracy. Ours is a long established democratic tradition and experience. With us it is not a luxury and we are not likely to surrender it. It is tied up with our concept of the importance of the individual and of his inalienable rights.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism which some foreigners misunderstand. We are not given to national exhibitionism; we are ready to acknowledge mistakes and to reverse ourselves.

We have vast material resources. We are not a country, but a continent. Our people are not doomed by nature to a low standard of living. Poverty is the bitterest foe of democracy. In this country, with vision and intelligent management, we can abolish poverty.

Our political life fortunately is not fragmentized into numerous small political parties which make democracy unworkable. Ours is a two-party system of government with an occasional third party in the

field. The need for a popular front in some of the countries of Europe indicates the bankruptcy of the idea of numerous political factions, each with its own particularized and unyielding ideology. We belong not to the past. We are not handicapped by hardened and intransigent racial or religious minorities; we have no threatening neighbors. More than any other people, we can pursue the even tenor of our lives and preserve the precious heritage of self-government and freedom.

By example in the classroom, by proper attitudes on the part of the teacher, definite democratic attitudes can be suggested to our young people—respect for the individual as an individual; freedom from all forms of religious and racial bigotry; tolerance for diversity; the right of decent and of independent judgment; and a sense of proportion, generosity, and sportsmanship—which are at the heart of the democratic tradition.

We should immunize our youth against propaganda. Courses of instruction in the detection of spurious propaganda should be introduced in all our high schools and colleges. Propaganda must be brought out into the open and its bag of tricks exposed. Propaganda today is undoing much of the work of education.

We ought not to cheapen democracy in the eyes of our young people. It is good to be critical but not contemptuous. We cannot and we

¹An abstract of Rabbi Silver's address at the joint biennial annual banquet of the National Association of Principals of Schools for Girls and the N.A.D.W., Hotel Statler, Cleveland, February 23, 1939.

should not create in the minds of our youth a wild and violent romanticism for democracy. We should not "mess up" political thought with unbridled mysticism and emotionalism. Such romanticism like the "steely romanticism" of the Nazis, almost always goes hand in hand with despotism. There must be to the democratic way of life and thought, a quality of proportion and restraint, a classic discipline and romanticism. Democracy is not a light "that never was on land or sea." In a calm, proud, and confident mood, we

should speak to our young people about democracy, unfolding for them its difficulties and its shortcomings, but also its great and abundant blessings for man, and its still greater promises for the future. They should know that no nobler or more perfect substitute yet has been discovered. The glamorous achievements of which dictatorships boast today are like the Potemkin villages of Catherine the Great—false and improvised facades behind which lurk poverty, misery, and smoldering discontent.

The Dean and the Curriculum

SARAH G. BLANDING

On first glance this subject may seem a truism which is at once so obvious that it suggests no opportunity for elaboration. However, it is unnecessary to remind you that there never was a time in the history of this country when there was greater confusion in the minds of educators about methods of preparing students to meet the problems of the present day. On the one hand we read of the Chicago plan where the proposal is that the college should be devoted to the cultivation of the intellect; that it should emphasize the study of certain classical books; that it should limit its students to those who can profit by the study of mathematics, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. On the other hand we study the reports from the General College of the University of Minnesota and we find a definite swing away from the

traditional curriculum and extensive experimentation with subject, content, and method. We have read *Bulletin Number 29* of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching¹ which adds to our bewilderment.

Nor is the confusion confined to the realm of higher education. In some respects there is greater chaos in the elementary and secondary levels than in the college area. Progressive education was a genuine reaction against the extreme rigidity and formalism of the old classical education. But now we find John Dewey, who, in large measure, was responsible for the progressive education movement, saying that the pendulum has swung too far. At

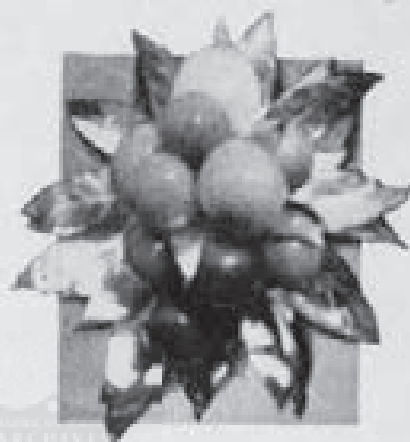
¹Learned, William S., and Wood, Ben D. *The Student and His Knowledge*. New York: the Foundation, 1918. 406 p.

Natl Elementary Principals Apr 1939

Convention Fun

Besides the serious programs, panel discussions, and reports which are always necessary at a convention there are other features which are just as worthwhile and important. These are the jolly get-togethers where all serious subjects are tabooed. These meetings usually take the form of breakfasts, luncheons and banquets, and it is here that the local group shows its marvelous ability to guide, direct and lead. Everyone knows that the more smoothly a breakfast or a dinner is carried out, the more efficient has been the plans of the local leader and his and her helpers. Our Monday breakfast and banquet were marvelous examples of the leadership of the Cleveland group under the direction of the president of the Elementary Principals' Club, Miss Mary F. Keys.

The table decorations at the banquet made of pastel colored balloons, tinsel and paper were most unique. So that all can have some idea of the way each table was adorned we asked Miss Keys for a picture and have placed a cut at the side on this page. The favors, found at each plate, and made of rick-rack braid were soon at the place they were intended—the lapel of each coat and the shoulder of each dinner gown. These colorful and lovely creations were made by pupils as were the beautiful programs and fine posters. Listed below are the names of those who made the Cleveland meeting the marvelous success which it was.



The beautiful table-decoration at the banquet of the department of Elementary School Principals

President of the Cleveland Principals' Club—Miss Mary F. Keys.

Principals' Club Executive Board—Miss Grace Whelan, Miss Laura Henschen, Miss Ethelyn Stewart, Miss Florence Lowe, Miss Eva Taylor, and Miss Anna Burgess.

Poster Committee—Miss Harriett Goodyear, and the pupils of John Marshall High School.

Ticket Committee—Miss Martha J. Hile, and Miss Martha Markowitz.

Committee for Table Decorations and Favors—Miss Bertha Budde, Miss Katherine Chandler, Miss Dorothy Warner, Miss Gladys Champney, Mrs. Rose Rush, and the pupils of Wade Park, Jane Adams, East Clark, Hazeldell and Miles Standish Schools.

Program Committee—Mr. Alfred Howell, Mr. Paul Scherer, and the pupils of the East Technical High School.

The one hundred and fifty-five who forfeited their "beauty sleep" for a 7:30 breakfast on a winter morning and the four hundred and sixty-eight who met together for the banquet have written many letters to headquarters telling how much they enjoyed these two social affairs.



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver speaking to those assembled at the banquet of the Department of Elementary School Principals, Grand Ballroom, Hotel Statler, Cleveland, Ohio, Monday, February 27. To his right, Dr. Agnes Samuelson; to his left, President Maude A. Rhodes.

The Crisis of World Affairs

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Ansel Road Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

The crisis of which I wish to speak to you briefly this evening is a spiritual crisis in world affairs. I don't know much about politics and I know less about economics, but it is my business to know something about the things we call spiritual. As I envisage the world today, the roll and thunder of the Odyssey of our day, the vast confusion, I somewhat feel that the fundamental disturbance of today is not a political one or even an economic one.

I had occasion a few weeks ago to speak with a dean of one of the great universities of this country, and he told me, among other things, of an interesting new development which he has observed among the students, not only on the campus of his particular university but upon many others which he has been visiting. He had difficulty to describe it in succinct terms because he was trying to describe something rather indefinite and impalpable, and yet he said that he had been noticing or sensing in the last year or two a certain groping on the part of the students for something which, for lack of a better term, he must describe as a groping for spirituality, for something spiritual to hold on to. So many things to which their fathers and mothers have clung seemed to have been slipping away from them, and the foundations upon which they were taught to build their lives and upon which their parents built their lives have been so rudely shaken in recent years that these young people, facing a future of insecurity in the world, not merely economic insecurity but intellectual in-

security as well, facing a world of swift and seemingly meaningless change, are reaching out for some spiritual stability, for something to cling to.

That is true, I am sure, not merely of the young people of our day, but of all people who think at all and are sensitive about what is going on in the world. The optimism which pervaded our world, which pervaded in fact the whole of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, that optimism which fed upon the truly remarkable achievements in nearly every field of human endeavor during the last one hundred or one hundred and fifty years, seems to have vanished from our midst, and people find themselves today more or less in a morass of disillusionment and of confusion.

In those early days men could dream, and men did dream, unabashed, of a marvelous future for the human race. Grand, new and vast vistas opened up before the eyes of the people. They could dream of an uninterrupted progress for mankind. They could dream of man thru the new implements and tools which science made available for him, that man would make straight all that was crooked, that man would abolish poverty and misery in the world, and that mankind would build a finer world, a world from which want, penury, and ignorance would be vanished.

Our generation unfortunately seems to be facing a blank wall. Our vista ends at the edge of the wilderness. For twenty-five years now we have been living in a world of wars, international wars and civil wars, collapse of empires, shifting of boundaries, of unleashed brutality, of national animosities and racial intolerances. For twenty-five years now we have seen brave and magnificent experiences in international organization collapsing and lying in ruins about our feet, and as a result the human spirit, the spirit of man, surrounded by this marvelous pageantry of scientific achievements, of new discoveries and new inventions, in spite of all, the human spirit today stands rather cowardly and shaken, in an apocalyptic mood if you will, expecting some crack of doom. We pick up our morning paper with a certain amount of trepidation, and wonder what is happening now.

Why have all these things failed us? Why is it that we don't thrill any more today, as men thrilled a generation or two ago, to every new advance in science, to every great new discovery? Why is it that we are rather apathetic about all that, feeling that those things will never contribute to our happiness or to our security? Well, if I may be permitted to say, it is due to the fact that we have mistaken means for ends, that we have made discoveries and inventions and techniques ends in themselves, and so they have become means to our own undoing. We have failed to reassume truth which was known to the wise men of all ages, that knowledge does not necessarily spell happiness or goodness, that facts in themselves are not blessings, that truth as someone truly said can make men mad as well as free, that the prolongation of life does not necessarily mean the improvement of life, that the acceleration of a tempo does not necessarily imply a more perfect product, and that change does not at all mean progress. Thus, for example, we relied so confidently upon science. Science was to be the Messiah of the human race. Science was to unlock every door leading

to power and wealth and leisure for mankind. Science would abolish all things which made the life of man hard and bitter and insecure.

We have now had more than a century of perfectly magnificent achievement in every department of scientific enterprise, and as a result we have a social order today, not merely in this country but thruout the world, of vast and periodic depressions, of terrific economic insecurity, of vast unemployment, frequently recurring and victimizing millions of people. We have a world of bitter industrial strife, of a class struggle which is tearing our society apart, and we have a situation where the most cunningly wrought and the most skillfully perfected inventions and instrumentalities of science are being used to drop death, to rain down bombs and poison gas upon human beings, and we have a situation today where the whole scientific technique of a people is being geared toward one central motif, and that is preparedness for war.

In a similar way we relied upon education, the improvement of education, the extension of education. Education was to emancipate the human mind, to liquidate all superstitions, to destroy all the blind dogmas under which mankind labored thru all the dark centuries, and so we built schools and more schools—high schools, universities. We wrote books and many books, and built libraries for the free circulation of books so as to make them available to the masses of the people, and we published untold numbers of newspapers and magazines to inform men, and yet after more than a century or two of the improvement and the extension and facilitation of education we have a situation today where in many parts of the world new superstitions are being substituted for the old, new dogmas even more baleful than the old are being substituted for the old. We have a situation where frequently it is the campus of a university.



Those assembled in the Grand Ballroom, Hotel Statler, Cleveland, Ohio, for the banquet of the Department of Elementary School Principals, Monday, February 27.

as is the case in many a country in the Old World today, which is a veritable hotbed of all forms of national chauvinism and racial intolerance and bigotry and snobbery and what not.

Germany did not lack schools or colleges or universities. Nor did it lack teachers or professors, and yet in that world of schools and colleges and educators you have today a whole complex of pseudo-scientific dogmas and superstitions accepted, underwritten, talked, by these institutions which were established, ostensibly of course, and purposely of course, to emancipate the human mind and to destroy superstitious and false dogma. In fact, we have a situation today which is rather unique. In the olden days any form of tyranny was afraid of education and literacy. It was to the advantage of a tyranny which wished to maintain itself in power to keep the masses of the people absolutely illiterate. Well, today the totalitarian governments do not want to keep their people illiterate. They want them to be educated to a degree, so that they can then skillfully exploit that education and convert it into propaganda, using the elementary technique of education to destroy the objectives of real education.

In the same way we put our hopes in what we call the secularization of life.

We subordinated the church or ecclesiasticism to the state. We curbed the power of the church, hoping thereby to make the individual free, and we are confronted today with a state absolutism the like of which mankind has never seen in any of its civilized eras in the past, a state absolutism that far exceeds anything that ecclesiastical absolutism ever possessed at any time in its history, and a ruthlessness and brutality unchecked. After all, religious domination of human life or church domination was attenuated by the fact that the church had constantly to refer to its source of authority, to its God or to its Bible or to the great personality that it worshipped, but the modern state is a complete law unto itself and an end unto itself. There is no higher jurisdiction. There is no higher court of reference. So the spirit of man today is dominated by a despotism the like of which mankind has not known, in spite of the fact that that despotism is completely secular.

In the same way, we placed our high hopes in democracy. Democracy was to bring about the kingdom for the human spirit, and we have now lived under democratic forms of government in some countries for more than a century and a half, and in 1939 we behold how a people can use democracy to destroy



Congratulations being extended to Rabbi Silver.

itself, how a people can vote itself out of freedom into slavery, and we have had experience how injustice and corruption of all kinds can flourish even under a democracy.

Now, the question is, my friends, "Why have all these things failed us?" Not because they are inherently unsound or untrue, not because democracy and education and emancipation of the human mind are inherently bad, and that their opposites—tyranny, ecclesiasticism, ignorance—are good, not at all. They have failed us because we fail to understand that these things—education, science, self-government, the secularization of life—in and by themselves are insufficient, are a means to an end, not the end in themselves. They are good tools. They are excellent tools, but they are good tools only when used by skillful hands at the behest of a great spiritual purpose. Good tools and good material in themselves are insufficient to build the temple of human life. There must be, first of all, a plan, an architectural vision, and there must be, secondly, a moral energized will to build according to that plan and not to deviate from that plan, or else all the good material and all the good tools and all the precious times and energies of men are wasted.

Now, this plan, this design, is given to us not by education, not by science; it is given to us by something which for lack of a better term we must call the spirit. Some of us call it faith. It matters not what we call it. That moral will, that passion to follow the plan, is not given to us either by science or by learning; but comes from the mandates which are derived from a powerful faith in the life of an individual or of a people.

What has been wrong with our world is that it has lacked this unifying and coordinating faith and its concomitant dynamic will to build according to the dictates of that faith. We have been absorbed all this time in perfecting our techniques, whether it was the technique of production, the technique of technology, the technique of amassing wealth, the technique of acquiring knowledge, and we have been centered upon achieving individual itemized victories in the fields of these techniques, but we have lost sight of the goals, the goals which no science sets but which the spirit of man alone sets, the goals of human justice and human freedom and human brotherhood, toward which all these techniques, if they are to justify their existence in human life, must tend and which they must serve. Because we have lost sight of the goals, we have naturally lost all sense of direction. We are moving, moving furiously, moving hectically, like a train which no longer has at the wheel in the engine a guiding hand, or like a ship whose compass has suddenly gone dead, we are moving, we are tossed about, but we are not moving forward in any definite direction.

What are these goals, my friends? What are the goals of your education? What are the goals of my teaching in the pulpit? Why, they are not far to seek. They have been defined long ago by all the classic religions of mankind and by all the great philosophies of mankind. First, there must be in human life a sense of aspiration, of out-reaching and up-reaching. Life must not feel it is confined to a hard mold. What must life reach up to? Why, to the sum total of all conceivable truth and beauty and goodness in the world. After all isn't that classic humanism, the free mind of man reaching out for a maximum of

truth and beauty and goodness in the world? The religious man calls it "imitatio Dei", imitation of God, but whatever term you use, what is indispensable to a livable life which has in it a sense of inherent worth, confidence and stability, is this sense of aspiration, of climbing heavenward to higher levels, aesthetic, intellectual, spiritual, material.

The second goal to which all life must move is, if I may be permitted to use the term, the exaltation of the sanctification of the individual, the world of the individual. Science does not proclaim it, but, without it, all science does is to contribute toward the reduction of the individual in stature to the position of a robot.

The founding fathers of our great country had instinctively seized upon this fundamental concept and gave it a political interpretation, when they wrote into the Declaration of Independence that monumental phrase which was like a bombshell hurled into the political thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights." That is a tremendous phrase. The idea that the individual, as a human being, not because he is a member of a society or a citizen of a state, but because he is a child of God, naturally is endowed by his creator with certain rights which are his unalienable rights, which no state and no majority and no Duce, and no commissar can deprive him of, and they are important rights, defined in the Declaration and later translated into the Bill of Rights, the right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness—Don't you see what that means translated into human terms? It means the exaltation of the individual. It means increasing the Stature. It means enabling the individual to walk upon the earth as a god. That is the second goal of human life.

One of the rabbis of my people expressed the same thought in another way, when he said that every human being is a co-worker of God in creation. That concept of the worth and the inviolability of human personality makes the life of man significant, makes his struggles and his trials and tribulations meaningful, gives even meaning to his defeat and to his death.

Lastly, my friends, what human life needs, what social life needs, is a sense of an over-arching moral law which is binding upon all classes, kings and noblemen and the humblest of human beings, a sense of law which is higher than the law of a class or of a state. In our Bible we have that sense of a supreme transcendent law which, embracing all classes and all peoples, united all classes and all peoples and established a human solidarity within law.

When a humble, defenseless prophet can appear before a great king in Israel, who had previously sinned as King David had sinned, and was able to point his accusing finger at that king, supreme in his power, and say to him "Atah ha-ish," "Thou art the man; thou hast sinned," and bring that king down groveling in the dust, acknowledging the supremacy, not of the prophet, not of his humble human being, but of the moral law in whom that being spoke, that ennoble the life of the whole human race. When another prophet, Elijah, could appear before another king, Ahab, who had envied a vineyard that belonged to another man and had him killed, when that other defenseless prophet could appear before

that king and say, "You have slain. Do you think you will inherit the place where the dogs lick the blood of him whom you have slain? The dogs will also lick your blood," there you have the compelling sense of an over-arching, all-compelling moral law, which alone gives nobility to human life.

That is humanism in terms of social morality, just as the inalienable rights of the individual was humanism in terms of politics, just as the first instance was humanism in terms of education. Now, the trouble with our day is that these goals have been lost sight of and because we no longer have the goal of human aspiration, we have today a world in which ambition of the lowliest form, competitive ambitions, ambitions to aggrandize, to conquer, to dominate, hold sway. Because of that, we have a world which knows very little today of pity and compassion and sympathy, but a great deal about strife and purges and liquidations and extreme nations of opponents. Because of that, you have a world sinking into chaos, and because the sense of the exaltation of life has been lost sight of, my friends, you have a world in which, sadly enough and tragically enough, the world of the individual is steadily dwindling.

There are very few countries left in the world where man is protected against the collective, against the state, by any inalienable rights, by any charters of liberty, by any constitutional guarantees. The individual has been thrown back upon the will or the whim of a leader or a Fuehrer or a Duce or a commissar, or a party. His stature is being lowered, and that is tragic. I don't know whether you look at pictures as closely as I do, particularly the pictures that appear in our Sunday rotogravure sections of our newspapers, pictures coming from abroad, from the cities, from Rome, from Moscow, from Berlin, or Vienna, or elsewhere. If you notice closely, those pictures almost always have great masses of human beings. Sometimes these pictures are taken from the air, and so you get the sense just of a heap, of an ant heap of human beings, ostensibly, because the individual human being is hardly distinguishable, and that is very symbolic of what is happening to the individual in the modern world, my friends. The individual is being absorbed, is being merged. The individual has become a statistical item, just as his labor has become purely a commodity, and man's importance is dwindling in the world. Because men have lost sight, my friends, of this other goal, the over-arching moral law in the world, this other humanity, you have today in place of a law of God the law of a commissar or of a Duce. You have a law of a human being before whom human beings must cower and grovel in the dust, and because there is no longer this law which tended to consolidate the human family you have today a situation of a fragmentized and broken-up world, frightfully disintegrated, spiritually, intellectually, economically, politically, with a menace of war almost daily attendant with us, by our side every day.

Lights are going out in the world, my friends, everywhere. The only people left in the world who are still holding tapers and lamps and torches are teachers in the classroom, preachers in the pulpit, and journalists in the sanctum of their offices, and men of good will here and there and thruout the world, within their circle and spheres of their life's influence, who still believe in these goals, in these ends of human life, without which life is drab and cheap and meaningless, and

and women here and there thruout the world who want to use education, who want to use science, who want to use democracy, but not as ends in themselves but as means towards the ennoblement of the life of the individual and the community, as means of keeping more vividly alive in the minds of the generation by anointing their eyes to see more clearly these goals which were long ago set by the leaders and the seers of mankind, towards which men must move, however painful that adventure, that pilgrimage might be, but towards which mankind must move if life is not to sink back into chaos and anarchy into which it is rapidly sinking in our day.

What I am pleading for, educators, is a return to the humanistic education, to the classic humanistic tradition of education which set as its highest ideal not so much technological improvement and not so much the material success of the individual but set as its highest goals the integration of the individual around these great harmonies of human life, the building up of splendid men and women in a splendid society of free men and women.

There are very few countries in the world left where a man can speak as I am speaking to you this evening, and their number is growing more restricted year by year. Here in this land of ours, which is more than a land—it is a continent, which has been blessed by God with a marvelous democratic tradition of one hundred and fifty years, here where we have built up a great civilization by, by and large, adhering to these classical goals of human life, here at least in this free land of ours, we ought to keep bright in these darkening days the torch of humanistic learning, of humanistic education. We are in a real sense the chosen people of the coming renaissance of mankind. Let us not fail in the task.

WALTER WINCHELL—On Broadway*

The Private Papers of a Cub Reporter

In the last year two Republics have fallen before the advance squadrons of the Nazis. . . . They died—not by bullets, but by infection. . . . For the new and deadly weapon is propaganda. . . . The two fallen nations teach a great military lesson to America. . . . Their fate proves—that unless guarded—a Nation's soul is more vulnerable than its coast line. . . . The poison battalions seek no open measuring of forces. . . . With a snake's cunning they seek to paralyze the nation by injecting hatred and intolerance into its life-stream. . . . And so on the world front our Navy is no longer our first line of defense. . . . Our fleet combat divisions are the public school teachers. . . . And upon each of them descends a sacred duty. . . . For they must forever dispel darkness by giving early light. . . . They must meet the poison of race hatred with the inoculation of tolerance. . . . They must arm each child invincibly with the Truth! . . . For in the light of international events their horizon has enlarged. The school teachers are no longer merely helping children to develop themselves. . . . They are fighting in the front line trench—for the LIFE—of the Republic!

* From the March 22, 1939, *TIMES-HERALD* newspaper of Washington, D. C.

GENERAL SESSION, FEBRUARY 28, 1939

Theme: How Can Our Elementary Schools Be Improved?

THE SECOND GENERAL SESSION of the Department of Elementary School Principals' program was begun in the Lattice Room, Hotel Statler, at 1:30 p. m. Owing to the great number who had come to hear the distinguished speakers of the afternoon program, the room was soon filled to capacity. As soon as arrangements could be made to use the Grand Ballroom, the group was asked to take their chairs and move across the hall. This change seemed to please greatly all who were present.

President Rhodes introduced Mr. W. Paul Allen, President of the Ohio State Principals Association, who presided splendidly.

Democratic Living—A Program for Schools

Claire T. Zyve, Principal, Fox Meadow Elementary School, Scarsdale, New York



CLAIRE ZYVE

You have probably heard that story of the man who tried to find Bristol, Vermont. He knew he was off the main road and he knew he was lost, but he knew he was within a few miles of Bristol. When he came to an intersection in the road where three roads united, he asked a man, who looked in his appearance and clothing as though he might be a local resident, if he knew the way to Bristol.

"No," the man said, "I don't know."

"Well, does this road go to Bristol?"

"I don't know," said he.

"Well, does that road go to Bristol?"

"I don't know, stranger," the man answered.

"Well, does this center road go to Bristol?"

"Couldn't say."

"Do you live around here?"

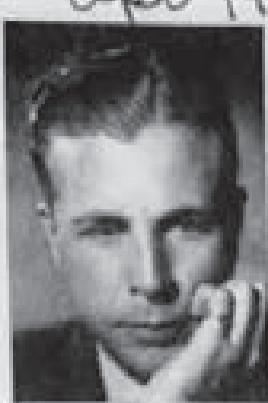
"Yep!"

"Don't know much about this region, do you?"

"I reckon you're right, but I ain't never got lost yit."

Some of us who "ain't never been lost yit" in the varying and rapidly changing practices of the past twenty-five years will do well now if we keep our route thru the welter of words and generalities circling around a center called "democratic living" in the school.

The phrase "democratic living" is a timely rallying cry. Our function as principals of schools is to prevent the words from becoming merely another slogan. They represent a vital need both in the school and in our broader social life. Receiving, as it is, wide revival both educationally and socially, the concept of



To the left: Alice Faye. To the right: Miriam Hopkins. Above, left to right: Joan Bennett, Jimmy Cagney, Myrna Loy, Dick Powell, Claudette Colbert, and Groucho Marx. Their modern Declaration of Democratic Independence is in the form of a petition which is being circulated throughout America in an attempt to get 20,000,000 signatures protesting the denial of all human rights in Fascist Germany. The Nazis, they charge, "destroy freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press, and the right to peaceful assembly. They wantonly persecute defenseless minorities, imprison ministers of all religions, enslave labor, victimize, pillage, inflict torture, and commit murder. They organize Bunds to spread their vicious doctrines in contempt for Democracy."



tion of sacrificing their political rights. These examples are not merely guesses as to what might happen—they have actually occurred. They are examples of economic dictatorship.

Here lies perhaps the greatest danger we face in America. We have a democratic system. Most of us believe in that system. But unless our belief is strong enough to make us rectify our economic condition, unless we are keenly aware that there are great numbers of people in the nation who must beg for the bare necessities of life by offering their votes, we run the risk of using the political machinery to any American Hitler or Mussolini who is clever enough to grab control of it.

❖ Let us not fool ourselves into believing that there are no potential Hitlers or Mussolinis in this country. There are—and they are men who have no connection whatsoever with the German or Italian regime, but who, through the incredible industrial expansion which has taken place in the last half century, have gained tremendous economic power. It is all very well to argue that this power has been gained within the limits of our constitution, but if this economic power has of itself thrown millions of people on the dump heap and reduced vast numbers of others to practical dependence on those in control, then certainly the intent of our constitution, of the democratically-minded founders of our country, has not been fulfilled.

It is, of course, stupid to fanatically damn all of our industrialists. There is no denying, however, that the techniques of the fascists have served as a model which in many of its aspects has been imitated by some of our great industrial concerns. One has only to read the reports of the Senator La Follette Committee on Education and Labor to trace the pattern of these activities, chief of which has been the

intimidation and terrorization of labor organizers, and the attempted suppression of union activities. Herein lie the seeds of an American economic dictatorship, and one need only read the daily press to learn of the stirring up of racial and religious antagonism, or the reports of the Dies Committee to realize that there are groups which would discredit all political thought and action that are contrary to their own convictions. In all of these incipient semi-fascist activities lie the threats to the democracy we now possess and to the future deepening of that democracy. Whether these tactics be the result of ignorance, stupidity, or sheer selfishness, all of which are very human failings, the only means of offsetting them lies in the constant awareness and complete participation of all our citizenry in the social, economic and political problems of our time—at home and abroad.

❖ What is the place of the Jew in this problem? If we accept the tenets of democracy, the Jew exists not as a differentiated human being, but as a citizen; as a citizen he must make his choice between the two ways of life with which the world today seems to be faced. I do not think the choice should be difficult. From a narrowly selfish point of view alone, there is a guarantee within the democratic system against the age-old Jewish persecutions. From the broader standpoint of Jewish history, the Jewish way is the democratic way. The Jew has his roots in the idea of the brotherhood of man. The Jew has throughout the ages lifted his voice against all oppression. Jewish literature has immortalized the words of Moses "and if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him: yea though he be a stranger or sojourner; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

It is interesting to know that one of

the leading Nazi propagandists has rationalized Nazi hatred of Jews after this fashion: "In the beginning of their history the Jews constituted themselves a chosen people, each man, woman and child of which was equal in the sight of God. Christianity, which was an offshoot of Judaism, spread this idea to all of Western mankind. The Renaissance secularized this concept, giving birth to the idea that all men were equal, not only before God but also before the State. From this concept grew the idea of democracy." According to this logic, the Jews are responsible for democracy, which is the arch enemy of the Nazi regime. Throughout the many volumes of Nazi propaganda, for every attack on Bolshevism, Socialism, or the Jews, one finds at least ten attacks on democracy.

Unfortunately, there are Jews as well as Gentiles whose regard for wealth and power outweighs their regard for tolerance and brotherhood. I recently heard a most discouraging story. A prominent Jew in New York, who has made an exhaustive study of the Nazi methods of labor and political suppression, makes an excellent living chiefly by advising interested business concerns as to the use of those methods. Here we have Jew and Gentile working hand in hand to thwart the democratic process. I am deeply convinced, however, that the great mass of Jewry is devoted to Jewish tradition, to democratic tradition. True, the times are difficult; there seems to be a worldwide renaissance of anti-Semitism. The Jew has lived through such crises before, however, and his great leaders have always spoken clearly, even in the teeth of oppression, for those same humane and ethical ideals which the Nazis condemn. This then, it seems to me, is the mission of the Jew today. Once again he must raise his head and, smiling in his pain, take his place in the front ranks of progressive citizenship.

IS FASCISM a "domestic affair"?

The National Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal Says No
And Cites As Proof the Heart-Breaking Streams of Refugees

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ACROSS the face of the earth hundreds of thousands of people are wandering today 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 flot-sam 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 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!



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs, which is out to raise \$20,000,000 to save the lives of just such victims of Fascism as are pictured on this and the following two pages.

☛ 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 need 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, people 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 the 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



Ragged, penniless, starved, these Jewish refugees are shown receiving temporary shelter in a hastily constructed camp at Brunn, Czechoslovakia. But now that German Fascism has swallowed Czechoslovakia, they must move on. Where?



Can you picture yourself standing at the rail of a ship in New York or San Francisco, and gazing at America for the last time in your life? These German Jews, whose families have lived in Germany for a thousand years, are at the rail of a ship in a German port, taking their last heart-broken look at their native land before sailing away to unknown destinations.

that the 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 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 lured 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 pos-

sessions, these free and democratic people 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 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." They 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, 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 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 as long as they will withhold the thunderbolts of their disapproval of dictators under the pretext of "appeasement," so long will the world's swift descent into chaos and anarchy continue.

Some day, there will be no refugees uprooted and cast out from their native homes because of their race, nationality, or religion.

Men will come to realize that oppressed and unreconciled minorities are the breeding grounds of international

unrest, intrigue and war; that 25 millions of people live as minorities in Europe today and 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. 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 protection of minorities, will in one 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 today? Today the highways of the world are choked with refugees, wandering from sea to sea,



Driven from their home in the Sudetenland by the onrushing Nazi hordes, this pathetic little Jewish family piles its pitiful possessions in the streets and waits for aid.

from land to land, fleeing from terror and hatred, seeking new homes. Today men and women "must wander with-

ingly in other lands to die, and where their father's 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 themselves and 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 privation 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.

ARE COLONIES the solution?

A Plea for a Dispassionate Consideration of England's Offer of Land in Africa and South America for the Jewish Refugees

By ARNOLD LEVIN

ENGLAND'S offer of East Africa and South American colonies as a home for Europe's oppressed Jews has provoked a variety of reactions. As an "easiest way out" it must be condemned, but as a possibly practical answer to the eventual rehabilitation of Central Europe's Jews, it must be studied and considered dispassionately.

To Europeans and Americans alike, who express a somewhat disinterested but compassionate attitude, the plan seems a hopeful one in which American money and English ships would be utilized to transport German refugees to Africa and South America where they might build a comparatively safe and free state.

✪ The Jewish problem in Europe must be defined as essentially twofold: first, the immediate necessity of providing refuge for 600,000 German Jews who are being made the victims of cruel persecution; and second, the long-range possibility of providing a refuge for six to eight million Jews in

Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia who are potential subjects of persecution in the post-Munich Nazi expansion.

There is no permanent refuge to be found in the western democracies of Europe and but very little in the democracies of the western hemisphere.

Events recounted in the public press have made the American attitude unmistakable. President Roosevelt was challenged when he announced that he was contemplating the extension of six-month visitors' permits under which 15,000 refugees have entered this country.

Opposition rose in Congress over a proposal that the American immigration quotas be raised or be "mortgaged" for the next five years to permit 100,000 Jews to enter the country at once; and a suggestion that the Dickstein bill — which would permit refugees to enter America under the unused portions of other quotas, for example the British and Irish — be revived was met with a withering fire of opposition.

At the same time, Congress and the public evinced great sympathy for the persecuted minorities in Europe, and Americans of every social scale are contributing to relief funds.

This would lead to the conclusion that this nation will not open wide the door to immigration, but that sufficient feeling has been aroused to rally support for Jewish relief.

No land could be more acceptable to the Jews than Palestine, but Palestine is being made a plaything of international politics. Great Britain has made it an important link in the defense chain of the Empire, and she has adopted the attitude that she cannot at present afford to permit mass immigration of Jews. Great Britain is afraid of Arab displeasure, which is being incited by Mediterranean-conscious Mussolini, and she has tied down Jewish immigration as an "appeasement" policy in the Near East.

✪ In the face of this Gordian knot the British have chosen a new Jewish homeland—under-developed, under-

I am deeply grateful for this privilege of addressing this Convention. The American Legion was born in war and it now meets again in a world at war. But your dominant interest has, at all times, been not war but peace, and your chief concern has been not foreign affairs, but the preservation of American ideals and institutions at home.

At no time in the last twenty turbulent years has there been greater need for that sound and constructive policy which the American Legion has been pursuing than at present. We need today more than ever calm, forthright and resolute thinking and action guided by only one principle: how best to safeguard and advance the highest interests and noblest traditions of our nation. This is no time for narrow partisanship, for irresponsible demagoguery, for self-proclaimed prophetic monopolists either of peace or righteousness, or for deceptive slogans and catch-words.

We all want peace. We all want America to stay out of this war. We shall all do our utmost to help keep America out of this war. We know the horrible toll and the criminal folly of war. But men of equal sincerity and loyalty can and do honestly differ as to the best means of achieving this end. Whether our present Neutrality laws are best calculated to keep us truly neutral and out of danger of involvement in this war, or whether a revision is necessary in order to keep a colossal and unmerited advantage from going to one of the belligerents, is a question concerning which there can be and is a sharp and honest division of opinion. Our chosen representatives in Congress have been called upon to render a decision—a decision which will naturally be binding upon all of us. But it serves no good purpose and it is distinct disservice to America to surround the discussion of this vital issue which requires the utmost of reasoned judgment, with hysteria, to attempt to stampede our legislators with organized tumult and uproar, and so brand as war-mongers all those who favor a revision of our Neutrality legislation.

Now is it consistent with the facts, or a contribution to clear thinking or a service to humanity to popularize the idea that is the European struggle now raging there are no basic issues involved with which the American people need be at all concerned, or that all belligerents are equally culpable, or that America stands to lose nothing if Hitlerism and Stalinism succeed in destroying the last few outposts of democracy and freedom in the Western World. We need never fear the invasion of our country by foreign armies, especially if we are strong enough in our military defenses. But if that political barbarism which has swept over Europe in recent years destroying one independent and free country after another, grossly violating the rights of minorities, scrapping all covenants and treaties, stamping out human freedom wherever it reaches,

This address was delivered by Rabbi Silver before the National Legion Convention on Sept. 27, 1939.

Future

persecuting all religions, extolling militarism, force and conquest, and converting Europe first into an arsenal, and then into a battle field—if that political barbarism triumphs in this war, and France and England are defeated, and in turn fall prey to dictatorship, not its armies will invade our shores, but its doctrines; and those subversive groups in our country which have worried us not a little in recent years will increase and multiply a thousand-fold, drawing strength and inspiration from the universal triumph of dictatorship abroad, and that will become not a potential, but an actual menace to our American democracy. It is doubtful whether in a world in which the last beacon of freedom will have been extinguished by the fierce winds of dictatorship, that our own torch of freedom can remain burning.

So, let us try to think clearly and realistically in these difficult times. Above, all, let us in these days when nations are again meeting in the dread Valley of Decision, keep steadily before our eyes and before the eyes of our children, the clear vision of what America is and what we want America to remain. There are those in our midst who in the name of Americanism are destroying Americanism. There are those loud pseudo-champions of patriotism who are in reality the sinister purveyors of all forms of alienism in our midst. There are many men and groups in our land, some sincere but deluded victims of shrewd propaganda, others paid agents and spies of foreign governments, and still others who are just temperamental bigots and fanatics who are helping in one way or another, wittingly or unwittingly, to destroy the American Ideal.

What is this American Ideal? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to American Life?

First—the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the State, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American Ideal.

Second—government by consent and not constraint: government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experi-

mentation, and step by step through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of complete and ready-made millenniums at the spearpoint of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavers.

Third—the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitternesses and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate people of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life—the suppression of the individual government by abuse and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance—and it has led them, as inevitably it does, to the blood-soaked battle-fields of war.

Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps. You, soldiers of America, who have given proof of your loyalty to America in war and in peace, help keep America free, clean, just, tolerant and united!



A. Market view of Miller's research in Germany

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Aims of "The Jewish Veteran"

To maintain "Peace through Preparedness."

To Promote Americanism.

To Preserve Democracy and to combat all foreign "isms" and anti-Semitism.

To rehabilitate disabled veterans and aid widows, orphans and dependents.

To foster "good-will" among all veteran organizations.

To compile military records of and preserve the memories of Jewish Veterans.

Our New National Commander

The Miami Convention unanimously elected Edgar Burman of Brooklyn, our National Commander for the year 1939-1940.

Commander Burman is well known in J.W.V. Going through the chairs in his post, he became Post Commander. He rose to the station of Department Commander of New York. During the vital growing days of our organization, he held for several years the important office of National Boycott Chairman. At the Astor Park Convention in 1937, he was elected National Vice-Commander for the second region. In all, he has served J.W.V. for eleven years.

Our National Commander not only brings to this high office a wealth of experience, but a zeal for work and a reputation of good sportsmanship. Most will remember that at Detroit last year, Burman was a close second in a field of three, in the tally for National Commander, but for the sake of harmony, voluntarily withdrew in favor of the third candidate.

We are fully confident that Commander Burman will prove an able leader, and make a worthy addition to the illustrious Commanders who have preceded him. In these tribulous times, we know that every comrade and sister will give him their fullest support and cooperation.

Miami 1939

While the sign-posts all say "Forward," it is well to halt and look back—back to Miami, August 28 to September 1st, 1939. To all who thus halt Miami will be a very pleasant memory,—for many, many moons.

No city had more to offer than Miami, and our delegates never enjoyed a Convention more. After enjoying Southern hospitality to the full, we were reluctant to leave—in fact, some comrades and sisters liked Miami so well that they have become permanent residents.

The members of the Convention Corporation and of the Freda Markowitz Post and Auxiliary deserve our utmost appreciation and praise for their excellent preparation and their success in pleasing such a varied group of delegates from all parts of the country. We herewith extend such praise unstintingly.

The convention was also constructively fruitful. Important resolutions on Peace, Neutrality, Americanism, Boycott and other vital subjects were passed, and will guide J.W.V.'s action during the year.

The American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other veteran organizations, the Y.M.H.A. and local Jewish organizations, and the Florida public in general entered into the spirit of our convention, and cooperated to make it a huge success.

Last but not least, we wish to thank the press of Miami—the Miami Herald, the Miami Daily News, and the Florida Veteran for their fine coverage of our convention. Never before has the press of any city given us more lineage, photos, editorial comment, etc.

All in all, it was a GREAT CONVENTION—one at which Boston and future convention cities will have to shoot very high to surpass!

Convention Precedents

With a successful convention in the background, post mortems are in order. To us the Miami encampment shattered two previous very important precedents. From time immemorial it was thought that J.W.V. National Encampment MUST be held over a holiday week-end, preferably Labor Day or Independence Day. The second was that it must be held within a reasonable distance from New York.

The large numbers who went to Miami, spending from one to two weeks and traveling in large numbers from New England and the Middle Atlantic States, should convince the most skeptical that J.W.V. has grown (away from the Eastern States) and that our Conventions are so enlightening, constructive and entertaining, that the comrades and sisters will attend no matter when or where they are held.

To many our conventions afford an opportunity to "SEE AMERICA", and "to see" is "to understand" and "appreciate."

With the organization of a chain of posts between Kansas City and the Pacific Post, it is within reason that a J.W.V. Encampment may be held on the Pacific Coast in 1943 or 1944!

George Cardinal Mundelein

May his Soul Rest in Peace!

America lost a distinguished citizen, the world a good man when Cardinal Mundelein died on October 2nd, 1939. Immediately upon learning of the Cardinal's demise, National Commander, Edgar Burman issued the following release to the press:

"The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S. are deeply grieved at the untimely passing of Cardinal Mundelein. His Eminence was not only a Prince of the Catholic Church, but a great American, beloved of all faiths. To those of the Jewish faith he always represented the true spirit of Christianity, tolerance and brotherhood.

"The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S. join the nation in expressing profound sorrow and in mourning the untimely departure of this patriotic American and friend of humanity."

Neutrality

This is written while Congress is in session debating the proposed "Neutrality Bill." With radio debates flooding the air waves and newspapers and magazines literally filled with information pro and con by "experts" on Neutrality, it would be folly for us to analyze or even summarize the subject.

