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Germany, Israel, and the Jews, 1965.

#141

GERMANY, ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

February 28, 1965

Terezin was a relocation center of the Nazis, halfway on the railroad line--the death camps at Auschwitz. Terezin served to guarantee to Auschwitz a steady supply of raw material--human beings. It served also in public relations purposes for the Nazis. Whenever, during the war, a neutral nation might protest on the basis of rumors circulated to it of the massive Nazi exterminations, the diplomats would be brought to Terezin. "See, there are no ovens, no gas chambers here. We simply interred the Jews for the duration. What the diplomats did not see, the daily cattle trains filled with human beings, traveling eastward. They were scheduled to leave the camps late at night long after these diplomats had been ushered out the gates.

Between 1942 and 1944, fifteen thousand children passed through Terezin. There was a school in this camp. Appearances had to be kept up at all costs. But no child ever graduated from this school. Yet, somehow, scraps of the writings and the colorings of these children have survived the war. I would like to read to you this morning a bit of verse of one of these martyred innocents.

When a new child comes everything seems strange to
him.
What? On the ground I have to lie?
Eat black potatoes?
No, not I.
I've got to stay, but its dirty here.
Floor I like, but its dirt I fear.
And I'm supposed to sleep on it.
I'll get all dirty.

Hear the sound of shouting, cries
And, Oh, oh, so many flies.
Everyone knows flies carry disease.
Oh! Something bit me
Wasn't that a bedbug.
Here in Tere, in life is hell
And when I'll go home again
I can't yet tell.

Now, Teddy who wrote this verse was cindered in Auschwitz in 1943. He never went home again. But his murderers did. Those who turned on the gas taps--those who staffed so efficiently Germany's murderously cruel final solution to the Jewish problem, went home. There many of them remain to this day--happy, prosperous, enjoying their firesides and their beer.

Conservative estimates place the number of people exterminated by the Nazis in these camps during the second World War at seven and one-half million. The end of the war, 5,025 Germans were tried and convicted by the Allied Courts. Since that time 5,445 other individuals were tried by the courts of the Federal German Republic and convicted. But many of these were sentenced to incredibly short terms. Typical of the mood and of the sentence in which the so-called Nazi warcrimes trials have taken place, was the recently completed action against two men, one Otto Busch, one Herr MonKumay(?). These two men were named by Adolph Eichman in his trial in Jerusalem, as the organizers and the expeditors of the deportation and extermination of 435,000 Hungarian Jews. Mr. Busch was declared 'not guilty'. Mr. Kumay was sentenced to five years in jail and he will not have to serve a single day. He walked out after

his conviction a free man; because he had been incarcerated, pending trial, the German courts subtracted sufficient time for good behavior. They let him go free.

The good German judge concerned with good German justice, with proper legality was unwilling to accept the testimony of Adolph Eichman; after all, he was a known criminal. And the good German judge, concerned with good German justice was also not willing to accept the testimony of the Israeli, Joel Brandt. The Israeli, who had tried to engineer with Krumay the famous 'Trucks for Jews' deal which was attempted in 1943. Mr. Brandt and other Israelis, according to this judge were too emotionally involved in their testimony.

German justice has been remarkably foot-dragging and scandalously incongruous in the handling of the Nazi war crimes. Nineteen hundred and sixty-four, this past year, twenty-two individuals were tried under major charges. These twenty-two men stood accused of being implicated in the death of over half a million men, woman, and children. Their sentences---two were sentenced to life, four were sentenced to less than fifteen years, twelve were sentenced to from three to six years, four were acquitted. As one irate and indignant prosecutor put it, "we sometimes receive sentences which amount to ten minutes in jail for every person killed."

It was not until 1958, that the German government could be prodded to begin a systematic investigation of the Nazi war crimes. It was only in 1958, the Central Bureau to investigate Nazi war crimes was

established and that the Germans began to burrow into the very complete and systematic records kept by their gestapo and their secret police; and not surprisingly, in a sense symbolical of this whole masquerade. The man who was head--the senior investigator of this legal proceedings against the Nazi war criminals was unmasked six weeks ago by the East German government as a former head of the Hitler Youth.