The fervent hope of J.W.V. is that our PEACE may be maintained and that a Neutrality Bill best designed to keep us out of War will be passed.

When we are ill, we consult a physician, and when we need legal advice, we see our lawyer. Our duly elected U. S. Senators and Representatives are our experts in Federal legislation, and we are perfectly willing to leave it to their good judgment and sincerity to find the best means of preserving the Peace and Dignity of the United States.

We would however, caution our Congressmen to carefully examine and sort their neutrality mail. The average American is slow to write his Congressman, even on vitally important matters, while those "against" anything are quick to write or telegraph. It will be found that much of the neutrality mail is inspired by American organizations with an axe to grind, by alien-minded groups in the United States who favor one set of belligerents, and even by foreign governments themselves. It would be very interesting to contact the individuals and groups lined up on either side of this legislation.

As a corollary of neutrality legislation is our national defense program. No nation would violate our neutrality if we were properly prepared on land and sea and in the air. Since treaties and promises by nations have generally become useless, with international law, ethics and religion cast aside by certain nations, and with the grabbing aim to acquire territory and world domination, it is important that the United States increase the size of its army with adequate reserves, that we immediately increase our air force to 10,000 fighting planes and build a large enough navy to protect our shores on both oceans and preserve the integrity and peace of the Western Hemisphere.

ed because she had some family or political connection which was much more important in getting the place than were her qualifications. It always made me sad to see a young teacher full of ideas and determination to make a contribution to teaching, slowly but surely have the enthusiasm crushed out of her by dry-as-dust teachers meetings, unnecessary routine, supervision, and community prejudice. My heart went out to the middle-aged teachers who had lived a life of frustration and insecurity, now coming toward the end of their period of service with little or no means because of inadequate salaries, and looking forward to retirement on a pittance from a pension fund on the verge of bankruptcy. I liked the janitors, too, but it made me furious to know that every year they had to make "certain arrangements" with local politicians to hold their jobs. I liked the parents of the children and often wished that my efforts had been more

successful to help them understand children and the problems of school.

I did not like to be a principal because I think children should be well-housed in school. In rural communities near where I was a principal, children spent their days in schools that were not fit for human habitation. Some of the buildings had to be propped up to keep them from falling over. Often there were no electric lights; furniture was old and unsightly; and library and shop equipment just did not exist. Many of the new buildings in the city were outstanding examples of what self-interest will do. It always seemed strange to me that politicians were so anxious to erect buildings when there were other places where the money was much more needed. I suppose, though, that the urge for building came out of a love for the little children. Surely there could not be any hope of individual profit in building materials or contracts.

"The opportunity to achieve and to show results has been eliminated all over the world. The world in the future will perhaps be better for the underdog, but for the man who takes risks and engages in enterprise there will be little incentive.—H. GORDON SELF-RIDGE, American-born founder of London's best known department store.

"We have 30,000,000 youths in the United States who could be the balance of power for any unwise leader in this period of economic instability, emotional hysteria and international unfriendliness. Youth is no longer asking; it is demanding." — CAMERON BECK, personnel director, addressing the New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers.

The American Way of Life

By RABBI ABRA HILLEL SILVER

(Excerpts from an address before the National Recreation Association Congress, Boston, October 9, 1939.)

THE triumphal march of dictatorships a broad—Latin, Nordic, and Slavic—the destruction of one democratic state after another, the invasion of our own country by alien anti-democratic ideas, and now the new anti-democratic Berlin-Moscow axis, have given thoughtful Americans much ground for grave concern. They wonder whether it will be possible, in a world where the beacons of human rights and liberties are being extinguished one by one, for our own torch of freedom to long remain unquenched.

A few facts have become clear. No democracy is immune or can hope to remain immune from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or alien. Forces opposed to democracy will use the machinery of democracy to destroy it. Secondly, a democracy can be overthrown without armed revolution. In the initial stages, at least, the very parliamentary processes can be exploited to establish a dictatorship. And thirdly, no one is guaranteed the automatic survival of democracy in any country, including our own.

Fortunately, we know the ways and have the means of circumventing the collapse of de-

mocracy in our country, if we have the will and the vision.

We must not permit our democracy to remain complacent and naive. Hostile propaganda must be aggressively and relentlessly exposed and harassed, and their agents must be kept under constant public surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniforms or of parading down our public thoroughfares.

We should not overburden our government. Those who wish their government to provide them with all things, from bread to circuses, must be prepared to turn over to that government all their liberties.

We should not, in our impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extra-legal and unconstitutional methods to attain even worthy and desirable objectives. Capital and labor should keep this constantly in mind.

We should work for a larger measure of economic security for our people, and above all we should avoid war, which in all countries has proved to be the "open sesame" for violent upheavals and for the suppression of human rights and liberties.

In our effort to maintain democracy here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely American.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through some severe crises, including the Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy ever collapsed, even in Europe. We like to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame for them. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed to a low standard of living.

Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old-World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic ele-

ments which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First—the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the State, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American Ideal.

Second—government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of complete and ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third—the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discov-

ery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the

basis of individual worth, character or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate people of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life—the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance—and it has led them, as inevitably it does, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

COMING EVENTS

DECEMBER 1-2. Annual Convention of the Central Association of Science and Mathematics teachers at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

DECEMBER 1-2. New England Conference of the National Vocational Guidance Association at Boston University, Boston, Mass. Information from Jessie B. Davis, Dean of School of Education, Boston University.

DECEMBER 2. Annual meeting of the National Association of Journalism Directors at New York City.

DECEMBER 4-8. 20th Anniversary meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation. Agricultural exhibit, Stevens Hotel, Chicago. Information from the Federation at 50 East Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

President Grace L. Coyle

WHETHER our democratic institutions and the traditions from which they spring can survive the economic dislocations of the thirties is the major issue that confronts us. We are not at present threatened as other countries are by the imposition of despotism from without. The most serious fifth column which has penetrated within our gates is the malnutrition of our population, the frustration and despair of our unemployed, the racial inequalities and antagonisms heightened by economic tensions, and the inhuman cynicism of those among us who can realize these conditions without attempting to remedy them. European experience should teach us that the despair of the people is the opportunity of the dictator.

The basic issues of the forties arise therefore at two points: in the first place we must preserve and strengthen the underlying attitudes essential to a democracy—attitudes of fraternal consideration for every individual, of respect for the rights of all of us to freedom of thought and speech, and of active responsibility for the public concerns of vital importance to our national life. This, however, will be insufficient unless we, in the second place, look to the economic inadequacies and inequalities which not only weaken the stamina of our people but which cynically refute our democratic pretensions. Beyond that

we cannot be content until we have provided out of our rich resources not only the minimum essentials for health and decency but the opportunities for the higher attainments of a civilized people in education, recreation, and the other arts of life. . . .

We need to include among our values the public virtues—the concern for the common good and the habits of effective participation—if we are to contribute toward the creation of a democratic citizenry. . . . One of the major needs of our time is to discover how to direct the irrational and unconscious motivations of men in ways that will produce the common well-being of all, and how to develop more fully the rational and creative social impulses. Insofar as we can contribute to the creation of active and intelligent participation in public issues by all those we touch, we will encourage that growth of social responsibility which underlies a healthy community. In a democracy it is not enough to interpret social needs to the privileged or the powerful alone. The only permanent and wholesome basis for a democratic community is an awakened sensitiveness to human values in all parts of our population, a communal sense that the injury of any is the concern of all, and a widespread willingness to assume the necessary responsibility to meet common needs.

The firmest foundation for the ultimate preservation of our democratic heritage lies in a sound people well nourished in body, healthy in mind, fully developed each according to his powers. Such a people are the best preparedness for the free cooperative endeavor for common goals not only of defense—essential as that may be for the time—but also for the permanent achievement of a great culture. For this achievement we need a profound insight and an unshaken courage. Today we remember the dark ages into which the exhausted energies of men have sunk back to despair and brutishness. But we must remember that that is not all of history. Throughout its course those who have achieved the beginnings of social justice, who have freed the human intelligence, who have set the humane against the brutal passions of men, have moved forward in a fragile and wavering advance. But they have moved forward. The rise of science, the achievement of political democracy, the abolition of slavery, the extension of medical care, the free education of the young, the development of that vast body of social services which we represent, these are but part of that struggle for a civilized life. Our generation is called upon to hold this line and to press forward. This struggle is the great adventure of mankind, faltering, uncertain, but with it all—superb.

at the American Youth Commission, did as good a job of reading as was done by many a "speaker" with his own paper before him. Again the undercurrent was the "survival of American democracy," to be accomplished through finding ways to meet immediate needs, but Mr. Reeves confined himself to specific means at hand. He outlined the problem with a presentation of facts—"one third of the unemployed in the United States are young people under twenty-five," any new jobs resulting from a war boom will not be open to "inexperienced young people"—and proposed a program of next steps for the federal government and for local communities: on the federal level a work-study program for all unemployed youth with federal aid to the states for general education; on the community level, coordinated occupational adjustment services involving the participation of community leaders and of youth itself. "The way for young people to learn to be responsible is by carrying responsibilities."

The uncertainty that social workers took with them to Grand Rapids was illustrated by the fact that they could be carried away by addresses and personalities as different as those of Mr. McMichael and Rabbi Silver. Rabbi Silver spoke at Thursday's general session on "The Outlook for America," after a Memorial Day flag ceremony by the Grand Rapids Boy Scouts and music by a delightful high school choir. He minced no words in describing the dangers which face this country. His whole talk was a plea

for defense based not on hysterical fear but on a reasoned understanding of what the world will be like at the end of the present war. Though he envisaged a Nazi victory as utter catastrophe for the civilization of the Western Hemisphere, he was not too optimistic over the probable effects of an Allied victory, which, he said, could come only after an exhausting war which "will shake the very foundations of the social, political and economic life of Europe." The United States, he held, must be prepared to help with the task of reconstruction—"for its own economic and political forces will be critically involved"—and this time must assume definite responsibilities for upholding any international order which might evolve.

In spite of the gravity and realism of the alternatives which he presented, Rabbi Silver did not leave his audience engulfed in gloom. For he saw and enumerated the special qualities of American democracy which make it a strong bulwark against any storm: its ability to withstand previous crises such as the Civil War; its wholesome capacity for self-criticism; the vast natural resources which are available for the elimination of poverty among its people; the lack of animosities toward neighboring nations.

On the following evening, Mrs. Dean analyzed "The Implications of the European Situation for the United States" in a brilliant but paralyzing address which will be published in the July issue of *Survey Graphic*. Like Rabbi Silver, Mrs. Dean asserted that the time has come for a

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver



WE should build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite commitments and responsibilities which we intend to assume in connection with our foreign policy . . . to a degree where they would be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor . . . We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense in itself is not sufficient. A greater

defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity . . . Forces opposed to democracy will use the very techniques and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government.

But no hysteria! No witch-hunting! We should not in our great concern, in our justifiable zeal and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extra-legal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it is the height of folly. . . . Sound American patriotism must quickly transform itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice. . . .

strengthening of our national defenses, both military and spiritual. In fact, though she warned against capitulation to a sense of defeatism, she saw little validity in the theory that the United States could carry high the torch of civilization once totalitarianism has engulfed the rest of the world. In such an event "our course must be charted anew, in waters made perilous by new and unexpected dangers."

A FITTING CLIMAX TO THE MANY "DEFENSE DISCUSSIONS" whirling through the minds of social workers was the address by Max Lerner at the final luncheon. Though grimly aware of the Nazi menace, Mr. Lerner proceeded on the premise that the greatest danger lies in the devitalization of our democracy from within. Outlining the elements which give rise to Nazism he pointed out that these already exist on this side of the Atlantic: a growing anti-Semitism; an anti-alien campaign in the guise of Americanism; an anti-radical campaign similarly masquerading; an anti-labor sentiment. These, he said, will be the foundation seized upon by the Nazis for the spread of their propaganda should they win the war abroad.

Mr. Lerner's program for combating the "rising prestige of fascism" in this country was based on realization of the kind of ground which induces its growth. "The roots of Hitlerism lie not in the German mind but in the fertile soil that German economic collapse in the post-war years offered to the spread of Nazi ideas." To many, he said, the fascist appeal lies in its efficiency, its ability to organize to the fullest use a nation's resources and technological knowledge. Therefore, the best propaganda against it is the "propaganda of the deed," which to be effective, must

be fourfold: a program of economic planning to promote the nation's economic security; a realization of the importance of leadership—"only in a democracy can great leaders have humility and only in a democracy can followers have dignity"; closer attention to the "art of administration" probably resulting in greater centralization and greater concentration of power; reorganization of the "opinion industries," the press and radio, to insure "the competition of ideas in American life."

THE CLASH OF "THE WORLD OF TODAY" PENETRATED every meeting of the conference. But after one has faced the imminence of grave problems now unknown, of inevitable change which may affect the whole fabric of life, there is not much to do but get on with the day's work. And that is what the social workers did. They had come to Grand Rapids to examine their program and their performance and they went about it quietly and soberly, threading their way through a multitude of meetings where in the course of the week practically every strand of American social organization was scrutinized.

In such a large and diverse gathering, it is difficult to identify any predominant strand of interest, but it seemed to a number of competent observers that this year's conference put more emphasis on examining the functioning of social services of every kind than on examining their field of operation. To be sure the relief program was taken apart and put together again in a variety of ways, but rarely with disregard of means to implement it.

Through all the conference ran a salubrious tendency to self-examination. The group work section faced the gap between "what we say and what we do"; the community organization section moved to define the objectives, techniques, and skills required in its field; the social action section tried to discover the "basic content of the concept" in relation to social work; the case work section discussed efforts to "formulate suitable criteria" for measuring the community's need for case work. Meetings concerned with health turned more on how to get the job done than on broad programs and policies. Such matters as interpretation of social work programs, methods of staff development, the content of professional education were not of by themselves but were parts of the whole program.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORK SECTION, CHAIRMAN, ELIZABETH H. DEXTER, Brooklyn, N. Y., had twenty-three meetings practically a conference within a conference. Six of these meetings were "general sessions" dealing with subjects of interest to the whole case work contingent; the other were on specific subjects, designed for discussion. Thus the program makers planned—and successfully—to spread the attendance which in recent years has made the meeting of this section too large for comfort.

The first of the general meetings demonstrated the Grace Marcus' defection from active practice—she is not with the American Association of Social Workers—has cost her none of her prestige in the field. The large audiences of the week, general conference sessions excepted, gathered to hear her paper and that of Ruth Smalley of the University of Pittsburgh on the conflict between serving the interests of society and the interests of the individual. Miss Marcus, speaking of the distinctive responsibility of the social worker in this conflict, told her listeners that

The ferment of a scientific psychology is coursing through

program on a federal grant-in-aid basis with minimum standards set by the federal government; selection of all welfare personnel on a merit basis; national programs for migrants, transients and non-residents financed on a national basis; and extension of federal assistance to youth through CCC and NYA.

Mr. Bookman pointed out that financial limitations of local communities help to make relief a pressing national problem because, as he explained, "with the best intentions in the world local communities, limited to general property and sales taxes, cannot adequately finance relief."

Amplifying his projected program, Mr. Bookman listed some measures necessary to it, among them: an effective resettlement program for people in stranded areas; a public works program of useful government projects under which "unemployment and ability" would determine eligibility for assignment; inclusion of health insurance in the Social Security Act; full use of special or categorical provisions of the Social Security Act, to cover groups not now provided for, and extension of the Social Security Act to cover all dependent children, all of the aged and all of the blind.

"The first concern of our government, in its program of relief, should be always to meet the essential needs of all of our people and then, to make available all possible funds for work on an efficiency basis, independent of relief, and on a limited therapy basis in connection with general relief," Mr. Bookman declared.

Quoting statistics to prove his point, the speaker charged that "WPA has never been able to provide for all of those it accepted as its special task and what the federal government did, when it discontinued FERA, was to adopt a more expensive relief program and pay all of the money to a fractional part of the needy unemployed, leaving the rest unprovided for except as they could get relief from local sources."

"FERA, in its biggest year, granted relief totaling \$1,433,000,000 to 5,058,000 cases, while WPA, the next year—1936—paid \$1,592,000,000 to 2,544,000 workers, or in other words, it cost WPA \$160,000,000 more than FERA to care for one-half the number of cases," he said.

Explaining that he was fully aware of the theory of the Federal government back of this program—"that through this method the states and the local communities would be forced to aid the unemployables and thus the maximum amount of money would be made available for relief," he declared that "the theory simply has not worked out."

Mr. Bookman held, however, that it would be "tragedy" to do away with WPA, or to unduly restrict its operation, until something more satisfactory is provided in its place.

His eight-point program, Mr. Bookman explained, would strengthen the present program where it is weak, and he pointed out, that, because of the political significance of this year, "we find it more difficult, in 1940, than in any of the depression years that preceded it, to get intelligent consideration of a long-range work and relief program."

Make Plea For Young America

Youth was in the spotlight Tuesday evening at the general session with three speakers discussing the plight of American youngsters and the threat that their plight implies to the future of our democracy.

The speakers were: Katharine Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau; Jack R. McMichael, Jr., chairman of the American Youth Congress, and Howard Y. McClusky, attache of the American Youth Commission, who read a paper prepared for presentation by Floyd W. Reeves, director of the Commission. Mr. Reeves was called back to Washington shortly before the meeting.

All three agreed that the survival of democracy is closely allied with the welfare of young America.

In her address Miss Lenroot painted a dire picture of children's needs throughout the country and said that between six and eight million children, in 1939, were in families dependent, for food and shelter, upon various forms of economic aid. This aid, in many cases, she declared, "is not enough to provide a good home."

The speaker also pointed out that half of the children of America receive no religious instruction outside of the home, that nearly a million children of elementary school age are not in school and that four million youths are out of work.

"The aims of democracy for children challenge the capacity of American citizenry to place the democratic ideal at the center of personal, family and community life; to subordinate the economic system to the democratic ideal; to use government for the advancement of human welfare and to support enlightened policies which will preserve and advance standards of personal well-being and social justice," she maintained.

Miss Lenroot said that the United States must protect its children but that they must be helped in ways which will not interfere with necessary military appropriations. On this point she declared that, "the American people cannot afford not to spend whatever sums may be required to provide both internal and external security for democracy rests upon the freedom of the spirit of men and women and upon the inculcation in children of devotion to the principles of free civilization."

"Social workers understand that for democracy,

as for the armies of Europe, 'Advance or Die' is the order of the day," she pointed out, adding that "the crisis faced by the world today is a 'totalitarian crisis,' not only for the Nazi state but also for the democracies, and our objectives for economic and social justice and for personal freedom, cannot be divorced from our objectives for World peace."

"It is a singular challenge, which in this year, 1940, is placed before the adults, the youth and the children of the United States and all of the nations of the Western hemisphere," Miss Lenroot said, "we cannot be democrats in our sympathies abroad and deny the application of democratic principles to any individual, or group of individuals, at home, and neither can we be democrats at home and at the same time be indifferent to the issues of the terrible conflicts which threaten a complete blackout of human freedom in other lands."

Miss Lenroot offered four ways for Americans to assure that they, and their children, will have the qualities essential to the preservation and advancement of democracy. They are: mental and physical health; an environment which will indoctrinate children with the theory of freedom and democracy; support and expansion of all phases of economic, political and social life; and, encouragement to live a life of self-discipline and self-control and cooperation with others.

Mr. Reeves, in his paper, declared that the survival of American democracy demands that conditions be established under which the young may have confidence in our institutions, counselling that "now is no time to procrastinate in a fool's paradise of false hopes."

"There are some who still believe that our unemployment problem may be solved by selling goods and armaments to warring nations in Europe," he declared, "but I think they are in error for any business boom, likely to result from war abroad, will scarcely touch jobless youth because most new jobs, if any, will not be open to inexperienced young people."

Mr. Reeves said that a national program to aid youth should include: a public work-study program for unemployed youth above 16; federal aid to school districts in depressed areas; a program to bring health services to young persons; community planning for vocational training, guidance and placement; and, encouragement of youth organizations.

"It is in the thousands of local communities throughout the land that the problems of youth must be met at first hand," he declared, "and it is here too that the necessary individual adjustments must be made by face-to-face contacts."

Mr. McMichael, in his address declared that American youth does not want war but is willing

to work, to live and even to die for a national defense program for the ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed.

"An aggressive national program to meet the needs of the ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed—to defend the people from undernourishment, poor housing, inadequate medical care and inadequate opportunity for health—to put the jobless back to work—this is the surest road to the preservation of American democracy and the maintenance of American peace," he declared.

Faith in the American system of evolution, rather than revolution, was described as the precept upon which America can best prevail against all challenges, Barclay Acheson, associate editor of Reader's Digest, told the laymen's dinner crowd of 500 Tuesday evening.

"The present problem of America," he said, "is in adjusting itself to the most accelerated progress the world has ever seen and if we are not able to do that there is nothing to do but to return to the dark ages and grope and search until liberty is rediscovered so that we can begin anew."

Wednesday evening of Conference week was given over to social events. The Social Work Publicity Council's Revue drew an appreciative house of 1,700 and was followed by the President's Reception and the annual Conference Ball.

International Affairs Scrutinized

Thursday, the conferees, in general session, heard the first of three addresses devoted to national implications of international events with Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of the Temple, Cleveland, warning that the "fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever."

"Our defense program must now envision an embattled America in a world of powerful neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are the potential enemies of America."

Rabbi Silver contended that the future of the United States is inextricably bound up with battles now raging in Europe and said that "inasmuch as the outcome of these battles is now uncertain that the American people must prepare for either eventuality, victory or defeat for the Allies."

"Victory can only come after a prolonged and exhausting war which will shake the very foundations of the social, political and economic life of Europe and, if the Allies lose, Europe will be turned over to the moral anarchy of streamlined barbarism and the rest of the world will not long escape the effects of it."

Although he discounted any immediate danger of foreign invasion, he expressed the opinion that a Nazi triumph would mean that our American

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world would become closely encircled by a hostile world and the pressure upon it would increase with years.

He warned, however, that our greatest danger will come from within and pointed out that a Nazi victory would lay the world at Nazi feet to hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here.

To counteract this danger he counselled "a clear definition of our foreign policy in relation to the 21 countries of the Western hemisphere, constant exposure and elimination of forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions, and education of the citizens of the United States in techniques of modern propaganda and how to detect it.

He added, however, this admonition: "No hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede from the bill of rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people!"

On this score he said, "It would be folly to destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it. Sound patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice; for fairer distribution of social goods and for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age.

"The true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days because it is the sole hope of the future."

Cautions Against Defeatism

The European scene, and its effect upon us, was again in the spotlight Friday evening when Vera Micheles Dean, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, New York City, took the platform before the general session audience to amplify Rabbi Silver's warnings.

She too called upon America to brace itself for "a propaganda blitzkrieg," if the Allies are defeated, and declared that the immediate effect of a German victory would take the form of an invasion "by propaganda" against American institutions rather than a military invasion.

"As France and Britain, and Europe's neutrals, have learned to their disaster," she said, "propaganda, working upon dissatisfied, war-weary and disillusioned people, can circumvent even outwardly effective military preparations."

Mrs. Dean cautioned against "defeatism" which could only redound to Germany's benefit and said that "until the Allies themselves have laid down their arms, the American people would be ill-advised to pre-judge the outcome of the conflict."

Peering into the future Mrs. Dean pointed out that "we may find, as France and Britain did at

the zero hour, that we shall have to accept social and economic controls undreamed of in this country" but that the speaker also pointed out "no matter how irksome such controls may be, they cannot, in the long run, be more destructive of our liberties than foreign invasion."

Five measures were advised for meeting the new world order which looms ahead: to restore our own morale, profoundly shaken by the course of events abroad; not to feel, if the Allies are defeated, that all hope of aiding Europe is at an end; to reconsider our entire defense program in the light of possible German victory; to greatly expand the scope of our relations with the countries of Latin and Central America—political, economic and military—if we are to embark upon a Western hemisphere defense in real earnest; and, not to allow the immediate problems created for us on the military and economic fronts to distract us from the task of remedying domestic maladjustments, which, if neglected, might prove our Achilles' heel in the time of crisis.

Calling upon America to respond to the human needs of Europe in a non-materialistic way ("which seems dictated by our oft-repeated moralizing about international affairs"), Mrs. Dean pointed out that we are already confronted with a task of human relief and reconstruction on the European continent which exceeds anything known in modern history and in which, she declared, social workers of the United States are peculiarly well qualified to participate.

"For this gigantic task," she said, "we can contribute our food reserves, our industrial efficiency in creating consumer goods, our ability to organize and our highly developed scientific resources, especially in the field of medicine."

Liberty, Plus Groceries

The curtain was brought down on the 67th annual meeting with still another discussion of national and international affairs at the annual Conference luncheon meeting on Saturday noon, June 1, with Max Lerner, professor of political science at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., counselling that the times require that Americans be "tough-minded," that they avoid yielding to bewilderment and disillusion because, such a course, he remarked, would mean that "we have lost three-quarters of the battle."

"The world faces a generation of wars, civil wars and revolutions," he declared, "and unless there is a tough-mindedness on our part, in the service of a set of fervent convictions, we cannot escape what seems to be the common doom."

One of the traditions in our thinking, which he suggested we might have to discard, is that "democracy is primarily a political concept." That precept, he called, "the luxury of a prosperous na-

tion," which, as soon as the nation suffers economic breakdown, becomes far less important than economic democracy and economic security.

"To the unemployed; to the WPA workers; to those living on, or just below, the margin of elementary decency; to workers who are subject to industrial tyranny; and, to farmers who are the slaves of the fluctuations of the market for their goods, political democracy for all these," he said, "must be only an empty form."

Declaring that he liked Maury Maverick's definition of democracy—"liberty, plus groceries"—Lerner said that unless we recognize the truth of this, so far as the mass mind is concerned, we shall never get democracy to function in this country, or any other.

The roots of Hitlerism he described as lying, not in the German mind, but in the fertile soil that German economic collapse in post-war years offered to the spread of Nazi ideas.

Minimizing the danger of an infiltration of aliens into this nation "to constitute a fifth column" he declared that there is undoubtedly a "fifth column" in America but expressed the belief that "it consists of Americans rather than foreigners—of natives who have given up their belief in democracy in order to join the Fascist band-wagon and who will attempt to build up a Fascist movement in this country with slogans of simon-pure Americanism."

Four points, to make our democracy work, were offered by Mr. Lerner. They are: recognition of the prime imperative of economic security; re-thinking our whole governmental structure and our art of politics; new emphasis and attention to the art of administration; and, reorganization of our "opinion industries," including the press and radio, so as to make certain that there will be a real competition of ideas in American life.

"Give Him the Facts"

One speaker, in addressing the Social Case Work Section of the Conference, gave all social workers a cue for getting the answer to pressing problems when he suggested: "Tell your next door neighbor the bare facts about relief hardship when funds are too limited to do the right kind of a job. Offer him no solution but just give him the facts. That might leave him more concerned than if you gave him your answer to the problem."

That meaty advice was offered by George D. Nickel, director of social relations, of the Personal Finance Companies of California.

"Each of us," Mr. Nickel declared, "could assume more responsibility for making known facts about suffering caused by shifting, limited or inadequate appropriations for public relief and the effect of

these deficiencies, not only upon families on relief, but also upon relief agencies and communities."

Twenty-three meetings were held in the Social Case Work Section. At one of these the "conflict between serving the interests of society and the interests of the individual" was discussed with Grace F. Marcus, assistant secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, stating that "the ferment of a scientific psychology is coursing through case work and cannot avoid having economic implications" and Ruth Smalley, associate professor of social case work in the school of applied social sciences, University of Pittsburgh, citing evidences of the conflict from case work practice.

Social work is getting down to the good earth in broadening its scope to include the country fields, after having, by tradition, been occupied with the tenements and pavements, rural case workers were told by Benjamin Youngdahl, associate professor of social case work in Washington University, St. Louis.

"Although the field has widened," he declared, "the rural part of the untilled West is not yet ready, if ever, to concern itself with the tantrums of terminology controversies."

"Rural people," he observed, "have no fraternity complex when they deal with persons who insulate themselves in the clouds and, though they commonly breathe the fresh air, the feet of rural people must always be on the ground."

"Social work might be learned on the 'broccoli level' but in the rural areas it must be 'served up as spinach,' and a non-technical, down-to-earth attitude is absolutely essential," he declared, adding that the rural areas need a general practitioner type of social worker who has initiative and imagination, and who can build resources if none exist.

He credited the Social Security Act with having brought "immeasurable gains" to social work in rural areas despite technical disadvantages and cautioned against the tendency of "some rural counties to ape the organization of urban departments" which, he declared, often results in unwarranted departmentalization and tends to make the job a mechanical one.

Barklie Henry, president of the Community Service Society of New York, in discussing case work interpretation, declared that the biggest task is that of finding solid, simple, and irrefutable evidences concerning the need, the cost, the individual results and the total impact of case work upon the community.

Along this line Jeannette Regensburg, professor of social case work at Tulane University, said that social workers must find more accurate means of measuring both the work they do and the conditions that handicap them.

*When does planning become silly
because it looks too far
ahead?*

ALEXANDER D. LINDSAY

else; we must have the power to do it"—we easily go from that to scheming and planning for power and nothing but power. We easily come to think of our fellow human beings as mere atoms to be planned, toy bricks to be built into our beautiful architectural scheme. I often come across clever young men who are entirely taken up with elaborate schemes in which they are going to put everything right and everybody but themselves in his neatly assigned place. Planning and making schemes is such fun that they forget that being planned, being treated by them as a cog or a brick to go meekly into the place designed by someone else, is not nearly so pleasant or amusing.

This proud, self-confident, arrogant planning, against which the gospel parable of the rich man warns us, necessarily leads to disaster. It leads to a scramble for power and thence to war. But there is something more idiotic about it even than that. It leads to a worship of organisation and planning for its own sake. A means becomes an end. You must have noticed that the Nazis and the Fascists are always proclaiming as their fundamental gospel that men and women must sink their personalities in the State, must entirely devote themselves to the State. But if you divorce the State from the personalities of the men and women who compose it, there is nothing in the State left but organisation. All this high-sounding stuff about the individual being nothing and the State everything is just silly nonsense—for it means that plans and organisation are everything and there is nothing to plan for.

No, if a nation is to plan and to take thought for the future, as it must, it must begin by men

and women taking counsel together as to what they really want, what the ends are in their common life for which they care most and which they think most precious. But that means asking themselves what their own fundamental faith is. The anti-planning parable ends, you remember, by saying, "So is he that layeth up treasure for himself and is not rich toward God!" A nation cannot, any more than an individual, ask itself what it really wants without discovering its faith: without at least asking itself if it has any faith, if there are some things in its life for which it is prepared to die.

But that is not planning. It is the indispensable preliminary to it—at least to what I call "planning with a view to eternity"—considering the eternal values which are worth more than this temporal fortune or that. A healthy or a secure society does not need to trouble to give reasons for the faith that is in it. It takes the faith for granted as it does the air it breathes. But when its faith is attacked, it is bound to ask itself searching questions—to be sure that its way of life is something real and precious. When a man is pulled up like that, when he is roused out of his complacency and his taking things for granted, he says to himself, "What do I stand for, or what do I really believe?" When he answers that question honestly, the next question he asks himself is, "Why don't I live more as if I did believe that?" Then the best kind of planning can begin.

So with a nation. When we are pulled up, as we are now, with an attack on all we think most precious; when that attack makes us say, "Yes, we do really care about decency and kindness and respect of other people's rights and all that we think really matters in English life; we go on to ask ourselves why do not we behave more as if we did; then we begin to ask, why have we stood by and done so little about unemployment? Why have we suffered the frightful inequalities of our social system? Why have we allowed there to be one law for the rich and another for the poor? Why has it taken a war to make us find out what evacuation has taught us in a few months? There are lots and lots of questions like that which rise in our minds now.

We are finding that we have got a faith. Now that it is attacked, we are sure of it. But we have rather forgotten that we had a faith

before the attack upon it came. I have been reading a book about Nazism which accounts for the spread of all that dreadful nonsense by saying that the people of central Europe had no faith in anything. I think we have found in this trial that we have a faith left but we see also how little our faith had in any part in our busy contriving.

Such searchings of the heart seem to me the beginning of all fruitful planning—asking our-

selves what we really care for; what we really believe; asking ourselves where we have most fallen short of our faith, most failed to live up to what we really care about. Then it will take all our thinking and contriving and organising and planning to see that the sores in our social life are cured; that the things we care about and say we are fighting for become real, not only for a few fortunate people but for every man, woman and child in the country.

Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities,
America with the rights of man.

Preserving the Genius of Americanism

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

SUDDENLY we have discovered that our cherished way of life is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces within our nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore. The old world has moved in upon us again, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here!

It took the frightening events now happening abroad to startle us into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the eastern and western hemispheres and into a final surrender of comfortable notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever.

The outlook for America is inextricably bound up today with the fateful military decisions

now in the making in the old world. Most Americans now understand that if the Allies are defeated, the outlook for America and the American way of life will be grave indeed. Not that we shall have to face an imminent invasion but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world and the pressure upon it particularly the economic pressure of a co-ordinated slave-labor economy upon our free economy will increase as the years go by.

But our greatest danger we suspect will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be-American Hitlers.

The outlook for the United States in case of a

*From an address on "The Church of the Air," Columbia Broadcasting System,
by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, D.D., The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dr. Silver is national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal.*

Nazi military triumph is thus very serious indeed. We should, therefore, along with rendering maximum aid to the free people now fighting for survival build up our national defenses expertly, adequately and swiftly to a point where they will be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

Expose Subversive Propaganda

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense in itself is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continually exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy as well as its abundant tolerance to destroy it. In the face of this democracy must not remain naive, complacent or doctrinaire. It must aggressively expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to its basic conceptions of life and government.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting. No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern and impatience permit ourselves to resort to extralegal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it is the height of folly.

It should never be forgotten that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people and especially our youth should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonisms are aroused and exploited in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels and undermine its resistance to aggression.

Our people should also be re-educated in the philosophy and science of democracy. We have long assumed that education in democracy will

somehow take care of itself as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Many people have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and distinctly harmful. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew and especially our youth in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church through the written and the spoken word an educational crusade in defense of democracy must be launched. And the time is very short! In this connection we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the western world is fundamentally religion and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the western world as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa.

Political Freedom Is Founded on Religion

Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world and irreligion is extinguishing it. When the Founding Fathers of our country wrote the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," or when they declared that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God or when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical mandate: "Proclaim ye freedom throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," or when they placed upon the first seal of the new-born republic the figure of Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt—they were summoning religious truth, religious authority, religious tradition to sanction political revolution.

The American Revolution kindled its torches at the flame of a religious dogma that men were created by God to be free and equal. The long protracted struggle in this country to emancipate the slaves received its powerful momentum not from economics or from any materialistic conception of history but from deep religious convictions which revolted against the enslave-

ment of human beings, children of God, and which saw in the Civil War a divine retribution for the sins which the nation had committed against the black man and which heard in the tramp of men marching to battle the footsteps of God. "His truth is marching on" . . .

Godlessness Destroys a Free Society

The reason that democratic movements are perishing in the western world today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of spirit and in the spiritual order of God. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible springs of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas of the sanctity of human life, man's inviolable personality and his God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of which no state, no majority, no class, no party has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens will be enhanced still further if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive widespread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration, unhappy and lost, is the dictator's workshop. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must therefore quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the

hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age, for economic stability, not cycles of boom and collapse. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the under-privileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a totalitarian millennium and will not be led into disastrous revolutionary adventures.

In our effort to defend our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some factors which are uniquely our own.

The American Way of Life

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before including a Civil War without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a fruehrer, a duce, or a commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest foes of democracy. There need be no poverty here.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by old world animosities. Better than any other people on earth, we can preserve our distinctive way of life if we build up its essential social, military and spiritual defense.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First—the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless

of race and religion are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American way of life.

Second—government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation and step by step through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. It rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third—the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception almost entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate racial and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people.

The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of man.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character of achievement but on the basis of the race to which they belong or the religion to which they subscribe are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

Keep Our Vision Undimmed

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the old world. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life—the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship and racial and religious intolerance—and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

God grant that we do not follow in their tragic footsteps.

Scriptural Action

"Rise up" is used many times in both the Old and the New Testaments: "Rise up and stand," "Rise up and build," "Rise up and come," "Rise up and walk." If the Scriptures were the product of our day they would undoubtedly say, "Rise up and be about the Master's business."

Surely the day must come when men will recognize the utter senselessness of destruction, that wars never settle anything and that peace won through war is no peace at all. "Rise up," then, and let us build a new order of things upon the sure foundations of common sense, following the precepts laid down by the prophets and seers of old, love both God and man fervently and consistently and out of this there will come peace and righteousness.

—Rev. ROELIF H. BROOKS, D.D.,
Rector, St. Thomas' Church, New York.

Jesus made the Golden Rule new—by living it.

Is It the Golden Rule?

GEORGE ARTHUR BUTTRICK

THE sceptic was denying that Jesus is ultimate. "Look at the Golden Rule," he said scornfully. "Do to others as you wish others to do to you: throw business my way, and I'll throw business your way. It's the Golden Rule alright. We must never forget our gold!"

A surprising outburst but better, I think, and perhaps Jesus would like it better, than casual mouthings of the Rule in luncheon club speeches or pious mouthings done in dead mind in church. The sceptic showed Jesus higher honor than mere lip-service.

The scepticism challenged more teachers than Jesus. The rabbi Shammai was provoked by a disciple who said: "Condense the divine law in a sentence so short that I can stand on one leg while you speak it." Shammai struck him angrily with his staff (not on the one leg, we hope), so the disciple went to the rabbi Hillel, who promptly answered: "All the law is in this: whatever thou wouldst that men should not do to thee, that do not thou to them." Hillel lived in the generation earlier than Jesus. But Confucius, in 500 B. C. said the same.

Bible scholars sometimes claim that Jesus first gave the Rule a positive form but there is a prayer of Plato, who lived 400 years before Christ, which runs, "Grant that I, being of sound mind, may do to others as I would that they should do to me." This is ancient wisdom, as Jesus said: "This is all the law and the prophets." in what sense, if any, did Jesus make it new?

Meanwhile our sceptic is still unanswered. The Rule is difficult not only because it is a rule (you may put a measure against cloth or butter,

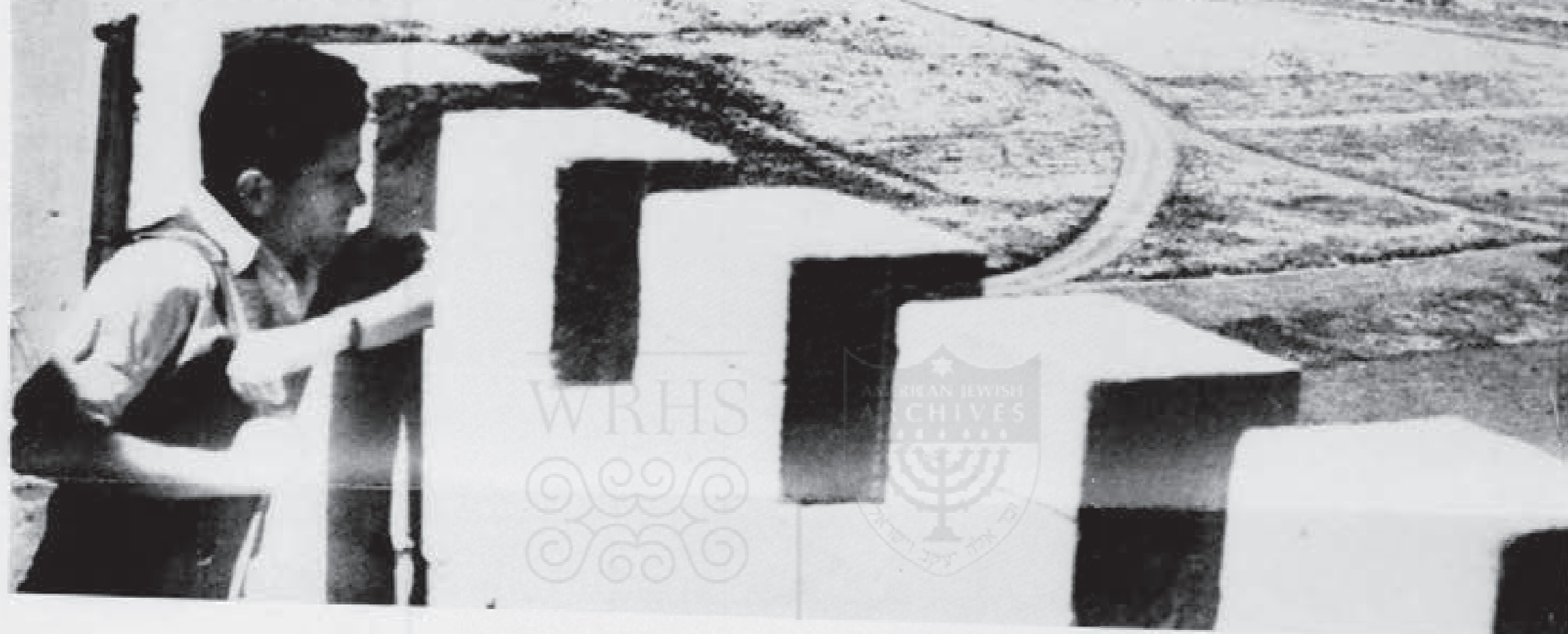
or a mountain or the stars but who has wit to measure the conduct of a man?), but also for the sceptic's reasons. "Do to others as you wish others . . ." It sounds commercial: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." Taken literally it is shrewd selfishness. But why take Jesus in poor literal mind? Why tear any of His sayings from His whole teaching? Any word Jesus spoke ought surely to be interpreted by all His words, all His prayers, all His life, yes, by all the compassion of His cross.

We make progress. The Golden Rule in its letter is not engaging. Nay, it is prudential philosophy. "Do to others as you wish . . ." Well, we wish to be flattered. So we will flatter everybody. You may have heard ladies doing it at tea-parties: "My dear, your daughter is college? I took you to be sisters." We wish to make money, so we will help our neighbors make money: "Give me a deal on this furniture and I can put you next to a great 'buy' in a used car." We wish to escape the penalty of our misdeeds, so the prisoner-at-the-bar puts his hand over his mouth and whispers to the judge: "Let me off and I can fix up a sure thing for you with the district boss."

We covet empire or trade, so, "You take Finland, and I'll take Norway," who are, apparently not eligible under the Rule; or, I'll sell you gasoline from Seattle so your aeroplane can kill Chinese if you'll serve my interests in the Pacific." Half the world lives by a cheap edition of the Golden Rule—an edition so abridged that it cuts the heart from it, nay, cuts the heart of Jesus from it. Half the world turns His radiant goodwill into wishful thinking or moral blindness or outright selfishness.

From a sermon in the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, by its minister, the Rev. George Arthur Buttrick, D.D.

BUILDING A NEW CITADEL



By **Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER**
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

"FEAR NOT, for I am with thee; I will bring thy seed from the east and will gather thee from the west. I will say to the north: 'Give up,' and to the south: 'Keep not back'; bring My sons from far, and My daughters from the ends of the earth."

In a literal sense this prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled in our day. Palestine is drawing to itself refugees from all parts of the earth and is giving them haven and sanctuary, healing for their broken bodies, and balm for their tortured spirits. From the hundred hells of Europe they are coming—tens of thousands of them—to the Jewish Homeland.

Palestine has absorbed more refugees than the whole of the rest of the world combined. A great love, a great sacrifice, and a great understanding has made that possible.

But Palestine is more than a refuge for the bodies of men and women. It is a refuge for the Spirit, the Spirit of these driven and harassed ones, and the Spirit of our entire race.

On the rim of the ravaged continent of Europe, where Jewish life has been beaten down into disaster and degradation, our people is building a new and powerful citadel for the spirit of Israel. As if in challenge, as if in defiance, as if in contempt for all the work of the Destroyer, Israel has raised on high in these years of fire and sword, of persecution and war, new banners of undefeated strength, new evidence of survival and indefeasibility.

The Yishuv in Palestine is the inspiration of Israel throughout the world. The storms of war are sweeping around it today. Dangers lurk on its very borders. But Israel in its own land is unafraid. It is resolved to defend what it has built with its very life and it is confident of its destiny.

Jews who fail to sense the superb drama which embattled Israel in Palestine is now playing are spiritually dead. Jews who fail to help in the heroic task of national redemption are faithless to their heritage.



CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

November 10, 1941 ds

Nathan Straus, Honorary Chairman
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd Street
New York City

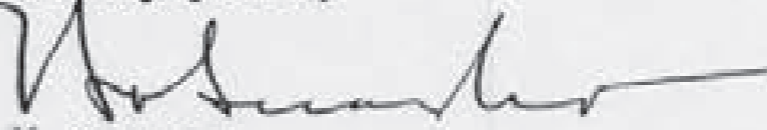
Dear Mr. Straus:

I am very glad to have the opportunity of writing you to tell you how much I admire the work that the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund are doing through the United Palestine Appeal.

In the face of almost unsurmountable difficulties you have been responsible for an anabasis far more difficult to bring about than any of the similar great movements of peoples in the past. I think this transfer of 300,000 homeless men and women from areas of distress and oppression in Europe will go down in history as one of the great achievements of our time.

May I wish you all success in the furtherance of this work.

Sincerely yours,


M a y o r



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS CONFERENCE TO OHIO'S CHILDREN

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

General Chairman, The Governor's Committee on the Follow-Up in Ohio
of the White House Conference

Logically this talk should be left at the very end of the conference, or perhaps to a year from today when we shall have had a chance to see whether this conference has borne fruit.

In a larger sense, any such meeting in these days is a significant one. Whenever men and women assemble to discuss social problems in these critical times, that is a significant event. Days such as these we are living in are days of stock-taking and heart-searching. This is an hour of testing for many people, an hour of destiny for a great number; and for us the coming days will reveal, I believe, all the strength that is in us as a people, as well as all the weakness that is in us. They will show whether the principles upon which we base our life's practices have really builded us into a community which is capable of withstanding great strain and great trials, whether our institutions will survive, outside the coming storm. They will reveal whether we have raised a generation in our homes, in our schools, our churches, our communities, possessed of strong character and that measure of sacrificial loyalty which the trials and tribulations of the uncoming days will require. I, for one, feel that we have no reason to despair. I believe that the great hour will not find us a small people.

We heard in recent years many of the inflated dictators of the world jeeringly speak of nations such as our democratic nations as decadent, as senile, as cluttering up the state of the world and impeding the advent of the New Order. They represented their people, their nations, as vigorous, dynamic, creative, fit to survive in the new world which they are helping to create, and they spoke so loudly and with such positiveness that many in the democratic countries themselves came to believe in them in whole or in part. And with the collapse of France just a few brief months ago, faith in democracy, in the democratic way of life, seemed to have touched bottom. We were bewildered and crushed. And then came the miracle of Dunkirk, and all that followed it, which indicated that democracies have a miraculous way of tapping hidden sources of strength in hours of great crises and menace; that they have an amazing recuperative power and an astounding spiritual resilience. England gave the first example of it, the first heartening and inspiring example, when driven off the continent, forced into the sea, lying helpless, defenseless before an imminent and seemingly inevitable invasion, by sheer grit, resolution, and refusal to submit to what seemed to be inevitable defeat, by recapturing that faith of free men which nothing can destroy, she was able to wrest victory out of defeat, and since has gone from strength to strength and is on the way to ultimate victory. And at least one of the dictators who has prated so loudly and so long about the invincible strength of the Fascist Legions has been defeated by one of these effete and broken-down democracies of the world, and these invincible Legions of the

Fascists, of the New Order, are now running so fast that the effete democracies can't keep up with them.

I feel that in taking stock of our assets and liabilities, we in this great country have no reason to be depressed about our position, nor have we any reason to beat our breasts in contrition too much. We have not entirely neglected, nor largely neglected, the education, the health, the economic protection of our people or of the rising generation. We have had the courage to experiment, even under great difficulties, with new forms of social and economic life. We have tried right along to make our democracy more workable, and to increase the economic security and the well-being of our people. Of course, more, very much more, remains to be done. Fortunately for us, we are not, as a people, romantic, visionary; there is a hard center of realism about us, and we are not averse to self-criticism, and sometimes very ruthless self-criticism, which is at times misunderstood abroad as self-depreciation. The American people are not unmindful of the fact that there exist in this rich land slums which consign men and women, and particularly little children, to a destructive environment which shackles them to conditions harmful to their physical, spiritual and intellectual growth. The American people are not unmindful of the fact, the menacing fact, of recurrent large-scale unemployment, and of low standards of living, which prevail in some sections, and of the handicaps to which certain groups of our population are subjected. We are not unmindful, nor do we hide the fact, as a cursory reading of our papers every day will indicate, of industrial strife in our midst, of conflict which is frequently not resolved except after long periods of lawlessness and at terrific cost. We are not unmindful of the fact that frequently, and at times very seriously, there flare up prejudices of all kinds, which mar and disfigure the unity, the harmony of our life. But the encouraging fact in all this is that the American people, the rank and file of the American people, the average American, realizing the existence of all these unfortunate conditions, nevertheless has not reconciled himself to them. He believes that they can be surmounted, and believes, furthermore, that they can be surmounted through the technique and apparatus of that democratic life under which the American nation has lived and prospered for more than a century and a half. The heartening fact is the situation is that while the American people want, long for, a larger measure of economic security, they do not want to purchase that at the price of their liberty, and while they wish for national unity, they do not want to attain it at the cost of regimentation and rigid totalitarian subjection.

Another heartening thing we see, as we scan the American scene, is not only the character of the American people, but also the character of the land which sustains the American people. This is not a country; it is a continent. I recently returned from a tour of the Southwest and of the Pacific Coast. The mere survey of the physical scene, of the topography of the American continent is in itself an overwhelming lesson in Americanism. You get a sense of the vast configuration, of the sweeping contour of this country. You get a feeling of eternity about the things which you see, of durability, of permanence. You fly over the state of Texas, as I had occasion to do ten days ago, and you realize that that state is as large in area as the combined area of Great Britain, France and Italy. You travel

through Oregon, as I did two weeks ago, and you suddenly realize that that state is as large as Italy, and whereas Italy contains a population of some forty-four million, the state of Oregon contains a population of just a little over one million, and it is far richer in natural resources, as you know, than the country of Italy. Nations over seas struggle for what has come to be known as Lebensraum—living space, elbow room—to live and breathe in. We have been spared that struggle by Kind Providence. There is living-space in this great land for ten times our population. People talk about our last frontiers having been reached at the Pacific. That should not be taken too literally. A visit through this vast empire will quickly persuade one that there is still room; that in two-thirds of our continent there is vast room, beckoning to the farmer, the settler, the pioneer, the entrepreneur in business and commerce. It is only our failure to apply intelligent social engineering and a measure of justice to that vast reserve of wealth which the good God has put in this land that has so far failed to make this land a land wherein every man could live under his own vine and fig tree, with none to make him afraid.

And so while we may be facing many political and social storms in the days to come as a result of upheavals in other parts of this globe, we can approach our own problems in high confidence and hopefulness, and therefore in deliberation and wisdom. Your task and mine, and the task of all our fellow citizens, is to prepare the children of today, of tomorrow, for this glorious heritage which will be theirs. And to prepare them properly means to prepare them in two ways, in my humble judgment—to prepare them not to be blind servants of an omnipotent and omniscient state, but to prepare them as free men to see that their individualities as human beings are not submerged. The course of these last two decades is that human individuality has been progressively liquidated. The individual has been submerged, made little, reduced in stature, dignity, and importance. The trend of the last one hundred and fifty years has been to build up the individual by surrounding him with what we call inalienable rights; the right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness; rights which no one can abrogate, infringe upon, not subject to the veto power of any state or parliament or bureaucracy or party. They belong to individuals as children of God. They are given to him by his Creator. In the last twenty years these charters of human liberties have been scrapped and thrown into the waste basket. Vicious new philosophies and rationalizations were evolved to justify this destruction of spiritual ideals of human dignity and inviolability. And so it is our task, whether we work in the field of education or religion or community welfare, to build our young people into well rounded, integrated and spiritually sufficient personalities.

We should furthermore prepare our young people for the coming day—to be eager, joyous co-workers in the new cooperative life which is evolving. New forms of life are coming into being. The day of what we called rugged individualism, which was more rugged than individual, is over. In some lands it is dead and in other lands it is dying. The day of the pirate in the social order, the lone wolf in economic life, the unsocial careerist, is pretty well over. And the choice facing us of today, who have in our hands to a large degree the responsibility for moulding the characters and the

attitudes of the rising generation—the choice before us, if it is a choice, is the choice between a coercive communism and a voluntary cooperative attitude toward life—the American way of life—either regimentation, which is involuntary, which is imposed from above, punitive, or eager voluntary cooperation on the part of men and women in the building of a commonwealth of free men for mutual helpfulness and well being. I believe that we can prepare our young people for a common share of this destiny, and make them enthusiastic about it. And perhaps it will be given to this great country to work out this formula, which Russia has failed to work out, and Italy and Germany.

The new emphasis, therefore, if it is a new emphasis—it is not new, but the old Christian religious emphasis—should be on the concept of human interdependence and fellowship. Not, "I am my brother's ruler or my brother's conqueror, or my brother's exploiter" but "I am my brother's keeper." The emphasis should again be put on the concept of humanity. The first thing which dictatorships do in the world is to destroy the concept of humanity. They begin by sewing hate of all kinds, class hatred, group hatred, racial hatred, national hatred. This is the basis upon which dictatorships build their power. Unfortunately in many parts of the world they have succeeded in poisoning a whole generation of young people. If this war is won, and I hope and pray it will be won by the free nations of the earth, mankind will face the dread fact of a whole generation of young people poisoned with the virus of the damndest kind of hatreds. In our land we still have the opportunity to spare our children these disruptive and disintegrating bitternesses and hatreds. So I take it that it is the task of the community, the home, the church, the synagogue, the school, quite deliberately and consciously and systematically to educate the rising generation in the attitudes of respect and tolerance for differences. This is a land constructed as a mosaic—built up out of differences, and yet we have discovered the way of uniting our people in common interests, allowing these differences to exist, to play themselves out, or to attenuate one another. What might threaten the unity of American life and our entire defense program and our entire democratic experiment is the growth of all forms of economic, political, social, religious and racial intolerances, and we ought to guard our children against them.

I conclude with this thought that as a people we are strong, and we shall remain strong in our way of life, shall remain undefeated as long as we remain loyal to the vision which is America—the vision of economic justice, of the Square Deal for all men, of progress with free experimentation, and of good will and tolerance. If we can take away from this conference some helpful suggestion as to how these classic American traditions can be made even more vital in our day, I believe this conference will have proved extremely significant for us and for the children of this great state.

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significance to the occasion, of fact into an international fight for the rights of the most ill-treated

Responsibility of America

LEON LOUIS LEVINTH, Secretary of the American Jewish Organization of America, said that there was no better policy than America placed on Palestine as a democratic defence through the flow of Lend-Lease supplies to the appointment of Mr. William J. Donovan as Special Envoy in that area. What was America's responsibility in this crucial war year for the support of the Jewish people? America sent an added contribution to the success of the Jewish people of the war. This was another reason for increased American Jewish material and moral support for the Jewish National Home.

The American people had dedicated themselves to gaining the victory and to securing a lasting peace. They had to recognise that on American Jewry rested the solemn responsibility to win the peace, as well as the war, for Palestine. It was the task of American Jewry to secure, by international agreement and pledges, the future status of the Jewish people and their homeland. It was America's responsibility to place before the united nations the demand of the Jewish people to have a new Declaration, which would recognise their historic claim as well as their achievements in Palestine during the past decades.

Palestine—the End of Jewish Homelessness

RABBI DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, National Chairman, United Palestine Appeal, said that behind the idea of a Jewish State stood the incontestable force of logic and necessity. Referring to the trend in some American Jewish quarters to concentrate on the American scene to the exclusion of all else, Dr. Silver observed that such an attitude on the part of Jews ran counter to the foreign policy of the Government of the United States. The American people, he said, had finally rid itself of isolationism, adopting a resolute broad policy of international

co-operation for victory, involving a united war programme and a united peace programme. The great masses of Jews in America had never been isolationists and had never consented to the proposition that aid given to fellow-Jews in other countries, or efforts made to establish for their nationally homeless people a normal national existence, diminished their loyalty to the land of their birth or adoption.

Palestine and America were to-day welded into one single front. They faced the common threat, they were engaged in the common struggle, and they awaited the common victory. Urging Great Britain to mobilise the available war potential, Dr. Silver said that it should swiftly arm the Jews of Palestine. If Britain, presumably for lack of equipment, was unable to arm the Jews of Palestine, America should do so. Palestine to-day was as much an American front as a British front. The Jews of Palestine should not only be immediately armed, but be permitted to form their own military units and to fight under their own flag under the Empire command. This was the privilege of all free men.

There could be no lasting peace in the world until the fate of the homeless rightless minorities in Europe had been properly determined. A free and open Palestine was an indispensable condition not only for the peaceful solution of the problem of Jewish homelessness in Europe, but also for the pacification of Europe. The defeat of Hitler would not of itself normalise Jewish life on the European Continent; the Jewish people was in danger of coming out of this war more torn and broken than any other people. The Jewish people must be permitted and helped to develop their homeland in Palestine in such a way that they would be able to drain off, in a relatively short time, two, three, or four million Jews from the crowded and economically tensioned centres of Central and Eastern Europe.

three characteristics as a teacher, love for truth, love for pupils, and power to communicate his truth to his pupils. All Jesus had but away beyond all this He had the mysterious, supernatural power to communicate Himself to them. Men not only learned His words but were made into His likeness. We are looking for force. We are ever striving after power. From the day John Baptist said, "Behold the Lamb" to the day Pilate said "Behold the Man," He exercised the sovereign sway belonging to a perfect character. And one day, with the shadow of the cross smiting Him full on the face, He said, "If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto me." And He is doing it. Livingstone walks through Africa and no hand touches him. The Christ-like man will have the Christ-like power. And the world waits for such leadership.

The second command of Christ is social—to love and serve. And that is the correct order. The Christ-like character does not exist in itself. Righteousness is holiness at work. Holiness compelled Pilate to say, "I find no fault in Him." Righteousness is holiness loving men and serving them. Sovereignty is a triple thing. Sovereignty of character, sovereignty of love, sovereignty of service. Men are afraid to seem unhearted. But you must read Christ's words clear through. He said "be perfect," and it was also said, "love one another," and an old Saint John repeated it until the disciples wearied of it. The heart of the world breaks for lack of love, not for lack of money nor advice.

McAll went into Paris knowing two sentences in French. "God loves you; I love you." He said them over and over and all men said they were true and he became the mightiest single force in France. Love is the greatest thing in the world. Do not be afraid of it. "And having loved his own he loved them unto the end. Three words we have spoken, be-

love, serve. There He is saying, "Be ye therefore perfect; love one another; the greatest of all is the servant of all." There His mother stands saying, "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it."

The third command is missionary, the command to go. Since Christ's last command, the final test of Christian character has been its disposition to go. Then you will ask in Paul's language, "What wilt thou have me to do?" For St. Paul the answer was the beasts of Ephesus; for the early disciples, the answer was blows of persecution; for John Huss it was a kindled fire. For Coleridge Patterson it was the Pacific Isles, death at the hands of savages. For Ignatius it was the lions, for Polycarp and Savonarola, the fire.

It all ties up together into one grand motive force. Put the words together again—"Be ye therefore perfect," "Love one another," "servant of all," "Go into all the world." "If ye love me keep my commandments." Such a life will not be easy but it will be worth living. All this He bids you; and there stands His mother saying, "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it." Here, over the altar, let us clasp hands in faithful pledge that we will listen till He speaks, and then do whatever He saith; that we will obey Him by day and by night, on land and on sea; obey him until He sits on every throne and the last man knows His name.

"How will you find good? It is not a thing of choice; it is a river that flows from the foot of the Invisible Throne and flows by the path of obedience."

—GEORGE ELIOT

The Vision Splendid

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Dr. Abba Hiller Silver, Rabbi of the Cleveland Temple, America's largest synagogue, is one of our best known radio preachers. He was born in 1893. France decorated him in the First World War.

TEXT: Choose you this day whom you will serve. (Joshua 24:15)

We are told in sacred lore, that when their hours of study were over, and the wise men left the halls of the Academy, they departed from one another with the following quaint and beautiful blessing: "Mayest thou behold thy world during thy lifetime, but may thine end be in Life Eternal, and thy hopes, may they endure throughout all generations." I know of no more seemly benediction which we can bestow upon one another.

If I were to bless you this day, with the choicest gift in the treasure house of God, I could think of none more rare and precious than this. It is threefold benison, each part segment of a perfect whole: "Mayest thou behold thy world during thy lifetime." Is there anything more complete than this? To see our whole world while we live! The world of our desires and the world of our hopes! To win every goal, to taste every fruit, to slake every thirst at the fountain of success. What a generous benediction this is! Surely this is what we pray for. "Grant us life, long life; grant us health, happiness, prosperity, peace. Let us not die ere the last mile of our journey is covered and the last beautiful scene glimpsed. Permit us to see our whole world while we live."

The man who conscious of his high estate, would lengthen the road between himself and the beast, and shorten the

road between himself and God, the man who projects a wish-world of justice and peace, knowledge and love, that man will never see his world fulfilled in his lifetime. Moses, a leader of men, built to himself a dream-world to liberate a people from a yoke of bondage, to fashion it into a priest-people. Did he see his world come true? On the top of Mount Nebo he did a lonely and world-wearied man, his tired eyes straining to catch a glimpse of the land of his unfulfilled promise. He freed his people but he could not break the chains of their soul.

Our ancient sages knew the sorry plight of such world builders. They therefore added to their benediction this phrase: "But may thine end be in Life Eternal, and thy hopes, may they endure throughout all generations." The end is not here — cannot, should not be here. A world which a man can achieve in his lifetime is unworthy of him — unworthy of the reach of his imagination, the chivalry of his spirit, the hardihood of his faith. Blessed is the man whose dream outlives him! Blessed is the man who is strong enough to see himself grow old and powerless while his ideal remains young and green. For then, old age assumes a dignity which compensates for our infirmities.

Oscar Wilde tells of a young man who a great artist painted in the full splendor of his youth. When the young man beheld

the finished masterpiece he burst into tears and cried, "How sad it is that I must grow old but this picture shall remain always young. Oh if it were only the other way! If the picture could change and I could remain always what I am now. His wish was granted. Through the years of degradation and shame he remained the same but his picture took on all the ugliness, all the spiritual disfigurement which were his. At last the horror of the picture drove him to madness and self-destruction. This is the tragedy of one who wishes to outlive his dream. Israel Zangwill says, "He that dies in the full tilt of his ambitions is buried alive, and he that survives his hopes and fears is dead, unburied." And the ancestors of this brilliant writer declared, "The righteous are alive in death, the wicked are dead in life."

This then was the meaning of the Rabbi's: "May your life be blessed with the vision of a world so beautiful that it will crowd your life with beauty, even though the vision cannot be fulfilled in your lifetime." Life may deny you the world of achievement, it cannot deny you the world of poetry and romance and the rich savor of living which the very essence of the vision within you will create for you. Therein does the spiritual differ from the physical.

There lived somewhere a lonely and pious Jew, poor and forgotten of men, whose entire possession in life was one single tract of the Talmud. The pious man spent all his days reading this one sacred tract. It filled his entire life. He guarded it, loved it, treasured it. When he died this precious tome of sacred lore was transformed into a radiant maiden of sur-

passing loveliness, who led this faithful devotee to the gates of Paradise. Quint, is it not? But how profoundly true! For every high devotion, for every transfiguring wish, or hope, or prayer, an angel is born unto us to be our ministrant and guardian.

The cobbler at his lathe may have an ideal of high artisanship. He will see the charm of his work during his lifetime. The day laborer who is conscious of the indispensable character of his work, the merchant who is faithful to the standards of service, the employer who finds in his office a challenge to unselfishness, the professional man who regards his calling as a consecration, all of them have a dream-world which will outlive them, but one which will abundantly bless them throughout their lifetime.

Our ideal is seeking us. Open your eyes, it is here, in your home, in the multitudinous acts of mutual love and sacrifice, in the exalted experience of friendship, in shop, store and office, in your community, in social work, in civic work, in the humblest and highest task it is there. "Behold, I have set before thee this day, Life and the Good, Death and the Evil. Choose thou Life!"

"The true ideal is not opposed to the real, nor is it any artificial heightening thereof, but lies in it; and blessed are the eyes that find it."

—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

The Meeting of Mercy and Justice

THE VENERABLE BEDE

The Venerable Bede was born in England in 672 and died in 735. He entered a monastery at the age of 7 and lived there all his life. He was one of the greatest scholars of his time. His greatest work was the "Ecclesiastical History of England." He was translating the Gospel of John when he died.

TEXT: Mercy and truth are met together. (Psalm 85:10)

There was a certain Father of a family, a powerful king, who had four daughters, of whom one was called Mercy; the second Truth; the third, Justice; the fourth, Peace; of whom it is said, "Mercy and Truth are met together; Justice and Peace have kissed each other." He had also a certain most wise Son, to whom no one could be compared in wisdom. He had also a certain servant whom he had exalted and enriched with great honor for he had made him after his own likeness. But the Lord wished to become acquainted with the character and faith of his servant, whether he were trustworthy, so he gave him an easy commandment and said, "If you do what I tell you, I will exalt you to further honors; if not you shall perish miserably."

The servant heard the commandment and went and broke it. Why need I say more? This proud servant, stiff-necked, full of contumely and puffed up with conceit, sought an excuse for his transgression, and retorted the whole fault on his Lord. For when he said, "The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she deceived me," he threw all the fault on

his Maker. His Lord, angry for such conduct, called four most cruel executioners and commanded one of them to cast him into prison, another to behold him, the third to strangle him, and the fourth to afflict him with grievous torments.

These torturers then, studying how they might carry out their own cruelty, took the wretched man and began to afflict him with all manner of punishments. But one of the daughters of the King, by name Mercy, when she had heard of this punishment of the servant, ran hastily to the prison and looking in and seeing the man given over to the tormentors, could not help having compassion upon him for it is the property of Mercy to have mercy. So she tore her garments and struck her head together, and let her hair fall loose about her neck, and crying and shrieking, ran to her father, and kneeling before his feet began to say with an earnest and sorrowful voice: "My beloved father, am not I thy daughter Mercy and art not thou called merciful? If thou art merciful, have mercy upon thy servant and if thou wilt not have mercy upon him, thou canst not be

Conference on Status of Minority Groups
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FASCIST TECHNIQUES IN AMERICAN LIFE

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

IT is very easy to create a minority problem, and very difficult to solve it. Europe has been wrestling with minority problems for many generations. In this country, theoretically at least, we try to conduct our political life without reference to minority groups. Our concept of government has been that each man be equal before the law regardless of the group to which he belongs, regardless of his particular extraction or historic background. And we have been taught to evaluate a citizen on that basis—on achievement, on character, on personal merit.

That trend has been diverted in recent years. We have come more and more to talk about minority problems in the United States, and I regard that as a rather sad omen. It is the old world encroaching upon the new world.

Minorities have traditionally been exploited by political and economic imperialistic groups for their own ends. European states have right along used minorities as pawns in imperial conspiracy of one kind or another. The Nazis are only the latest in a long line of empire building states who have exploited minorities. You will recall that the first movement toward expansion was to reclaim German minorities who happened to be living in states contiguous to the Reich. In the Czarist days Slavic minorities were used for excuses for all kinds of imperialistic adventures. The Nazis were the first to discover the technique of using a minority within the country as a means of getting into power. I refer to the exploitation of anti-Semitism by Nazis in Germany to seize political power and control of the government.

Fascism is a world movement. The United States has not been immune to its influence. Fascism is a missionary movement which has its agents both native and alien. It has its disciples all over the world. Fascism varies in degree, in form and in local coloration. In various countries its nuances and technics vary. One is less nationalistic, less racialistic than the other, but basically Fascism is the attempt on the part of the privileged classes to defend themselves in democracies against the increasing demands of the masses

for a fair allocation of the social goods and for a better economic democracy. Behind Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, in Spain, in Portugal, or in Rumania, you have what we call big industry, big business, banking cartels who have become frightened because the masses have discovered that the democratic procedure, if properly used, can get them what they want.

The privileged classes will exploit every situation and will take over every movement in the country which holds the promise of helping them in maintaining their position and in conserving their power. Some people permit themselves to be used wittingly by these powers; but in most instances people are used without their knowledge, unwittingly. Often the working classes, the middle classes, the professional people, the idealists are unwittingly exploited and used as stooges by these privileged classes in their ruthless and desperate determination not to yield to the demands of the less privileged classes.

Big business, financial capital, monopolistic capitalism will do one of two things when threatened. They will resort to a program of confusing the opposition groups, of diverting them from the main intent, of corrupting their leaders, if necessary, and of controlling elections in a democracy. When this fails, as it failed in Germany, and in Italy, they will then proceed to take over government completely. The attack on the New Deal was basically an attack upon the progressive economic tendencies represented in the New Deal, upon the upsurge of the masses of our people demanding greater economic security. This attack was not made with the idea of meeting the issue in a fair way. There was no intention to discuss every one of the items of legislation on its merits and to offer counter proposals which would meet the situation and correct the evil. The effort was rather to arouse, to confuse, to bewilder our people. The New Deal was daubed Communism. Personal bitterness and animus were introduced. The attack was basically on social legislation. (That does not mean that everybody who opposed the New Deal belonged to this category.) When that type of strategy fails, the Fascist forces will take the next step, to destroy the democratic machinery that makes it possible for the masses to express themselves. That technique has been developed, it is quite scientific, it is all blue-printed.

The first trick of Fascism is to create a mood of hysteria in a country. Hitler said in his book "Mein Kampf," that his driving motive of social change is not so much insight as hysteria. To produce a radical social change, reliance is not placed upon insight.

enlightenment, education, but upon hysteria. Arouse the masses of people. Incite them. Stampede them. Get them to do what you want under the impact of fear and when they wake up, after they have sobered down, if you are smart enough you have your machine guns pointed at them and it is too late for them to change their minds.

The way to create this hysteria is the science of propaganda. Skillful propagandists know exactly what ingredients to put in the cup of intoxication they give the masses to drink. The first step is to undermine the confidence of the people in their own government and in democratic institutions. Congress is made to appear a collection of dunderheads or criminals who have no interest in the well being of the people. The country is pictured as drifting to disaster. Then there is an effort to create strife by turning class against class, group against group and race against race, by aggravating every situation, by intensifying every point of conflict. And finally you build up hysteria through a systematic campaign of propaganda, of half truths and whole lies. You create the feeling among the masses that there is no way out for the people except by temporarily surrendering their democratic machinery and entrusting themselves for a time to someone strong and powerful who is able to co-ordinate this disintegrating national life, who is able to give the forceful and aggressive leadership in this terrible crisis who will lead them out of the wilderness into the promised land. That is the technique of Fascism.

The attack on democracy is seldom, if ever, made frontally. Just as the attack on the rights of the Negro in the South today, as represented in the poll tax controversy, is never made by the Cotton States senators in a direct way, but always by strategem and always indirectly. The poll tax is defended on the basis of states rights. The filibuster against the anti-lynching bill some years ago was also conducted on this indirect line of defending states' rights. The attack is always one of devious ways of strategem. The people are promised not less, but more freedom, not less economic security, but greater, if they will surrender the ballot which makes possible representative government.

The success that the European Fascists had in Europe before the war heartened the Fascists in America greatly. There are many people in this country who hated the New Deal and President Roosevelt far more than they hated Hitler, just as in France there were many Frenchmen who hated the Popular Front and Leon Blum more than they hated Hitler. The victory of the Fascists and

of the Nazis greatly heartened the avowed or ipso-facto American Fascists. When the Nazis and Fascists finally found themselves at war in Europe, the American Fascists seized upon the slogan of isolationism in order to immobilize the United States and to keep the American people from coming to the aid of those democracies in Europe which were still resisting the advances of the Nazis. Again I do not wish to say that every isolationist in the United States was a Fascist; far from it, and I do not need to repeat that qualifying statement as I go along. But certainly isolationism in the United States before the war was exploited by all those forces native and alien who were interested primarily in doing nothing to hurt Hitler and Fascism in Europe. The war in Europe was none of our business. That was one American Fascist cry. Everyone who maintained that the duty of the greatest democracy in the world was to meet this challenge of this neobarbarism of Fascism was daubed as a war-monger. Since Pearl Harbor the Fascists have adopted a new tactic. They now say our sole concern in this war is the Japanese. We ought to concentrate on the menace of the Pacific. We ought to forget Europe. The Nazis are really not the grave danger threatening us. There are very important newspapers in the United States which have made this their slogan since Pearl Harbor. They, (the *Cliveden* set in England and Washington), want Hitler, if not to win, at least not to lose in Europe.

Finally, the technique of the American Fascist is like the technique of the European Fascist: that is in the exploitation of anti-Semitism as a weapon, a powerful weapon, to overthrow democracy. When I speak of anti-Semitism I am not speaking as a Jew concerned primarily with the rights of his people. Of course, I am interested in defending my people, who are perhaps going through the most tragic period in their history. We are an old people who have gone through some horrible experiences in the past from the days of Pharaoh to the present. We have developed a certain philosophy on persecution and a certain strategy of survival, and while we are sad at heart at all that has happened and is happening today, nevertheless, we do look beyond our own personal problem to the world problem and understand that our problem is linked up with the world problem.

When we speak of anti-Semitism today we think of what it is doing to the world. The Nazis have shown how anti-Semitism can be used in every country to destroy democracy. It is the surest way of disintegrating and destroying the solidarity of a people and preparing them to become an easy victim for the forces of reaction

or for actual conquest. It was used in France in an amazing degree before the war. The Popular Front was represented as a Jewish conspiracy to destroy France just as the New Deal was called the Jew Deal. The Fascist or Nazi knows how to capitalize on every latent human prejudice, to achieve his ends. He goes to a people and tells them that they are suffering from unemployment, from misery, from the hurts of defeat in the last war because of the Jews. They represent Jews as conspiring to destroy every Christian country in order to seize control later on; they say that the Jews control the press, the government, the moving picture industry, and thus tie the people hand and foot. On such a basis the Fascist leader makes his bid for power. He appears in the robe of a Saviour. I am the way. Give me the power, me Hitler, me Franco, you give me the power to override for the moment parliamentary procedure, the power to override Congress, to suppress this deeply controlled liberal press which is in the hands of the Jews, extra-legally. Then I can save you and everything will be fine after it is all done.

This may sound childish, but it is exactly how the thing worked in Germany to perfection for twelve years or more. The Nazis carried this single lie to the German people through hundreds of thousands of meetings in every corner and village and hamlet and town of Germany—repeated it, drilled it into the ears of the people who were suffering from want, from poverty, from unemployment. German misery will end when German Jewry ends. The mark of the beast upon every Fascist movement in the world is anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is the classic trade mark of the Fascist adventurer or movement.

There will be an upsurging of American Fascism after the war. After a war there is unrest. There are grave economic problems, some of which cannot be settled quickly. There is the problem of reconverting the entire economic system to a peace time basis, of demobilizing millions now in the Army. There may be a temporary boom followed by a long depression. During that period of depression the Fascist will have his great opportunity. He will seize that opportunity. He will exploit the latent prejudices here among the people, to achieve his ends.

The only way we will be able to meet this post-war Fascism is to begin educating the people now in the classic techniques of Fascism, to inform the people of Fascist propaganda. The people must be reassured that the one way to solve great human problems, great social problems, is not by an appeal to hatred or class struggle, not by arousing passions and confounding clear thinking, but

by an augmentation of humanitarianism, the spirit of human brotherhood, of goodness and of the grace which is in the hearts of men. It is only the great teachings of our religions, yours and mine, that will suffice to lead our troubled and weary and tired generation now and in the days after the war, to a quieter harbor of peace and justice and real freedom.



Amer. Assoc. of School Administrators
San Francisco
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good enough as far as it goes, and it is giving us quite enough to do at the present moment, but while we grapple and strain, whether we are cast down by reverses or buoyed up by success, let us not forget the deeper issues which lie behind the struggle.

Your country and mine have a common aim in this fight; it is an aim that has been accepted by our leaders and acknowledged by our peoples. Neither we nor you are fighting for aggrandizement, whether territorial or otherwise. We have accepted a challenge to our common principles thrown down by forces which we believe to be evil and abominable. We seek to destroy those forces, it is true, but we also seek to establish a peace hereafter which will insure to all men, in all lands, the right to "live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

This is our answer to the promises of the enemy of a "New Order" which we know will be based on slavery. This is the answer of the free United Nations to those Axis forces which would enslave the world between them. Surely it is no mean cause for which to fight. I hold it to be a high honor for my country to be fighting with yours in the vanguard of such a battle, and, altho unprepared as we were and still are to stand up to better equipped foes, we are now passing thru the trough of the waves. Each month that slips by will find us just a little bit nearer the crest and, provided we do not flinch, we shall get there.

This cause, this deeper issue, is engraved in the heritage of both our peoples. From our traditions, inherited from past generations who have ever scorned tyranny and loved freedom, we can draw strength and courage to meet our present adversities and to sustain us until the sun of victory shall drive away the darkness. We know that we fight for liberty against slavery; for a man's right to speak, think, and worship as he will; for a world in which we and our children's children can live free, fearless, and secure. We know that we seek to extend to all peoples the principles on which this great union of states was founded—the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To this end we have mutually pledged, in all the rich simplicity of our common tongue, "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

As a mere man, in closing I should make a concession to what we manfully call the weaker sex but what is not always what it is called; indeed—and here is the smug concession—this is to an abnormal extent, judging by other wars, a civilian war, and, as a result, a larger share is borne by women and a larger responsibility in maintaining morale is imposed on women. They realize that a war in which they can help is being waged for the fundamental principles of a decent life, honor, truth, justice, and freedom, and no one would lose more than the women and children if Hitler won. So they welcome every opportunity of being trained to face the various emergencies and to share in the nation's work and struggle, and they have already proved in Great Britain that they will endure and fight for the final victory.

MORALE BUILDING IN AMERICA

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND, OHIO

PRESIDENT PILLSBURY: To help us think thru America's difficulties in morale building, we have turned to a man who, thru long years of rich experience as a civic leader, teacher, scholar, and preacher, has been deeply conscious of the problems of a free people. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

RABBI SILVER: Morale, the term which we have come to use more frequently and more meaningfully in recent months, is built upon a set of confidences—confidence in the cause for which we are fighting; confidence in the leadership in whose hands our fate, our national destiny, is now entrusted; and confidence in the ultimate victory. If one of these confidences is missing or is undermined, our nation will not be able to stand the strain of a long war and may at a decisive moment, at a critical juncture, crack morally.

The initial enthusiasm for this war, or lack of enthusiasm, is not consequential. What is of paramount consequence is the sustained confidence in the objectives of the war, in the leadership, and in ultimate victory. Confidence in the justice of our cause may rightly be great. Involved in this struggle, as we have come to understand, is the classic American tradition, that tradition which in one form or another we waged three wars to establish and to defend.

Our foe recognizes that more is involved in this war than territory, interests of empire, *lebensraum*, or access to raw material. Hitler has spoken of this war as a war between two worlds, and, indeed, it is just that. What is involved are the basic questions which determine life and attitude and conduct among men and nations. Shall men be free? Shall men be made secure in their inalienable rights? Shall government continue to derive its just powers from the consent of the governed? Shall men continue to have the right to alter or to abolish their form of government if they find it to have become tyrannical and opposed to their essential happiness? Shall there be equality before the law? Shall men of all nations continue to strive to achieve peace and justice and brotherhood thru ways of cooperation, or shall one race or one people or one small group of peoples achieve all that it wishes to achieve for its own at the expense, subjugation, and exploitation of all others? These questions are of the very essence of life and they are all involved in this struggle.

Time and again the liberties which are acquired in blood and in sacrifice must be reacquired. There is no permanent security of liberty and democracy in any of the great institutions of human life, and they are least secure when they are most taken for granted. Always there are present in the life of any nation, in the life of the world, those forces which are unreconciled to human freedom and the inalienable rights of the individual, which know that they cannot thrive except thru the suppression and the exploitation of other men or of other groups of men. These forces are always ready, poised for attack, waiting for their opportunity. Always they are vigilant and are

most vigilant when the forces of freedom are off-guard, complacent, and easy going. At no time have these forces of darkness been so numerous, so skilful, so ruthless, so conscienceless, and so adequately prepared for a mass attack upon our spiritual and intellectual order as they are today.

What we are being threatened with in this Second World War is a universal breakdown and a universal blackout. An Axis victory will mean the end of that era in human progress which began with the Renaissance, which was advanced by the American Revolution and the French Revolution, which was aided so valiantly by the heroic and self-sacrificing labors of all those who participated in the social struggles of the last few centuries.

The way of life which we have come to regard as our way of life, which is not exclusive or competitive, which does not seek to build itself upon the backs of other peoples—this way of life dear to us—is worth fighting for and dying for. A life of freedom and dignity is the sort of life which God meant us to lead and which God wants us to defend. Our forefathers achieved, to a large extent, that way of life for themselves and for us, and we, their descendants, must now fight to preserve it. So our first great confidence upon which our morale may be justly built is confidence in the eternal validity of those ideals at whose solemn altar we have now been summoned to bring our supreme sacrifices.

The American people were slow to grasp the full implications of the struggles which were raging in the Old World, the wars which were ravaging the nations in that other continent. They were slow to understand that what the world was being threatened with was a complete spiritual and intellectual anarchy, the degradation, the total degradation of the individual who, in our classic religious tradition, we have come to believe was made in the image of God and therefore possesses a personality of intrinsic worth.

Being a peace-loving people and recoiling, too, from much of our disillusionment with the outcome of the last war, we would not credit the world-conquering intentions of the aggressor Axis nations, and thus refused to become involved in any collective effort to check that aggression. That is readily understandable.

Democratic nations, much closer geographically to the Axis powers, also made the same mistake. They also ignored or played down the menace. They seemed to have paid a terrible price for their lack of insight and lack of foresight, their attempts to appease an unappeasable Moloch—the pathetic efforts on the part of each one of them to make themselves secure behind walls of neutrality and isolationism.

Before last December our people were sharply divided on the issues of isolationism and interventionism, and many sincere and deluded people and cunning Axis agents contributed to the confusion of the mind of our people and to the partial paralysis of its will in face of a growing emergency over the fictitious issue of isolationism versus interventionism. I call it a fictitious issue because it should have been clear, as it has now become crystal clear, that our nation would have to intervene in any major European war, that no isolation was possible for a people so focal, so

important, so significant, whose political and economic fortunes were so completely interlocked and intertwined with those of other people.

The choice before the American people was always not isolationism versus interventionism but interventionism versus cooperation. We could either cooperate with all other free peoples in maintaining a system of law and order in the world, in checking imperialistic aggression, in establishing agencies for collective security and peace, or we would have to intervene willy-nilly in any war which the aggressor nations would force upon the world, including ourselves.

We waited until such a war was actually forced upon us. While we were divided in counsel up to a few months ago, while we were slow in recognizing what was going on in the world, we are no longer divided, and we do now understand the full implications. We understand, also, the desperate character, the resourcefulness, the might, the treachery, the viciousness of the foes that now confront us.

We have also come to understand the price which we shall have to pay to defend our way in the world. We have already paid a large price. We have already suffered some major disasters in this war. We are likely to suffer other serious reverses.

Fortunately, however, we have also lost our delusions and our self-delusions, and it is as a sober, determined, and united people that, to quote Churchill, "We are entering the storm and we are marching thru the storm."

We have confidence in our cause, and that confidence will steel our resolve thru the oncoming days and months of trial and tribulation, and we have confidence in the leadership in whose hands the fortunes of our people are now resting.