A trickle of men have perforce come before the German courts, and the^{ir} trials have been legally narrow, and their sentences have been unconscionably gentle--tantamount to a wrist slap here--the verbal reprimand there. German public opinion has not wanted to have these trials. The past, Germany hopes, is behind it. She wants to be forgiven; she wants the world to believe that there is a new Germany, a new mood--the Hitler era was an aberration, that there is no carry-over, to them today. A recent poll of Germans, by the respected Wickert Institute, showed that over seventy percent of the German people favored an immediate cessation of the war trials. (83)

The German Press sensitive to the national mood has been writing articles on the theory on what is called " * which simply means, "we alone are not guilty." "We are more sinned ^{al} against than sinners." Recently the Nation Zeitung, just a month ago, published a long catalogue of British violence, beginning with some action in the year 609, in which Celtic kings murdered a few nuns. Going through British action in Ireland, South Africa, the Sudan

India, including even the bombing of Berlin, Dresden, and Hamburg, during the second World War.' We alone are not guilty. We are more sinned against than sinners. (German)

Now where there is a will...where the governments want to have a popular political platform on which to stand for election, a way can always be devised, words can always be found; a rationalization can always be written. And the words in this case were found within the Constitution, which remains the basic law of the federal republic. And they were found by the Bonn Minister of Justice, who by the way is himself an ex-Nazi, and who was disbarred for six years at the end of the war for his actions under Hitler. And they were found in the provision of that Constitution which said that there shall be a statute of limitations in twenty years, of criminal action. In May of 1965, represents the deadline--twenty years since the end of the war. In Herr Erhardt's stand for election of September, 1966, this year, we saw here a popular program announced in the fall of 1964, that May, indeed, would be the deadline for such action. After May, no more investigations of Nazi crimes, and no prosecutions would be initiated. International furor erupted. It is not only among Jews-- the long in Europe...for all Europe was crushed under the iron-nailed boot of the Nazis. France and Holland announced that they had lifted their own statute of limitations, for these specific crimes, the category of crimes against humanity. Poland announced that she was going to conduct a year-long campaign

of protest against the West German action. East German lifted its own statute of limitations and threatened to reveal from its own archives the record of tens upon hundreds of West German officials, whose past histories implicated them during the Nazi period.

It would appear, as of this moment, that within a week or two the West German Parliament will indeed prolong the terminal date for Nazi war crim prosecutions. The reason does not lie in conscience or in guilt--no great victory has been won or will be won for humanity. Germany simply stumbled politically once too often. There intervened between last fall and this spring, the fiasco, the Bonn-Cairo relationships, the abrogation of the arms contract agreement with Israel. The political soup has simply become too sticky. Herr Erhardt could not stick to this one decision. So the trials will go on, slowly, shoddily, meaninglessly, and with implausibly unjust, unjust sentences.

I confess that Germany's mulish, clumsy handling of this whole war crimes episode has revived my suspicions of the new German. Oh, I know that the Germans claim to the public press that they must be law-abiding, that it was their circumbentation of the law, which during the Hitler days allowed him to come to power. I wish that Germany would in deed, live by its law. But unfortunately Germany can bend its law when it finds it expedient to do so. It is against German law, and it is against its own Constitution for a German National to hire himself out as a mercenary to a foreign

power, or as a mercenary scientist or technician whose sole purpose is to build up the military machinism of other nations. The existence of German scientists in Cairo, Alexandria, where they are building Mr. Nasser's war machines, jet weaponry, and his missiles, is an open secret. Israel has protested their presence for two years or more. The German Constitution forbids their presence in Cairo, but the scientists remain, and the West Germany government with its concern for the law has failed to invoke its own law. I confess that I have grave doubts about the new Germany. Prejudice does not erase so simply, but my concern is not only narrowly Jewish, I have long since given up the hope that Germany was repentant. German conscience had been tricked. Germany wanted to realine its thousand-year bitter history towards the Jews. Germany has yet to recognize the State of Israel. Germany has yet to recall its scientists. Germany was quite willing last month to break unilaterally an arms agreement with Israel. Germany's conscience is remarkably thick-skinned. It's good for Germany--its good for Germans. If the Jew suffers, so be it. But my concern is rather with European peace, with the peace of the world. You know, we Jews are in a sense the weather vane of mankind....when the cold winds blow we are the first to know it, to be chilled -- to shiver. Germany's actions towards Israel and towards the Jewish people, in the past months, have caused us to shiver..its cold. It is time that we called out to the world, to make them realize

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Moscow, and he is establishing all manner of political and commercial and military agreements with the Russian satellite states. Herr

, head of the East German government was to go to Cairo to establish some commercial contacts and contracts. Mr. Nasser was to welcome him. Mr. Nasser did, indeed, welcome him. The West German government was concerned that involved in this welcome would be the recognition of East Germany. There is a famous Holstein Doctrine which holds as a basis foreign policy of West Germany that she must withdraw her counsels and withdraw recognition from any nation which in fact does recognize East Germany. German policy is focused, even at the cost of its own economic advantage--German policy is focused to the East-- on which is labeled reunification. Troubled, disturbed, West Germany appealed to that old friend of democracy, Generalissimo Franco, to use his good offices to adjust the differences between Cairo and Bonn. A certain

ambassador was sent to Cairo. Nasser sent an ambassador to political leverage--he was happy to--yes, he would not officially recognize West Germany. It was easy not to do it, if---if the West German Government would renounce its arms contract with Israel, and if---if the West German government would agree never to recognize the State of Israel. Of course, Germany was delighted. Herr Schroeder, the German Foreign Minister had never been in favor of the old Adenauer-Ben Gurion Arms Agreement. German interests lie with the mighty--with

the, with the large, with the Suez, with the oil. Israel was an embarrassment that in which he was that a technician, in which Germany has always been the expert, called out for a breaking off the ties with Israel. Psychology had drawn Germany to Israel was embarrassed, yes, Herr Schroeden was happy to break this contract. Although he was not quite as happy when the market (?) revealed the secret protocol, that the West German government had agreed never to recognize the State of Israel. This was embarrassing. The west, especially in those nations in which there is a large Jewish public opinion might not like it.