I speak now not as a political partisan but as an American citizen. Fortunately we have at the head of our government at this time a man of unquestioned patriotism, of great courage, and of political sagacity and wisdom. Our nation has been blessed by Providence in every hour of its grave crisis in the past to have a leader who could guide the people thru the valley of the shadow. Neither the Revolutionary War nor the Civil War achieved a quick and easy victory. Seven long years were required before the purposes of the American Revolution were achieved and four bloody years of Civil War before the purposes of that war were achieved. In neither instance were the armies ready, equipped, trained; in neither instance were the American people united, of one mind. There was apathy; there was factionalism; there was treachery; there was lack of confidence. But, fortunately for our nation, the American Revolution had its George Washington and the Civil War its Abraham Lincoln. Washington providentially possessed those qualities which the new and turbulent and individualistic and ebullient nation needed. It needed someone to put iron in its will and patience in its soul, to steady the revolutionary ardor of the people. It needed someone who could give spirit and hope when long, dreadful years of suffering and want and reverses had begun to drain away the strength of the revolutionary will to win thru to victory.

In the Civil War our nation was blessed that in that hour of destiny it had a man of the type of Abraham Lincoln who could be strong with the strength of the elements; who could bend his shoulders to attack, to bitter and vicious criticism, to hate and contempt; who could hang on like a bulldog to the single purpose which he and the nation had set for itself; who possessed an overflowing measure of moderation and human kindness; who could look ahead thru the haze of a civil war to the ultimate hour of reconciliation; who could regard the momentary enemies as the ultimate friend and brother.

I am persuaded that in this grave hour of crisis, perhaps the gravest in our history, our people have again been blessed by Providence with a leader who is matched to the hour and who is adequate to the occasion; a man of clear vision, firm in purpose, astute in the presence of treachery and disloyalty; a man of strong convictions but not a fanatic; a man who understood the social struggles which were tearing Europe apart, who knew how inevitable were the problems of reconstruction; a man who saw how the nations of Europe were proceeding to reconstruct their economic life thru blood and dictatorship and the liquidation of classes, and who wanted our reconstruction to proceed along our way thru the evolutionary method of trial and error, of slow progress, of experimentation, not thru the destruction but thru the rendering more flexible and more pliable the democratic procedure under which we had lived and prospered for a century and a half. He read well the signs of the times. He also read well, perhaps better than any statesman in the world, what was involved in the rise of Nazi and Fascist movements in the Old World. Years before the war finally broke, he warned his people and he warned all other free peoples to rally, to unite, to quarantine that moral and spiritual plague, the pest which had begun to spread over the face of the earth. He was called an international meddler, you will recall, a war-monger.

Events have completely vindicated him and, in the eyes of the American people, the events of December 7, 1941, have completely vindicated his statesmanship, his foresight, and his profound loyalty to what is best in the life of our people, in the life of the world. We are fortunate to have such a man at this time. I am persuaded, too, and we all have every reason to be persuaded, that the men who surround him, who occupy key positions in the government and in our armed services, are men of great loyalty. They will make mistakes. They will be guilty of grave blunders, but I believe that they will not be guilty of any acts of intentional disloyalty, any mendacious acts of sabotage to defeat the purposes of our nation and of the United Nations in this war.

In any hasty improvisation for a gigantic struggle such as this, a democratic people is at an extreme disadvantage because it has been preparing its life right along for ways of peace while the enemy has been preparing itself right along for ways of war. Little intentional sabotage will take place among those who are at the heads of our national services. There will be, of course, acts of sabotage from other groups, from other circles. We shall have to guard ourselves against them but, as far as leadership is

concerned, we have every reason to have confidence in it and, therefore, our morale may be built strongly upon this second essential confidence.

Lastly, we should have confidence in ultimate victory. There is, of course, grave danger in overconfidence. It is a delusion, a tragic delusion, to believe that we can win this war regardless, under any circumstances. We may lose this war, and there are many well-informed people who believe that at the rate at which we of the United Nations are going, we are losing it today.

The fact that we have potential resources, overwhelmingly greater than those of our foes, is no guarantee in and by itself of victory. History will teach us that every great nation and every great empire that was ever overthrown possessed potential resources in wealth and man power far greater than the enemy which brought its pride into the dust. It is the impoverished, the lean, and the hungry peoples, bent on conquest, who have in the past succeeded in overthrowing and dispossessing those empires and those nations which had become weak of the very obesity of their wealth and their affluence and who could not or would not mobilize at the critical juncture and at the decisive moment all that was requisite for victory.

We may lose this war, but we need not lose it. Given these spiritual forces which are the variable factors in the situation and the uncertain factors, given the spiritual forces of resoluteness, of sacrifice, of boldness, of patience—we have everything else to insure victory.

On our side are one billion people who are fighting with us for a common victory, not because they are bent upon empire building, or out of lust of conquest or desire for subjugation, or out of racial pride, arrogance, and conceit; not because they wish to establish their hegemony over other people but because they wish to preserve their own freedom and the freedoms of other people, their own way of life.

Ranged on our side are the people, like the Chinese, who have for four or five bitter years defied all the military might of Nippon. Ranged on our side are the great people of Russia, who have been the first to destroy the might of Nazi invincibility. Ranged on our side and fighting along with us are the great people of Great Britain, of its commonwealth, who have known how to take defeat in a magnificent spirit and how to stand the pounding which would have broken any other people of a lesser fiber and of a weaker moral tradition.

Ranged on our side are all the other gallant little armies of the free, smaller peoples of Europe who, on alien soil, are keeping aloft the banner and the torch which, for the time being, have been lowered into the dust in their native homes. We have within us, in our grasp and for our use, the greatest industrial plant in the world capable of producing all the material necessary for a long war, and our might can increase day by day, hour by hour, while the might of the foes ranged against us must of necessity dwindle from month to month.

It is upon these three confidences—in the cause, in the leadership, in ultimate victory—provided we make no colossal blunders, that our nation can build, and I believe is building, its morale, which I do not believe is low at this time. Just because our people are frequently given to criticism is no

indication that their hearts are not in the right place. It would be a sad day for our people if we were to surrender their rights to criticize. It would be bad for the morale of our people and bad for our leaders. The danger, of course, is making our criticism a cantankerous, incessant drum-fire which will dishearten, demoralize the men who are charged with the great responsibility of conducting the war.

Criticism must not become destructive. We must not base it upon unverified rumors. It must not stem from political partisanship. It is part of the privilege of a free man to engage in just criticism. It is proof of the unfitness of a man or a nation to engage in criticism when that criticism is intemperate, injudicious, and ignobly motivated. A free people tempers its criticism with self-criticism. A free man, after he gives vent to his first outburst of wrath and indignation at a palpable blunder which has been committed, catches himself up and asks himself: "Now, look here, am I perhaps going too far? Is the thing which I am engaged in now helpful or harmful? Am I keeping in mind the larger strategy, the ultimate cause?" Criticism should not be discouraged and decried. It should not be interpreted as lack of morale. But criticism should be bridled and held in check by the intelligent purpose, loyalty, and patriotism of a free people.

I have spoken of the three confidences. I want to say a word about the things which might undermine these confidences. There are not wanting, in our midst, individuals and groups of individuals who would like to undermine all these confidences, who either want the outright Axis victory or a negotiated peace, which is tantamount to a Hitler victory, and these forces present in our midst—they have only gone underground for the time being—will be heard from as soon as one reverse or another appears on the scene.

Their refrain will be like the refrain referred to by the speaker who preceded me. "We cannot win this war," "The cost is too great," "England is prepared to quit," "Russia is prepared to make peace," "The Chinese will not fight," "Let's make peace with the Japanese in order to fight Hitler," or "Let's make peace with Hitler in order to fight the Japanese." Any or all these poisonous propaganda devices will be used by people whose loyalty you and I least suspect because we are uninformed and because we do not know the powers behind them. They will be used in the days to come.

There will also be politicians who will seek to capitalize upon national unhappiness, for partisan purposes, and will undermine confidence in leadership. Above all, there will be, as there have been, those forces which will continue to arouse racial and religious antagonisms in order to divide our people, to confuse us, and to paralyze us as much as possible. That is the classic Nazi technic.

Ever since the Nazis came into power, and years before, as a means of getting into power, they have skilfully exploited racial antagonisms to turn one group of citizens against another, to arouse hatreds and distrust and suspicions, and thereby to prepare for conquest a people which they had marked out for conquest.

Every anti-Semite in the United States is a potential fifth columnist just

as every anti-Semite in France was an actual fifth columnist. They are more dangerous than the parachutist who drops behind the lines of the army to disrupt communications and to bring about chaos in the armed forces.

Racial discrimination against the Negro in defense work in our country contributes to the undermining of morale among a large section of our people. We cannot, in all conscience, fight a war against the vicious racialism of the Third Reich and tolerate it here in our own free country.

I have spoken of these three confidences upon which we may build our morale. Essentially they are all spiritual factors, and, because they are the three great spiritual agencies in our national life—the church, the school, the home—have it within their power to build this morale at this time and to maintain it.

All that the church holds sacred is at stake in this war. The whole Judaical civilization is fighting for survival in the Christian world, and the church cannot afford either to be indifferent to the conflict or to raise itself, as it were, above the battle and to concern itself exclusively with the problems of world reconstruction after the war. In an Axis dominated world there will be no room for any peace program which any great religious organization can conceivably evolve.

The first and most important task confronting us all, including the church, is the winning of the war. In this connection, the church can do a great deal to enlighten and to inform the American people; to strengthen their sacrificial loyalty, to hearken, to comfort, and to console them in their hours of tribulation and sorrow.

It can and should prepare the minds of our people for reconstruction after the war, for there must be reconstruction in the world or the multitudinous sacrifices of men and nations will be vain and tragically futile. There must emerge out of this war a world order, a world federation, which will avoid the mistakes which were made in the League of Nations, which will give all peoples, large or small, a sense of belonging and of security in an international order of economic justice and political equality. That, alone, can be adequate compensation for the sacrifices in life and substance which all the free peoples will be called upon to make.

There must be proclaimed a new charter of human liberties, of the rights of all men everywhere, and of the rights of minorities and of nations. The church may render a great service to sensitize the minds and the souls of people to the problems of reconstruction after the war, while, in the meantime, enlightening the people about the war, rallying them to utmost defense in this war, and strengthening their hearts and comforting their spirits.

Our high schools and colleges have a great role to play in the way of morale building. Our educational agencies and processes are to be exploited to the fullest at this time, for it is a propitious time to explain to our youth the meaning of this struggle. What is actually involved? What do we mean by the American way of life, which is being attacked? Why is it being attacked? What would we and the world lose if this way of life should go down in defeat and if the doctrines of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito

came to supplant the doctrines of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Lincoln? Our schools have a chance, a great chance, to mobilize the interest of our youth not only for active participation in the tasks of the war, whatever tasks war will bring to our young people, but also to mobilize their interest for a more thoroughgoing and earnest study of our America, of our institutions, and of our traditions.

How have we tried to solve our problems? How have we tried to adjust differences between classes, between creeds, between groups? What unique contribution has the American genius made to human thought?

We have a great opportunity now, when our armies are already beginning to be sent to the four corners of the earth, to stretch the intellectual horizons of our youth for a new type of citizenship and a new type of patriotism which tomorrow will make mandatory.

We must train our youth into a type of citizenship which will not be completely centrifugal or self-centered but which will come more and more to embrace mankind. After this war we will have to begin to speak again, as we have failed to do in the last few miserable decades, of humanity, of mankind, of man as such, and not talk so much of French, German, Italian, and English.

The peace and security of America—it is clear now, and I hope that after the war its clarity will not be veiled again—depends upon the peace and security of the rest of the world. We cannot have peace in isolation. We cannot have peace and security in neutrality. Therefore, our teachers at this time have the rare opportunity, in teaching history, geography, civics, international relationships, and sociology, in fact any and every subject, to stretch the horizons, to widen the intellectual and cultural reaches of our youth, to make them look more to the south of us and to the east of us and to the west of us, to make them understand more the interlocking destiny of all peoples in one common faith.

And, finally, our homes can play a great role in building and maintaining morale at this time, principally, as I see it, as a place of refuge, as a sanctuary for the troubled and sorely tried spirit of our people—a spirit which will not be given any rest for the duration of the war outside the home, a spirit which will be harassed and troubled. If we can make our homes places of spiritual tranquillity and calm, we will be making a major contribution to the emotional stability of the American people.

Again, the years ahead are going to demand of us a Spartan discipline, frugality, and sacrifice. It is the only way we will be able to win this long war ahead. It is in our homes that these virtues may be practiced and exemplified.

I am persuaded that these three agencies will not fail the American people—the school, the home, and the church. Because they will not fail, the confidence upon which our morale is to be built will not fail and, because of that, I am confident that we shall come thru the night to a brighter dawn and a happier time for all.

I recall a wise saying of one of the rabbis of my people. When the first

man, Adam, beheld the first sundown, he was greatly frightened. He had never seen the sunset before. When the darkness began to engulf this world, he became terrified, thinking that the world was coming to an end. So the Lord told him, says the sage, to take two rocks, one rock called Death and the other rock called the Shadow of Death, and to strike these two rocks so that a spark of fire came forth. When Adam beheld the spark of fire, he offered his first prayer unto God and said, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, Who bringest forth light out of darkness."

If we can take the hope, the confidence, these two rocks of Death and the Shadow of Death, of War and Suffering, and strike them together so the spark of fire will come forth, we, too, in the days to come, will be able to pray unto our heavenly Father, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, Who bringest forth light out of darkness."

FIFTH GENERAL SESSION—SECTION B

TUESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 24, 1942

THE UNITED STATES DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS PROGRAM

ORVILLE S. POLAND, STAFF ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. CODY: It is a pleasure to greet you and listen to a fine program. The presiding officer will not take any time except to bring you greetings from the city of Detroit, which is the real arsenal of America at the present time. I wish to present as the first speaker Orville S. Poland.

MR. POLAND: It was only about six months ago that a group of people in San Francisco sent to Washington and asked if I would come to San Francisco and talk at a mass meeting, because, they said, the people of San Francisco thought this whole war business so remote and so distant that they had no concern with the matter. They needed something to arouse and stir them. I tried to tell about what a big job was being done and I tried to tell them about spending ten or twelve billion dollars for defense. That was only about six months ago, and yet, as we read the papers this morning, we read of the shelling of the California coast, and we are talking in terms not of ten or twelve billions of dollars but in terms of fifty-two billions for defense for this coming year.

I wonder if some of the readjustments that have been necessary here in California have not been necessary, also, in the schools and in the schools' approach to this problem of defense.

I am conscious and the Treasury is conscious, Secretary Morgenthau wanted me to say this to you, of the splendid cooperation that the schools have been giving the defense savings program thruout the country.

We started talking about this last May when I first went into the offices of the National Education Association. I also called on Commissioner

Nation's Schools Morale Building in America

Mar. 1942

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Temple, Cleveland

THE morale of a people in time of war depends upon confidence, confidence in the cause for which it is fighting, in the leadership entrusted with the safety of the nation and in final victory.

The cause for which our country is fighting in this war is a just cause. The classic tradition of America is at stake, the tradition which in one form or another we fought to defend in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War and the last World War.

Our foes recognize, quite as well as we do, what is involved in this war. Hitler called it a war between two worlds. He realizes as well as we do that much more than territory, living space, empire or access to raw materials is involved. Far, far more!

Our way of life is worth fighting for. It is worth dying for. A life of freedom and dignity is the kind of life God meant men to achieve and to defend.

Our Leader Matches Need

Our morale is also built on confidence in our leadership. We have at the head of our government at this hour of grave crisis a man of unquestioned patriotism, great courage and political sagacity. In its hour of destiny our nation has never failed to produce a leader who matched the hour, adequate to the occasion.

The men who surround the President, who occupy in this critical time key positions in government, in industry, in labor, in the armed forces of our nation and in civilian services are overwhelmingly men of profound loyalty who will stand by our country. There will be blunders, incompetence and inefficiency. There were in every war that American waged and won. Such things are inevitable but there will be little malicious and intentional sabotage of the war effort by our responsible officials.

There is finally the confidence in ultimate victory that will sustain the morale of our people. There is, of course, great danger of overconfidence. We may lose this war. Some believe that at the rate we are going now, we are losing this war.

The hope that our overwhelming potential resources are of themselves sure guarantee of victory is a dangerously delusive hope. Every great empire that collapsed in the past was potentially far richer and territorially far greater than the enemy that finally overthrew it. It is the hungry, lean, impoverished peoples, reckless and all-out in their attack, that have in the past humbled powerful empires, weakened by the very obesity of their wealth and abundance and unwilling and unable to mobilize all that they have of material and spiritual forces at the critical point and the critical hour of decision.

We may lose this war but we need not. Given the spiritual factors which for a successful prosecution of war are indispensable — alertness, boldness, sacrifice, discipline and resoluteness — which are uncertain factors in our situation, we have all else that is requisite for total victory. If we do not fail in spirit, we will not fail on the battlefield.

These three confidences upon which our national morale is built can be undermined. There are potential Quislings, native and foreign born Fascists and reactionaries of every stamp who are hoping for an Axis victory or for a negotiated peace that would be tantamount to an Axis victory. Everything will be done by these cunning Axis agents and their dupes to confuse our counsel and to paralyze our national will.

Attempts, too, will be made to undermine our confidence in our leadership. Politicians will seek to capitalize for partisan purposes upon every industrial or military failure during the war to discredit the administration.

Must Shun Racial Bigotry

Above all, racial and religious antagonisms will be aroused by the unscrupulous agents of our enemies, native and foreign born. This is the classic Nazi technique.

Every racial and religious bigot in the United States today is a fifth columnist. He is far more danger-

ous than the parachutist behind the line. Those who discriminate against Negroes in our defense industries are helping to undermine the morale and the loyalty of millions of our people. We cannot wage war upon the vicious racialism of the third Reich abroad and at the same time tolerate it at home in our own free country.

I have spoken of three confidences basic to national morale. At heart they are all spiritual realities. Because they are spiritual, the great spiritual agencies of our nation — the church, the school and the home — must energetically and unremittingly foster them.

Christianity and Judaism alike are fighting for survival in this war. Neither can afford to be indifferent to the struggle or to raise itself above the battle. Neither can afford to devote itself exclusively to considerations of the peace that is to follow the war without first making sure that the war will be won.

What School and Home Can Do

Our schools, high schools and colleges also have a great rôle to play in the upbuilding of national morale. Our schools, through their courses in history, civics, economics, geography, sociology and international relations, are challenged today not only to confirm the spirit of our youths for the war in which many of them may be active participants but also to prepare them for their rôles as American citizens in a circumambient world order after the war.

Finally, our homes should be the refuge and the sanctuary of the sorely tried spirits of our people wherein they may find that peace of spirit which the world outside will deny them as long as the war lasts.

The war demands a Spartan discipline of our people — thrift, frugality, self-sacrifice. These virtues may best be practiced at home. When each member assumes his task, each home will become a strong nucleus of national power in the emergency.

Morale Building

JOHN W. STUBBS
U. S. Commissioner of Education

in Our Schools and Colleges

WHAT can schools and colleges do to build an invincible morale? The answer has already been given by thousands of our schools and colleges in actual practice. First, they are continuing in uninterrupted operation. That in itself is a distinct contribution to the spirit of the civilian population. With the conversion of industry and disruption of economic life, security in the homes of the land must be maintained. A large element in the security of homes is the feeling that children and youth are being properly cared for.

Can Organize Nursery Schools

Small children in elementary schools have little to contribute directly to a successful prosecution of the war. These children must be made to feel secure and their parents must be relieved of anxiety concerning them. As more and more mothers leave the home for employment in war industries, they must know that their children are being well cared for. The schools can help to organize nursery schools and to train lay volunteers for the before-and-after school care of children.

Parents must know also that proper provision has been made by school authorities for the safety of children at school through the organization of approved air-raid measures of precaution.

Schools are also contributing to morale by giving attention to mental hygiene measures affecting school children. With the family dislocations of war—with fathers or brothers in the military services, with mothers or sisters at work in war industries—children must find security in the calm and sympathetic understanding of teachers. They must be protected against demoralization of family life and lack of supervision. This calls for a strengthening of the social services of the schools, for home calls or visiting teacher services to deal understandingly with the causes of school non-attendance or incipient juvenile delinquency.

In war time the schools are making better provision for the physical hygiene and care of children and youths. It is entirely possible that war-time needs for medical men and for trained nurses will so deplete American schools of the services of nurses and physicians that teachers will be called upon to carry increased responsibility for health services to children.

Again, the schools are contributing to civilian morale in the health field by measures for the proper nutrition of children. The schools can do much to see to it that every child has an adequate school lunch. In this connection many schools are planning school gardens and the provision of school lunchroom facilities to ensure a nutritious luncheon, at public expense if necessary, to every child in school.

If morale in the elementary school is made up chiefly of the ingredients of security, morale building in the secondary school is to a large extent a matter of participation in useful work for the common cause. High school youths can be given an important part to play in civilian defense. Older high school boys can act as messengers, as auxiliary firemen; the girls can make bandages and surgical dressings in home economics classes; they can serve as nursing aids; they can help in emergency feeding depots if necessary.

Perhaps the most realistic service that high school youths can render is to get themselves ready to take an efficient part in the productive life of the community. We are going to need all our productive man power. Boys, and some girls too, must learn how to tend lathes, to plant and harvest crops, to work in mines, shipyards and aircraft factories. There is a growing reorientation of the high school curriculum in the direction of training for work.

Educational and vocational guidance services in the schools are being expanded. In many high schools and colleges at least one professionally

trained person has been assigned the responsibility of counseling youths, presenting them with the facts concerning the various possibilities for service. Here, in this guidance service, are places for vital contributions from many competent volunteer workers.

Finally, the local school systems, the high schools and the colleges are building morale by becoming centers for adult education. Civilian morale in a democracy must be built upon the wisdom and understanding of the ordinary man and woman. "Freedom's Forums" for organized discussion of public affairs aimed at a real and full understanding of the meaning of this world-wide struggle and of ways to participate in the prosecution of the war, may, therefore, be regarded as a major contribution of school and college administrators to civilian morale.

Schools Have Chance to Serve

Today the schools and colleges of the nation have an unparalleled opportunity to act with unity and vision, to submerge provincialism and institutional vested interests in a great national cause. Schools and colleges are being recognized as a great national service agency as they are called upon to organize civilian participation in the educational phases of health, welfare and related activities; to expand their training programs for workers in the war industries; to channel the enthusiasm and energy of youths into a wide variety of needed community services.

Let us all stand behind our professional organization; let us follow its leadership, and let us act with zeal to carry out the policies enunciated in its recent pronouncement, "A War Policy for American Schools." Thus, shall we build morale in our schools and colleges—morale based on the clear understanding, the certainty of purpose and the deep convictions that will carry us through to victory.

ger to the Jews in prewar Poland than it is to the Jews in America today, with all the Christian Fronts, Mobilizers, Silver Shirts and their like. Yet the fear of anti-Semitism has never shaken the soul of the Polish Jew to the extent known to us here. There is no need to elaborate on the reasons; the fact is all too clear. The question then, even from the standpoint of defense is,—would it not be more productive of results and more dignified if a considerable part of the funds as well as the energy spent in the struggle with the outside enemy, were diverted to the cure of the fear which is rooted in ignorance and lack of national dignity?

It is true that we have not yet reached union in political and defense work for the reason that some organizations are incapable of overcoming their intolerance of the opinions and policies of others. But the method based on mutual tolerance, employed by

the Education Committee in holding a conference of organizations of various ideological views, could also be applied to building a national body in which the most divergent views regarding the kind of education Jewish children should get, could meet in the recognition of the basic fact that they must get some kind of Jewish education.

It goes without saying that union achieved in the political and defense field would greatly encourage attempts at coordination of educational activities for a joint attack upon ignorance. In view of the efforts of the Council of Welfare Funds, there is hope that such union in action will sooner or later be achieved. But those who believe in internal integration as well as external defense will not be much ahead of their time if they begin to think in terms of a common front in the task of bringing the mass of young American Jewry closer to the sources of the Jewish spirit.

A CENTURY IN RETROSPECT

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Cincinnati is now celebrating the hundredth anniversary of its congregation, keystone of Reform Judaism in America. Rabbi Silver reviews the changes in the social, political and religious history of the Jewish people in the period from 1842 to 1942. This article is an adaptation of the address which he delivered in Cincinnati for the centennial ceremonies.

IN 1842 THERE WERE LESS THAN 2,000 JEWS IN Cincinnati, less than 50,000 in the United States. The last one hundred years have multiplied these figures tenfold, a hundredfold. Great Jewish communities, the greatest in our history, have sprung up. Thousands of temples, synagogues, schools and social agencies now dot our land. In 1842 their number was very small and the houses of worship were, with few exceptions, improvised meeting places in halls, stores or private dwelling places. Not one of the great Reform leaders who were to establish Reform Judaism in the United States had yet arrived in this country. Only one Reform congregation was in existence.

Surely much has changed since those days, and yet much has remained unchanged — the loyalty which prompted Jews to band themselves together in their new homes and quickly to build houses of worship where they might worship God and where their children might be taught the word of God, the generosity with which they provided for the needy and the distressed in their midst, the quick adjustments which they made and the eagerness with which they responded to the challenge and the opportunity of American citizenship. These are the constant factors in Jewish experience throughout the ages. Unchanged, too, are the spiritual problems which soon came to agitate the men of a hundred years ago.

The great battle to reform Judaism broke in its full force in the Jewish communities of Western Europe during the very decade in which this first congregation was founded. In 1842 the *Verein der Reformfreunde* was organized in Frankfurt. That same year the first Reform congregation was established in London. It was in the fifth decade, too, that the three historic Rabbinical conferences in Germany were held. The great figures of the movement now appear on the scene and enter the lists — Geiger, Holdheim, Einhorn, Philippon, Hirsch, Stein and Adler. All the issues over which the religious household of Israel was to be divided during the ensuing years were then raised. Within a few years they were also raised by immigrant reformers in this country — the authority of tradition, the value of ceremonies, the revision of the prayer book, the use of Hebrew, the role of Israel in the world, Jewish nationalism and restoration to Palestine. Those same issues are still on the agenda today. On the agenda, too, unfortunately still remains the problem of Jewish national homelessness and anti-Semitism which those hopeful men of a hundred years ago believed to be on the way of imminent solution.

THE REFORMERS OF GERMANY confidently announced that Germany was their Fatherland — a rather one-sided announcement. They and their people needed no other homeland, they declared. They were riding the high tide of nineteenth-century liberalism, but they failed to note the dangerous shoals of nineteenth-century nationalism, the trends toward the centralizing state and the implications for the Jewish minority of the fast-deploying class strug-

gles and economic warfare. Especially dangerous was this oversight in a land like Germany, which was only just then recovering, after two centuries, from the physical and spiritual devastations of the wars of religion, among a people notoriously and periodically swayed by waves of hysterical religiosity, hysterical metaphysics and hysterical politics, whose foremost religious leader in the sixteenth century could indulge in an anti-Semitism so filthy, vile and scatological as to be matched only by the anti-Semitism of the foremost political leader of Germany in the twentieth century.

These reformers were thinking of progress as most men of their day did, in terms of a steady, horizontal advance, an unbroken march forward, rather than in terms of a succession of cyclical movements which, over and again, come full again and which result only in a slight net advance for mankind. There were ample warnings all around them, portents which less romantic eyes did appraise more realistically—signs of an irreconcilable opposition, an indurate racial, cultural, economic and religious hostility which had not and would not accept the humanistic and democratic synthesis which a revolutionary middle-class capitalism had popularized in the nineteenth century, and which was destined sooner or later to disintegrate.

This many-sided and variously motivated anti-Semitism gained momentum at the same time and almost at the same place as Jewish political emancipation. It was not a reaction. It was a parallel development just as the Inquisition and the Ghetto paralleled the Renaissance and the Reformation.

This is the tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi Revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left the emancipated minority encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition. At the slightest provocation, and as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds. In our day, stirred by the great politico-economic struggles which were tearing nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is an electric chord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of "hep-hep," and the era of Hitler and its cry "*Jude verrecke*." And so for the rest of Europe. The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848, the Mortara Affair in Italy, the Christian-Socialist movement in the era of Bismarck, the Tisza-Ezlar Affair in Hungary, the revival of the blood accusation in Bohemia, the pogroms in the eighties in Russia, *La France Juive* and the Dreyfus Affair in France.

The first World War, which made the world "safe for democracy" and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship but even minority rights, brought also in its wake the most thorough-going, brutal and annihilational anti-Semitism that Israel has ever experienced. And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through an Allied victory what an Allied victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and intellectual progress failed to give them—peace and security. They are again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures. Yes, much has changed in the last one hundred years, but much more has resisted change. The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, the principal source of our millennial tragedy, remains as stark and as menacing as ever. Yet Jews, especially those of our persuasion, are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking, with day-dreaming about an Atlantic Charter or the Four Freedoms, with clever homiletics, or are hoping to lay it to rest with patriotic charms and incantations—just as they did a hundred years ago, and through all the intervening years.

WHY SHOULD WE celebrate centennials of religious institutions? What seek we among the forms and faces of things long since dead? What shall we bring back from the frontiers of distant years? Not the evidences of change. They are of little moment and there is little consolation in them. But rather the evidences of changelessness and continuity. In that knowledge there is both pride and humility and the strength which belongs to mature men.

Judaism is concerned with the unchanging needs of man and of society, the needs which take on new forms in new settings but which remain fundamentally the same—the basic and perennial conflicts and adjustments in individual and collective lives. From Abraham and Moses to the last of the great and the wise teachers of our faith there stretches an unbroken chain of spiritual continuity, changeless principles in mutable forms which were the fixed points of reference for each generation. Each generation faced the same problems: how to achieve freedom under the sovereignty of God, justice under the mandate of His law and dignity in kinship with Him; how knowledge was to be made whole through the fear of God, and courage heightened through trust in Him; how brotherhood and peace could be covenanted in the sight of Him who is Father of all men and all nations.

Judaism has offered men the faith and the code sufficient and adequate to every age. Men have not heeded it. Jews have not heeded it. *Theirs* was the inadequacy, *theirs* the insufficiency. Many believed that mankind could dispense with Israel's faith and code and could achieve freedom, justice, dignity

courage, brotherhood and peace without reference to God and the techniques of religion. But they achieved only dictatorship, slavery, littleness of stature, fear, hate and war. They put their hope not in spiritual conversion, not in moral regeneration but in a precipitous scientific and intellectual progress which has now hurled rider, horse and chariot alike into one bloody and ruinous tangle.

THE LEADERS OF REFORM JUDAISM, too, were encouraged to expect the quick advent of a universal religion of peace and good will, not because of any religious revivalism which was transpiring in the world in their day—there was none—but because of that same breath-taking scientific advance. They drew unwarranted conclusions from irrelevant premises. There is never any forward movement in society without an inward movement in man.

The pioneer reformers and their disciples after them were good and loyal Jews but they were too zealous to "modernize" Judaism, and too self-conscious about modernity. There was too much emphasis in their thought and speech upon "reform," "change," "progress," too little upon "rebirth," "return," "tracing back to God." Nothing is so shallow and ephemeral as modernity. The very word suggests a mode, a fashion, an improvised and passing version which has its practical utility, to be sure, but

which must not be confused with that which is of the essence and of the eternal. They were too eager to accommodate, to facilitate, and, strange as it may seem, to conform—not to tradition, of course, but to the most recent thought and practice of their day, the tradition of recency. They were sufficiently intellectual in their critique, but religious reformation is achieved only by mystics who are concerned not with the recency of their doctrines but with the immediacy of their religious experience.

Great spiritual movements break not only with the past but with the present as well. They never attempt to "modernize" religion but to restore it to its timeless spiritual essence, to enduring distinctiveness through all times and ages, to that which like the flowing current moves and changes and yet remains the same. Quite consciously they are movements of "return" to marvelous and decisive beginnings so as to recapture an ageless truth. They never set out to adjust men to their social, political or economic environment. They aim to tear them free from their environment. They demand of them surrender, self-denial, renunciation of worldly comforts and interests, and they offer them the compensations of spiritual blessings and peace. The greatest religions were those which made the greatest demands upon their followers and which called for the most rigorous disciplines.

A RECORD OF HORROR

MARIA SCHWARZ

THE HORRIFYING NEWS OF JAPANESE ATROCITIES brought to the notice of the world by the British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden has shocked and revolted every civilized being. It should not have surprised anybody. This is not the first time the world hears about Japanese ruthlessness. It has been on display ever since Japan stretched out a grasping hand toward the "Far-Eastern co-prosperity sphere." The world, somehow, did not seem to realize the affinity between Japanese and German barbarism, until the white race, too, became the victims of Japanese aggression.

Thus the yellow partner of the Axis is doing his best to catch up with the record of his brown-shirted white associate. The latter is well known to us—or at least we believed he was. Black books—one after another—have been bringing details of the German gangster-war against humanity. Recently another document to enrich the black library of German deeds in Europe was added by the Polish Ministry of Information in London.* Of all the black books

which have appeared so far, this one seems to be the "blackest"—*liber nigerrimus*—and the "reddest" at the same time: black, for German cruelty and sadism and crimes; red, for Polish and Jewish blood.

A well-known Polish journalist has said that, while after World War I monuments to the unknown soldier remained as symbols of bravery and courage and sacrifice, World War II has spread all over Europe monuments to the *known* soldier—to the known German soldier whose crimes will remain for years a symbol and a reminder of the black German soul. *The German New Order in Poland* is a collection of such monuments to the known German soldier.

The book makes such terrible reading that even one trained in dealing with this subject in a, so to speak, laboratory way, is tempted to stop after the first few pages. The striking horror of this book is almost unbearable. The objectively written, detailed and documented reports are almost unbelievable. After each page the reader must think *Dayenu*—had this been their only crime, it were enough to condemn them as the coldest, wildest brutes whom the world should be ashamed to acknowledge as human beings.

* *The German New Order in Poland*. Published for the Polish Ministry of Information by Hutchinson & Co. London. XIV and 589 pp., 185 photographs and reproductions of documents, 2 maps.

It would have been enough to know that during the September 1939 campaign, the German pilots systematically strafed the refugee women and children fleeing Warsaw.

But they did not stop at that. Upon occupying a certain small locality, they shot down fifty-five people, including a small child of two. They did not stop at that. In another village, a group of German soldiers murdered six Polish farmers by laying them in the path of tanks, which crushed them one after another. Similar massacres occurred in scores of localities and were organized and executed by German soldiers—not specifically designated henchmen from the ranks of the Nazi party—but regular members of the German armed forces, members of the German people.

They did not stop their crimes after the campaign was over. Had they done so, the evidence of the 27 days of September would suffice for a verdict. But they continued. They introduced their "new order," of which the striking feature was collective responsibility for alleged acts of individual resistance or ordinary crimes.

A pane of glass in the police station is alleged to have been broken. Promptly fifty school boys are arrested and upon refusing to name a culprit, their parents are ordered to whip the children publicly. The parents refuse; the S. S. do it for them; ten boys are shot afterwards. A Jew, whom the Germans themselves describe as a professional criminal who had been prematurely released from prison, shoots a Polish policeman. Fifty-three Jewish men from the house, Nalewki 9, Warsaw, are shot for alleged reprehensible conduct during the police investigation. A building is set afire by a "Polish bandit." "Preventive action" is taken. "By way of reparation, and in order to inspire a legitimate fear, ten Poles, known for their anti-German sentiments, have been shot." (Quotation from a German paper.)

THE BOOK GIVES scores of reports on other mass slaughters and executions by the occupying Germans.

But, they did not stop at that. Tortures of prisoners make another chapter of the *liber nigerrimus*. The treatment accorded women far exceeds in sadism and perversion the most distorted concepts of the human mind.

On and on goes the report. In the incorporated area of Poland hundreds of thousands of inhabitants were, at a few hours' notice, often at night, driven out of their homes and stripped of all their belongings. Baltic Germans have been settled in houses stolen from Poles and Jews.

A particular method of deportation was invoked against the Jews. A group of 1,500 Jews in a small locality were ordered to present themselves at the barracks with all their baggage. They were then ordered to board the train, while their belongings were loaded into separate freight-cars attached to the

train. Before the train moved, however, these cars were uncoupled and the Jews rode away stripped of everything, except for what they had on their backs.

Deportation for compulsory labor in Germany, involving not only Polish workers and peasants, but also children and youngsters, is another leaf in the *liber nigerrimus*. Cattle-trucks and freight-cars were the usual means of transportation for the "inferior race."

Systematic robbery of private and public property is being carried out. As early as September 17, 1939 a decree was published providing for the confiscation of property of people who had fled or been absent for a long time as well as property belonging to Jews. Furthermore, the seizure of property is also permissible if required "by the interest of Germanism." In this way some 13,000,000 acres of Polish property have been seized. Industrial and commercial enterprises have also been confiscated in mass numbers. Personal belongings have been stolen in house-and-personal searches. German methods of robbery are elaborate and varied. Trains are stopped in the open field, passengers ordered to get out, and their luggage carried off by Germans. One report states that German soldiers (remember! soldiers) on the Poniatowski Bridge at Warsaw robbed passengers of all packages they were carrying.

The economic exploitation of Poland exceeds the worst reports in the annals of colonial history. An official document orders that "the economy of the General Government must be so directed that it should, within the shortest possible time, produce the maximum of that which it is possible to raise out of the economic resources of the Government General for the immediate reinforcement of the Reich's military power." This clumsily worded decree is being carried out with utmost skill and thoroughness. The interests of Poland and the needs of its population are completely disregarded. Everything which can be of use to the Germans is being ruthlessly squeezed out of the country. Two aims are achieved by this: the strengthening of Germany and the pauperization of Poland. Starvation reigns all over under the "new order."

BUT THEY DID NOT STOP at that. Not satisfied with torturing the body they proceeded to crush the spirit of the people. Religious persecution and destruction of Polish culture were two methods aiming at the same effect.

Unspeakable sufferings were the price of religion. Churches were desecrated and closed. Some of them have been converted into prisons. Many synagogues were burned to the ground. The synagogue of Poznan was converted into a swimming pool; in Gniwoszew two synagogues were turned into stables.

The destruction of cultural life forms one of the most revolting chapters of the book. Polish intellec-

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

& Call for membership for the Negro people on the peace commission of the United States which will help to make the peace of the world.

Witness the control of the South over the Senate today. In the House of Representatives the control of committees by southern race-hating politicians is distressing. These men have the highest contempt for democracy and democratic institutions such as the right of suffrage, trial by jury, right of petition, freedom of press, speech, assembly, unless these freedoms are for white men only. Thus the need today for the church to raise the banner for the Brotherhood of man and the application of Christian principles without regard to race, color, or national origin.

If this war does not achieve racial, economic, political and social equality for the Negro and all of the darker races, it will have been fought in vain and will be only a prelude to a more terrible war between the colored and white races of the world.



Cleveland, O. Dec 1942
Foreign Missions Conference N.A.

AMERICA'S MINORITY GROUPS IN WAR AND PEACE

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Condensed by Raymond P. Carrier

I wish to speak to you this morning about anti-Semitism which may be creating another terribly difficult minority problem in America unless we are forewarned and forearmed. Why did the tide of racism and anti-Semitism rise in our country and in the world in recent years? It rose because there were powerful agencies intent upon making it rise. Of these, the most powerful is the Nazi régime in Germany. Racial inequality is one of the chief characteristics of the new social order which the Nazis hope to establish on the ruins of the old whose foundations were liberty, fraternity and equality. In their hands racism has also become a major technique of imperial expansionism and a part of the strategy of Total War.

That it has become serious in recent years is due solely to the fact that the ever-widening circles of politically-motivated anti-Jewish propaganda, originating in Nazi Germany, have finally reached our shores. Reactionaries are everywhere eager to associate the Jew with all the political and economic measures which they dislike, whether it be the New Deal, labor legislation, social security, the C. I. O., Socialism or Communism. The equation Jew = Communism, and Communism = Jew, served the purposes of the Nazis in Germany most admirably. By means of it they destroyed the German Republic. After the Stalin-Hitler pact, they abandoned it, for it was no longer a good policy to attack Communism. Hitler accordingly ceased to denounce Jewish Bolshevism. He found it expedient to denounce democratic plutocracy. And in democratic plutocracy Hitler again found the ever-present and accommodating Jew. After Hitler broke his pact with Stalin he resurrected the Jew = Communism line, and anti-Jewish propaganda since has again been frothing about Jewish Bolshevism.

Why did the Nazis in the earlier stages identify Communism with the Jew? For the same reason that sixty years prior to their time Bismarck had identified all the liberal movements of his day with the Jews. For the same reason that the Dominicans and the defenders of the crumbling scholasticism attempted to discredit Humanism and the New Learning in pre-Reformation Germany by branding it as Jewish. The guiding principle is always the same:—inordinate cause by tagging on to it an unattractive label!

AMERICA'S MINORITY GROUPS IN WAR AND PEACE

In postwar Germany there were millions of men whose conditions were intolerable, and who were turning to Socialism and Communism. In the last free elections in Germany there were over seven million votes cast for the Socialist ticket, and some six million for the Communist ticket. The problem which confronted the frightened industrial, military and Junker classes of Germany was how to check this stampede toward radicalism, and how to deflect the resentment of the masses away from themselves. The problem, too, was how to assuage the sense of national hurt and humiliation induced by the defeat in the war. Where could they find a visible scapegoat upon whose back all the sins, failures and miseries of the German nation could be put? Such a scapegoat was not difficult to find. A small, defenseless minority, the Jews, against whom there already existed a none-too-latent historic prejudice was fortunately available. From there on it was simple.

This propoganda, intense and skillful, and heavily financed by great industrialists—some of whom have since been disillusioned—went on for years, and it succeeded in undermining the peoples' faith in democracy and liberalism. Anti-Semitism was thus exploited, in a political and economic struggle, to defeat progress and to save reaction.

Anti-Semitism in the United States today is a powerful, perhaps the most powerful weapon in the hands of economic reaction. It has been and will be increasingly used by all its unscrupulous lackies and henchmen. It has become an accepted technique. And there are Hyssens here as there were in Germany who, rather than see their economic privileges undermined, would welcome the destruction of our free democratic institutions.