So it was announced in Bonn that another contract, another treaty, another agreement had been scrapped by another German government. Then Bonn was surprisingly chagrined at the explosion of anger and the furor which erupted, in fact. After all, we promised them blood money...reparations. You could almost hear the councils in Bonn, the echo of the old anti-Semitic stereotype. You give a Jew money--what more does he want. Bonn was chagrined that there was this excessive anger in Jerusalem. And Bonn was disturbed that a number of American Jewish business men and others, in an impromptu action, began an embargo for their own company (?) of further imports of West Germany goods. So, Germany was disturbed and the world was disturbed, because of Germany.

What is the focus which all this must be assessed? Simply this--the fires of ambition burn brightly in the Reich. Once upon

a time in the years immediately at the end of the Second World War, under the leadership of Conrad Adenauer, Germany policy was focused to the West. There was talk, as you recall, of a United Europe. Germany would be economically and politically integrated into the West. And the interest of France and of the low countries, in peace and in principle, the supposed new interest of the German politician would guarantee that Germany would not again trample over the world. But since Mr. Adenauer has left office, the focus of German policy has changed. Germany's eyes are not on the West, but on the East. We have not heard much of this in the United States, but Europe knows it and knows it well. General deGaulle, devoted the better part of his last press conference to this specific point. He said this: "Europe has reason always to be darkly suspicious whenever Germany sets out in search of herself." Under Adenauer Germany policy was focused on a United Europe, that interest lags. German eyes are to the East. And he warned West Germany that re-unification cannot take place except through war. The other nations of Europe were not prepared to tolerate the German policy which might precipitate war. Now I know that our own government through four administrations has made the re-unification of Germany elemental in our foreign policy. With all due respect, the State Department has not always revealed the word of God and Moses at Mt. Sinai. The re-unification of Germany, yes. Some time. But no one has answered the simple question, the fundamental question how is it to be achieved. Can you imagine the communist world

giving up a large block of its territory to the free enterprise world? Can you imagine the free enterprise world giving up a large block of our territory to the Communist camp? How is re-unification to be achieved? By war? And what is German? What is Germany? Many a German textbook colors in as German territory large blocks of land which the Poles believe belong to them. Hitler believed that the legitimate boundaries of Germany were the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic. A member of the Parliament rose in Bonn just a month ago and reasserted the legitimate claims of Germany to the Sudatenland. Shades of 1936 and 7th at Munich. Are we to go through another decade of German claims to the Saar, to Alsace-Lorraine, to the Sudaten, to the Polish Corridor, to Danzig? Has it not always been the road to war? Re-unification ^{ultimate} maybe an alternate essential to a stable Europe. I admit that the division of Europe, east and west through the middle of Germany is artificial, but what boundary of Germany is not artificial? Except perhaps the boundaries of Europe. Our own reaction, the State Department's reaction to the events of the past week shows that we have utterly misinterpreted their import. Our concern has been to smooth over the relationships for West Germany with Israel, Cairo, Spain, wherever these relationships are frayed. Our concern has been as always the stability, the security of the West German Government. Germany is predictably anti-Russian. Russia has always been the great threat to Germany in Europe over a thousand

years, and we have made the keystone of our policy in Europe, the strengthening and the arming of West Germany, to see that this is the great road block to Russian ambition. Well and good, but is this answer sufficient? Are we prepared to continue to give to the Bonn Government a blank check to back up its political ambition. We were disturbed by Israel's anger at Germany's action. Mr. Averill Harriman was uprooted from the sands of Palm Beach and precipitously jetted over to Tel Aviv--the smooth Israel tempest. Perhaps, perhaps out of this may come some direct arming Israel by the United States. Perhaps out of this may come a realization in Washington that the only basis of security in the Near East is a political arrangement between Israel, the only democracy in the Near East and the United States, by which we guarantee the boundaries and territory of Israel. Russia has poured into Nasser's army a billion dollars worth of sophisticated weaponry in the last ten years. December of this last year, the United Arab Republic and Russia signed the fourth of their series of Arms Agreements. Mr. Nasser now has 15,000 modern heavy tanks, more than all the tanks that the allies and the Germans had and fought with each other in the Africa in the second World War. Nasser now has in Egypt the most powerful jet air force outside of Europe and of this continent. Nasser has the German scientists and building him the ground to ground missiles, the jet weaponry which can carry nuclear warheads. Perhaps Washington will come to see the deed, to make clear which has so far only been hinted; to make explicit what has so far never been written, that our ultimate concern

is with freedom to the free; with democracy to those who practice it and that the American government will not allow this little outpost of freedom to be destroyed, crushed, by another dictator. Perhaps so--we have yet to see it.