Anti-Semitism is today no longer the slightly embarrassing thing that it was in the past—something to be counteracted by easy-going, good-will movements. It is a far more sinister thing. It is a powerful and dangerously imminent threat to American democracy.

What can be done to counteract it? There still remains, of course, the old-fashioned but very dependable method of democratic education. Then democracy, generally, should cease to be naïve, trusting and doctrinaire. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and attack every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. Laws should be enacted—if they do not already exist—against the public vilification of any race or religion and against the incitement of people against any race or religion. Increased opportunities for contact between all racial and religious groups in America, for the discussion of their common problems and for a survey of all areas of friction, are highly desirable. The times call for frank and honest self-criticism on the part of all, Jews and non-Jews alike. It would be very helpful if each group would begin

ADDRESSES AND STATEMENTS

to beat its own breast instead of beating its neighbor's breast and would confess "mea culpa." . . .

There was a race problem in the United States long before the Nazis kindled the Jewish race problem. There was a Negro problem, and there is a Negro problem, American-made—not imported. Here is a test of our sincerity. The Oriental Exclusion Act is another. The Chinese are our gallant Allies in this war for human liberty, and yet no Chinese can become a citizen of the United States.

What is needed most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice which will disfigure our common life is to discipline ourselves to treat men as *individuals*. The very genius of democracy is to treat man on the basis of his inherent humanity and his inalienable human rights.



Panu Derech—PREPARE THE WAY

(Continued from Page 4)

spiritual value of Democracy and our passionate desire both as Americans and as Jews to see the democratic way of life spread throughout the globe. We believe that Jewish Palestine is a democracy of a high order which can serve as a democratic haven for the entire Near and Middle East.

The Jewish Palestine is a democracy, nay a *reformed* democracy surrounded by fascist and semi-fascist, feudal and semi-feudal forms of society and government, is being discovered by thousands of American soldiers and officers who have visited the cities and the colonies of Eretz Israel, have observed their political forms and social habits, have noticed the cooperative society which has been built upon Jewish national soil, and have mingled the strains of the Star Spangled Banner with the strains of Hatikvah.

Palestine which heretofore has been remote to the American people is coming to be much nearer to them. As they come to know it better they will come to understand more and more their spiritual, political and ideological kinship with this saved and saving ummah of Israel. They will come to appreciate more and more that the Bible people whom the Bible Land gave birth to the original ideals which nurtured American democracy, can through its twentieth century descendants make the Bible Land again in our time a focal point for spreading the ideals of democracy in a segment of the globe where they are much needed and little appreciated.

The United States of America of 1943, unlike 1917, has a deep stake in Palestine. Its military participation in the "blitz" rout of Hitler's forces, its sentimental and spiritual attachments to the Bible Land, as the "alma mater" of its religious idealism, and its sense of political kinship with the democratic institutions which the Yishuv has developed in these score of years since the Balfour Declaration, should make Americans feel a vital consanguinity with Eretz Israel. It is to be hoped that these ties will impel our government to make its voice felt more effectively than in 1917, touching the decisions regarding the future of Palestine in relation to the demands of the Jewish people. And we trust that at this historic juncture the role of Cyrus, restorer of the first Jewish Commonwealth will fall in no small measure to the lot of Franklin Delano Roosevelt whom Isaiah would hail, were he alive today, as "my shepherd to fulfill my desire, and my guide to Jerusalem, it shall be upbuilded."

My friends, I have tried to present the premises upon which as Zionists we stand at this conference. They are the premises of our claim upon the conscience of humanity today when already the pattern is being woven for the new world which mankind is struggling to bring to birth.

Because this is a Keren Kayemeth conference, however, we must not content ourselves with general aspirations and political formulas. More than any other institution in

the Zionist movement, the Jewish National Fund is in a position to meet the challenge of "panu derech." "Prepare ye the way," by a practical program as realistic as the good earth and as lofty as the heavens above it.

There is one fundamental principle which it is well that we as Keren Kayemeth workers should adopt for our guidance, namely, that no people has a right to demand of the world anything which it is not willing to do for itself to the extent which existing opportunities make possible. Zionism, which is Jewish self-emancipation, only emphasizes the validity of this principle insofar as the building of Eretz Israel is concerned. By that yardstick the merits as well as the demerits of the Jewish National Fund record of the past forty years can be measured.

It is something to have redeemed as national Jewish property even the relatively small area of seven percent of the land of cis-Jordan Palestine, but penitently we should acknowledge that larger opportunities beckoned. Only as recently as eleven years ago, Menahem Ussishkin, of blessed memory, also no longer among us, came to us American Zionists with a \$5,000,000 plan for land redemption. We sent him away empty-handed and broken-hearted. Today much of this land is no longer available at any price, and what is available, commands a price twice and thrice as high as in 1931. Only toward the end of his life was Ussishkin's confidence in American Jewry restored, and I count it as a personal good fortune that it was my privilege to have a share in this "tikkun," improvement.

In the twenty-two years from the establishment of the American Jewish National Fund Bureau in 1910 up to 1933, the income of the Jewish National Fund totalled a little over \$4,000,000. In the past nine years since 1933 the income of the Jewish National Fund in the United States has aggregated to a little over \$10,000,000. This year just ended September 30th, 1942, found us at the top of our record, with a gross income of \$1,919,000, of which the major portion came from the United Palestine Appeal share in the United Jewish Appeal, but the unprecedented sum of \$738,000 came from our own traditional collections. Today our American income provides two-thirds of the total collections of the Keren Kayemeth throughout the world. Yet it should be more, because American Jewry represents much more than two-thirds of the Jews who are free to help Eretz Israel, and infinitely more than two-thirds of the financial resources of the Jewish people.

It is with considerable pride that we may point to the fact that in a war period, when land acquisition and colonization might have been expected to diminish because of the stress of the emergency which draws away manpower for military and industrial purposes, our land acquisition and colonization have actually increased. Of the 620,000 dunams acquired by the Jewish National Fund in the more than forty years of its

existence, nearly 25% have been acquired in these three years of war. They have been acquired in all parts of Palestine, in Judea, in the area south of the coastal plain, in Upper Galilee, north of the Huleh Valley near the borders of Syria and Lebanon in Western Galilee and in Lower Galilee, in the Sharon and in Emek Jezreel. The acquisition of these dunams has not worked any harm to the Arab population. Even squatters are given an opportunity for resettlement at Jewish National Fund expense. Much of the newly purchased land is converted by the Jewish National Fund from uncultivable to cultivable land, thus actually adding thousands of acres to the habitable, productive area of Palestine.

Jewish National Fund dunams, it seems, have a special war-consciousness. Constituting only 40% of all Jewish landholdings, they produce 70% of the food grown on Jewish soil in Palestine. Of the 162 settlements on JNF land, 77 have been established since the war. Of the 3,265,000 trees planted in JNF forests, 482,000 have been planted since the war.

In three abnormal years of trying warfare, therefore, the Jewish National Fund has made twice and thrice the rate of normal peacetime progress. It is a fair index of the wartime tempo of the Yishuv. Yet pride is tempered with humility when one realizes that even during these war years, and in spite of the restrictions of the White Paper policy, ten dunams could have been bought for every dunam which actually has been bought by the Keren Kayemeth.

Our land and what has been built upon it is the only national capital the Jewish people possesses or ever has possessed since the destruction of Judea 1,870 years ago. We have paid for it not only with dollars and pounds but with tears and sweat and blood. In banker's terms of 6% return on the investment, the \$30,000,000 invested by the Jewish National Fund may have been a sub-normal investment, though even this assertion is subject to contradiction in the light of the fate of most so-called banking investments in foreign countries. In terms, however, of human lives saved and rehabilitated, in terms of social engineering, in terms of Jewish honor, in terms of national restoration, and against the background of Europe's infernos, the price that we have paid for whatever we have in Eretz Israel represents the greatest bargain in history since the time when Abraham by an act of faith won the promise of the Promised Land.

To repeat our guiding principle—no people has a right to demand of the world anything which it is not willing itself to do within the limits which existing opportunities make possible.

Let us now face toward the future. Events move so swiftly that a people seeking a change in its status cannot afford to pause too long in retrospects. Our future, it is evident, will be in large part beyond our

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Soil For National Rebirth

Excerpt From Address At Detroit Conference

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I am delighted to be here this evening for more than one reason. I am delighted to be here this evening to speak a word of appreciation of my dear friend, Dr. Goldstein, whose great and moving message we were all privileged to listen to this evening. He has led the Jewish National Fund in recent years from one level of high achievement to another. Never in its history has so much success and so much dignity come to the Jewish National Fund as the inspired leadership of Dr. Goldstein has brought to it. It is a joy to be here, to see how great and inspiring leadership is appreciated by the people of this country.

The Jewish National Fund has been growing increasingly popular among our people, among all classes of our people. It has been the romance of the Zionist Movement. It has been the echo of the democratic sentiments and emotions of our Movement. The great lament of our people is not that they were exiled from their country, but that they were removed from their land, their soil, the need for a hearth. Along with that land hunger, there has always been among our people a feeling that land is something holy, that it belongs to God. Somehow, man, made in the image of God is linked up in His source and origin and destiny with Land, so that land must not be treated in a profane manner. It must not be monopolized, it must not be offered on the market for speculation. Land must not be used for exploiting men and reducing them to a landless proletariat. These two sentiments—the reaching for land and the pathetic yearning to make the land as basis for a free and just society—have been combined in this institution known as the Jewish National Fund.

I read a very moving story in connection with the death of Ussishkin. At the Shelo-shim, Jews from all parts of Palestine came to his grave and each one brought soil from one of the colonies which he and the Jewish National Fund helped to establish, a little bag of soil from each settlement and placed it on Ussishkin's grave. In a real sense, my friends, every contributor to the Jewish National Fund brings a handful of soil and places it, not on the grave of a man, but in a sense, on a base, on a land foundation which then becomes the basis of the resurrection and Rebirth of our people.

Unfortunately, we haven't done enough of that! Not enough of the soil has been bought to become the base of a great national rebirth. I listened to the figures this evening, six hundred thousand dunams, this is one hundred fifty thousand acres for half a million people! This is tragically insufficient. It is even more so when one thinks of the hundreds of thousands and millions whom we hope to bring into Palestine after the war. You will recall, that one of the driving motives of our Zionist Movement has been the hope of bringing our people back to the soil. We felt ourselves to have become over-



urbanized in the trades and in the professions, and in business we were overcrowded, and it was felt that national equilibrium and poise required that more and more of our people return to the soil. Our Movement was not romantic so far as agriculture was concerned. We never looked upon the raising of oranges or wheat as being a more sacred task than working in factories or mills, provided one labors faithfully and creates human values. Nevertheless we have felt that for a sound national economy and psychology, that there be a counterpoint between town and country and between factory and field. And, too, we must bear in mind that it was this part of our task in Palestine, pioneering on the LAND, that proved to be most inspiring. God revealed the amazing capacity of our people. Everyone knew we were good businessmen and good professional men, but many people doubted the ability of the Jewish people, estranged from the soil, to go to a land that was so neglected, the hardest, the poorest kind of a land, the least promising of all, to go there and perform a miracle. And it was there in Palestine, that we scored our most dramatic triumph.

I have one thought to suggest to you. I listened to the tragic narrative of the President of the Jewish National Fund concerning our martyred dead in Central and Eastern Europe. We have reconciled ourselves to the fact that two million of them have been slain. Their graves are nameless, no memorial. I know of no finer way to pay tribute to these unknown martyrs of our people than by each of us bringing a little handful of soil of Palestine in their name and in their memory so that this soil may become the seedbed of our national rebirth in Palestine; that we and they through this act of ours—may be privileged to enjoy immortality. Two million dead, two million dunams of land in Palestine! There their spirits will rest, there their lives that have been so cruelly cut off may attain spiritual deathlessness. You will recall that there is a legend among our people that in the days of the Messiah our dear dead will find their way to Palestine and there they will be resurrected. Let's make that legend come true! We can give them resurrection

by building in Palestine on Jewish land a new Jewish life, and dedicating it to their memory, our *unknown dead*.

Yesterday, the Christian world celebrated the birth of the founder of Christianity, a great and good man, who came bringing salvation and peace to his people and to the world, and who was crucified by the Pagan Empire of those days. I hope that the Christian world paused for at least a moment to think of the larger *crucifixion* of a whole people which is going on today, the very people from whose loins the founder of Christianity came. I speak of the crucifixion of a whole people in lethal chambers, in fields, mowed down by machine guns, in vast bloody trenches, in Synagogues, where the doors had first been closed and then fire set to them, in buildings filled with poisonous fumes, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of men, women and children were done to death. . . . And I hope that the Christian world asked itself yesterday, what will it do about it all? We have been profoundly moved by the sympathy which has been expressed in recent weeks by the United Nations and those expressions have been a balm to our bruised spirit and they have eased our pain somewhat, but this is not all. We have been told that the criminal guilt of these horrible crimes will be punished. Well, retributive justice is mandatory if there is ever to be any kind of justice, but it is not vengeance, nor vindictiveness. But after all, the punishment of a hundred or a thousand Nazis will not bring our dear dead to life again and will not solve the problem, the existence of which has throughout the ages been responsible for an endless series of massacres, of persecution, of exiles, of Ghettos; the problem which remains, which unless it is solved in a forthright manner, will continue after the war and after the Allied victory, the problem of our national homelessness. This massacre is only the last in the series. Neither expressions of sympathy, nor enlightenment, nor emancipation have ever put a stop to it. In fact, the more civilized mankind has become, the more scientifically advanced, the more schools and universities, the more so-called education has spread, the more frequent have been the massacres, the more large scaled and the more disastrous have they become. What is the world going to do about it? Our plight is crystal clear. We are a minority, and therefore, a defenseless minority, and whenever friction develops, whatever cause the friction, whatever may come, it is we who are singled out for the displeasure. It is our unhappiness, for the misery, for the harm on the part of groups or dynasties. Is it religious friction? During the time preceding the reformation, it was the Jew who was made the scapegoat on allegedly religious grounds. Is it economic friction as in our day? It is the Jew that is caught. To the masses, the Jew are the capitalists. If, as a minority, we live by ourselves and seek to develop our own lives, we are *clannish*. If we leave the Ghetto and seek assimilation and enter every department of the national life, why, then, we are charged with seeking to dominate, to monopolize.

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DETROIT CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS



(1) **FIRST SESSION**, when the delegates from 32 States sent a message to President Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief, pledging their "boundless devotion and undying determination in the struggle until the Flags of the United States and of the United Nations wave victoriously"; at this session, the call "Am Yisroel Chai", banners of which decorated the walls, was sounded; (from left to right) Herman Stern, Grand Master of the Free Sons of B'nai B'rith; Harry A. Pine, Nassi of the Order Sons of Zion; Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal; Model N. Fisher, J.N.F. Executive Director; Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Jewish National Fund of America; William Hordes, President of the J.N.F. Council of Detroit; Philip Skomovitz of Detroit; Simon Shetzer, Z.O.A. Executive Director; Charles Feller of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Jacob Hollander of Rochester, N. Y.; Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, J.N.F. Co-Treasurer; David Wertheim of New York; Oscar Robins of Pittsburgh, Pa. (2) **DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN**, who delivered the keynote address in which he formulated Jewish demands to the peace conference after the war and demanded immediate repatriation of extensive land tracts for the absorption in Palestine of large numbers of Jews after the war. (3) **DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER**, who stirred the delegates by his eloquent description of the tragedy of the Jewish people and demanded that the memory of the 2,000,000 martyrs be perpetuated by the acquisition of at least 2,000,000 dunams of Palestine land. (4) **SIDNEY G. KUSWORM** of Dayton, O., National B'nai B'rith Treasurer, is presenting to Dr. Goldstein, as an expression of the unshakable faith in the victory of the de-

мократies and in the future of Jewish Palestine, the agreement which was signed at the conference and which calls for the establishment of a second B'nai B'rith colony on the land of the J.N.F. to bear the name of Henry Monsky, National President of the B'nai B'rith.

(5) **MEMORIAL EXERCISES** for the martyred heroes at which huge Yahrzeit candles were lit, a collective Kaddish was recited by the delegates and Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of the Dead (Ezekiel XXXVII, 1-14) was read, ending with the prophecy "And I shall put my spirit into ye and ye shall live and I shall settle you upon your soil"; Jacob Sincoff, J.N.F. Treasurer, and Theodore Strimling, President of the Los Angeles J.N.F. Council, are seen in the background. The session concluded with the adoption of the "Am Yisroel Chai" program and a resolution which pledged the Councils throughout the country to work for the acquisition this year, as a beginning, of 100,000 dunams of land. (6) **JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG**, former Z.O.A. President, acting as toastmaster at a dinner in tribute to Dr. Goldstein, announced plans for a Nachlath Goldstein, a land tract bearing the name of the J.N.F. President, to mark the tenth year of his leadership of the cause of Geulah Ha'aretz in the United States; **DR. JAMES G. HELLER**, President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and Chairman of the Z.O.A. Administrative Council, is seen addressing the gathering. (7) **HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY**, Majority Leader in the Senate of the United States, paying tribute to the J.N.F. President; to his left, Dr. Goldstein; to his right, Mrs. Israel Goldstein.

SOIL FOR NATIONAL REBIRTH

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polize. Forcibly they throw us back into the Ghetto.

After this war—and we all pray for an Allied victory and we are confident the Allies will win this war—the Jews of Europe will regain their freedom along with all other oppressed people, but the fact will remain then, as it remained after the last war when the Jews received political rights and even minority rights, that we will be a minority in every country of Europe and that we will be in those countries a minority under conditions of frightful economic and political disturbance. There will be a bitter struggle for economic survival in each country. The Jew will again be victimized. We have no right to indulge ourselves in unwarranted delusions or illusions as the time is too critical. It is folly to beguile us with the fact that the Four Freedoms will automatically solve our problems of five or six million in Europe. There will be four million or three million or two million—no one knows how many—but there will be millions who will have to seek new homes. They will not go back to their former homes, business, or work; other people already have been sent in and have taken over these positions, and no government will dare to dispossess its own citizens to make room for Jews who have been exiled and are entitled to restitution. There is no land that they can go to and there will be no place to receive them with the exception of one or two places, and there will be no place on earth where the Jewish people will be able to normalize its life by becoming in that one particular case a majority population which will be able to control its own life and its own destiny.

About this basic problem, the one and only problem in Jewish life today other than feeding the hungry and clothing the naked which is elementary, the statesmen of the world have been strangely and ominously silent. The statesmen of our own country and the statesmen of Great Britain are strangely silent, there is still a *White Paper* issued by the British Government in 1939, which states that after five years no more Jews will be permitted to enter Palestine unless the Arab majority will consent to such immigration. Winston Churchill, in 1939, called this *White Paper* a plain breach of solemn obligation. The statements of the world, of the United Nations, have been vocal, inspiring so, about the future of every oppressed nation, about every Nazi dominated country in the world. They promised complete restitution to Greece, to Norway, to France, to Abyssinia, yes, to Luxembourg, to everyone, but nothing is being said about the Jews, the Jews who have suffered most in this war, the Jews who already laid down over two million of lives in this war. Is it because we are doing less in this war than other people? That our sons are fighting less bravely on all the battle fronts of all the far-flung lines of the United Nations? Are they more sparing in the shedding of their blood? Has the Yishub demonstrated any hesitancy to throw

itself into the struggle? Has the Yishub not wanted to do more and more, and has actually been restrained by the mandatory government. Why is this basic problem of Jewish life and destiny to be left over for solution after this war? Is Israel alone to come out of this war unrequited with its future still as uncertain as it was before the war? Are we to be told after the war, "Well, now, good people, we know of your plight, we sympathize with you, we know that these millions must find homes, but please go and find them." Europe has gone down in toil and blood, will they tell us as some of them already have said, "You must find new homes, but you cannot find it in Palestine, that is a little country, it has already taken in many of your people, and it irritates the Arabs so much that you must not think of Palestine." Are the Arabs again to be rewarded because of their failure to help the Allies and the Jews again to be punished because of their willingness and readiness to help the Allies? We ask the statesmen of the world to speak now.

The Jewish problem is a national and political problem and can only find a national and political solution. The individual Jew in Europe possesses no political status because the Jews as a whole possess no political status in the world. We ask of the statesmen of the world what formula have they in mind for solving the Jewish problem after the war. We offered a formula twenty-five years ago and it was accepted. It was hailed by the British Government, countersigned by fifty-five nations, endorsed by the Congress of the United States, proclaimed as an act of historic wisdom by all the leading statesmen and writers of the world. We offered our formula twenty-five years ago in the last world war. Here was a nationally homeless people and our formula was to give those homeless a *National Home*. Here was a people who needed a place of refuge for millions of its people, and the formula was to establish such a place of residence for them. It was accepted and as a serious minded people, we proceeded in good faith and trusting in the pledged word of the Governments and leaders, we proceeded to work in Palestine with blood and sweat and tears. We dug with our fingers and with our nails almost into the flinty rock, drained the marshes and pushed handfulls of soil up the mountain tops to build our vineyards and our gardens, and dug deep in the ground to bring water to the thirsty land and summoned our brothers and sisters from the four corners of the earth who came by the tens of thousands. In twenty short years, we placed in Palestine a hundred thousand Jews. We built hospitals and colleges. We revived the Hebrew language. We revived the culture. We made the land the most modern, the most up-to-date, the most attractive corner of the Middle East. We did our share. Now when we have prepared that country to take care of Jews against such a tragic eventuality as is actually taking place, now, when we have prepared it so as to take

in our brothers who are fleeing from ten thousand Hells, having no place to go but there, now we are told it was all a mistake, they didn't mean it at all. Or, we thought it would be a good thing for you to establish a little colony. You have done it in Palestine and it is finished. Now you go elsewhere; perhaps in some other land you will find some place for your persecuted people, some other Arab world will be kinder to the Jewish minority than the Christian world has been.

My dear friends, the Jewish problem is—and that should be made clear to the non-Jew as it is clear to the Jew—a problem of dispersion and cannot be solved by a new dispersion. The four freedoms will not solve the problems any more than Wilson's 14 points solved it in the last war. Even governments-in-exile, whose sole hope of survival depends on the four freedoms, even governments-in-exile in whose former countries large numbers of Jews dwelled, and still dwell, even they are already shrouded through with anti-Semitism.

In the next two or three years we must speak frankly, not be satisfied with a telegram of beautiful verbiage which comes from this statesman or that member of the cabinet. The time for that has long since passed. They must talk clearly in simple words and tell us exactly what they plan to do to help us solve the whole problem. It will be too late after the war. Plans are now being made, agreements are now being made, commitments are now being made. This is the time when men who say they are friends of the Jewish people, who say they understand the Jewish situation in the world, this is the time they sit down with us and together work out the solution which affects so vitally the lives, the very existence of millions of our people.

I thought that it would be our problem this year and next year to fight the lack of understanding and perhaps hostility only among non-Jews, among statesmen and governments, for not understanding the simple fact of Jewish existence. Unfortunately—and I suppose this is one of the black features of our existence as a people—we do not fight against the stupidity and the prejudicial elements and the escapism among our own people. The bankrupt heirs of the bankrupt leaders of the so-called "anti-Semitism" have again raised their heads in this country. They were completely wiped out in Germany, but their spiritual kinsmen have regained their voices and their arrogance in this country and they are likely to do much mischief before they are through. They are opposed to work in Palestine. Why? Because they are opposed to nationalism. There isn't one of them that doesn't get on the platform three times a day and wave the flag. They are opposed to Jewish Nationalism. They are not opposed to the Jews fighting. In every one of the Synagogues or Temples, there are men fighting in the Armed Forces of their country. They are only opposed to Jews fighting as Jews, in a Jewish Army. They are not op-

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EACH DUNAM COUNTS

Message from the Z.O.A. President to the J.N.F. Conference

By JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

In behalf of the Zionist Organization of America I am happy to extend my greetings to a conference which concerns itself with the phase of the Zionist movement which is basic to the solution of the homelessness and lawlessness of the Jewish people. The Jewish National Fund is truly the instrument of the People for their own redemption. Jewish history is dotted with our cries for help, our appeals, our expressions of indignation at the cruelties that have been inflicted upon us, but only the Zionist movement has given voice to Jewish affirmation and Jewish determination to take a hand in the solution of our own problem. Our self-respect today demands that we lend full support to those programs and those projects which are designed to bring about the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and the elimination of the stigma and reduced status which attach to Jews in so many countries today. The Jewish National Fund is the immediate, practical vehicle for carrying that aim to fulfillment.

Nor should we ignore the fact that every dunam of land added to the holdings of the Jewish National Fund, every extension of Jewish owned area, every additional Jew who settles on the soil of Eretz Israel—each of these strengthens Jewish roots in Palestine and increases the weight of our just demand upon the nations of the world for final, complete and irrevocable recognition of Palestine as the Jewish Homeland. In this sense the Jewish National Fund is a necessary complement to the political activity which goes on unceasingly, and the two must be given our constant attention and support.

This conference, meeting in the midst of war and dedicated to the highest and noblest motives and principles in Jewish life, is all the more significant because we are at the moment confronted by the amazing spectacle of a handful of short-sighted obstructionists whose myopic vision cannot see and whose narrow minds cannot understand the magnitude of the Jewish problem, and the magnitude of the solution which is necessary. The program of appeasement, of glorification of the status quo, of minimization of the danger, which marked the whole of the tragic period leading up to the outbreak of the war—that whole program, which has been completely rejected by the enlightened leaders of the world, is today applied to the Jewish problem and advanced by those who seek to destroy all that Zionism has accomplished in the past forty years. Confronted with the grim reality of homeless, persecuted Jews, what solution do these destructive rabbis have to offer? Do they perchance have another plan, a better scheme to alleviate Jewish misery and establish the normalcy to which Jews, as human beings, are entitled? At a time when the whole of the civilized world has at last begun to awaken to the awful tragedy of the Jewish people, what do



the anti-Zionists bring forward, other than words of pity or sympathy or comfort? *The Jews of Europe don't want our sympathy!* They ask merely the right to live as free, decent people, subject to no discriminations, petty restrictions, or fear of recurring hatreds. Zionism offers this solution in Palestine, where more than half a million of our people have already PROVEN the efficacy of our solution.

What do the Protestrabbiner offer? Do they advocate that the thousands of refugees who are in concentration camps or labor gangs return to Germany and resume their lives where they were interrupted in 1933? Do they advise the Jews of Poland to pull their belts another notch, and go back to Warsaw and Lodz, back to the poverty and misery and anti-Semitism? Smug and secure, comfortable in their own positions, what do these obstructionists know of the wishes, the hopes and the yearnings, the dreams and the longings of the Jews of Europe? And today, when there is already a stirring in the halls of the world diplomats and statesmen, when the United Nations issue a statement officially taking cognizance of the situation confronting our people in Europe, there arises in our midst a group which is ready to betray its own people and to defile the titles which its members bear as "rabbis." In the face of this awful tragedy they open their mouths and have naught to say but words of opposition and negation against the only movement which has taken positive and constructive steps to alleviate the present situation and to provide a permanent answer to the problem of Jewish homelessness.

Attacks like these make our own tasks the more difficult. Yet we must be vigorous and courageous. And despite the complacency of Christian civilization, which is only now just beginning to be ruffled, we must be strong. In the words of King David's commander, who led the fighting Jews three thousand years ago against the enemy, "Be strong, and let us strengthen ourselves in behalf of our people and in behalf of the cities of our Lord."

We must awaken the conscience of the

DR. SILVER'S ADDRESS

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posed to the Jews in the Army, the Jewish flag, it is the Jewish spirit that they are opposed to. And they have organized a conspiracy to defeat our work. They have now an organization with a beautiful name and they are about to receive a charter.

I speak of it, friends, because in these times, when things are so delicately poised, even an insignificant minority can do an awful lot of mischief. Last week, there met in Cleveland, a great assembly of the Protestant leaders of America. I addressed that body. The following day I received a telegram from New York, to interview one of the great leaders of this organized Protestant Church of America, to suggest that the Convention pass a resolution of sympathy for the wholesale massacres of the Jews of Europe. I suggested a resolution calling upon the world to find opportunity for immigration for these people in all parts of the world and in Palestine. I went to see this man, a fine, liberal spirit and leader in the Protestant forces of America. I spoke to him about the resolution and he said, "Yes, we are glad to endorse it." He read it to me, and I said, "It will be helpful, would it not, if you added to this resolution a recommendation or appeal to the nations of the world to make possible Jewish immigration from Central and Eastern Europe, and to open the doors of Palestine, to open the doors and let them in," and I could feel at once this man's resistance and I was surprised, and I said, "What is bothering you?" He said, "You mention Palestine. We cannot admit more Jews into Palestine, the Arabs resent the coming of more Jews, they do not want to be 'majomised.' You know, Rabbi so and so was in to see me last week and spoke to me, one of the principal founders of this new organization." I said, "Surely he is not opposed to the immigration of Jews into Palestine." Well, I couldn't make any other inference than he told me about. He said the influx of large numbers of Jews into Palestine will disturb the Arabs, will hurt the cause of the Allies at the present time, and the resolution made no mention of Palestine when it was finally passed by the body. Many of these men who think they are fighting the political State, are helping to shut the doors of Palestine, the sole open refuge for our unfortunate brothers of Europe. They claim to have access to the State Department. Perhaps they have, I can only tell you there are plenty of people in the State Department who are sufficiently pro of Isaiah is come true. You know the prophet and sufficiently anti-Jewish to use these Rabbis as their stooges, so the old prophecy of Isaiah is come true. You know the prophecy.

I suppose, good friends, that we will survive these too, the tide of human suffering

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world, we must expose the false prophets in our midst, and we must—and shall—redeem our honor and self-respect by Jewish labor on Jewish land in a Jewish Commonwealth.

"Am Yisroel Chai" Call Sounded

(Continued from Page 9)

Zion has gone from strength to strength during the past four years. We have planted in Palestine a complete forest in honor of Rabbi Meyer Berlin, World President of Mizrahi; a colony in honor of Chief Rabbi Herzog of Palestine, the land of which amounts to \$100,000 is nearing completion, and our second forest, dedicated in tribute to Rabbi Dr. Bernard Revel, of blessed memory, transplanter of Torah to the Western Hemisphere and late dean of Yeshiva College, is well on its way. Our plans for the future are to multiply our efforts in all directions as share-holders in this great spiritual corporation, the Jewish National Fund," Rabbi Kirshblum declared.

Labor Department Submits Report

In the absence of Mr. Louis Segal, chairman of the J. N. F. Department on Contact with Labor Organizations, a report on the activities of the department was presented to the Conference by H. Ehrenreich, secretary.

Mr. Ehrenreich described the progress of the Louis D. Brandeis Colony project which was undertaken by a special committee headed by Mr. Isidore Nagler, of labor leaders and progressive organizations, in cooperation with the J. N. F.'s Labor Department. He reported on the splendid beginning made at the Founders' Dinner given by the Committee in June, 1942. He also described the activities of the various groups comprising the labor Zionist movement for the Keren Kayemeth and made special reference to the progress in the raising of the \$100,000 fund which has been undertaken by the Jewish National Workers' Alliance for its Farband Colony Tract.

"Am Yisroel Chai" Session

The Sunday afternoon session was held under the slogan "Am Yisroel Chai" and was devoted largely to the memorial exercises for the 2,000,000 Jewish victims of the Nazi regime and the adoption of the "Am Yisroel Chai" project.

The session began with a stirring address by Mr. David Wertheim, Secretary of the Poale Zion-Zeire Zion, who addressed the delegates in behalf of the Labor Zionist movement. His address made a profound impression upon the audience.

Every seat in the large ballroom of the Hotel Bock-Cadillac was taken. The aisles were crowded to capacity. Dr. Goldstein, who presided, introduced a solemn note into the session when he stated that facing such a disaster as the Jewish people are confronted with today and overcome with grief as we are, there is only one method to follow in memorial exercises of this kind—to seek consolation in the hallowed ritual and in the sacred literature of Israel. He called upon Mr. Max Rudensky, a member of the J. N. F. national staff, to recite, in Hebrew, verses 1 to 14 of Chapter 37 of Ezekiel.

The flickering lights of twenty huge Yahrzeit candles that were lit in memory of the 2,000,000 victims cast a somber glow over the assembly. Instantly, the large hall be-

came, as it were, converted into a house of dedication and religious contemplation where men and women, assembled in America's leading industrial city where the tools for total war are being manufactured, were lifted into the upper regions of pure emotion and far-sighted timeless vision.

The power and the glow of the ancient vision in the Valley of the Dead where the "son of man," Ezekiel the Prophet, saw the dry bones of his kinfolk reassembling into living bodies and re-emerging as a great army marching toward victory and hearing the Divine Promise, "And I shall put my spirit into you and ye shall live and I shall place you on your soil," penetrated into the hearts and minds of the assembled men and women, dominated their beating hearts as Ezekiel's Hebrew cadences, portraying the somber reality of the present tragic moment, reverberated through the hall. For a moment it seemed as if the very spirits of the martyred dead hovered over the assembly, and there wasn't a man or a woman in the hall whose eye remained tearless. After the recital of the El Mole Rachamim by Cantor Jacob H. Sonnenklar, the entire audience joined in the recital of a collective Kaddish.

Mr. David Citron of Peoria, Ill., then arose to present the resolution on the Am Yisroel Chai program. "This," he said, "is our answer: Israel Lives!" "The Conference moves from sorrow to hope," declared the chairman, "in the pledge and promise of the Am Yisroel Chai resolution." Mr. Theodore Strimling, president of the J.N.F. Council

of Los Angeles, and Dr. Arthur Shain, chairman of the J.N.F. for New England, delivered brief addresses in support of the resolution, which was adopted by a standing vote. Mr. Strimling presented a check for \$41,000 in behalf of the Los Angeles J.N.F. Council.

Reports On Loan

Mr. Jacob Sincoff then presented a report, as chairman of the committee on the J.N.F. Loan, in which he reviewed the progress of the Loan up to date. Mr. Sincoff stated that up to that date an amount of \$2,000,000 had been paid in on account of subscriptions towards the \$2,500,000 Loan. He appealed to the delegates to help in converting the pledged subscriptions into actual cash payments.

Round Table Reports

Mr. Sincoff's report was followed by the presentation of summaries of the discussions held at the Round Tables and the introduction of resolutions by Mrs. Israel Goldstein of New York and Dr. Alex S. Wolf, veteran Zionist leader of St. Louis.

Mrs. Goldstein presented a number of concrete suggestions in behalf of the Round Table over which she presided for the improvement of Keren Kayemeth work in the communities. She introduced a number of resolutions, including one of greeting to Dr. Chaim Weizmann and of tribute to the memory of Menahem Ussishkin and Louis D. Brandeis.

Dr. Wolf recommended in behalf of his Round Table that the text of Dr. Goldstein's address at the opening session be printed and widely distributed. He urged the J.N.F. administration not to overlook the fertile field

(Continued on Page 17)

"and I shall put my spirit into you, and ye shall live and I shall settle you on your soil!"

The hand of the Lord was upon me, and the Lord carried me out in spirit, and set me down in the midst of the valley, and it was full of bones; and He said unto me: "Pass by them round about, and behold, there were very many in the valley; and, lo, they were very dry. And He said unto me: 'Son of man, can these bones live?' And I answered: 'O Lord God, Thou knowest.' Then He said unto me: 'Prophesy over these bones, and say unto them: O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord: Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live: and ye shall know that I am the Lord.' So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a commotion, and the bones came together, bone to its bone. And I beheld, and, lo, there were sinews upon them, and flesh came up, and skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said He unto me: 'Prophesy unto the breath, prophesy, son of man, and say unto the breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.' So I prophesied as He commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great host. Then He said unto me: 'Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel; behold, they say: Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost: we are clean cut off. Therefore prophesy, and say unto them: Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, O My people: and I will bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, and caused you to come up out of your graves, O My people. And I will put My spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I will place you in your own land; and ye shall know that I the Lord have spoken, and performed it, saith the Lord.'

(Ezekiel XXXVII, 1-14)

Tribute Paid to J.N.F. President

(Continued from Page 17)

ish song writer and composer of "God Bless America" was one of the guests at the dinner and led in the singing of "God Bless America." He was accompanied to the function by Mr. Oscar Leonard of the J.N.F. field staff. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Block of Detroit contributed the equivalent of the value of eighteen dunams of land in tribute to Irvin Berlin. Mrs. Emma Shaver led in the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner".

The climax of the brilliant function was reached when the guest of honor responded to the addresses that were heard during the evening. He expressed his profound thanks to the distinguished speakers, to the members of the Board of Directors whose thoughtfulness was instrumental in dedicating the session to him. "The honors belong to you, it is your work and it is your zeal which has made the Keren Kayemeth what it is today," Dr. Goldstein declared. He expressed his appreciation to the executive and field staff, and lauded highly the work of Mendel N. Fisher as executive director declaring that "no organization could claim a more efficient servant than Mr. Fisher."

received from Mr. William Hordes, president of the local J.N.F. Council, Mr. Philip Slomovitz, chairman of the general arrangements committee for the Conference, and Mr. Oscar Leonard, who served as liaison in charge of arrangements representing the national office.

Keymen and Staff Meetings

The Conference got under way with a meeting of key leaders which was held Fri-

day afternoon at which the outstanding workers for the cause of Geulah Ha'aretz exchanged views and experiences in an informal manner. All phases of the J.N.F. program were discussed.

A thorough consideration of the techniques and methods in the J.N.F. program was given at two meetings of the executive and field staffs which were held on Friday morning and Monday, following the conclusion of the conference. It was the first meeting of all the staff members from all parts of the country and was presided over by Mr. Fisher.

Resolution On Nachlath Israel Goldstein

Adopted by the

National Council for Freedom Conference

Sunday, December 27, 1942, Detroit Mich.

This Conference dedicated to the ideals of freedom and the extension of the frontiers of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Records with deep satisfaction the progress made by the Jewish National Fund of America under the peerless leadership of its President,

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Recalls with pride the period of his splendid administration (from 1934 to 1943) when due to his indefatigable zeal, high vision and constant perseverance, the Jewish National Fund in the United States has become a powerful instrument for the redemption of the soil of Eretz Israel,

Expresses its boundless gratitude to Dr. Goldstein for his gift of leadership and great power which he brought to the high office of the Presidency.

Proclaims on the threshold of his tenth year in the Presidency, in accord with the Keren Kayemeth leadership in Jerusalem, the establishment of a

Dr. Israel Goldstein Nachlah

thus linking forever his name which stands for a record of high achievements with the soil of Eretz Israel, a cause which he has served with such matchless devotion.

In Token Whereof We Have Affixed Our Signatures

For the Jewish National Fund of America

*Isaac M. Saffron
President, J.N.F. of America
(Philadelphia, Pa.)*

For the Jewish National Fund of America

*Isaac M. Saffron
President, J.N.F. of America
(Philadelphia, Pa.)*



Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Theodore Strimling, Simon Shetzer, Rabbi Isadore Goodman of Memphis, Mrs. Archibald Silverman and Philip Slomovitz

Detroit Gave Delegates Hearty Welcome

The Jewish community of Detroit extended a most hearty welcome to the Conference and to the numerous delegates and visitors. Nearly all Synagogues and Temples in the city dedicated the Friday night and Saturday morning services to the J.N.F. and the pulpits were occupied by some of the distinguished delegates to the Conference. Among them were Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Washauer and Mr. Simon Shetzer. The Ladies Auxiliary of the J.N.F. Council tendered for the delegates an Oneg Shabbath over which Mr. Theodore Strimling of Los Angeles presided. Mrs. Philip Cutler, president of the Auxiliary, introduced the chairman, and Mrs. Archibald Silverman was the speaker. The Hashomer Hatzair choir gave a program of songs. At the conclusion of the Saturday evening session, the Ladies Auxiliary gave a reception in honor of the delegates.

The success of the conference arrangements was due largely to the splendid cooperation which the J.N.F. administration

Wilkes-Barre Function Benefits Keren Kayemeth

An audience which more than taxed the capacity of the Admiral Stark ballroom in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on Monday evening, December 14th, heard Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Majority Leader of the United States Senate, in an inspiring address on the Jewish National Fund and its purpose.

The address climaxed a dinner attended by more than 1,000 persons and marked the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Jewish National Fund and the 25th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. The program was sponsored by the Jewish communities of the Wyoming Valley, but there were many non-Jewish leaders in the large gathering for the occasion. Senator Barkley's message was both instructive and inspiring.

"The problem of homelessness is the greatest facing the Jew," Aaron Weiss, chairman of the dinner, said in an interesting review of the efforts of the Zionist program to acquire the land in Palestine as national property.

Mayor Charles N. Loveland said the "justness and rightness of the cause" that prompted the assembly gave indications that soon the homeless Jew could turn towards a homeland of peace and prosperity.

Judge John J. Aponick said he felt that this task facing Zionism is not alone one of building a homeland, but one dedicated to the establishment of a center for free development of cultural and spiritual values.

Because of call for induction into the armed service, Dr. Israel J. Kazis, president of the Wilkes-Barre District of the Zionist Organization was unable to take part in the program. Invocation was given by Rabbi Samuel Wolf, and Rev. Enoch Hughes, president of Wyoming Valley Ministerial Association, pronounced benediction.

SPONSORING COMMITTEE: Major Samuel Bloch, M. D. Brandewene, Ben Cohen, Rabbi I. M. Davidson, Harry Goldberg, Eugene Goldstein, Sol Goldstein, Mrs. Louis Greenberg, Henry Greenwald, Sam Hershman, Nat Hyman, Ike Isaac, Irving Katz, Dr. Israel J. Kazis, Ben Klein, Hyman L. Liss, Arthur H. Levy, Mrs. Charles Long, Max Lerman, Michael Mickowitz, Mendel Nelson, Charles Pfefferling, Louis Popky, J. S. Raub, William R. Rabin, David Rosen, Max Rosenn, Abram Saltsburg, Jacob Elzerblan, Abe Savitz, Harry Schiller, Norman J. Sondheim, Julius Long Stern, James Wachler, Morris Weiss, Morton Weiss, Rabbi Samuel Wolf.



Aaron Weiss, dinner chairman, and Senator Barkley

50 Golden Book Subscriptions Secured In Syracuse



BENJAMIN G. RUDOLPH

Benjamin G. Rudolph of Syracuse, New York, who acted as chairman of a special gifts committee, received the plaudits of his co-workers for the cause of Geulah Ha'aretz in connection with the substantial results obtained in the community on the occasion of a J.N.F. function held on December 13.

Close to 1,000 men and women, Jews and non-Jews, gathered at the Hotel Syracuse at a public reception tendered in honor of Senator Alben W. Barkley who was the guest of honor and principal speaker. The gathering was arranged under the auspices of the J.N.F. Council and was sponsored by a special committee of prominent civic leaders of all faiths, headed by Dr. William Pearson Tolley, Chancellor of the Syracuse University.

Associated with Mr. Rudolph in the work of the special gifts committee were Philip Roth, treasurer, and Ben Miller, H. S. Greenstein and Rabbi Irwin J. Hyman. More than

FOR VICTORY



BUY
UNITED
STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

SOIL FOR NATIONAL REBIRTH

(Continued from Page 16)

and Jewish tragedy will sweep them aside, they are making our road so much the harder, but, then, it is the *only* road. I have spoken to you, good friends, in this straight-forward manner, because this is the time for realistic thinking. This is the time to know who is your friend and who is not your friend. This is the time when we must ask in all frankness, our friends in the Jewish world, and in the non-Jewish world, to speak with precision, with exactness and the utmost sincerity. Otherwise we are lost. I have faith that our cause is not lost. I have faith in the dynamic force of our people, in its will to survive, in the instinctive knowledge of the Jewish masses for the correct strategy of survival. I believe that we will find in the critical moment in which we now are, the courage, the insight, the resolution, the sacrificial loyalty to see this thing through to the end, so that after the war, after we shall have brought the multitudinous sacrifice on every battlefield, there will be in the world for the first time a free nation in a free Jewish Palestine.

50 Golden Book subscriptions were entered. J. Leo Feigenbaum acted as chairman of the Golden Book Committee. The local ZOA District, Hadassah, Mizrachi and other Zionist groups participated in the effort.

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

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Voters in an East Side public school in New York City. The fight against Fascism does not limit the vote but extends it

Philip Gendreau

World Outlook

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Fascist Techniques in American Life

By Abba Hillel Silver*

I SHOULD like to say at the outset—it is very easy to create a minority problem, and very difficult to solve it. Europe has been wrestling with minority problems for many generations and centuries. In this country our concept of government has been that each man is equal before the law regardless of the group to which he belongs, regardless of his particular extraction or historic background. And we have been taught to evaluate a citizen on that basis—on achievement, on character, on personal merit without reference to the group whether racial, religious, or social to which he belongs.

That trend has been diverted, shall I say, in recent years. We have come more and more to talk about minority problems in the United States, and I regard that as a rather sad omen. It is the old

world encroaching upon the new world. It is here, though, and will continue to be here from now on. We shall have to face it.

European states have right along used minorities as pawns in imperial conspiracy of one kind or another or in programs of imperial expansion. The Nazis are only the latest in a long line of empire building states who have exploited minorities. But the Nazis were the first to discover the technique of using a minority *within* a country as a means of getting into power.

Fascism is a missionary movement which has its agents both native and alien. It has its disciples all over the world. Basically Fascism is the attempt on the part of the privileged classes to defend themselves in democracies against the increasing demands of all other people of the masses for a fair allocation of the social goods and for a better economic democracy.

Often the working classes, the middle classes, the

* Dr. Silver, rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, was one of the speakers at the Minority Conference held under the auspices of The Department of Christian Social Relations the last week in November. This article is taken from the speech made at that time.

professional people, the idealists are unwittingly exploited and used as stooges by these privileged classes in their ruthless and desperate determination to hold on and not yield to the demands of the less privileged classes. Big business, financial capital, monopolistic capitalism will do one of two things when threatened. The first is to adapt a program of confusing the opposition groups, of diverting them from the main intent, corrupting their leaders, if necessary, and controlling elections in a democracy.

We had some evidences of the first program in this country before the war. The attack on the New Deal—and I am not a wholehearted supporter of what has come to be called the New Deal—but the attack upon the progressive economic tendencies represented in the New Deal was made by and large with the idea not to meet the issue in a fair way, but it was done by and large to arouse, to confuse, to bewilder our people. Personal bitterness and animus was introduced. It was a basic attack on social legislation. That does not mean, of course, that everybody who opposed the New Deal belonged to that category, but you know what I mean.

When this first plan fails, as it failed in Germany and in Italy, the Fascist forces will take the next step, that of overthrowing government and destroying the democratic machinery that makes it possible for the masses to express themselves. The technique has been developed, it is quite scientific, it is all blue-printed.

The first trick is to create a mood of hysteria in a country. Hitler said in his book, *Mein Kampf*, that his driving motive of social change is not so much insight as hysteria. If you want to bring about a radical social change, don't rely upon insight, enlightenment, education, but upon hysteria. Arouse the masses of people. Incite them. Stampede them. Get them to do what you want under the impact of fear and when they wake up, after they have sobered down, if you are smart enough you have your machine guns pointed at them and it is too late for them to change their minds. The way to create this hysteria is the science of propaganda. Skillful propagandists know exactly how it is to be done.

First of all you have to undermine confidence of the people in their own government and in democratic institutions. Tell them that Congress is made up of a collection of dunderheads or criminals who have no interest in the well-being of the people. Create a mood of fear such as: the country is drifting to disaster. Create strife by turning class against class, group against group, and race against race. Aggravate every situation. Intensify every point of conflict in a people. Create the feeling among the masses of a people that there is no way out for the people except by temporarily surrendering their democratic machinery and entrusting themselves only for a time to someone strong and powerful who is able to co-ordinate this disintegrating national life and to give the forceful and aggressive leadership

to lead them out of the wilderness into the promised land.

The attack on democracy is seldom, if ever, made frontally. Just as the attack on the rights of the Negro as represented in the poll tax is never made in a direct way, but always by stratagem and always indirectly. The poll tax is defended on the basis of states' rights. The filibuster against it and the anti-lynching law a year or two ago was also conducted on this indirect line of defending states' rights. The people are promised not less but more freedom, not less economic security but greater if they will surrender the ballot which makes possible representative government.

When the Nazis and the Fascists finally found themselves at war in Europe, the American Fascists, going by one name or another, seized upon the slogan of isolationism in order to demobilize the United States and to keep the American people from coming to the aid of those democracies in Europe which were still resisting the advances of the Nazis. Again I do not wish to say that every isolationist in the United States was a Fascist; far from it, and I do not need to repeat that qualifying statement as I go along. But certainly isolationism in the United States before the war was exploited by all those forces, native and alien, who were interested not in America or in democracy but in doing nothing to hurt Hitler and Fascism in Europe. Since Pearl Harbor the Fascists have adopted a new tactic. Our sole concern in this war is the Japanese, they say. We ought to concentrate on the menace of the Pacific. We ought to forget Europe. The Nazis are really not the grave danger threatening us. There are very important newspapers in the United States which have made this their slogan in this war since Pearl Harbor.

Finally, the technic of the American Fascist in one way is like the technique of the European Fascist and that is in the exploitation of anti-Semitism as a weapon, a powerful weapon, to overthrow democracy. And believe me when I speak of anti-Semitism I am not speaking as a Jew concerned primarily with the rights of his people. Of course, I am interested in defending my people, who are perhaps going through the most tragic period in their history. We are an old people who have gone through some horrible experiences in the past from the days of Pharaoh to the present. We have developed a certain philosophy on persecution and a certain strategy of survival, and while we are sad at heart at all that has happened and is happening today, this mass murder, nevertheless, we do look beyond our own personal problem to the world problem and understand that our problem is linked up with the world problem. The Nazis have shown how anti-Semitism can be used in every country to destroy democracy. It was used in France in an amazing degree before the war. The Popular Front was represented as a Jewish conspiracy to destroy France

just as the New Deal was called the Jew Deal, Washington the city run by Jews. The Fascists, the Nazis know how to capitalize on every latent human prejudice, to achieve their ends. They go to a people and tell them that the people are suffering from unemployment, from misery, from the defeat in the last war because of the Jews—they have brought this misery on you. The Jews control your press, your government, your moving picture industry, you are tied hand and foot. There is no way you can save yourselves. But surely there must be some way for people to redeem themselves from a threatened disaster! There is a way. I am the way. Give me the power, me Hitler, me Franco, give me the power to override for the moment parliamentary procedures, the power to override Congress, to suppress this deeply controlled liberal press which is in the hands of the Jews extra-legally, outside routine of parliamentary procedure, and then I can save you and everything will be fine after it is all done.

This may sound childish, but it is exactly how the thing worked in Germany to perfection for twelve years or more. The Nazis carried this single lie to the German people through hundreds of thousands of meetings in every corner and village and hamlet and town in Germany—repeated it, dinned it into the ears of the people who were suffering from want, from poverty, from unemployment and saw no future for themselves, who were told the Jews are our misfortune, and we are the only people who can save you from that misfortune. End Jewry in Germany and then everything will be

fine. My dear friends, the mark of the beast upon every Fascist movement in the world is anti-Semitism. That is the classic trademark of the Fascist adventurer or movement.

There will be an upsurging of the American Fascist after the war. After a war there is unrest, there are grave economic problems, some of which cannot be settled quickly. There is the problem of reconverting our entire economic situation to a peacetime basis, the demobilization of millions now in the Army. There may be a long depression, and during that period of depression is when the Fascist has his great opportunity and he will seize that opportunity and he will exploit the latent prejudices here among our people to achieve his ends. The only way we will be able to meet that after this war is to begin educating our people now in the classic techniques of Fascism, to inform the people as to the nature of the propaganda that has gone on for the moment, but is now underground. We must teach them that there is only one way to solve great human problems, great social problems, and that is by an appeal not to hatred or class struggle, not by arousing passions and confounding the clear thinking of the people, but by an augmentation of humanitarianism, the spirit of human brotherhood, of goodness and of the grace which is in the hearts of men. It is only the great teachings of our religions, yours and mine, that will help to lead our troubled and weary and tired generation now and in the days after the war, to a quieter harbor of peace and justice and real freedom.

Almighty God, who hast created man in thine own image; Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations, to the glory of thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Book of Common Prayer

"After This Manner, Pray Ye"

By Winifred Kirkland

THERE is not one Lord's prayer. There are two. The beautiful series of petitions we commonly call the Lord's Prayer is found in the Gospels in two versions, one in the sixth chapter of Matthew, the other in the eleventh chapter of Luke. The first Lord's prayer is a "we" prayer to be uttered by all God's children everywhere. The second Lord's Prayer is an "I" prayer. It emphasizes the relation of the suppliant to his unseen Father.

We who would always seek to embody Jesus' attitudes before we try to imitate his acts need to be seeing always how he bulwarked his soul with prayer. Jesus has learned so to hold his soul to resolute peace that only one-half of his praying is asking God for something, the other half is listening to God tell him something. All Jesus' prayers have become conversation with God.

In Matthew's sixth chapter the Lord's Prayer comes directly after the Sermon on the Mount, as if it were part of all that holy list of garnered sayings beginning, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," enlarging and enlarging all through chapter five and on into chapter six, where the great prayer is prefaced by directions how *not* to pray, *not* as the hypocrites, *not* as the heathen, but, pleads Jesus, "after this manner pray ye"; then come the priceless petitions with which we are all familiar.

The Lord's Prayer we were taught in our babyhood. Too often we cannot avoid repeating it in a sacred singsong. Let us try to look at it as if we had never heard or seen it before. Let us examine the greatest prayer of the ages as some new convert to our faith might examine it, seeing these petitions as those on which our Leader built his life.

In Luke the approach and the introduction to the Lord's Prayer are different from Matthew's. Luke's introduction is arresting and significant, significant of Luke himself, both as an evangelist and as a man. Luke's Gospel is the gospel of prayer. It could have been written only by a man who had practiced prayer as he had watched his Master practice it. To Luke, who had never seen Jesus in actual life, Jesus came alive in incident after incident. Luke is the biographer of the very spirit of the Master, as that spirit healed the sick bodies and the weary souls of the men and women along his path. Luke, the biographer, as he studied the person he was portraying had become one with him. Luke's Gospel becomes a portrait of Jesus at prayer.

Now the setting in which Luke places that precious jewel, the Lord's Prayer, is characteristic of a biographer who is both an artist and a seer. Luke's tenth chapter closes with the picture of Jesus at the house of Mary and Martha. The last verse is Jesus' comment on Mary's attitude, sitting with uplifted face listening, while Martha bustles about with supper-getting. Jesus says of Mary's reverent attention, "she hath chosen the better part." From that picture of the two sisters entertaining Jesus, the biographer

passes at once to the Lord's Prayer. None of us can ever forget the opening verses of chapter eleven in which Jesus' disciples observe him wistfully while he is praying, not interrupting until he has ceased, and then begging, "Master, teach us how to pray." In answer Jesus gives them his own prayer to his Father in heaven.

How many times we have uttered the Lord's Prayer! There are no words of our faith so blurred by familiarity. Let us stop to think what those worn words meant to our Lord himself. The very first word, "our," is witness to Jesus' longing to share his vision of God with others. Jesus could not keep his Father in heaven to himself. Jesus took a commonplace human relationship and used it to embody the most exalted intimacy of man with his creator. God for Jesus was not remote, he was near and actual as a human father. Jesus' strongest characteristic is his conviction of closeness to the unseen. The utter holiness of that invisible Father must be the foundation petition on which all the following petitions are based. "Our Father in heaven, hallowed be thy name." Jesus had so established for himself his nearness to his invisible Father that he was able to discern that Father's dearest dream and pray, "Thy will be established here as in that invisible world we call heaven, thy will for man's kindness to man be done here on this bloodthirsty earth even as it is done in thy realm of perfect order."

Then, looking from that beauty conceived in God's heart to the blunders and the weakness of men, the Master prays for support in our endeavor to be given us from the inflooding of spiritual forces into our being, "Give us this day our daily bread."

Looking from his Father's hope to our feebleness, Jesus gives the petition for that forgiveness of sin upon which all civilization must be built. "Forgive us our trespasses even in that degree to which we have climbed in forgiving those who trespass against us." Let us forgive as God himself forgives, with knowledge of the past making him patient, with high creator confidence in the growth of the soul forgiven, with unbreakable conviction that loving kindness is the sole power which can heal and help.

Then it is as if Jesus, praying, felt his heart swept with pity for his gathered disciples who have begged him for the secret of prayer. He sees us all weak and blind and faltering in our upward climb toward God. He admonishes us against pride, teaching us to ask God not to lead us into temptation, not to expose us to strain on our earnestness.

Last, he asks us to beg our down-bending Father to protect us against onpouring evil, which Jesus sees constantly lying in wait for us, menacing.

The Lord's Prayer is a series of petitions mysteriously brief, but like the mustard seed with power of limitless growth in human character, as we offer our souls to Jesus' directions for that growth.



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

WHEN FREEDOM COMES

A Wartime Passover Program

By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

As the United Nations drive forward to victory, Passover — the holiday of liberation — takes on especially poignant significance, for those Jews now enslaved and for the Jews to be freed — once again, One of American Jewry's most eloquent and prophetic spokesmen, Dr. Silver has written a special Passover article which contains much of encouragement and hope. It also suggests the three major fields in which American Jewry will have to prove its statesmanship after the war.

—THE EDITOR

Without being unduly optimistic, one is justified in believing that deliverance is on the horizon. Even though it is as yet no bigger than a man's hand, the promise of it is unmistakable. The long war will end before very long in victory. Hard fighting is still to be faced, and the costliest battles, at least as far as our country is concerned, are still to be fought. But the Great Infamy is doomed! On the steppes of Russia and on the sands of Africa it is bleeding to death. The Nazi-Fascist gangsters know themselves to be beaten. They no longer boast of conquering the world or of establishing their reign for a thousand years. They now must goad their people on to continued resistance by the fear of being conquered and being subjected to the same treatment as they subjected the peoples whom they conquered. The invincible Wehrmacht can now win great victories only against helpless civilian populations. But Lidice and mass murdering Jews will not save the Nazis. These infamies only add to the already heavy score against them which will have to be settled when the day of retribution arrives.

There is dawn on the horizon! Our faith in civilization is being revived after many weary, bitter years of doubt bordering on despair. Tomorrow will not, of course, be the perfect day for mankind. Tomorrow will witness not the consummation but the approximation of our hearts' desires. For a quarter of a century mankind has been descending into the valley of death. At the close of the war it will begin the slow ascent to the higher plateaus, to the hills, where there is life and light and bracing winds and open vistas. New and great efforts will be made to reconstruct our world on juster and surer foundations of freedom and co-operation.

There is dawn on the horizon also for Israel! Though the night is still dark, the first faint glimmer of light is reaching us not only out of the prospect of the approaching Allied victory, but out of the new attitudes of peoples everywhere, and especially among the peoples under Nazi domination. There are significant manifestations, on the part of the conquered peoples, of sympathy and good will. Friendship toward the Jews has become their way of expressing their hatred of the Nazis. Many are coming to understand that they had been duped and tricked by anti-Semitism, and that anti-Semitism has proved a terrible boomerang. Anti-Semitism is not being liquidated in Europe, but in very important sections of the populations, in spite of all Nazi propaganda, it is being discredited. Men are relearning the essential unity of mankind, the unavailing sharing of all in all the goodness and in all the evil of the world and the necessity for defending the rights of one's neighbors if one's own rights are to be safeguarded.

The United Nations have begun very seriously to plan for the post-war world. Planning for tomorrow has now become a definite, a major task of all governments. In fact, broad and weighty decisions of political and economic moment are even now being made. Jewish statesmanship too, while deeply involved in the immediate problems of rescue and relief, should also proceed vigorously and systematically to plan for Jewish life after the war.

Our people will emerge from the Second World War spiritually shaken, physically ravaged and seriously depleted in numbers and resources. Many old centers of Jewish life and many cultural and religious institutions will have been destroyed. The Jews who will be left in Central and Eastern Europe after the war will find themselves in a world of great social and economic tension, under pressures which will not be entirely lifted by the restoration of their rights of citizenship. Jewry will be confronted with masses of uprooted and untransplanted Jews — a floating population, as it were, of human misery.

Three Tasks For Leadership

Three major tasks will face responsible Jewish leadership in the years immediately following the war. Broken lives in the broken centers of war-ravaged Europe will have to be rebuilt. While European Jewry will probably never again recover the position of primary importance which it occupied in Jewish life before the war, it is unrealistic to assume that all Jews will evacuate European countries after the war. It is difficult to say how many European Jews will survive the war, or how many will be able to remain, or will care to remain there. But surely there will be enough left to necessitate large-scale and uninterrupted aid to them over a considerable period of time. Whatever aid the United Nations will be able to give to the war-stricken peoples of Europe will have to be supplemented by us as far as Jews will be concerned. Our experience in the reconstruction period following the last war taught us that Jews in war-stricken countries have special and peculiar problems which

can only be met by the supplementary aid of fellow Jews.

Jewish leadership must insist at the peace conferences that such political conditions be established and such international machinery be set up as will protect the Jewish minority and all other minorities against a recurrence of those discriminatory activities which prevailed after the last war almost to the day when the Second World War began. A charter of human liberties must be proclaimed, and implemented by international action, by whatever global or regional international councils will be created after the war, which will protect every human being in his right to life and to earn a livelihood in the land of his birth or adoption, subject to no restriction or cancellation by any government whatsoever.

The second task which will confront Jewish leadership is the rapid upbuilding of Palestine. There will be very large numbers of Jews who will have to emigrate from Europe after this war, and there will be no places for them to go. It is idle to expect that even well-disposed governments will consent to the admission of large numbers of impoverished Jewish immigrants into their countries. Their own populations will be faced with serious problems of employment and of reconstruction as their countries pass from a war to a peacetime economy. Surely no one in his right senses will suggest at this time new colonial adventures like Crimea, Biro-Bidjan or Santo Domingo to meet the great immigration pressures after the war. It is too late in the day to indulge in what Sacher has so aptly called "ramblings in the iridescent nothingness of Utopia." Palestine has been readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency in Jewish life. Unless Jewish leadership, regardless of shades of opinion, concentrates its attention and focuses whatever power our people still possesses upon securing this one possible refuge for our homeless ones, we will lose out even here. If the White Paper remains in force, Palestine must be written off as a place for large-scale immigration for our people. When the last of the 29,000

visas still available for distribution under the terms of the White Paper is issued it will mean the end of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Thereafter it will be the Arabs of Palestine who will determine whether more Jews will be permitted to enter. The Arabs in Palestine are opposed not only to a Jewish State, but also to Jewish immigration. Those who believe that by abandoning the Balfour Declaration or the Zionist program, the Arabs of Palestine might be induced to welcome Jews into that country, are uninformed and naive. Similarly those Jews who believe that the neighboring Arab and Moslem lands—Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia—will welcome Jews, for whom Christian lands could find no haven, and that a new diaspora can readily be created there, are beguiling themselves with wishful thinking. Those who are convinced that there will be great masses of Jews for whom a new home will have to be found after the war and who are seriously concerned with this problem, whether they be Zionist or non-Zionist, must understand that, things being what they are, it will either be Palestine, or nothing at all. In Palestine we have an internationally established and recognized — and unique — status — that of a people in its National Homeland. This is the plain meaning of the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate and the endorsement which was given to both by the nations of the world and by our own country. Jewish statesmanship should ask for the full implementation of the letter and the spirit of the Palestine Mandate which has been internationally underwritten.

Theoretic Disputations

It is futile and fatuous at this time for responsible Jews to engage in theoretic disputations about nationalism versus universalism and what the Prophets of Israel said or did not say twenty-five hundred years ago, or to wage anew the ideologic battles of a generation ago which preceded the Balfour Declaration. The historical claim of the Jewish people to Palestine has been recognized. The existence of a Jewish people has been recognized. Its right to rebuild its national home in Palestine has been recognized. Jews have, in the period between the two wars, invested life, energy, substance, blood and tears in the upbuilding of that national homeland. As a result, it was possible when the emergency arose to rescue a half million Jews from the hells of Europe. What remains now for Jewish leadership to do is to see that this work of upbuilding and salvation is continued uninterruptedly, and that illegal and morally unjustifiable obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of Jewish progress in Palestine. If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine, the claims upon which the Declaration and the Mandate (Continued on Page Ninety-one)

Radio Mention

Listen in on Station KQV, Saturday, April 17, at 10:15. "The Editor's Round Table" program will have something to say about our magazine which we know our readers will be interested in hearing.

Handwritten note: Please write to P. 92 A

Hitlerism--A Loathsome Disease

By Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior

The text of an address delivered by Mr. Ickes before the Jewish National Fund Council of Boston. —THE EDITOR

In these days of brutal destruction, it is a relief to have the opportunity to appear before a group which has devoted itself wholeheartedly to the single objective of building up. The admirable work of the Jewish National Fund is not only a ray of light in the darkness of war, it is a symbol of that for which the civilized portion of mankind is fighting throughout the world.

Since the turn of the century, the Jewish National Fund has diligently purchased land in Palestine in order to help create a commonwealth there for Jews. Its work was favorably noticed long before the Balfour declaration, now more than 25 years old, and before the mandate which the Allies gave to Great Britain. The Jewish National Fund has an unequalled record in the type of pioneering in which it has been engaged. Its land redemption program, reclaiming arid and waste lands should rank it as one of the world's important conservation agencies. I think that what the Jewish pioneers have done in Palestine, in the face of great odds and persistent opposition, writes a record in the creative annals of mankind that will be read with admiration in years to come.

As you have learned from the trials and difficulties which have delayed your program, progress on the civilization front is difficult and slow. One of the greatest obstacles that civilized men have to confront is intolerance. The war in which we are now engaged has demonstrated that intolerance anywhere is like a rotten apple in a barrel of apples. Unless sorted out, it will contaminate and putrify all that it reaches. And in time it will reach all.

Intolerance, like other passions, is grounded both in the conscious and the subconscious. Economic, political and social ambitions, as well as jealousy, are the principal unworthy motives which actuate individuals and groups. These inner urges, when played upon, become dangerous when gathered into the hands of a cunning demagogue to use to deflect from their normal course a whole people and lead them, blindly, to their own self-destruction. Add to these powerful driving forces an element of delusion — a delusion such as that one people is preordained to be the Master Race — the "Herren-Volk" — and the poisonous mixture will corrode the texture of mind and of character. Its corruption will escape beyond the control of rational men. Then only a major surgical operation can cleanse the disease from the tissues — an operation that the Germans will have to undergo before they can be made healthy again.

If we are to make any progress at all, we must maintain our faith in the ultimate triumph of justice. We must continue to battle, not only against active enemies — the Nazis and their satellites — we must force ourselves forward despite setbacks and inertia. In such a noble work as that in which you are engaged there can and must be no interruption even while you are doing your own full part in the war that civilized men and waging in all parts of the globe in order to make secure the right to continue to be civilized.

We are now engaged all over the world in attacking and destroying prehistoric Nazism. The goal for which we are giving so many lives must always be kept before us. We are not fighting for territorial aggrandizement. We are not fighting to create a new empire. We are not fighting to rule other peoples. We are not fighting because we wish to impose upon other peoples our own form of government, though we believe that it might

be the best for all, as we are certain that it is the best for us.

We are fighting against a menace, a deadly menace that has already blighted millions of lives and that threatens further to destroy men and their rights and liberties, including the rights and liberties of the tragically betrayed and duped German people themselves. We are struggling to maintain, where it still exists, and to bring back where it has been destroyed that standard of decency which nations and peoples must have if they are not to be reduced to the level of animals. We have engaged in this war in the hope that when victory is achieved, our fighting men and women can lay down their arms and return once more to a well deserved peace within which all of us can enjoy economic, social and religious security.

Every man who carries a rifle, or mans a tank, or sails a ship, or flies a plane for us and the other United Nations — whether his name is Colin Kelly or Meyer Levin — is a living symbol of a unity that is cemented by the determination to recreate civilization into something finer and more enduring than the world has seen thus far.

It is not too early to begin to think about the peace and the kind of world that we are trying to build. Complicated problems will cry for solution. There will be pressing and urgent questions of food, of health, of housing, and of rehabilitation, both physical and spiritual. And always there will be the greater task of total reconstruction. This reconstruction must be fundamental upbuilding, not just tinkering. The damage already done to the souls of men is too profound to permit us to rely upon palliatives or mere haphazard repairs. We will require new plans; new ideas; new methods. We must begin to think realistically and bluntly, but unselfishly, too, or else all of the loss of life and labor will have been in vain. We must be alert to the dangers of smugness and inertia which may lead us and the world into another disastrous war. Mankind simply cannot afford another war. I am convinced that if we do not settle the issue once and for all — and I mean for all — our civilization will not survive. The best that we could hope for would be a rapid re-

gression to the dark ages from which the indestructible soul of man would have to start all over again the long and desperately tollful climb to the goal which man must reach or die.

One of the pressing post-war problems will be the rehabilitation of our smaller Allies and nationalities, from which our own Nation has drawn so much, is small groups and nationalities, from which our own Nation has drawn so much, is to be permitted to live their own lives, undisturbed by foreign aggression. As for the United States, it has no interest in minorities outside of its own borders, other than that of being a good neighbor, counsellor and friend. In the interest of justice and peace, we and our Allies will see to it that when this conflict is over the liberated peoples will no maltreat or mistreat the minorities within their borders. Nor, within our own land, will we fail to dwell in justice and in peace among ourselves.

Men grow only as they absorb the finer elements of their own and related cultures, and nations grow only as rapidly and as solidly as their people. A freer intermingling and cross-fertilization of philosophies and ideals needs to be engaged in after the peace, to the everlasting benefit of mankind. The first freedom, upon which all other freedoms are based, is freedom of thought.

Every nation, small or large, that cherishes the tradition of liberty, as well as every minority group within such a nation, has contributed and is contributing in the struggle against the maniacal Hitler and his trained brutes.

Warriors with a tradition of dearly prized freedom, American, British, French, Greek, Yugoslav — whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jew — are taking part in the present world-encircling struggle against the barbarism of the Axis powers, whose avowed aim it to enslave mankind. The chief Nazi gangster once said, "we or they" — the armed gang against the hosts of civilized men and women. And so, we the civilized world, will give him what he has asked for: death and internal infamy.

Hitler makes no distinction as to peoples or their creeds. He is the sworn enemy of all religions and of

all morality. In Norway the Lutheran faith is the objective of his destructive fury; in Czechoslovakia priests and clergymen have been imprisoned; in Poland the executioner has no down priests as well as rabbis and concentration camps have been their fill of churchmen of many faiths. Everywhere that they could reach with their long-range guns, the Nazis have demolished and destroyed the freedom of religion and, coincidentally, the freedoms of speech, of assembly and of press.

The Christian churches also know who is the real enemy of both man and God. They also not only pray, they fight the scourge of mankind.

It is a rule of life that the things worth having are the things worth fighting for. It seems to me that another lesson is that passivity beyond a certain point shades into deterioration, mainly because the rest of the world is moving on and the obnoxious weeds of life — bigotry, intolerance, cynicism, disbelief — grow to towering size and density and ultimately choke all that is good. Like any soil that is expected to produce, democracy and liberty need to be constantly tended, pruned, watered and fertilized if they are to function properly. Freedom is a gift that has to be earned, and earned over and over again. The keen edge of our fighting faith must be kept keen by constant watering.

In default of the watchfulness required to cultivate the garden of freedom, we carelessly permitted the savage weeds of Nazism to choke it and to cover it with litter and dank darkness. It will take years of blood and sweat to redeem our disastrous neglect.

No criminal — not even such a one as Hitler — could undertake to commit his hellish offenses against civilization without some actual or carefully built up self-justification. He could not have hoped to secure a following for his ghastly undertakings without providing a scapegoat, not only for himself, but for those whom he might be able to entice to his banner. There was nothing novel in Hitler's idea that the Jews, who had been persecuted during the dark ages, could again be caused to serve the ancient role of scapegoat — a role that all civilized human beings had hopefully assumed had become a merely of familiar history that had best be forgotten. And so he whipped up hate against the Jews, his own hate and that of his nethermen — nethermen devoid of heart, of mind, of human decency.

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THIS WEEK'S COVER

"America Is At War"

Credit for this cover is due to Loyalty Posters, San Francisco, California. The title, "America Is At War," was selected, because factually, America has been at war since 1776, and is now at war, to protect, preserve and perpetuate those Four Freedoms without which Americanism cannot survive.

The original picture, which emphasizes the Four Freedoms, measures 24 x 29 inches and is in eight colors. It is a beautiful piece of work and reproductions of it in the original size and colors may be obtained for one dollar each at the Jewish Criterion office, 441 Oliver Building.

Rankin Receives Verbal Lacing From Celler

WASHINGTON — During the debate on the war security bill, in which Rep. John Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, paused to take issue with Rep. Emanuel Celler, whom he characterized as "the Jewish gentleman from New York," Rep. Celler refused to allow the Mississippian to have the last word.

Declaring that Rankin had only spatattered himself by his language, Rep. Celler declared: "He singles me out in a way that shows his distorted point of view, his intolerance, his malice. He brands himself as an American . . . His cruel and menacing observations are all the more tragic in the light of what is happening to the Jews in Axis-controlled countries . . . Two million have already perished, four million await death in slavery worse than death . . . I have heard a word of pity, of protest or protest from the gentleman from Mississippi, but not in his

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Greetings to Our Friends and Patrons

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When Freedom Comes

(Continued from Page Four)

ate rest, and rely on a purely "philanthropic" appeal, we shall lose our case. Palestine has already taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs, and their sympathizers elsewhere, have already declared that from a humanitarian standpoint Palestine has already done all that can be expected of a small country, and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration, and the Mandatory Government, in pursuance of this fact and in recognition of "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and the mandate "to reconstitute their national home" there had undertaken, by solemn pledges, "to facilitate Jewish immigration" into that country and the "close settlement by Jews on that land."

The third task which will face Jewish leadership in America is not the least important. It is to vitalize the spiritual life of our people and to strengthen and expand all institutions of religion, learning and scholarship. The American Jewish community is now the largest in the world — the largest in all our history. Great religious and cultural centers of our people in the Old World have been destroyed. The New World must now take their place. American Jewry, together with Palestine, must now become the *Jabneh* of the new day, Jewish cultural survival, on a scale worthy of our heroic past, now de-

pends upon what the Jews in this country and in Palestine will do. The center of our interests must shift from our over-emphasis upon the purely eleemosynary and philanthropic activities in our communities — orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged — to the cultural, educational and spiritual. The religious life of our peoples in this country has been languishing. Our young people are not experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives, nor are their parents. Army experience has revealed that young people, Jews included, want religion and stand in need of it. In peacetime they had been given substitutes. The lay-leaders of Jewish communities of America, and those prominent in the councils of our national organizations, seldom if ever, enter a synagogue. They set the tone for the rest of the people. The last decade or two have channeled the energies and interests of many Jews into campaign activities for overseas relief, refugee service, Palestine, and civic protective causes with the result that our synagogues and religious organizations have been denied their energetic interest, guidance and support.

American Jewry cannot survive on philanthropy alone nor on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and intellectual life must be nourished. Definitely there is the possibility of achieving on the gracious shores of this free and blessed land, a Golden Age comparable to the best in our past, provided we plan intelligently on the basis of a total program, which experience has taught us will alone preserve us in worth and in dignity in the future.

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That Man Moses

By Martin Panzer

"Listen, Abe, I tell you that man Moses is conniving to take over the whole works. He's a dictator at heart and all that liberalism talk is a demagogic smokescreen to cover up." Ben spoke out of the side of his mouth in the dark of that fateful night.

"Oh, I don't know," protested Abe in a whisper "After all, we've had a pretty tough time of it under the Egyptians. I think that folks like us are entitled to three or four basic freedoms, and among the most important are freedom of expression and freedom from fear. And if this Moses guy can throw in a bit of freedom from want and such, maybe we ought to give him a crack at it."

"Nuts," said Ben, "you talk like a left-wing Utopian. If a guy really has some common sense in his head he can do business with the Egyptians. So what if they do knock off one or two of our people now and then? They never bother the guys who are willing to play ball. No, sir, I think this whole business of escaping is the dumbest thing we could possibly do. How the devil does that guy think we'll get away with it?"

"You've got to have a little faith," said Abe. But he was wavering and Ben followed up his advantage. He felt safe enough now to draw one or two of the other huddled figures into the conversation.

"Look, fellers," said Ben, "are we going to be total saps? Are we going to let that man Moses take away all our individualism and initiative and follow his crackpot ideas blindly?"

"Well," interposed one of the others, "We didn't do so bad w/ Moses when them damned plagues was knockin' out the Egyptians' flies."

"Luck, just luck," said Ben. "O' blood happens to be different; maybe we're immune to those particular germs. So that guy Mos plays politics with the plagues & becomes the big shot. Gee, you gu are dumb."

"Well, what do you think we ought to do?" asked a woman, keeping her voice as low as the others.

"Do!" said Ben. "I'll tell you what I'd like to do. I'd like to tell the man Moses just where he gets it. My idea is to put this whole escape business to a vote. Anyone can see we can't get away with it. We're not prepared and those Egyptians have chariots that'll catch up w/ us in no time as soon as they blow wind we've flown the coop."

By this time the dissatisfaction and fears voiced by Ben had been carried, grapevine fashion, to the furthestmost fringes of the mob throng. The whispering and babbling grew louder and louder and soon the noise aroused the anxiety of Moses.

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dishes, dish mops and proceed with the washing being sure all dishes are clean to the sight and touch.

The second tub is filled about three-quarters full of water, also at 125° F. Dishes are dipped in this to remove the soft, dirty water. This rinse water should be changed often. Several investigators have found that dishes had a higher bacterial count after rinsing but before, due to dirty rinse water.

The third tub, also three-quarters full of hot water is kept on a hot plate. The water at all times is very near the boiling point and under no circumstances less than 170° F., preferably 180° F.

Remove the dishes from the rinse water in the second tub and place in a wire rack that will fit into the third tub. If wire racks are not available, ordinary galvanized pails may be fastened so the hot water will readily run out of them; the handles on such pails are very convenient, too. Place cups and bowls in the wire rack or pail in such a way that the water will readily run out of them when the rack is dipped into, and removed from, the third tub of very hot water. Completely inverting the cups and bowls solves this problem although they may be placed sideways.

Place the dishes now in the wire rack, into the still bath of clean—almost boiling—water in the third tub. Leave them there for at least three minutes while another rack is being filled. Then remove the first rack and insert the second and so on until all dishes are done. Water for this process must be kept clear and clean.

If this process has been properly carried out the glasses, silver and dishes will have been washed clean enough and have been subjected to sufficient heat in the third tub to obviate the necessity of wiping. They will dry when drained without wiping and dish towels should never need to be used. Dishes treated in this manner will have a very low bacteria count. Incidentally swab tests, by sanitarians, are used to check the advantages of the various methods of dishwashing.

After dishes are clean keep them that way. Don't allow food workers to put their hands on the tines of forks or into the bowls of spoons. Avoid handling drinking glasses and cups by their rims. Food workers need to keep their hands out of their mouths, noses, hair and off any other part of the body when on duty. Before beginning work with food, persons should scrub their hands and fingernails. If a person leaves the room for any purpose hands should, as a matter of proper routine, again

be washed with soap and water and dried with an individual towel before resuming work.

As a safety factor, as well as to gain the cooperation of groups whose education and experience have given them information on the problems of mass feeding, it is a good idea to invite your health officer, a doctor, a home economics teacher, and the manager of one or two of the cleanest restaurants in town to visit your church kitchen.

Ask them for their suggestions and advice. Perhaps the local health officer will notice that the ice being used is not from an approved source and is not being handled in a way that will prevent contamination of foods. The doctor might suggest that all custard-filled pastries such as cream puffs and cream pies be excluded from the menu, especially in warm weather. From the home economics teacher might come the suggestion that even cooked meats, such as baked or boiled ham, to be safe food, should be constantly refrigerated at 50° F., or below, except when being prepared or served. The restaurant manager can give many suggestions for speeding up the food preparation.

Under certain conditions, instead of that willing "Yes, I'll be glad to help," you should say "No" very firmly and stick to your decision. In the interest of safeguarding public health, you should not report for work at the church supper, nor for canteen duty, nor even send sandwiches to a picnic under these circumstances: If you have a cold, or a sore throat, or have any reason to believe you have a communicable disease or have recently been exposed to a communicable disease; if any member of your family household has a cold, sore throat, any communicable disease, or has recently been exposed to such a disease; or if you have a skin infection, boil or any kind of a wound or sore on your fingers, hands or lower arms or face.

Do these rules seem a bit severe? Then remember that the chief responsibilities of food establishments are to prepare the food properly and serve the customers safely. If this were done in all instances, the spread of communicable diseases through food handling would be negligible. Here handling would be negligible. Here is a partial list of diseases that may be transmitted in food handling establishments—pneumonia, scarlet fever, septic sore throat, food infection, botulism, diphtheria, paratyphoid fever, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, typhus fever, colitis, undulant fever, trench mouth, whooping cough, syphilis, common colds, in-

fluenza, mumps, measles, amoebic dysentery.

Will you the volunteer chairman for soliciting help in some type of community food preparation? Then it is your obligation to have this definite understanding with all your helpers: No worker is permitted to report for kitchen or serving duty unless she meets all the health qualifications set up with your group. A food handler should be strong, clean and in good health. A tactful, impersonal discussion of the seriousness of such things as sores on hands and face and forearms, sore throat, may keep from hurting someone's feelings; she will know ahead of time some of the conditions under which she should not report for work, thus avoiding the embarrassment of being sent off duty. Hurt feelings, however, should never be permitted to interfere with carrying out the necessary precautions for group feeding. Tears, from hurt feelings, are much to be preferred to bodies racked by painful diseases acquired through the carelessness or ignorance of food handlers.

Any volunteer in charge of emergency feeding should consider every person handling food a potential source of danger. Many people carry unrecognized cases of disease in their bodies and can easily transmit them to others. It is probably impractical to require each volunteer food handler to take a physical examination such as restaurant workers in most states are required to undergo. In many states the State Department of Health keeps lists of all persons known to be typhoid carriers, for instance. The chairman of volunteer food service would be wise to submit the name and address of each of her volunteer food handlers to the State Health Department in her district. Never forget that professional information thus secured is not, under any circumstances, to be repeated as neighborhood gossip. It is confidential and should be kept so.

The local health officer will ordinarily be glad to personally explain the situation to any volunteer who should be excluded from food handling, thus relieving the volunteer chairman of an embarrassing duty. Otherwise it is a good plan to lay the whole situation before a doctor known for his civic-mindedness and good sense. By whatever means a known disease carrier is excluded, the important point to remember is that she should never be permitted to work as a food handler regardless of her feelings, her skill, her social position, or her ardent desire to help.

THERE is far too much emphasis placed today on minorities in the United States. Unconsciously we are helping to re-create here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard America has always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we were concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. Here we spoke of the inalienable rights of all men, regardless of race, creed and color. Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his worth, character and achievement and

in our country and in the world in recent years? What happened? The answer is not far to seek. The tide rose because there were powerful agencies which were intent upon making it rise. Of these, the most powerful agency in the world today is the Nazi regime in Germany. It has fed race hatred throughout the world ever since it came into power.

In the hands of the Nazis, racism has also become a major technique of imperial expansionism. By means of it they hope to create a mood of crisis, and conflict within those countries which they have marked out for conquest, and

finally reached our shores. The Nazi government stimulated and directed it here as it did in other parts of the world. Nazi agents before the war were actively disseminating it here and native Americans of Nazi sympathies were their eager co-workers. Thus, what had been, up to recently, only a sporadic phenomenon has been turned into a movement, which is directed from abroad and supported by reactionaries at home. The war has put the brakes on it. Its active agents are in jail or under cover.