Our government responded to Herr Obnochestein, the German Ambassador to the United States, visit to the State Department, by assuring the State Department, by assuring Mr. Obnochestein, that our government looked with disfavor upon such impromptu boycotts, that the boycott was not a normal form of national activity and we did not espouse it. Letters and telephonic communication was begun in Washington to those American business people who had begun this spontaneous action.

Well, in all the years that the official Arab boycott, against any company which did business with Israel has been in effect, we have never been able to get the State Departments similar statement. The Arab boycott has never been officially condemned, and the State Department has found ways to circumvent its operations in our aid program, in our military program, and elsewhere, where it affects our policy. The American reaction to the West German-Cairo imbroglio was simply to smooth ^{the} way for an ally that had stumbled madly in its international relations. We failed utterly to see what the German action means--what it represents--the fires which lie behind it. We have failed utterly to recognize that now is the time for a major reassessment of our German policy. Are we prepared to go the whole hog with Germany? If Germany maneuvers now, will we re-unify? Are

we prepared to accept the threat of war~~2~~-implicit in this policy.

Some would say, "Rabbi, as a Jew you are understandably passionate. Could it not be that your reactions are excessive. That you fail to see the new Germany because your eyes are grayed over by the fires lit by the old." Perhaps. But you know, the world would have been far better off if it had listened to its Jews in 1930, in 1931, in 1932-- we cried out. The world said, "There is a new Germany"--Germany will be satisfied with the Saar. We can do business with them." We Jews have had a thousand-year bitter history in and with Germany. To know the German soul--^{we}it can sense when there is a change in a German heart. Survival has depended on it, and our defense mechanism is in shock. We read the message clearly.

The end is as I began...by reading to you from the literature of death. This is the work of a twelve-year old who never became thirteen.

Today the ghetto knows a different fear.
Close in its grips.
Death wields an icy scythe -
An evil sickness spreads its terror in its wake
And the victims of its shadow weep, cry.
There father's heartbeat tells its fright and
Mothers bend their heads into their hands.
Now children choke and die with typhus here
And bitter is taken from their backs.
My heart still beats inside my breast
While friends depart for other worlds.
Perhaps, its better, who can say.
In watching this, perhaps, its better to die, today.
But, no, my God, we want to live
Not watch our numbers melt away,
We want to have a better world
We want to work--we must not die.
~~We want to have a better world~~

We want to have a better world. Peace is the fundamental sub-structure, the foundation on which such a world must be built. Peace can come only when the fires of German ambition have been fully quenched.

Put out. The time is now--before the flame burns high. While
there are still controls. While the West decencies still count.



GERMANY, ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

#141

February 28, 1965

The Temple

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

Terezin was a relocation center of the Nazis halfway up the railroad line to the death camps at Auschwitz. Terezin served to guarantee Auschwitz a steady supply of raw material --human beings. Terezin also served a public relations purposes for the Nazis. Whenever, during the war, a neutral nation might protest, on the basis of rumors, circulated to it, the possibility of massive Nazi exterminations its diplomats would be brought to Terezin. "See, there are no ovens, no gas chambers here. We simply have interred the Jews for the duration." The diplomats did not see the daily cattle trains filled with human beings travelling eastward. These were scheduled to leave the camps late at night long after the diplomats had been ushered out the gate.

Between 1942 and 1944, some fifteen thousand children passed through Terezin. There was a school in this camp. Appearances had to be kept up at all costs. But no child ever graduated from this school. Yet, somehow, scraps of the writing and of the coloring of these children have survived the war. I would like to read to you this morning a bit of the verse of one of these martyred innocents.

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to him.
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Floor, why look, its dirt I fear.
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And, Oh, oh, so many flies.
Everyone knows flies carry disease.
Oh! Something bit me
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Here in Terezin life is hell
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Teddy, who wrote this was cindered in Auschwitz in 1943. He never went home again. But his murderers did. Those who turned on the gas taps, those who staffed so efficiently Germany's murderously cruel final solution to the Jewish problem, went home. And there many of them remain to this day --happy, prosperous burghers enjoying their fireside and their beer.