Reactionaries are everywhere eager to associate the Jew with all the political and economic measures which they dislike, whether it be the New Deal, labor legislation, social security, the C.I.O., socialism or communism. The equation Jew = communism, or communism = Jew, served the purpose of the Nazis in Germany most admirably. By means of it they destroyed the German Republic. After the Stalin-Hitler pact, they abandoned it, for it was no longer good policy to attack communism. Hitler accordingly ceased to denounce Jewish Bolshevism. He found it expedient to denounce democratic plutocracy. And in democratic plutocracy Hitler again found the ever-present and accommodating Jew. After Hitler broke his pact with Stalin he resurrected the Jew = communism line, and his propaganda since has again been frothing about Jewish bolshevism.

Why did the Nazis in the earlier stages identify communism with the Jew? To be sure there were Jews among the Communists in Germany and in Russia. Some of them were in prominent positions. They were not nearly as numerous as the Nazi propagandists would have one believe, and one must not forget that there were Jews in large numbers and in prominent positions in all the anti-Bolshevist parties in Germany and in Russia. Why then did the Nazis identify all Jews with communism, and all communism with the Jew? For the same reason that sixty years prior to their time, Bismarck had identified all the liberal movements of his day with the Jews. For the same reason that the Dominicans and the defenders of the crumbling scholasticism attempted to discredit humanism and the New Learning in pre-Reformation Germany by branding them as Jewish, and by inaugurating bitter attacks upon the Jews and their literature. The conspiracy the brilliant authors of *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* cunningly exposed.

The guiding principle is always the same: inordinate a cause by tagging on to it an unattractive label! It is very

FREEDOM FOR ALL

OR

FREEDOM FOR NONE

not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. Those we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

However we did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the Negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from minority discrimination as the minority itself.

Anti-Semitism may be creating another of these terribly difficult minority problems in America. Why did the tide of racism and anti-Semitism rise

so to undermine their powers of resistance. By disrupting the internal spiritual unity of a nation they prepare it for easier subjugation. Anti-Semitism has thus become part of the strategy of total war.

UNTIL recent years, the problem of anti-Semitism was not a serious one in the United States. Some religious or racial prejudice always existed and it was characterized by local fluctuations of varied intensity, but it was never serious enough to disturb the life of the nation, and to arouse national apprehensions. That it has become serious in recent years is due not to the fact that the people of the United States have suddenly come to a realization that the Jews of America constitute a menace. It is due solely to the fact that the ever-widening circles of politically-motivated anti-Jewish propaganda, originating in Nazi Germany, have

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

serviceable to pin an existing historic prejudice on your opponent. By branding your opponent's cause as Jewish, you give it an unpopular and suspect origin. It looms up as something alien. You are saved the trouble of refuting your opponent's position logically. You score an initial victory of great moment. Bismarck, after he turned reactionary, attacked liberalism by identifying it with the Jews and stimulated a powerful anti-Semitic movement in Germany which produced a voluminous anti-Semitic literature from which the later Nazis borrowed extensively.

IN postwar Germany there were millions of men whose conditions were intolerable, and who were turning to socialism and communism. In the last free elections in Germany there were over seven million votes cast for the socialist ticket, and some six million for the communist ticket. The problem which confronted the frightened industrial, military and Junker classes of Germany was how to check this stampede toward radicalism, and how to deflect the resentment of the masses away from themselves. The problem, too, was how to assuage the sense of national hurt and humiliation induced by the defeat in the war. Where could they find a visible scapegoat upon whose back all the sins, failures and miseries of the German nation could be put? Such a scapegoat was not difficult to find. A small, defenseless minority, the Jews, against whom there already existed a none-too-latent historic prejudice was fortunately available. From there on it was simple.

It was the Jews who stabbed Germany in the back! The German army was never really defeated! Why did the Jews stab Germany in the back? Because the Jews wish to dominate the world, to destroy the Christian nations, and upon their ruins to raise themselves to world dominion. But where is the proof? Why, it is here, in a book—*The Elders of Zion!* This book reveals the whole plot. That the book is an acknowledged forgery does not matter. If a lie serves a useful purpose, it must be regarded as truth. This book was circulated by the millions of copies in Germany in the years following the World War. How does the Jew go about destroying one Christian country after another? He has a very cunning way of doing it. He adopts two seemingly contradictory devices. One is capitalism and the other is communism. These are the converging pincers in the Jew's grand strategy. The capitalism against which you, Christian workmen and middle-class folks of Ger-

By Rabbi Hillel Silver

Excerpts from an address to the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of Churches

many just complain, is not the true capitalism. There are two kinds of capitalism: the good, creative, Christian capitalism, and the bad, destructive Jewish capitalism. What you should attack, is not the good Christian capitalism, but the bad Jewish capitalism. Also, there is a good socialism and a bad socialism. When you vote for the Social Democrats you are voting for the bad, international, Jewish socialism which is anti-German and unpatriotic. So are your labor unions bad, because they are dominated by Jews, and so is your liberal press which is controlled by Jews. The only good socialism is national socialism.

In this way the economic struggle was deftly transferred to another terrain. The struggle was no longer one between progress and reaction, between liberalism and feudalism. The struggle was now between the embattled Aryan and the menacing Jew, between patriotism and alienism, between Berlin and Jerusalem. . . .

This propaganda, intense and skillful, and heavily financed by great industrialists—some of whom have since been disillusioned—went on for years, and it succeeded in undermining the peoples' faith in democracy and liberalism. Anti-Semitism was thus exploited, in a political and economic struggle, to defeat progress and to save reaction.

MINORITIES have been used for such purposes throughout the ages. The great Church Father Tertullian, recalls the experiences of the Christian minority in ancient Rome: "If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded: 'Throw the Christians to the lions!'"

Unless these classic tactics are firmly grasped, Americans will not appreciate what is behind the anti-Semitic movement in the United States, which, at least up to the time of our entry into the war, had made grave inroads in our national life.

Anti-Semitism today is a powerful, perhaps the most powerful weapon in

the hands of economic reaction. It has been and will be increasingly used by all its unscrupulous lackies and henchmen. It has become an accepted technique.

Anti-Semitism before the war was stimulated in the United States in order to confound our national life, and disrupt its unity. It was to pave the way for an ultimate fascist triumph in the United States. The propaganda device was quite simple: Proclaim from the house-tops—"The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!" You are being betrayed! The American people are being sold down the river! The international bankers—and by now, of course, this term has been made synonymous with Jewish bankers, for Christian international bankers have somehow disappeared—are driving Americans into war, hoping to profit from the sale of armaments and munitions, and hoping also to avenge themselves on their enemies, the Nazis. The Jews are betraying the United States. The Jews were responsible for the last depression and for all past and present economic ills. You, the American people, are not being told the truth, because your press is controlled by the Jews. So are your movies and your radio. Your government cannot help you because your government, too, is in the hands of Jews, from the President down. . . . The machinery of democracy is no longer capable of saving the American people. If you wish to be saved you must yield all power, temporarily, of course, to us, your saviours, who will rescue you from this dire plot. When the job is done, all your liberties will, of course, be restored to you, and you will live happily ever after. . . ." The same tactics which put the Nazis into power in Germany was being employed in this country on an increasingly large scale. And there are Thyssens here in the United States as there were in Germany who, rather than see their economic privileges undermined, would welcome the destruction of our free democratic institutions.

Anti-Semitism is today no longer the slightly embarrassing thing that it was in the past—something to be counteracted by easy-going, good-will movements. It is a far more sinister thing.

It is a powerful and dangerously imminent threat to American democracy. It is the same sinister force which destroyed one free country after another in Europe. Wherever fascism is on the march, anti-Semitism is its vanguard. The shock troops of fascism are always anti-Semites. By that sign ye shall know them!

Believe me, when I speak of anti-Semitism to you, I do so not only because I am a Rabbi and wish to defend my people. This would be quite natural, especially in this most tragic hour for my people in Europe when they are being subjected to ruthless persecution. After all we are an old people and we have experienced persecution from the days of Pharaoh in Egypt, four thousand years ago, to the present. We have survived. Somehow we have a strategy for survival, and our faith in God, who was with our fathers through the long weary centuries and who sleepeth not nor slumbereth today, sustains us in this dark hour with the hope that we will come through the vast tribulations of the present. I speak of anti-Semitism because it is a threat to all human liberties. It is the most successful weapon in the hands of all the privileged classes of the world who seek to destroy the freedom of men and check for all time their progress to a fuller enjoyment and a fairer sharing of the social goods.

WHAT then can be done to counteract this threat? There still remains, of course, the old fashioned but very dependable method of democratic education. Education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. Courses in the detection of, and the prophylaxis against false propaganda of all kinds, and particularly race propaganda, should be introduced into the curricula of all of our high schools and colleges. Our people should be made aware of the methods which are being employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonisms are aroused and exploited in order to divide a people, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to aggression. We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as in unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and

especially our youth, in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of the democratic way of life.

Propaganda, ever since the last World War, has developed into a new science, a voodoo science, if you will, but still a science. It is no longer left to chance. It has been very carefully elaborated, and those who wish to employ it for their special interests know exactly how to compound the ingredients of that intoxicating cup by which the masses are made drunk and inflamed so as to be the more easily pushed in the direction in which the interested parties want them to move. "The driving power of great social change," declared Hitler, "is not insight but hysteria." If you wish to bring about a social revolution, do not rely upon the slow processes of education and evolution. Rely upon hysteria! Inflame the passions of people, arouse them to a high pitch of passion, fear, or anger, and then you can do with them whatever you wish. By the time they recover from the fumes of your propaganda, they will be faced by your machine guns, if you are clever. . . .

Illiteracy and ignorance used to be the greatest foes of human progress. They are no longer. Mankind has found ways of stamping out illiteracy in very quick order. The real foe of human progress today is the far more subtle and insidious one called propaganda, which employs a false literacy, and a venal and corrupt educational process as an important part of its technique. The mind of man is not kept uninformed but misinformed.

Democracy, generally, should cease to be naive, trusting, and doctrinaire. The forces hostile to our way of life and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very apparatus of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government.

Laws should be enacted—if they do not already exist—against the public villification of any race or religion and the incitement of people against any race or religion. The most virile and business-like democracy of all—Switzerland—has had such laws for some time. France found it necessary to

enact them, but, unfortunately, too late!

Increased opportunities for contact between all racial and religious groups in America for the discussion of their common problems, and for a survey of all areas of friction are highly desirable. It is a sure way to "plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America"—Walt Whitman's dream.

The times call for frank and honest self-criticism on the part of all, Jew and non-Jew alike, and particularly on the part of those who constitute the majority; for after all, the solution of anti-Semitism lies with them.

THERE was a race problem in the United States long before the Nazis kindled the Jewish race problem. There was a Negro problem, American-made—not imported. To this day millions of citizens of the United States live and are tolerated only as members of an inferior race. They are segregated in many parts of this country, as to schools, churches, residential districts, hospitals, travel, and places of amusement. Millions of these fellow citizens are economically handicapped because of race. They find it hard to get employment in skilled trades. By and large, they are restricted to the lower strata of our industrial life, to jobs which the white man does not want. In many instances they are denied the right to equal wages for equal work. In some parts of the country, and not merely in the South, they are denied the right to join labor unions. They are curbed in the exercise of their franchise as regards voting and holding office. They are denied equal opportunities in education. There are few recreational facilities available for their young people. Many of them are herded into miserable slums, and these slums are not restricted to the South. Since 1915 more than one million Negroes migrated to the North and their living conditions are at least fifty per cent below the minimum standard of decent human habitations. They are subjected sporadically to mob violence and to lynching. A Federal law intended to curb such violence was filibustered in the Senate of the United States as recently as two years ago for forty-seven days, and a similar filibuster was recently successfully employed against repeal of the poll tax. As a result this race, which given opportunities has evidenced remarkable gifts in many fields, is disproportionately subjected to poverty, ignorance, disease and vice.

Here is a native American race problem
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following illustration here. A man recently lost his little son, and after the funeral service, he spoke to the minister who had conducted it. "Thank you," he said, "for the Scripture passages you read. They helped me more than anything anyone has said or done since my son died."

We are hearing more and more these days of people, who in danger or peril, turn to the Bible. Recall the editorial "Religion on a Raft" in the April HIGHROAD. A soldier stationed in Africa wrote home to his mother some months before Christmas, "Please don't bother to send me a lot of presents and food for Christmas. Just send me a Bible. It's the only Christmas present I really want or need."

BIBLE READINGS

Leader: We are all subject to the mood of being sad and miserable and lonely. We are all familiar with that let-down feeling when it seems we are not loved or wanted; when everything goes wrong, and there seems to be nowhere to turn for guidance or help. The next time you feel that way, open your Bible and read this psalm for your comfort.

Bible Reading: The Twenty-third Psalm.

Leader: Have you ever felt that you couldn't escape your conscience? That no matter how you tried to forget God, or evade him, he was always seeking you, trying to get through to you? That some inner voice kept calling you back to a higher good even when you wanted to go another way? The poet Francis Thompson felt this when he wrote his beautiful poem, "The Hound of Heaven," in which he speaks of God pursuing him through the nights and days. I think Thompson must have been reading the following psalm.

Bible Reading: Psalm 139.

Leader: Some of us already know what it is to lose a friend or loved one, to come face to face with the inescapable fact of death. How comforting it is, at such times, to read the gentle words of Jesus!

Bible Reading: John 14:1-6.

Leader: It's not always easy to know how to be good. We want to dedicate ourselves to something fine. We want a way of life that is challenging. We want a goad to action, an inspiration to better living. But what shall be the pattern of our conduct? St. Paul tells us what to do.

Bible Reading: Twelfth Chapter of Romans.

Leader: Sometimes we are in a mystic mood. We want to find God, to commune with him. We want to feel ourselves part of the mystery of life. We want to establish contact with the Infinite. We think of the voice of God speaking to the boy Samuel in the quietness of the night. We want to hush our souls and hear a voice saying to us, "Be still and know that I am

God." In the mystic early morning, or in the wistfulness of twilight, we think of Jesus going alone into the hills to have fellowship with God. The prophet Isaiah put this feeling into words for us, centuries ago.

Bible Reading: Isaiah 55:6-9.

Leader: Have you ever felt that it was just a joy to be alive, that you were so full of the goodness of life that you could hardly contain yourself? There are such moments when we forget all our troubles and our complaints, and suddenly realize how fortunate and how blessed we are. It is then that our hearts are filled with songs of thanksgiving and praise because God has been so good to us.

Bible Reading: Psalm 103.

Leader: Everybody makes mistakes. We wouldn't be human if we didn't. And lots of time, especially when we are young, we feel that our mistakes are irreparable, that they have wrecked our lives. Can we rise above our errors and not let them ruin things for us? Can past mistakes be wiped out, and can we have a new start? Jesus tells us what God is like when he gives us the picture of the father of the prodigal son. Just like a loving human father, God is willing to forget the past and to give us another chance whenever we are truly sorry for that past and ready to try again.

Bible Reading: Luke 15:11-21.

Leader: Sometimes it's pretty discouraging to see how good people suffer. We begin to wonder if it's worth while. Perhaps the boy who cheats at school gets better grades than the one who's honest. The town bully beats up the gentle boy who hates fighting. Perhaps the girl who's gossipy and catty seems to be more popular and get more invitations than one who's more trustworthy. Hitler invades Holland and gets away with it. The strong oppress the weak, the unscrupulous cheat the honest, and seem to prosper. Truth is forever on the scaffold, wrong is forever on the throne. Is there any security in being good? Have we any assurance that God will protect us and care for us, that he is really "standing in the shadows, keeping watch above his own"? How we need to know that those who fear God will find refuge and safety in him! How we need to be told that being good really pays in the long run!

Bible reading: Psalm 91.

(*Note to leader:* Modify these Bible readings in any way you think desirable. If the selected psalms are too long for your purposes, use only those portions in them which are especially appropriate. Make any additions that you think best, or substitute other passages for those mentioned here.

Hymn: "Sweet Hour of Prayer."

Closing Prayer.

Benediction.

HELEN SMART REWIS

FREEDOM FOR ALL OR FREEDOM FOR NONE

[Continued from page 29]

lem, the kind of problem which the Nazis have only recently begun to create in Germany. And this problem is allowed to exist within the framework of democracy. Here is a test of our sincerity. We all recognize that this problem is a hard, insiduous, and time-encrusted one. But it is not an insoluble one. With the right kind of attitudes on the part of the white man a solution can be approximated—given patience, courage and vision on both sides. What the problem calls for above all else is a resolute will to be fair and just, and a determination to attempt to solve it not in the gross but in the detail, not in the abstract but in the concrete.

The Oriental Exclusion Act is another instance of race discrimination allowed to exist within the framework of our democratic America. The Chinese are our gallant Allies in this war for human liberty, and yet no Chinese can become a citizen of the United States.

WHAT is needed most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice, which will disfigure our common life, is to discipline ourselves to treat men as *individuals*. It is not an easy thing to do, but we are not concerned here with easy problems or with easy solutions. The chief characteristic of the democratic dogma is the concept of the free human being and his inalienable private rights. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but within the framework of an associated life in relation to the group to which they belonged—noblesman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchy, a feudal arrangement of social life. It was from a long experience with that kind of social organization that we have carried over the practice of judging men collectively, within fixed molds. Democracy re-discovered the human being, the individual who derived from his Creator—not from society or from his class—certain fundamental rights which were inalienable. He is entrenched in his own rights. He is to be judged on the basis of his own worth, merit, and ability. He is not to be handicapped or advantaged by any fortuitous circumstance of class, creed, or color. The very genius of democracy is to treat man on the basis of his inherent humanity and his inalienable human rights.

HIGHROAD

general theme for the program well in mind and, when necessary some informational or interpretative comment should be given.

Be sure to mention using the Bible in discussion groups. This use of the Bible is more rare than the others, and not quite as easy, so perhaps you will want to give it a little extra attention. Ask your young folks if they think the Bible can be used helpfully in discussion groups, or open forums, or informal "bull sessions." Does it give us the answers to the things we argue about and wonder about and puzzle our brains about? I think it does, if we know how to look for the answers. Of course even Jesus' teachings do not always give an easy answer to our problems, but they do give us insights and principles to guide us. They do lead us in the right direction. For instance, Jesus never said anything about how we should treat Negroes, but he gave us the story of the Good Samaritan which leaves us in no doubt about where he would stand on the subject of race relations. He did not put his approval on any economic system, but he had a lot to say about the basic greed and love for money that underlie many such systems. He told us the story of Dives and Lazarus, and of the rich young ruler. He talked about it being harder for a rich man to enter heaven than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, and if we were having a discussion about economics, we would have a pretty good idea about what Jesus thought the place of money should be in the scheme of things.

He did not select a church for us to join, or tell us how many religious services we should attend. But if we're talking about what sort of people we should be to be religious, we have the parable of the Pharisee and the publican. We are told that it's not enough to worship at the church altar unless we have been first reconciled to our brother. We find a lot, for instance, in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew about hypocritical religion, the sort that prompts folks to go to church and sing in the choir yet never bother about the inner condition of their hearts or their relations with their neighbors.

Jesus never told us to give to charities, or to the church, or to war relief, but if you're talking that over, and want to know what he would think, look up what he had to say about clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry, and curing the sick.

He never talked about the problems of agriculture and industry, but if you're talking about that, and want to know how Jesus would stand, remember that he thought men should first serve humanity, and not just make money. According to his standards, a shoe factory, for instance, would only be successful when it was adequately supplying folks with the right sort of shoes, and not just when it was paying

good dividends to its stockholders and high wages to its labor.

Jesus never talked about democracy, or any forms of government, but we know how he treated outcasts and publicans. We know his estimate of human life and personality, and we know that only a government which allows for certain rights and demands certain duties of everyone would be acceptable to him.

If we will grasp the fundamentals

3. JUNE 27: USING MY BIBLE

Prelude: Instrumental Music.

Hymn: "Mid All the Traffic of the Ways," No. 341, *The Methodist Hymnal*.

Scripture Reading: I Timothy 4: 6-16.

Note to Leader: This evening's program is designed to guide your young people in using the Bible for their private devotions. Our aim is to interest them in the idea of using the Bible for personal worship by giving them a few suggestions about how it can be done most effectively. The source material for this program contains suggestions for many different Biblical passages which are appropriate for different occasions and different moods. You will probably want to appoint different members of your group to read these various selections. Notify them ahead of time and ask each one to read over his passage until he is familiar with it, and can read it smoothly and with expression. The leader can, in each instance, say the few introductory words of explanation about the selection that is to be read, or, if you prefer, that can be done each time by the reader himself.

Make this a real worship service, and use a background that will create a reverent, worshipful atmosphere. You can make an attractive altar at the front of the room by laying an open Bible on a table, and flanking it on either side with a lighted candle. If possible, hang a picture of Christ, or a cross, on the wall behind. A background of music will help, too, in creating the desired atmosphere. Why not have your pianist play hymns softly during each Bible reading? Do not feel yourself limited to just the selections mentioned here. Include any of your favorite passages, or any that you think would be especially appealing to your group.

MY BIBLE AND I

Open up the subject by describing how useful the Bible can be for personal worship. It is not only helpful in worship services, or discussion groups, or Bible study classes. Perhaps its greatest contribution is in the field of one's own individual religious life. It is the most perfect manual for private devotions ever written. It

that lie behind what Jesus says to us, then we can apply them to our modern problems. We can get an idea of how Jesus would want us to behave in all our relationships—in home, in church, in school, in community, in the state. Let him lead your discussion group!

Hymn: "Spirit of God, Descend Upon My Heart," No. 179, *The Methodist Hymnal*.

Benediction.

HELEN SMART REBE

meets us at all the different levels of our needs. It speaks to us in every mood. It has a message for us, no matter how we feel or what we are thinking or what has happened to us.

Ask your young people what method they use in reading their Bibles. Do they read at random, without taking the time and thought to choose those passages which will fit their mood or give them help for their particular problems? Is their Bible reading limited to reading a few verses before they tumble into bed at night, too tired, or too preoccupied to appreciate what they are reading? Perhaps some of them make a practice of reading a chapter each day—or night—regardless of whether that chapter has any particular message for them, regardless of whether it is long or short, regardless of whether it is a unit in itself. Of course this method has a certain advantage because it teaches us regularity in our Bible reading. But on the other hand, it is often just a matter of routine, and gives us no real spiritual benefit.

Suggest that the better way is to choose those passages which are appropriate to the situation in which we find ourselves. A young girl recently opened her Bible and settled down to read. "What are you reading?" asked a friend. "Job," she answered. Job? that seemed a queer choice. Why not a psalm, or some of the more familiar passages of the New Testament? Her friend asked what had prompted that particular choice. "Job has a message for me," the girl answered. "I've had an awful lot of trouble lately, more than I feel that I can stand sometimes. I've even found myself wondering why God should pick on me. Now Job was a man that had trouble, too, more trouble than I'll ever know. Yet he knew how to take it. He never lost his faith. So it helps me to read about him. It makes me realize that other people have more to bear than I, yet don't lose their way. It helps me to hold on to my faith."

Ask if anyone in your group can think of instances in which the Bible has ministered to someone's needs, has met them right at the level of their experiences. Maybe you can use the

New Palestine June 9, 1944

How Do We Stand?

WORLD events will be moving fast in the months which lie ahead. Devastative military engagements will be bringing the European war to its long-awaited climax. These will create, in turn, conditions which will make it impossible to defer much longer the crystallization of the decisions affecting the political and geographical outlines of the postwar world, Palestine included.

The sands of London's and Washington's policy to postpone decisions concerning the future of Palestine until the successful conclusion of the European war are running out. It will be enough that the goal should be in sight. It need not be actually in hand. More than one international problem will be decided, say is being decided, long before the actual date of Germany's surrender, and decisions will be made regardless of objections from one or another quarter. Considerations of larger justice will prevail.

By the same criteria, the future of Palestine is on the agenda of the United Nations. More specifically, Great Britain and the United States will cast the die. It is not likely that in a situation where its own interests are not of primary importance, Soviet Russia will demur from any policy which will be projected by its two major allies.

The question which is becoming ever more pressing is, therefore, "How do matters stand in London and Washington with regard to Palestine?"

Since the deferment of the Palestine Resolution in Congress at the instance of the War Department, an unwarranted wave of pessimism has come over some Jewish circles. The pendulum has swung completely away from the mood of high optimism which was prevalent in January and February. The subsequent interpolation of discussions regarding the "oil deal" with Ibn Saud had the effect upon not a few, of complicating the prospects and dimming the hopes for a Jewish Palestine.

How do we stand?

We are informed on reliable authority that whatever may be the outcome of the

discussions regarding oil in the Middle East, it will not be at the expense of Jewish interests. Such assurances are not to be taken as an anodyne. The developments of this complicated project which in and for itself is fraught with delicate problems and with numerous difficulties quite apart from the Jewish angle, will have to be watched vigilantly. Yet it is well that the concern of American Jewry with these developments has been brought to the attention of government circles, has been noted and has been met with an "a priori" reassurance.

There is something of more positive value to convey. While the immediate policy of the Colonial Office with regard to Jewish immigration into Palestine gives no indication of the reported willingness of His Majesty's Government to permit refugees to enter even beyond the White Paper quota, and while the White Paper itself has not been abrogated, though in effect it has been attenuated, the longer range prospects are brighter than they have been.

Every sounding which has been made in recent weeks indicates that we have not been relegated to the limbo of "the forgotten people". While there are no official revelations, there are impressions derived from various sources, here and abroad, which, when pieced together, make a not unhopeful pattern. This is not being said to bolster up the morale of the Zionist constituency. Zionists have demonstrated not only in recent months but long before that they know how to take unfavorable developments in their stride. They are therefore entitled to know when hopeful signs begin to appear upon the horizon.

Vigilance and Hard Work Essential

There is, however, no shortcut to the fulfillment of our aims. Vigilance and hard work are called for in the political, economic and organizational spheres of our program. The Zionist Organization of America which has made the premier contribution in all three directions cannot afford to relax its efforts for a single day.

Having initiated the local emergency councils and constituting the bulk of their influential personnel, ZOA members in every community must continue their impact upon political, academic, religious and labor circles. Our objective remains unchanged, namely, the abrogation of the White Paper and the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth, the burden of the emphasis being on the Jewish Commonwealth. Let us beware against those who would beguile us into believing that our objective is to be achieved in two separate stages, the first being large-scale immigration. From the Arab side there is opposition to the one as to the other. The problem, when it is settled, will probably be settled with one bold stroke. It can be settled right only in one way, the Jewish Commonwealth way; and the consummation of the goal will provide directives for all the intermediate steps including large-scale Jewish immigration for the interim period.

Being in the forefront of the fund-raising activities for Palestine, ZOA members must redouble their efforts which spell new dunams redeemed and new colonies established. Dunams and colonies are a primary stake in the future of Palestine.

No Rest

Having made this year already a banner year for membership, they must not rest until they have brought the ZOA within the next months to the position of being the largest Jewish membership organization in the world. The size of the Zionist movement is itself a factor of political significance.

The months of July and August which usually witness a lull in the activity of most organizations, must not be permitted to be "off months" for us Zionists. The winning of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth is not a seasonal occupation. It is a daily imperative.

Let us make every day count!

Israel Goldstein

In War Time and After

As the Center of World Jewry the American Jewish Community Must Begin to Plan for Dealing with Three Post-War Problems

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

THE American Jewish community faced the problems which the war forced upon it in a creditable manner. We have no reason to condemn or disparage ourselves. We have not, of course, responded as fully as we might have or as we should have to the challenge of the great, testing times. But what people or what group has? In a sense the hour called and calls for a quality of selflessness and a measure of wisdom, vision and competence far beyond the capacity of our generation—perhaps of any generation.

But we did not wholly or even largely fail in the grave emergencies which suddenly confronted us. We may not have been as dexterous as we might have been in the handling of all the new situations, but we did not burke the great moment, nor shirk our responsibilities nor lack in devotion and generosity. What was true of our ancestors in former times under similar conditions of menace and disaster proved true also of their descendants in our day. A great hour did not find us a small people.

I need not dwell here upon the manner in which the Jews of America faced up to the paramount demands of the war. They met their obligations of citizenship in an eager and ardent spirit of patriotism. They sent their sons, in the hundreds of thousands, into all the armed services of our country. These young Jews are fighting on every battle front and are giving an excellent account of themselves. Many have been killed. Many more have been wounded. Many have been signally honored for extraordinary bravery in action. All are prepared to defend with their lives this gracious land and its noble heritage of freedom, equality and the inalienable rights of man. They sent their daughters into the auxiliary armed services. They have not neglected the care and spiritual ministrations of our fighting men. Our religious bodies and our Jewish Welfare Board have performed the tasks with intelligence, devotion and skill. Our civilians at home are engrossed in the numerous civilian war activities, bond drives, blood donors,

Red Cross work, nurses' aides, relief campaigns. Jews know how to fight for the things they love—and they love America. They know, too, the avowed intent of the enemy against whom they fight. If victorious, he means to destroy them. In order to survive they must destroy him. Every American Jew understands this—and this knowledge lends drive and resoluteness to his war efforts.

Unparalleled Disaster

But other demands, likewise grave and imperious, were made upon us. A disaster for which even our long, tormented history can offer no parallel, swept over our people in Europe, and left them broken, decimated and doomed. Sundry and terrible evils can come upon a world in the grip of war and revolution. Our people experienced them all. The cup of the whole world's staggering was thrust into their hands and they were made to drink of it and drain it to its very last poisonous dregs. Our myriads who were scattered and who crowded the broken highways of exile, or languished in unwelcoming ports of temporary refuge or faced death in the conquered lands turned to us for help. Though we could not help them fully, we did not fail them utterly. Would that we had done more and that more quickly! We were not unwilling, but inept. We permitted precious months and years to slip by while the Nazi scythe swung wider and ever wider swaths and mowed down the Jewish communities of conquered Europe one after another in a bloody harvest of death. Governments, friendly governments, beguiled and misled us with vague promises and ineffectual rescue agencies and conferences. We did not know how to focus the attention of what remained of the free and decent world, so absorbed in its own problems, upon the appalling tragedy of our people nor how to induce action. And so many perished who might have been saved.

Nevertheless we did organize in all our communities for relief and rescue. We expanded and implemented the existing agencies and created new ones to

carry our help to those who were desperately waiting for it. Year by year increasingly larger funds were raised and increasingly more of our people came to share in the giving. We took care of the refugees who came to our shores. We sent help to our exiles in all parts of the world. We aided in the upbuilding of Palestine. All these additional obligations were readily assumed without neglecting our domestic institutions of philanthropy, education, culture and religion. This is not an unworthy record. Undoubtedly much more should have been done by us—the largest and richest Jewish community in the world. Much more, I am sure, will yet be done. What has been done, however, is reassuring augury of greater things to come, and evidence of an inner soundness and wholeness. There is much to build on in this our American Jewish community and much to build with. With good architects and skillful and diligent builders, a truly noble edifice of Jewish communal life can be erected in this good land.

More Alert

The war has made the Jews of America more alert than they have ever been before, and more self-aware. A generation ago the incidence of Jewish awareness of the average American Jew was slight and casual. Today it is considerable and fairly constant. Among certain sections of our people this involuntary awareness is attended by varying degrees of irritation. Some still harbor the hope that the end of war and the defeat of the Nazi will remove all the unpleasant evidence of prejudice and discrimination which force this Jewish awareness upon them. This, I am afraid, is a vain hope—and in their heart of hearts, I suspect, they know it.

American Jews are at last finding themselves under the necessity of doing that which Jews in the Old World have always had to do: consciously to orient themselves as Jews in a non-Jewish environment and realistically to face all the im-

Paper delivered at annual meeting of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, May 17, 1944.

lications of their status as a minority group. The Nazis succeeded in their attempt to make the whole Western World Jew-conscious, but they also succeeded, and without any intention on their part, to make all Jews more Jew-conscious. While some Jews are rather unnerved by this new experience and are unable to make an intelligent adjustment to it, the majority of our people are being helped by this keener awareness of their true position to a fuller, franker and more dignified life as American Jews.

Temperate Anti-Semitism

These American Jews are facing the future without any illusions but certainly not without hope. The New World, for a time, made possible a pleasant sense of almost complete identification. That is no longer the case and in all probability will never be again. The Old World brand of anti-Semitism is here to stay—not forever, of course, but for a period long enough for all practical considerations. This is realism, not defeatism. This is the landscape! After the political anti-Semitism of the Nazi variety, that is, the kind which is functioned and organized by governments and employed as a weapon of economic reaction and imperial aggression, will have been defeated as a result of the defeat of the Nazis in this war, the high fever-temperature of anti-Semitism will undoubtedly drop here and elsewhere, provided of course no disastrous economic debacle and vast unemployment follow the Armistice. But much of what we may now call temperate anti-Semitism, in contrast to the killing and annihilationist kind, that which in happier times we used to call prejudice, will remain as a constant factor in our experience. The Civil War ended slavery in the United States. It did not solve the race problem. A country may be democratic and yet its people may be bitterly anti-Semitic. Witness Poland before the war and Weimar Germany. Political equality is not yet brotherhood. It is doubtful whether the popular sentiment of most of the countries of Europe ever heartily approved of Jewish emancipation. It seems to have come rather as a by-product of new political theories and principles of human rights which had to be consistently applied and therefore had to include also the Jews.

America is not likely to go Fascist, but Fascistically-minded Americans, who will

always be anti-Semites, will persist in large numbers until such time as our age finds its new economic and political equilibrium after the prolonged upheavals of the technological revolution. This spiritually formless period of re-orientation which will continue to be fraught with much danger and unhappiness for mankind will last far beyond our present generation.

World Center

What I am trying to say is that our lives as American Jews have now fallen into the well known pattern of Israel's millennial experience in Diaspora. For a time we were able to regard ourselves as different. But America itself has become far less different, far less removed, and far less isolated from the Old World. It is no longer a distant land on the rim of a vast ocean. It is now the center of the world. Politically, economically and culturally it is now enmeshed in a common destiny with the rest of the world. And American Jews also have come to share, however reluctantly, the common and inescapable destiny of their fellow Jews in the rest of the world. An unflinching rule in that millennial experience of our people has been that in normal times of political and economic stability, of peace and prosperity we are not greatly annoyed. When conditions become disturbed and unsettled, for whatever reason, we are suddenly and severely menaced.

All the literature on anti-Semitism of recent years—and it had been considerable, and some of it very erudite and scientific—has yielded nothing more positive and illuminating than this. Anti-Semitism has been tracked down by scholars to its last speculative retreat. Many a profound explanation for it has been given, but unfortunately an explanation is not yet a solution.

Following the war, we shall be kept busy for a time undoing the mischief which the virulent Nazi-inspired propaganda of recent years will have accomplished in this country, busy as it were disinfecting the human mind. This will prove a job of no mean proportions. Thereafter we shall proceed to make the necessary adjustments to the more "normal" forms of prejudice without spending too much time and thought upon the subject—a preoccupation neither satisfying nor edifying—and we shall turn our attention to the more constructive areas of Jewish life. We have long ago been admonished by our sages not to ob-

serve the wind too closely lest we fail to sow, nor to regard the clouds with too much concern lest we fail to reap.

We will stop trying to find a solution for anti-Semitism and we will reconcile ourselves to a condition. We will of course join forces with all those elements in our population which work for the preservation of the basic traditions of American democracy. We shall be portion of all that is around us and will share as fully as we shall be permitted in the common life. We will continue to resist the forces of darkness and disruption in our country. We will not surrender the hope of a future which will achieve in practice what has been projected in declaration, but like the Messiah idea among our people, we shall think of it with hope but also with a saving measure of skepticism. We shall act as people who have finally matured and who do not attempt to escape into delusions or self-delusions.

A Mature People

As mature and responsible people we shall continue our efforts to organize our community life efficiently. We are not unorganized now. In fact, we are over-organized. This is not unnatural. Our community is large. Its origins are diverse and manifold, its interests are varied. As a people, from the days of Moses on, we have never been especially distinguished either for docility or tractability. We always have had more candidates for leadership than for discipleship. But we shall nevertheless continue to work out plans and methods for better organization and proper collective action, and we shall continue to learn the required disciplines of Jewish community life.

This does not mean that we shall strive to achieve so-called "unity" in American Israel. This slogan of "Jewish unity" has been one of the most misleading and disruptive ones in American Jewish life. Every organization seeking to maintain a special-privilege position, every champion of a minority point of view, unwilling to submit to the judgment of the majority, everyone who out of assimilationist tendencies attempts to hold down American Jewish life to a minimal program, has sheltered himself behind this slogan. No people of five million souls anywhere in the world is "unified" on the basic issues which affect its life. Only dictatorship can achieve such a specious unity of action—never of thought—and certainly not for any

long time. It is not unity which is essential, but *organization*, democratic organization in which all points of view can find their legitimate expression and by means of which the majority can properly receive its authority to speak and act for the entire community. Minorities in Jewish life have the right to be heard, to organize and to advocate their points of view. They have no right to speak as if they represented the majority or to sabotage and disrupt efforts at organization in the hope of keeping the majority from ever exercising its rightful authority or of preserving for themselves a special status and vested privileges.

The organization of Jewish community councils, which began in our country some years ago, represented a clear insight and a sound approach to an adequate organization of American Jewish life. I do not know how far these councils have progressed in recent years, either in number or in the extension of their areas of operation in their respective communities. The further organization of these community councils, locally and nationally, is clearly the direction in which American Jewry should move, if it really intends to organize itself on a satisfactory, permanent and democratic basis, and if it wishes to free itself some day of the numerous competing organizations which today clutter up the scene, all of whom presume to speak for American Jewry and none of whom has ever received a properly validated mandate.

American Jewish Conference

Another attempt at proper communal organization on a national scale was made last September. As an emergency measure, a national conference was convoked, of representatives of national organizations and of democratically elected community representatives to speak for American Jewry in this critical period of the war on all matters affecting Jewish life in post-war settlements. It was an earnest and commendable effort, and American Jewry responded to it in a remarkable degree. The American Jewish conference demonstrated that great sections of American Jewry had matured sufficiently to welcome and accept the disciplines of organized community life. But it also demonstrated that there are groups and organizations, which are not yet ready for a truly democratic organization of American Jewish life. These groups or their spokesmen must either have it their own way or, like peevish children, they will not play. Their approach is one

either of domination or secession. Many specious arguments were used by the vestigial oligarchs who formerly held sway but whom the people's great assembly refused to follow and who came to fear the dismemberment of their little empires, to justify their universally condemned secession and to discredit the conference. It was a melancholy spectacle. Criticism was levelled by them at the election machinery which had been set up with their own concurrence to select the delegates. The fact of the matter of course is that regardless of what electoral machinery had been set up, provided it was not purposely devised to throw the election to a minority, the elections would have resulted in approximately the same kind of a representation. It was also argued that in matters of principle one cannot compromise and therefore one must withdraw. But a group or a party does not compromise its principles if it remains in an over-all democratically constituted body and reserves to itself the right to declare its opposition to the decisions of the majority and remains free to advocate its principles. This is of the very essence of the democratic procedure.

The American Jewish Conference, after earnest and thoughtful deliberation, expressed itself with remarkable agreement, in most instances with unanimity, and on the more controversial subjects by a vote so large that the true mind of the overwhelming majority was not left in doubt, on the basic issues which confronted American and world Jewry, on rescue work, post-war rehabilitation and the up-building of the Jewish National Home. It indicated what our objectives were, and in a general way, what should be done to achieve them. In so doing the conference fully served its purpose. Those who had expected the conference to become the day-by-day functioning agency to carry out in practice all the work of rescue and rehabilitation and the full implementation of the Palestine program failed to realize that the conference possessed neither the machinery nor the finances nor the personnel for such responsibility, nor did the constituent organizations wish it to undertake or to supplant their functions. The conference was to have been and should have remained a consultative and deliberative not a functioning and executive body. It was intended as a great sounding board and a clearing house of American Jewish thought on vital Jewish problems, where periodically these could be discussed and clarified, where our

major activities could be appraised, where new programs could be projected, where the attitudes of governments towards our problems could be reviewed, and where the collective will of American Jewry could find authoritative expression—not on the basis of any monolithic unity but on the only possible and parliamentary basis of majority opinion. This, you will recall, was the original purpose of the conference as defined at the preliminary meeting which was held in Pittsburgh in January 1943, and also in the official call for its organization. The conference was "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world" and "to consider and recommend action on all matters looking towards the implementation of rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine." It was only later on, and as a result of the terrible urgency which made itself manifest to rescue European Jewry from extermination, that the problem of rescue was added to the agenda of the conference and the conference was charged with executive and administrative duties for which it was not prepared or equipped. The conference served well its original purpose. It should meet soon again to survey the Jewish position, to review what transpired during this fateful year, and to give direction for future action wherever needed. Little foxes have been busily at work trying to spoil this vineyard which American Israel has planted. These little foxes should have their little tails scorched. . . . Unless the organizational structure of the American Jewish community is advanced, there is grave danger of a disastrous and bitterly feuding fragmentization which will encourage every conceivable free lance and adventurer, and will lose for us whatever of prestige, dignity or influence we, as a community, may possess.

Three Tasks

I believe that there are three principal tasks which face American Jewry today. As the war approaches its climax, and the prospects of peace become bright, men and nations are turning their attentions more and more to plans for the post-war world. Every responsible government has for some time now been drawing up blueprints for post-war economic, political and social reconstruction. It should also be the part of wisdom for us

(Continued on page 446)

"A hospital for Jews both poor and ill,
Of sons of man whose suffering is threefold.
See they are afflicted with the ills
Of poverty, disease, and Jewishness.
The sorest of these miseries is the last,
The old millennial family affliction . . ."

Well, Zionism is a new kind of way to take care of sick Jews. We appointed ourselves voluntary nurses; we want to cure this patient, this poor, sick Jewish people and heal it by means of a healthy way of life upon the soil of our fathers. And in addition to our own consciousness of doing right our highest incentive was this, the circumstance that no honest man could see in our activity any seeking of personal advantage. Truly, it should never be forgotten that we risked our all for the most hopeless, the most lost, the most despised of causes. And if today it has come to the point at which an obscure scribbler or a rabbi who gets a salary for his supposed piety dares to represent us Zionists as the profiteers of Judaism, it simply goes to show that our cause is beginning to show some success. Had it been a good business, these are the very people who would have engaged in it long before us.