Conservative estimates place the number of people exterminated by the Nazis in these camps during the second World War at seven and one-half million. At the end of the war, 5,025 Germans were tried and convicted by the Allied Courts. Since that time 5,445 other individuals have been tried by the Courts of the Federal German Republic and convicted. Many of these were sentenced to incredibly short terms. Typical of the mood and of the sentence in which the so-called Nazi war crimes trials have taken place is the recently completed action against two men, one Otto Hunsch and one Herman Krumey. These two were named by Adolph Eichmann as the organizers and the expeditors of the deportation and extermination of 435,000 Hungarian Jews. Mr. Hunsch was declared 'not guilty'. Mr. Krumey was sentenced to five years in jail and he will not have to serve a single day. He walked out after his conviction a free man. He had been incarcerated pending trial and the German courts subtracted sufficient time for good behavior to let him go free.

The good German judge concerned with good German justice and proper legality was unwilling to accept the testimony of Adolph Eichmann; after all, Eichmann was a known criminal. And the good German judge, concerned with good German justice was also not willing to accept the testimony of the Israeli, Joel Brandt, who had tried in 1943 to engineer with Krumey the famous 'Trucks for Jews' deal. Mr. Brandt and other Israelis, according to this judge were too emotionally involved.

German justice has been foot-dragging and soft-hearted in the handling of the Nazi war crimes. During nineteen hundred and sixty-four, this past year, twenty-two individuals were tried under major charges. These twenty-two men were implicated in the death of over half a million men, women and children. Their sentences: two were sentenced to life, four were sentenced to less than fifteen years, twelve were sentenced to from three to six years and four were acquitted. As one irate and indignant prosecutor put it "we sometimes receive sentences which amount to ten minutes in jail for every person killed."

It was not until 1958 that the German government could be prodded to begin a systematic investigation of the Nazi war crimes. It was only in 1958 that the Central Bureau to Investigate Nazi war crimes was established and that the Germans began to burrow into the typically complete and systematic records kept by the Gestapo and the SS. Not surprisingly, and in a macabre sense symbolical of this whole masquerade, the senior investigator of this Bureau was unmasked six weeks ago by the East German government as a former head of the Hitler Youth.

A trickle of men perforce have come before the German courts. Their trials have been legally narrow. Their sentences have been unconscionably gentle---tentamount to a wrist slap here and a verbal reprimand there. German public opinion has not wanted these trials. Germany insists the past is behind her. She wants the world to believe that there is a new Germany. The Hitler era was an aberration. There is no carry-over between then and today. A recent poll by the respected Wickert Institute showed that over seventy percent of the German people favored an immediate cessation of the war trials. The German Press sensitive to the national mood

has been writing articles about "Gleichberechtigung" which simply means "we are not the only guilty." "We are more sinned against than sinners." The National Zeitung, just a month ago, published a long catalogue of British violence, beginning with some violence in the year 609 when Celtic kings murdered a few nuns and coming down to British action in Ireland, South Africa, the Sudan, India, including the bombing of Berlin, Dresden, and Hamburg, during the second World War. "We are not the only guilty." "We are more sinned against than sinners." "Gleichberechtigung." Now where there is a will...where a government wants to have a popular political platform on which to stand for election, a way can always be devised, words can always be found to do what a nation wants done. The words in this case were found in the language of the Weimar Constitution which remains the basic law of the Federal Republic. The way out was found by the Bonn Minister of Justice, who by the way is himself an ex-Nazi who was disbarred for six years at the end of the war for his actions under Hitler. The way out was found in a provision of the Weimar Constitution which established a statute of limitations of twenty years for criminal action. May of 1965, represents that deadline. It is twenty years since the end of the war. So as Herr Erhardt's stood for election of this year, it was announced that as of May no new charges against Nazi criminals would be initiated. After May, no more investigations of Nazi crimes would be undertaken. An international furor erupted. Not only among Jews but across the breadth of Europe, all Europe had been crushed under the iron-nailed boot. France and Holland announced that they had lifted their own statute of limitations in the crimes against humanity. Poland announced that she was going to conduct a year-long campaign of protest against the West German action. East Germany lifted its own statute of limitations

and threatened to expose from its own archives the record of tens upon hundreds of West German officials whose past histories implicated them with Nazi atrocities.

It would appear, as of this moment, that within a week or two the West German Parliament will prolong the terminal date for Nazi war crime prosecutions. Their motive does not lie in conscience or in guilt --no great victory has been won for humanity. Rather Germany simply has been caught in the political soup once too often. There are too many current embarrassments to stick to her vanity here. Between last Fall and this Spring occurred the fiasco between Bonn and Cairo which led to the abrogation of the German arms purchase agreement with Israel. The political soup became sticky. Herr Erhardt had to back peddle on this one decision. So the trials will go on, slowly, shoddily, meaninglessly, and with implausible and wrist slapping sentences.