Well, then, are we not mere dreamers of dreams, if our goal is so immaterial? Not at all! One need merely grasp imaginatively the life of a people and its development. First comes the idea of the nation; to this, as its state comes into being, is added the practice to concrete politics. From this there finally arises the material life of labor, business, and enterprise. That Zionism has entered the second stage and has become a serious matter of practical politics, is clear from recent events.* No one can doubt it any longer. It must now be the aim of Zionists in the whole world to join in strict local federations, in order that, when one fine day the call comes, they will be able to march in good order. The central agency can have no more power than that which flows to it from the local groups. We never promised miracles and we are quite sure not to perform any. My very opponents may well believe me, those, namely, who are fond of comparing me to Shabbathai Zvi and other Messiahs. Never did a man attain that kind of reputation more undeservedly than I. I have never uttered an exorbitant word. All I have said is this: My dear brethren, no one anywhere can bear us. We can

help ourselves if we stick together properly. In that case we shall be able to acquire a beautiful and fruitful land for ourselves, where we shall be able to work in peace and be respected by all men. The land has a good name. It is called *Eretz Avotbeun*. When we dwell there again we, too, will have a good name again.

Well, those Jews who don't want to see that and don't want to agree with it—truly, one can't do anything to be proud of with them. We shall have to do without them. I am just curious to know who else will receive them with loving kindness and heal them of that old hereditary affliction. But even if such a one were to be found, I still don't believe that the cure would succeed. For that hereditary ill is identical with them. It is those Jews who are willing to be everything except Jews.

THREE MUSKETEERS

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

proclaim the Jews of Palestine and Europe as Hebrews—citizens of this new government, and the Jews of Flatbush, Canarsie, East Broadway, Bensonhurst, Baltimore, and points south and west, as only Americans of the Hebrew faith, not members of the Hebrew nation. What is more we will rent an embassy!"

"Bully! Bully!" sang out Teddy and Sam in chorus.

Peter went on. "Yes, my friends, Teddy, Sam and myself, I happen to know that the former Persian embassy in Washington is for sale for \$63,000. If we have an embassy building and we already have the stamp, what is to keep us from being an embassy and a government?"

Sam arose and said the idea was okay but he thought maybe the payment of \$63,000 might be dispensed with since Persia once had a Jewish queen. The Persian embassy might be construed as therefore belonging to the representatives of the Hebrew nation. We'll just move in—that's all.

The Three Musketeers decided to act swiftly. They hired four airplanes, one for Peter, one for Sam and one for Teddy—and the fourth they filled with hamen taschen and cocktails for the reception to the press.

It really made a historic picture to see them standing at the head of the receiving line at the press reception, distributing hamen taschen and cocktails.

"You stand today on Hebrew earth," Peter told the gentlemen of the press. Peter had a hatchet in his hands as he uttered these words and straightway, he smashed through a stave of the floor and scooped up a bit of earth for each of the reporters.

"Here's mud in your eye," he said, as they drank down the cocktails and examined the Hebrew earth.

After the cocktails, the representatives of the press took out their pencils. "We would like to ask a few questions," they said.

"Fire away," said Peter. "I, the ambassador of the Hebrew nation will answer your questions, while my two military attaches, Sam and Teddy, will shake their heads approvingly and lend dignity to the occasion."

"First," began the press men, "who are you and what are your credentials?"

"I am the ambassador of the new Hebrew nation," said Peter, "which has been in existence thousands of years."

"Where," asked one of the reporters, "will you get the money to carry on your embassy and your government?"

"That's a mere trifle," replied Peter. "We will float bonds for a million dollars and ten cents and I do not think we will have any difficulty in floating them. There has been a great deal of rain lately."

"You said a million dollars and ten cents, Your Excellency," said one of the reporters. "What is the ten cents for?"

"For the ten lost tribes of Israel," said Peter.

"What will the Jews say about all this?" asked a reporter for the Jewish press.

"You mean, the Jews of Bensonhurst, Canarsie, Perth Amboy and points west? As to that, I have already said, we regard them as aliens. They are not members of the Hebrew nation, but Americans of the Hebrew faith."

"And what about the Union of Orthodox Rabbis and Local No. 46 of the Federation of Ritual Slaughterers?"

"My answer still stays," said Peter, "they are Americans of the Hebrew faith."

One Jewish newspaperman asked if he could put a somewhat personal question.

"Certainly," said Peter.

"Mr. Ambassador," said the newspaperman. "As you see, I live in America, but my wife and son and two daughters live in Palestine. In what category are we?"

"That's simple, your wife, son and daughters are of the Hebrew nation, but

* The writer refers to the official reception of the Zionist Actions Committee by the German Emperor in Jerusalem on November 2, 1898.

you are an American of the Hebrew faith."

"But," returned the same newspaperman, "my wife visits America every year."

"Is your wife fat or thin?" Peter wanted to know.

"She is fat, Your Excellency," said the reporter.

"Then," said Peter, triumphantly, "she belongs half to the Hebrew nation and half to the Americans of the Hebrew faith."

"Which half?" asked the reporter. But here the music began to play, the drums beating and Peter, Sam and Teddy formed in a circle and marched about chanting:

"Hip, hip and three Cheers
For the Three Musketeers,
Sam, Peter and Teddy
We are spectacular, we amaze
And are prepared always
To cre-ate
In every state
In every city
A new committee
They are a pill for every ill
And the page ads foot the bill

Overcome by the rhythm, the reporters also fell in the march—as far as the door where they pantingly made their exit.

WARTIME

(Continued from page 424)

Jews, to plan our post-war tasks, even though at the moment we are still deeply engrossed in the necessary work of rescue and relief.

Everyone realizes that European Jewry will emerge from the war physically ravaged and seriously depleted both in numbers and resources. Financial and material aid will be required for a considerable time after the war to heal the wounds which the war inflicted, just as after the last war, only on a much larger scale. Jews in the war-stricken countries will have special and peculiar problems of their own which will have to be met by supplementary aid given to them by their fellow Jews in other parts of the world. This will be our first task—to salvage, to rebuild whatever can be rebuilt, to reunite broken families, to re-establish shattered communities.

There will also be a large uprooted Jewish population, a floating population of human misery seeking new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The world was inhospitable to Jewish immigration before this war. Our refugees knocked at a hundred doors

and only a few were opened, and those few to admit a pitifully small number. Our own country failed to use even its unfilled immigration quotas to admit our refugees, and we are now content to appeal for "free ports" to be established on our shores for the temporary refuge and sojourning of refugees who will have to move on after the war—where to? There is no reason to assume that the world will be more hospitable after the war, when most countries will be faced with serious economic problems of their own, problems of conversion from war-time to peace-time economy, demobilization, debts and unemployment.

It is very doubtful whether all the original homelands from which these refugees came will wish to welcome them back. Probably no official obstacles will be put in their way. The political climate after the war will not permit it. But in actual practice it will be extremely difficult for these refugees to return to their former homes or positions. Their positions and jobs and their commercial and industrial establishments will have been occupied not by the invaders, but by the native population. In many places they will have little to go back to but desecrated cemeteries. . . .

The recent confidential report made by a government envoy from the official Polish Underground to the Polish Government-in-Exile is a straw which shows in what direction the winds are blowing. The report has not been acknowledged officially but one should not, on that account, discredit it. It warns that repatriation of Jews would be regarded with hostility by the Polish population. "The population would consider the mass re-immigration of the Jews not as a return to their previous positions, but as an invasion against which it would defend itself even in a physical manner. The non-Jewish population has taken over the positions of the Jews in the towns and cities, and in a large part of Poland it is evidently a change which bears a character of finality." Thus the report continues: "The government does well in reassuring the public opinion of the world that there will be no anti-Semitism in Poland, but anti-Semitism will not exist in Poland only if the Jews who escaped from the pogroms do not endeavor to return en masse to Polish cities and towns." This report maintains that "the country sees only one way out of this difficult situation, namely that the Polish Government should in due time, possibly immediately, take the initiative in the

creation of a national home for the Jews." It suggests a national home somewhere in Eastern Europe. Palestine is not favored because "it is too crowded, too exotic and evokes conflicts with the Arab world."

That there is a great element of truth in this report touching the sentiments of the Polish population to Jewish repatriation no well-informed person, remembering the intensity of Polish anti-Semitism before the war, can doubt. Unfortunately these sentiments are probably not limited to Poles. It is probably true of the populations of most of the occupied countries from which Jews have fled—Slovaks, Croats, Magyars, Romanians, not to speak of Germans and Austrians. The remaining Jews of Europe will find themselves after the war in the midst of great tensions and bitter economic struggle and competitions. These tensions existed and grew in intensity in the years following the last war. They were not relieved by the formal grant of citizenship or even of minority rights to the Jews. It will be no different, I am afraid, at the close of this war.

One can not know how many Jews will remain in Central and Eastern Europe after the war, nor how many of them will have to be transplanted elsewhere, nor yet how many who have fled will require repatriation to other lands. But it can readily be assumed that there will be large numbers who will seek new homes and that new homes will not be available for large numbers.

Palestine Alone

Palestine alone offers a sound and realistic prospect for mass-scale Jewish immigration, provided the political barriers which the mandatory power has illegally erected are removed. In Palestine the Jewish people enjoy an internationally recognized and unique political status—that of a people in its own national home. The nations of the world resolved after the last war that Palestine should become a place for large-scale Jewish immigration, and instructed the Mandatory Government to facilitate such immigration into the country. The country is readied to receive additional mass immigration and the *Yishuv* is eager to welcome it. It is the clear task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the illegal obstacles which have been put in the way of this immigration be completely removed, that the work of upbuilding the

country be not interrupted, that the rights of the Jews to acquire land for colonization be not restricted, and that the Jewish Agency, recognized in the Mandate, be given power to plan, direct and control the new immigration into the country. It has now matured to a point where it can undertake this responsibility and it is the only agency which is willing to assume such a responsibility. It is the task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the full rights of the Jewish people shall be implemented. What was intended by the nations of the world who agreed to the Palestine Mandate, what was intended by the statesmen of Great Britain and the United States who fathered the idea before the whitening process began at the hands of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, was clearly the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth. It was the just and wise solution then. It is the just and wise solution now. The Jewish National Home is now ready to assume the status which was originally intended for it in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. This is not the time nor the occasion to give an exposition of Zionism. But every responsible Jewish leader and communal worker owes it to himself and to his people at this pre-eminent and critical juncture in our history to realize fully one fact. We may set aside for the moment the necessity and desirability of rebuilding our national life in our ancestral home in order to normalize our status as a people among the peoples of the world. We may also set aside for the moment the beneficent reaction which a reborn Jewish Palestine may have upon the spiritual and cultural life of the Diaspora, and all other cogent and valid arguments for Zionism. Considering only the immediate task of rescuing great numbers of our people and of finding a home for them in Palestine, it should be clear that that task can be accomplished only if our national claims to Palestine and the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, which were internationally acknowledged a quarter of a century ago, are not denied or rejected now. For on purely humanitarian grounds we have no case against the White Paper. If Palestine is just another country where we have no special status and no special rights, then it may well be argued that it has already done more than its share towards helping Jewish refugees, far more than other coun-

tries many times its size; and Arab leaders and Palestinian administrators and officials of the Colonial Office have been quick to point this out.

To assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home which has now entered upon its final phase of fulfillment is thus the second great task confronting American Jewry.

There is a third task. Our people will emerge from this war not only physically but also spiritually shaken and ravaged. The spiritual destruction of European Jewry has been as disastrous as the physical. Many old centers of Jewish life have been destroyed. Many cultural and religious institutions from which world Jewry drew strength and sustenance, many schools and academies have been swept away and their scholars and students have been either slain or scattered. "That which has fallen is more than that which remains standing."

Spiritual Revitalization

In 1917, three million Jews in the Soviet Union were isolated from the rest of world Jewry, and the spiritual and cultural traditions of Russian Jewry ceased to flow into the channels of world Jewish life. Since 1933, the rest of continental European Jewry has been crushed. World Jewry today faces a spiritual crisis of appalling proportions. It is therefore not enough to plan for the physical rehabilitation of our people after the war. We must also plan for our cultural and spiritual rehabilitation—how to keep alive the spirit of Israel, the light of Jewish thought and the torch of Jewish learning, how to safeguard our heritage which alone gives dignity and distinction to our lives and meaning to our millennial suffering, how to vitalize those institutions which have preserved the ethical and religious idealism of Judaism for ourselves and for mankind.

Our ancestors were content and proud to carry the *Sevel ha'Yerusha*, the burden of their heritage, because they were convinced that it contained something exquisitely precious and noble, and vital to their salvation and to the salvation of the world. Thus their frustrations were not wanting in compensations. Our children and those who come after them will also have to carry the same burden. But will they know why, or wherefore?

Our youth is not impervious to the appeal of our ancient faith and its glorious traditions. From army camps and battle fronts come abundant testimony that their hearts are eager and their minds are

open to receive the message of Judaism. Perhaps we are entering an age when our people may again experience not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord—and they shall seek it.

Only two great centers of Jewish life now remain—Palestine and America. The American Jewish community is now the largest in the world. The future of Jewish life on a scale and of a quality worthy of our great past will depend on what we do here. We cannot forever live on our past and "banquet upon borrowing." We must begin to create values of our own in this country even as our people did in every great center where they lived in the past.

As quickly as circumstances will permit, the direction of our interests and the emphasis of our activities should be shifted from the eleemosynary to the educational, cultural and spiritual. Fortunately we have by now almost our full quota of orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged and other necessary philanthropic institutions. Here Jewish generosity and intelligence have built well and adequately. But our religious, cultural and spiritual life has been languishing. Neither our older people nor our younger people are experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives. Many of our lay-readers who have distinguished themselves in philanthropic activities seldom, if ever, take a vital part in the propagation of our faith, or in the purposes and activities of our Jewish educational institutions. Many of these lay-leaders seldom if ever enter a synagogue. They are of it, but not in it. No Jewish community can long survive on philanthropy alone, or on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and cultural life must be nurtured. Our fathers taught us the strategy of survival. In every grave crisis they turned not to their statesmen, generals or philanthropists, but to their schoolmen and to their teachers. Whenever one center of Jewish life was destroyed it was the men of the spirit and of the book who carried the seeds of national survival to the new center.

I believe that we shall meet the challenge of these three great tasks which confront us. I have an abiding faith in the capacity of our people to rise to its great emergencies, in its genius to discover the means, the methods and the men adequate to meet such emergencies, in its inexhaustible inventiveness and adaptability and in its unquenchable will to live.



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"Wherever you are... bless you, and keep you safe and sound!"...

Today, millions of American fathers, alone with their thoughts, are saying an anxious "good-night" to a son—or sons—far away—whispering fervent prayers for their safety.

Some day those square-shouldered, clear-eyed sons of yours are coming home... coming home with a brand

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The Moral and Psychological Basis of a Lasting Peace

Abba Hillel Silver

INTERNATIONAL peace is an ethical idea and it is anchored in the religious idealism of the human race, in the spiritual conception of human life and destiny.

It springs directly from the dogma of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Unless it has that anchorage, it drifts about helplessly in a sea of political simulation and expediency. A civilization which has lost its moorings in faith and the moral law lacks both the will and the motive for a peaceful organization of society. It will be swept along blindly by the currents of soullessness, greed, and belligerency—just like our own age.

To bring under control the demonic forces of chaos and the primitive tribal combativeness which have been with us since the beginning of time, and to achieve the difficult disciplining of nations in ways of law, order, and peace, requires a tremendous exertion on the part of men and nations, an heroic and unprecedented out-reaching of the spirit, of which this generation, any more than the last, may not be capable. But the moral imperative to make the effort is clearly here, as well as the desperate urgency to save our world from the blood and horror of global war every twenty or twenty-five years. The possibility of course, is always there that our generation may experience such a birth of practical idealism, baptized in the blood of a second world war, that it will resolve to lay the strong and sure foundations for a peaceful world society.

International peace does not derive its moral sanction from any doctrine of pacifism. The ideal of peace is not rooted in the doctrine that evil is not to be resisted, and that war is always wrong. It is the clear duty of men and nations to resort

to arms when right can not otherwise be enforced. Violence must at all times be confronted with countervailing force, morally motivated. Where there is no agency which can effectively check an aggressor nation, it is the right and the moral obligation of the nation whose security is threatened, or of all nations whenever the basic values of civilization are endangered, to resist to the utmost and to employ force to avert the danger.

But agencies to resist aggression can be established and can be implemented. It is therefore a confession of the moral backwardness of society if individual nations or groups of nations are forced to resort to war. Nor is it clear that in all instances nations who resort to war on the plea of moral necessity do so as the last and unavoidable measure, or that they had closely searched their hearts to discover whether any other motives were not actually influencing their decision, and whether all peaceful avenues had really been explored by them.

THE REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE

WAR is not an ultimate and inextricable fact in the life of humanity. It is not an indispensable or necessary element in the physical or spiritual progress of mankind. War is at all times an evidence of gross and indurate imperfections which still exist in human society. And it should at all times be regarded as a challenge to destroy society. Disarmament is highly desirable, not only because it will lift the crushing burden of the cost of military establishments from the shoulders of men, but also because armament is by its nature competitive, and history has demonstrated that competition in armament leads to war. But disarmament will come as a natural consequence of the establishment of a strong international order. Nations will beat their swords into plowshares only when the necessity for such swords will no longer exist, when there will be in effective operation an international agency sufficiently strong to protect every nation against aggression.

This address to the National Council for the Social Studies was delivered in the opening session of the annual meeting in Cleveland on November 23. The author is Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland.

Nor has international peace anything to do with internationalism in its commonly accepted meaning, or with any speculation concerning obliteration of national identities. Racial, national, and cultural divisions among men have historical validity and serve the purposes of the Almighty. But the primary spiritual validity appertains to man as such in his capacity as a child of God and to the human family as a whole. While not ignoring the separate identities and groupings in human society, the emphasis of morality has been upon their harmonious co-existence, the peaceful adjustment of their differences and their collaboration in the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.

All nations have appointed functions to perform in the divine economy and are variously endowed. Some possess gifts and aptitudes and others are favored by special opportunities. Some are culturally retarded and others advanced. Such advantages, wherever enjoyed, only impose additional responsibilities upon the possessor and make increasingly mandatory a more sensitive concern for the rights of the backward and the underprivileged. Every blessing has its burdens. Classic religion recognizes no inherent national or racial superiorities and has consistently repudiated the exploitation of all such pretexts to dominate and to exploit other peoples. Every people is a chosen people if it performs some task in the world. So-called backward peoples must not be treated as subject peoples or regarded as proper spoil for colonial and imperial interests. Rather are they to be helped by appropriate international action to achieve as rapidly as possible their independence and their social and cultural improvement.

Appropriate international action to achieve this and all other desirable ends is possible only when all nations are organized for peace, when there will exist a permanent league of nations whose members will have covenanted themselves to observe the moral law. Nations will find a just and durable peace only if they merge their separate national interests with the larger interest of the corporate life of humanity. Before this will transpire, nations will have to modify their concepts of national sovereignty.

THE MENACE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

NATIONAL sovereignty, along with all forms of human sovereignty, must be subordinated to the higher moral law of God. Sovereignty, if it is not anarchy, is always limited by law. No nation is above this law. No nation is a

law unto itself. Every nation is morally responsible and accountable to God, who is the source and sanction of all life, individual or collective. There can be no peace without the surrender of unqualified, uncoordinated and willful national sovereignty, without, as it were, a pooling of sovereignties. For nations to be free, they must be free within the disciplines of international law. Only in such freedom, within the moral law, is the assurance of enduring peace.

The concept of absolute national sovereignty has no more moral validity than the concept of absolute individual sovereignty. Unless it means absolute equality between all states, large or small, in relation to international rights and security against aggression, it is an utterly immoral concept. The notion that a state can do whatever it likes, whether in relation to its own citizens or to other states—and that such action *ipso facto* becomes morally justified—a notion which the politically-motivated German metaphysics of the last century, always overdrawing its scientific bank account, has so assiduously cultivated, runs counter to every basic moral principle of civilized society. Such specious doctrines will make forever impossible any international security organization. The concept of independent and sovereign states must be brought within the framework of just international obligations assumed by all states for mutual protection and for the moral progress of their own citizens and of mankind. Nations must be free and autonomous but subject to the priority of a rapidly developing international way of life which will progressively define their duties towards each other.

Within each state the individual must relate his needs and purposes to the life of the group, and his individual rights must be adjusted to the demands of civilized corporate existence. Economic individualism has had to come to terms with new forms of economic collectivism in our rapidly changing industrial society. New patterns are being developed. The old doctrines of *laissez faire*, and the old slogans of "freedom of contract" have been forced to give way. It is as immoral as it is anachronistic for states to cling to claims of absolute sovereignty in a world which is being drawn into such close economic interdependence, and wherein politics is so frequently the handmaiden of economics.

The orthodox sovereign-state idea wrecked the League of Nations. The right to secede from the League was allowed. This sanctioned disruption and international anarchy at the behest of na-

dional sovereignty. A unanimous vote was required for major decisions. This sanctioned paralysis of international action out of deference to willful national sovereignty. The draft constitution for the new world security organization which was outlined at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference recently is also vitiated to a degree by this sovereignty principle. Any one of the major powers may forestall action in the Council by the use of the uncontested veto power which it will possess, even in cases when it itself is accused of aggression. In other words, each major power will sit in judgment on its own case.

Unless this principle is removed from the constitution of the proposed international organization, it may prove disastrous to the new league. It is not an issue which can be ironed out later on. It forestalls all attempts at such ironing out in the future, and it is so intended. It may prove again the initial and fatal mistake. To be sure, one must not expect the perfect security system to spring full-blown at this time. Decades may be required to perfect a world organization. But we must avert such inherent constitutional defects which are sure to wreck the entire edifice at the first major crisis.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

THE same principle of national sovereignty has permitted certain states and governments to discriminate against and to persecute classes of their own citizens within their own borders under the excuse that it is an "internal affair," beyond the scope of international concern or intervention. Here a disastrous doctrine of moral isolationism has joined forces with the doctrine of national sovereignty to mount guard over some of the blackest crimes of our age. States were permitted to propagate violent racist doctrines which incited their people to political aggression and to adventures in world domination, and to enact discriminatory legislation disfranchising and otherwise degrading and persecuting groups of their own citizens when it was clear that all such officially inspired propaganda, and all such discriminatory laws were in fact dangerous attacks upon free and democratic government and upon the peace of the world—matters, which are of the most vital concern to the international community.

The Nazis adopted racism as a major weapon of dictatorship and imperial expansion. By means of it they destroyed the Weimar Republic. By means of it they also created the mood of crisis and conflict within those countries which they

had marked out for conquest, and succeeded in undermining their power of resistance. They disrupted the internal unity of those nations and thus prepared them for easy subjugation. Thus anti-Semitism became an important element in the strategy of total war.

It is clear that certain types of governments and political regimes cannot fit into any peaceful world order. They will not, and by their nature they cannot, collaborate in any just international system. They must be quarantined, and pending their restoration to political sanity, and their readiness to guarantee to all their citizens equality before the law and innate human rights, they should not be admitted to membership in the society of nations.

One of the prerequisites for a peaceful world order is a universal Bill of Rights which will protect the individual in his inalienable God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness against the encroachment of the state and the ever-present menace of a tyrannical majority. Society must re-establish the individual man in his legitimate domain, and must declare that domain inviolate. The last mad decade, or more, has destroyed in many parts of the world all the constitutional guarantees and safeguards of freedom and dignity which men through the long and bitter centuries of struggle acquired for themselves. Never was the stature of man so reduced as in our day. Never was the individual made so insignificant, so insecure and spiritually so cowed and overwhelmed by the ruthless and tyrannical state. No peace is possible in a slave world. The chief characteristic of democracy is the dogma of the free human being and his innate and therefore inalienable human rights.

If there were more emphasis in our day on the rights of man, there would be less reason to worry about the rights of minorities. For it is the denial of basic rights to the members of certain groups of people because of racial, religious, or nationalistic prejudices which create those minority problems which so frequently lead to war. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but within the framework of an associated life, in relation to the group to which they belonged—nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchy, a feudal arrangement of social life. Democracy rediscovered the human being, the individual who derived from his Creator—not from society or from his class—certain fundamental rights which were accord-

ingly his inalienably. And it entrenched him in those rights. He is not to be deprived of them by any government or any majority or any dictator. Race, creed, color have nothing to do with these rights. They belong to all men, wherever they may live, by virtue of the fact that they are all children of God.

IT IS a sad commentary on our times that, in the United States, we have come to talk and think so much of late about minorities. Unconsciously we are helping to recreate here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard America has always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we have been concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his individual worth, character, and achievement and not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. These we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

America was able to absorb immigrants from many races and nationalities and of diverse creeds and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. They submerged all parochial interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming devotion to America.

We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the Negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from the minority discriminations as the minority itself.

No peaceful organization of society is possible unless it is built upon the full political, economic, and social rights of men everywhere. It is only the work of righteousness which can yield peace, and it is only upon justice and truth that peace can securely rest. Poverty and economic misery lead to internal strife and revolutionary agitation which are frequently channeled by the threatened privileged classes into international strife

and wars of conquest. Nations which are denied free access to trade and the raw material of the world live constantly in the hope that war will give them what peace denies. Minorities who suffer from political discrimination are also predisposed to welcome international upheavals which may hold for them the promise of emancipation.

PUNISHMENT OF AGGRESSORS

ASURE requirement for peace is the quick punishment of the lawless disturbers of peace. Nations which are guilty of provoking war should be punished and their leaders and military criminals should receive punishment commensurate with their crimes. This is not a question of revenge. Retributive justice is neither revenge nor retaliation, but a requisite condition of international morality. Morality is concerned with the destruction of the evil-doer. Primarily it is concerned with the eradication of the causes which lead to war. But, unfortunately, the evil and the perpetrators of evil cannot in fact be separated. Aggressor nations must be defeated, punished, and deprived of the power to do mischief a second time. Forgiveness must wait upon true contrition and full restitution.

Modern criminology is not motivated by considerations of revenge and vindictiveness, but solely by considerations of how best to protect the community against crime and how to reform the criminal wherever possible. All discussions of a soft or a hard peace for a defeated nation, guilt of war, are utterly irrelevant. The degree of punishment must be related to the just objective which is sought. If peace can be broken with impunity, if the only sin is not the launching but the losing of war, then no world peace organization will ever survive and all international law is worthless.

But it should never be forgotten that while the punishment of war-mongering nations and war criminals is morally mandatory, the durable peace must, in the last analysis, rest upon good will and universal reconciliation, upon the voluntary association of nations as equals with a world community regardless of their past offenses.

THE WILL TO PEACE

THE task of building a world peace system is not an easy one. The ideal was first proclaimed nearly three thousand years ago by the great prophets of Israel, but its attainment seems far more remote today than at any time during these long centuries. Nevertheless religion urges

upon us an unfaltering faith in the future and in man's power to achieve the seemingly impossible, once he becomes possessed of the power and the might of the spirit of God. It is heartening to remember that the first major attempt to create an international world order was actually made in our generation, and though it failed because of certain lamentable flaws in its structure, it has nevertheless pointed the way and has aroused the determination of men to essay again and, by averting the mistakes of the past, build anew upon surer foundations.

It is necessary to create a real temperament for peace among men, a peaceful frame of mind, a will to peace. Peace is not altogether a question of economics. Nations do not make war or establish peace prompted solely by economic motives. Man does not live by bread alone, and nations do not wage war for bread alone. Many other factors, psychological and historical, enter into every situation. It is necessary to kindle the imagination of mankind with the ideal of peace. It is necessary to imbue the youth of the world with an ardent love for peace, and to touch their souls with the matchless ideal of peace.

We have surrounded war with all kinds of glamour, with every device of sight, sound, rank, and dignity calculated to evoke admiration and imitation. In the eyes of youth that which is martial is heroic, fascinating, challenging. But the ideal of destroying war can also be dramatized, so as to evoke the admiration and loyalty of our youth. War fomentors and aggressor nations can be represented in such a way as to call forth repugnance and indignation, and the resolve to exterminate them as plagues. The heroes of peace, the champions of good will among nations, the benefactors of mankind in the many peaceful arts of social life, and their struggles against disease and poverty and their adventures

into the undiscovered continents of truth—these too can be glamorized and even more effectively than the heroes of war and their deeds on the battlefield. The imagination of our youth can be captivated by the heroic epic, properly told, of the spiritual and intellectual struggle of men. The combative instincts of men can be sublimated to nobler and less primitive areas of struggle, and can be given full scope in socially constructive and challenging enterprises.

The international ideal, the universal ideal which captivated the minds of men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which has been pushed out of the minds of men by the spiritual fragmentation and isolationism of our own tragic era, must be rediscovered for the youth of the world. We must begin to speak again of humanity and mankind: the term international must cease to be suspect among us. We must begin to stress anew the common fate and destiny of the entire human race, and of the interdependence of all nations. We must expose as villainy all forms of national chauvinism, race snobbery, and religious fanaticism. We must educate the rising generation into the clear conviction that no nation can live unto itself alone or can solve its problem by itself alone, and that no basic human problems are ever solved by war. Few human hopes ever blossom among the broken corpses of the battlefields. In peace alone can human life unfold and the ideals of mankind thrive.

The glowing humanistic tradition must be recaptured, the sweeping vistas of man's boundless progress and the golden panorama of a just, noble, and peace-blessed society in the end of days must be restored. Before real peace can come to dwell among us, we must rekindle faith in man and in the sanctity of his life, and in the holiness of human brotherhood.

Democratic Living: A School Experience

Ethel E. Price

SINCE social studies is the school area in which the determination of human conduct in terms of mutual relationships is of paramount importance, it is through the teaching of social studies, more than any other subject, that we can build a substantial foundation for democratic living in school, in the home, in society.

Democratic living involves the preservation of ideals of sympathetic understanding and mutual respect of individuals, regardless of race, religion, intelligence, or economic status. It recognizes personalities, some bright and gifted, others dull and slow, each playing a part, though sometimes a minor one, in the scheme of living. It provides for the growth of the individual according to his needs, interests, and abilities. It encourages the experimental method of inquiry, and freedom of selection, and discussion of controversial questions. It emphasizes the concept that each of us is a responsible sovereign, that we are the government, and that our government, and all that it encompasses, can be no better than we who make it.

Those ideals of democracy are, however, of little value unless practiced in our daily lives, and the classroom teacher must see that opportunities for such living are provided. Opportunities for democratic living, as provided recently by a unit in Citizenship, may prove interesting.

A CLASS BECOMES A TOWN

IN SETTING up rules so that the class could work more efficiently, a child suggested that "it sounded like the laws of a town." Another echoed, "Why can't we have a town instead of a

grade?" And the idea of a town was born. The other children were enthusiastic, and soon plans for conducting a town were evolved. The first question raised was that of a name. Several names were suggested and Little Folks Town was chosen. The children next divided the town into sections: Kenilworth, Chevy Chase, Brookland, and Capitol View.

Who should run the town was the next problem. A discussion of form of government introduced study of democratic versus autocratic form. From their combined experiences in living in different cities with different forms of government, they decided to have a mayor and his council who would be responsible for the making of the laws; a court with judge and jury to settle difficulties; a police department to see that laws were kept; a health department to deal with all phases of health; and a cleaning department to care for the cleanliness of the town. Each department was to have a chief who would be responsible for the success of his department.

It was then necessary to find out how to assign these positions. It was decided that the most democratic way was to hold an election. Finding how an election is held gave opportunity for further investigation. Standards for each office were set up, and candidates representing each section were chosen. Each candidate naturally had his followers, and a part of each afternoon was given over to campaigning. Speeches were made, and posters advocating certain candidates were hung around the room. The teacher even discovered a petition circulating around the room.

Plans for election day were made; an election booth draped in red, white, and blue paper was built. The children divided into groups for carrying on the machinery of the election. The study had already provided information on who could vote, how to register, and how to mark a ballot. A table for registration, the booth for the voting, a table for the sorting of votes, and another for counting the votes were set up, a broadcasting

Democratic practices in school require skillful teacher leadership, but some possibilities are illustrated by this account of a citizenship activity in the Monroe Laboratory School of the Miner Teachers College, Washington, D.C. The author is supervisor of practice teaching in the school.

they are adept at enlisting local zealots and malcontents and getting them into key positions.

The American people should draw some conclusions from that. One conclusion is that we cannot afford to feel complacent merely because, at conferences, we have stopped surrendering our principles. Soviet activity is not suspended merely because the Council of Foreign Ministers disagrees and takes a recess.

Also, we must not feel complacent because we have supremacy in certain kinds of military weapons. The challenge we face is not a military one. I am confident that Soviet leaders do not want war. Also, they are too smart to challenge us at a level where, temporarily at least, they are at a grave disadvantage. The present challenge is at a level where they are well equipped and where we are poorly equipped.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion is that we Americans must work unceasingly for our ideals and we must work in ways that count. It greatly encouraged us in Moscow to know, through President Truman and Senator Vandenberg, that at home constructive policies were being formulated and implemented. We should, of course, seek international agreement whenever such agreement is possible.

We should, of course, invoke the aid of the United Nations whenever it can do the job. But we cannot let ourselves be stymied merely because we cannot get agreement or because the United Nations is not yet able to take over the full task of maintaining freedom in the world. It is up to us to show, in every available way, that free institutions are the means whereby men can save themselves from the sea of misery in which they find themselves.

I do not doubt that such efforts will succeed. Also, as they succeed they will reduce our differences with the Soviet Union. There is one powerful unifying force. That is the will and the welfare of the peoples of the world. We must both appeal to that. Take for example the will and the needs of the peoples of Europe. They do not want to be divided against themselves. They do not want to be unified under the domination of any great power. They want to

increase their economic productivity. They do not want human freedom blotted out. After all, Europe is the cradle of Western civilization.

No European policies can, over a long period, be sustained unless they conform to those basic facts. The United States delegation believes that the policies which it developed at Moscow do conform to the desires and needs of the people of Europe. We feel that the Soviet policies do not conform to those desires or needs. If we are right in that judgment, if we are steadfast, if, in the face of misrepresentation, we can find the way to bring other people to understand what our policies really are and how they work, then I am confident that our policies will be so welcomed that the contradictory policies of the Soviet Union will give way before our own.

Four-power unity could then become a solid reality. That is a result devoutly to be hoped for. It is good to have increased unity between the British, the French and ourselves. But that is not good enough. We all want four-power unity whenever it can be obtained as a reality, not as a sham.

It was somewhat of an ordeal to have spent these seven weeks in unceasing negotiation at Moscow. It was particularly hard because we never had the lift which comes from achieving agreement. There is a tendency under such conditions to become impatient and either agree merely to break the monotony or come home before the possibilities of genuine agreement are fully exhausted.

I think that the United States delegation held to a steady course. That was largely due to the calm yet strong leadership of Secretary Marshall. Also, we were sustained by a sense of unity at home. The Moscow press and radio featured minor defections and dangerously magnified them out of all proportion to their reality. They gave their own people, and some others, the impression that behind the United States delegation was an American people who were vacillating and were divided. As far as the United States delegation was concerned, we knew better. We knew that the American people were solidly backing positive foreign policies which would build peace on its only tested foundation, the foundation of human liberty.

Jewish National Home in Palestine

UNITED NATIONS SHOULD UPHOLD INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF THE LEAGUE

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, *Representative for the Jewish Agency for Palestine*
Delivered before the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations General Assembly
Lake Success, N. Y., May 8, 1947

I SHOULD like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you in the matter of constituting and instructing a special committee of this body, which is to study the problem of Palestine and to bring in recommendations for the future government of that country. We trust that our participation in these deliber-

ations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just solution of this grave international problem which this international community is now earnestly seeking.

Such a successful solution will prove a blessing not only to Palestine and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory

trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory powers as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the mandate, which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, I take it, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their good will and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, " . . . for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under Article 6, the Jewish Agency is entitled, further, to cooperate with the administration in permitting " . . . close settlement by Jews on the land"; and, by Article 11, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore, speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the mandate, " . . . to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint, and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today.

To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

BALFOUR DECLARATION

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's Government as a " . . . declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspiration," declares:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The mandate, in its preamble, recognizes " . . . the his-

torical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and " . . . the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"—"their national home in that country."

Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter, which reads:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments, to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately, in recent years, grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There would be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, dated Oct. 29, 1946. He wrote:

"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear—that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor party in 1945—now represented by the present Government of the United Kingdom which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here, we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such number as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory Government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine mandate to it rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to

consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present Government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine, they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps.

The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the Peace Conference following the first World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East, with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

INVESTIGATE VIOLENCE

The committee of inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being

driven to the pitch of resentment and tension and lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees—men, women and children who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe—are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations, which was to encourage also settlement of the Jews on the land; when in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6 per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression, let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged, nor shall we be engaged, in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind speaking through you and through your committee of inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until

the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people place great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving that other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions—we hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

Self-Determination for Palestine

BRITAIN'S MANDATE ENDED WITH THE LEAGUE

By HENRY CATTAN, *Member of the Delegation of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine*
Delivered before the United Nations General Assembly, Political and Security Committee
Lake Success, N. Y., May 9, 1947

FIRST of all, allow me to express to you and, through you, to the General Committee and the General Assembly the sincere thanks and deep appreciation of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine for the opportunity you have given us to appear before you today. We are also grateful for the great efforts you have spent on the prelimi-

naries of this discussion and for the interest you have expressed in hearing the Arab case, which are evidence of your desire to do justice in this cause.

I propose to limit my remarks to the fundamental elements of the problem, only to those elements which would assist the committee in its task of determining the terms of refer-

THE PLACE AND ADEQUACY OF Religious Education in Our Times

OPENING ASSEMBLY

The Crisis of Religion in Education

I

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Rabbi, Congregation Tifereth Israel, Cleveland, Ohio

A NEW RELIGIOUS orientation is required for the preservation of the American way of life and for the preservation of our civilization.

Much of our thought in recent years has centered overseas. We have been concerned with world reconstruction, with relief of the peoples abroad, with saving mankind from Communism. We have considered many ways of how to strengthen democracy abroad, but it is well to take stock of conditions at home. How sound is the American way of life? A critical barometer of the American way of life is the American home. How secure, how stable, how strong is the American home? For it is the American home which, when all is said and done, is the basic institution. If it is sound, America is sound. The success of our democracy as a way of life is ultimately reflected and gauged by its success in the home, and the quality of family life will, in the last analysis, determine the quality of our national life.

The American Home

Let us have a look at the stability of the American home. Divorce in the United States has now reached an all-time peak, and it is the highest in the world.

Paralleling the shocking increase in divorce in the United States is the similarly shocking increase in juvenile delinquency. The United States Children's Bureau estimates that in 1951 about one million youth came to the attention of the police and that 350,000 boys and girls were brought into our juvenile courts. Since 1951 the numbers have increased still further.

A broken home is in the first place evidence of a lost reverence for basic religious mandates and its first victims are the children. When parents fail in the disciplines of life how can their children, far less mature, be expected to succeed? The emotional pattern of the child's life is determined in the home. Only the secure family, grounded in basic religious loyalties, can raise children whose conduct will insure the social stability of the nation. The primary responsibility of strengthening the American home lies not with the church or with the school but with the parents in the home.

There are, of course, many economic factors and many unsettlements of life today, caused by war, which have contributed to the weakening of the American home. All of which simply goes to point up that it is

far more difficult to maintain a secure family life today than it was in olden days and that, therefore, greater demands must be made upon the individual, upon the inner spiritual strength of the individual—man or woman. Greater wisdom is called for, greater courage, greater idealism, greater sportsmanship to preserve for themselves and for society the one institution for human happiness—the home. For what profits it a man if he is a success in business, if he is a failure in the home; or for a woman if she is a success in whatever interests she may have, if she is a failure as a mother. One who fails as a husband and father or as a mother and wife fails in the most significant reaches of human life. And what profits it a nation, rich and powerful, if millions of its homes are torn by discord and become breeding places of twisted childhood personalities, of law breakers and malefactors.

Society and the Home

Society as such must do its share to protect the home. Society must evolve a system of greater economic stability so that business cycles and prolonged unemployment do not put an unnecessary strain upon the home—a strain which often men and women cannot bear because it is too great for them. Society must seek to avoid war because there is no more disruptive influence on homes than war. Society should provide proper housing facilities and decent homes for families. Society should provide adequate education—preparation for family life—and social agencies to help men and women solve the problems confronting them.

The Personal Problems

But when all is said and done, the problem is primarily a personal problem for individuals, and it cannot be unloaded on society and on government. The great effort must be made by men and women, and they can make that effort only if they accept and acknowledge and live by a clear philosophy of life; if they accept a standard of values, a code of conduct, and live by it. When the mandates of tradition have broken down for men and women, then they must evolve or

accept methods of their own and abide by them and their disciplines. Without such voluntarily accepted codes of conduct by which men live, they are lost. Even with proper housing and with economic self-sufficiency and all such safeguards, the home will crack.

Education

What holds true of the American way of life holds equally true of civilization in our day. For civilization to survive, it is clearly necessary to revise the mood and thought pattern of our age, and to recharge our world culture with new meaning and content. In this task we may count upon science as our ally today. Released from the pseudo-scientific incantations of the past, and from false social philosophies based upon them, education, braced and fortified afresh by the moral axioms of prophetic religion, should now proceed more purposefully than ever before, and more energetically—for it is later than we think—upon its appointed mission to help men discover the best in their minds and hearts, and to direct them to eager cooperative living in a free society.

This education should not be a part time or released-time instruction, relegated to the church or the Sunday school, as a sort of grudging concession to a patriarchal convention, or to a culture run to seed. It should permeate and electrify every subject that is taught, especially the social sciences, every educative institution, every area of social activity for young or old, every agency which molds public opinion. The stone which the builders rejected should now become the chief cornerstone. What our age needs, and what newer education should offer it, is not a corpus of canonized doctrines to be accepted under authority, a new dogmatism as a counterfoil to the monolithic orthodoxy of modern dictatorships, but a new mood and point of view, a new covenant with character, a new and confident devotion to the enduring social ideals of mankind, and to the only valid and unvitiated technique for attaining them. "Make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die . . . turn yourselves, and live!"

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