I confess that Germany's mulish and clumsy handling of this whole war crimes episode has revived my suspicions of the new Germany. Oh, I know that the Germans claim that they must be law-abiding, that it was their circumvention of law and due process during the Hitler era allowed Hitler to come to power. I wish Germany would live by its law. But unfortunately Germany still bends its law when it finds it expedient to do so. It is against German law for a German National to hire himself out as a mercenary scientist or technician to build up the military machine of another nation. The presence of German scientists in Cairo and Alexandria where they are building Nasser's war machines, jet weaponry, and missiles, is an open secret. For two years or more Israel has protested their presence. The German Constitution forbids their presence in Cairo, but the scientists remain, and the West German government with

its vaunted concern for the law has failed to invoke its own law.

I confess that I have grave doubts about a new Germany. The wounds are still raw, but my concern is not only narrowly Jewish, I have long since given up the hope that Germany is repentent and that German conscience had been renewed or that Germany wanted to realine its thousand-year bitter history towards the Jew. Germany has yet to recognize the State of Israel. Germany has yet to recall its scientists. Germany was quite willing last month to break unilaterally an arms agreement with Israel. Germany's conscience is remarkably thick-skinned. If it is good for Germany ^{the} its/right thing to do. If Jews suffer, so be it, so it has often been. But my concern is also with European peace, with the peace of the world. You know, we Jews are in a sense the barometer of mankind. When the cold winds blow we are the first to shiver. Germany's actions towards Israel and towards the Jewish people these past months have caused us to shiver. It is time that we called out to the world that German ambition flames. Germany again wants land - the fullness of a power she has never handled wisely. A lively Germany always has meant death across Europe.

The facts are well known and can be briefly stated. Germany has been interested as have all the nations of the world in the economic potential of Near Eastern markets. The German government has invested some \$70 million of loans with Mr. Nasser and has guaranteed the further investment of some \$300 million of equipment and material by its industrialists. Germany follows here normal inter-governmental procedures. Our own Government is equally involved. Germany is interested in markets, in the Suez, in oil, in emergent Africa. This is not surprising -- what is surprising is that this greed - this normal international greed can be

subordinated to a single passion. Germany has put all of this investment in jeopardy. Why? Out of fear. What is her fear? That the Arab nations, especially the United Arab Republic, will recognize the legitimacy of the East German government. Germany dreams of land to the East far more than of markets in the Middle East.

Mr. Nasser, as you well know, has been a favorite of the Soviet for many months. He first tried to play East against West -- and for a long time now he has played largely with the East. He has sponsored a socialist rebellion in the Yemen. He is sending technicians and equipping the Congolese rebels in Central Africa. He is putting pressure on the Libyan king to force us out of our giant air force base in Wheeler. He is playing the game of Moscow, and he is establishing all manner of political and commercial and military agreements with the Russian and with the satellite states. Herr Ulbricht, head of the East German government, was to go to Cairo to establish commercial contacts and sign commercial contracts. Nasser was to welcome him. Nasser did welcome him. This seemed natural enough, but there was panic in Bonn. The West German government feared that this welcome would include the recognition of East Germany. There is a so-called Holstein Doctrine which holds as a basis of West German policy that she must withdraw recognition from any nation which recognizes East Germany. German policy is focused above all else in the East and on reunification. Disturbed by Nasser's invitation to Ulbricht, West Germany appealed to that old friend of democracy, Generalissimo Franco, to use his good offices to adjust the differences between Cairo and Bonn. A Spanish career diplomat, the Marquis de Nerva, was sent to Cairo. Nasser sensed a golden opportunity. Yes, he was willing not to recognize officially Pankow if---if the West German Government would renounce its arms contract

with Israel and if the West German government would agree never to recognize the State of Israel. Bonn was delighted. Herr Schroeder, the Foreign Minister had never favored the Adenauer-Ben Gurion Arms Agreement. German interests lie with the mighty, with the powerful, with Suez, where there is oil. Israel was at most a political nuisance. Guilt had drawn Germany to Israel and Herr Schroeder was happy to be dealing in pure polotik. He announced the abrogation of the arms contract. The pledge never to recognize Israel was to be a secret protocol. Then the Marquis de Nerva prematurely revealed the secret promise. By its actions Benn had shown bad faith. Another German government had shown its contempt for international contracts yet Bonn professed surprise and chagrin at the subsequent explosion of worldwide anger and indignation. "After all, we have paid the Jews blood money...reparations. What more could you ask?" You could almost hear in Bonn the echo of the old anti-Semitic stereotype. Give a Jew money---what more does he want? Bonn was chagrined that there was 'excessive anger in Jerusalem. Bonn was disturbed when a number of American Jewish businessmen and others, in an impromptu action, began a private embargo of West German goods. So, the matter lay. Germany was disturbed and the world was disturbed, because of Germany. The scrapping of international obligations by Germany had an all too familiar ring.

The fires of ambition burn brightly in the Reich. Once upon a time in the years immediately at the end of the Second World War, under the leadership of Conrad Adenauer, German policy was focused on the West. There was talk, as you recall, of a United Europe. Germany would be economically and politically integrated into the West. The interests of France and of the Low Countries in peace and principle and the supposed new soul of the German politician would guarantee that Germany would not again trample over the world. Since Mr. Adenauer has left office, the

the focus is on a united Germany not a united Europe. We have not heard much of this in the United States, but Europe knows it and knows it well. General de Gaulle devoted the better part of his last press conference to this specific point! "Europe has reason always to be darkly suspicious whenever Germany sets out in search of herself." Under Adenauer German policy was focused on a United Europe..that interest has lagged. German eyes are to the East. The General warned West Germany that re-unification cannot take place except through war and that the rest of Europe would not tolerate a German policy which might precipitate war. Now I know that our government has made the reunification of Germany an elemental plank in our foreign policy. With all due respect State Department policy is not the revealed word of God to Moses at Mt. Sinai. The reunification of Germany, yes. Some time. When it comes about naturally - if and when the Cold War is resolved. Can you imagine the communist world giving up a large block of its territory to the free enterprise world or the capitalist world giving up a large block of our territory to the Communist camp? How is reunification to be achieved? German reunification is implausible today. Beyond the question of reasonable tactics, there is a question of territory. What is Germany? Many a German textbook colors in as German large blocks of land which the Poles believe belong to them. Hitler believed that the legitimate boundaries of Germany were the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic. Just a month ago a member of the Parliament rose in Bonn and reasserted the claims of Germany to the Sudetenland. Shades of 1936 and Munich. Are we to go through another decade of German claims to the Saar, to Alsace-Lorraine, to the Sudeten, to the Polish Corridor, to Danzig? Has this not always been the road to war? Reunification may ultimately be essential to a stable Europe. The division of Europe,

east and west, through the middle of Germany is artificial, but what boundary of Germany is not artificial?

Our State Department's reaction to the events of the past week shows that we have utterly misinterpreted their import. Our concern has been to smooth over the relationships of West Germany with Israel and of West Germany with Cairo. Our concern is as always the stability and security of the West German Government. Germany is predictably anti-Russian. We have made the strengthening and the arming of West Germany the keystone of our policy in Europe. We see Germany as the essential road block to Russian ambition. Well and good, but are we prepared to give Bonn a blank check to back up its political ambition?

Washington was disturbed by Israel's angry retaliation to Germany's action. Mr. Averill Harriman was uprooted from the sands of Palm Beach and precipitously jetted to Tel Aviv to sooth Israel's temper. Perhaps out of this may come some direct arming of Israel by the United States. Perhaps out of this there may come a realization in Washington that the only basis of security in the Near East is a political arrangement between Israel, the only democracy in the Near East, and the United States, by which we guarantee the boundaries and territory of this little land. In the last ten years Russia has poured into Nasser's army a billion dollars worth of sophisticated weaponry. In December of this last year, the United Arab Republic and Russia signed the fourth of a long series of Arms Agreements. Nasser now has 15,000 modern heavy tanks, more than all the tanks used by the Allies and the Germans had during the African campaign of World War Two. Nasser now had the most powerful jet air force outside of Europe and of this continent. Nasser has German scientists to build ground to ground missiles and jet weaponry to carry nuclear warheads. Perhaps Washington

will come to make clear which has so far only been hinted: to make explicit what has so far never been established, that our ultimate concern is with freedom and with the free; with democracy and with those who practice it. That the American government will not allow this little outpost of freedom to be destroyed, crushed, by another dictator. Perhaps so--though we have yet to see it.

Our State Department responded to a visit of the German Ambassador with an assurance that our government looked with disfavor upon impromptu boycotts. Communication was begun in Washington with those business people who had initiated this spontaneous action. In all the years that the official Arab boycott against any company which did business with Israel has been in effect, our government has never issued a similar statement. The Arab boycott has never been officially condemned. American reaction to the West German-Cairo imbroglio was simply to smooth an ally who had stumbled badly in the handling of her international relations. We failed utterly to see what the German action means --what it represents--the fires which lie behind it. We have failed utterly to recognize that now is the moment for a major reassessment of our German policy. Are we prepared to continue to allow Germany the blank check so far tendered? Are we prepared to accept the threat of war--implicit in our policy?

Some would say, "Rabbi, as a Jew you are understandably passionate. Could it not be that your reactions are excessive? Could it not be that your reactions are excessive? Could it not be that you fail to see the new Germany because you cannot forget the old?" Perhaps. But you know, the world would have been far better off if it had listened to its Jews in 1930, in 1931, in 1932--when we cried out. The world said "There is a new Germany--Germany will be satisfied with the Saar. We can do business

with them." We Jews knew better. We have had a thousand-year bitter history in and with Germany. We know the German soul. Survival has depended on it.

May I end this as I began by reading to you from the literature of death. This is the work of a twelve-year old who never became thirteen.

Today the ghetto knows a different fear.
Close in its grips.
Death wields an icy scythe -
An evil sickness spreads in terror in its wake
And the victims of its shadow weep, cry.
Their father's heartbeat tells its fright and
Mothers bend their heads into their hands.
Now children choke and die with typhus here
And bitter tax is taken from their hands.
My heart still beats inside my breast
While friends depart for other worlds.
Perhaps, its better, who can say.
In watching this, perhaps, its better to die, today.
But, no, my God, we want to live
Not watch our numbers melt away,
We want to have a better world
We want to work--we must not die

We want to have a better world. Peace is the fundamental sub-structure on which such a world must be built. Peace can come only when the fires of German ambition have been fully put out. The time is now--before the flame burns high. While there are controls. While Western power still counts.

RESUME' OF RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER'S ADDRESS

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 28

"GERMANY -ISRAEL AND THE JEWS"

Ugly Memories and Ugly Actions

The past week's events have focused upon Bonn and Israel. An unhappy record must be rehearsed. Bonn has never recognized the state of Israel nor has Bonn recalled its scientists and technicians who are building Mr. Nasser's missile armory. Now Bonn has shown an absolute indifference to Israel's security by a hasty cancellation of an arms purchase contract under pressure from Egypt. This record must be noted and there must be added to it Bonn's eagerness to end the embarrassment of continuing prosecution of Ex-Nazis for war crimes. The Jewish people have reason to remember Germany, and Germany's present policies have not convinced the Jewish people that there is a new Germany.

But the incidents of the past week equally concern all peace-loving people. Germany's actions can be understood only in reference to her eagerness for reunification. Why did Bonn bow to Cairo? Less Cairo recognize the East German government? Since Herr Erhardt has assumed office, German ambition has vaulted and the time table of reunification has been pushed ahead. The West has assumed that reunifications must be - - ultimately. Bonn wants it now. Mr. Erhardt has reoriented German policy from West to East - from the urgency of a United Europe to the urgency of an integrated Germany. German unification now is a threat to the people of the world. Whose arms will impose it and where does it end? What is the legitimate territory of Germany? German texts color in as German, part of what Poland believes to be her territory. A German deputy spoke last month of Germany's rights to the Sudetenland. Shades of Munich! General DeGaulle was sufficiently concerned about Germany's passion to warn her publicly against haste and of the need to be explicit as to boundaries.

Germany's intemperate and excited reaction to Mr. Ulbricht's Egyptian visit gave the world a start. Here was naked evidence of a Germany panting for territory and power. The world remembered that Germany's search for this greater self had plunged mankind into holocaust three times in a century. Will there be a fourth German war? Ought the U. S. not reassess our sponsorship of reunification? Would it not be tragic if our affability fanned dangerous flames and raised high deadly hopes? Must we not all beware lest German dreams turn out to be a nightmare for the entire world?



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Germany's intemperate and excited reaction to Mr. Ulbricht's visit to ^{Egyptian} ~~Egypt~~
^{To} alerted the world that Germany's ambitions. An ambitious Germany has plunged
the world into holocaust three times in the last century. It is time that the
American government reassessed our sponsorship of reunification. It would be
tragic if our affability encouraged further the German dreams, for these could
turn out to be a nightmare for the entire world.

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DEADLY HOPE? MUST WE NOT ALL BEWARE LEST GERMAN
DREAMS

Tolson was a temporary substitute camp halfway on the road to ~~the desert~~ ~~the mountains~~ at its mouth, Tolson seemed to guarantee constantly a steady supply of new material and a High Public relations campaign. When needed material appeared during it some of the best camps; one day he said about Tolson "he, we are no small wonder - 600 men would do into entire the Jews for the duration. The day after the first of January left Tolson after several weeks had been worked out.

Between 1942 & 1944 15,000 children under 15 passed through
Terezin. At Terezin there were a school — library and kindergarten
bandages & nurses & nothing and voluntary of those imprisoned
special arranged to live, one and very well.

When we were inside
Everything seems strange to him.
What, is the ground 2 hours to die?
Eat black potatoes? no! not 21.

One just a try? See clearly how!

The place - ~~very good~~, ~~it's~~ ~~not~~, 2 years!

Cond 2 was supposed to sleep on it.

உயிர் உணர்வு

Hence sound of shawley, ~~and~~.

Correct, Oh, no many places

Everyone knows how easy it is to

Q. Was there any other person in the room? W. I don't know.

1666 - Troyer left in hull.

and some 2'00 gms long, 2 inch girth

Teddy, who signed ~~last~~ ~~name~~, ~~wrote~~ ~~in~~ ~~1973~~.

Ben. R. G. ... on ... and ... in ...
to the ... problem.

"Ben", he said "has left ... and
dark ... among his ... for ...
popularity in ... of himself.

... recalled Mr. ...'s ... of ...
... a ... and he ...
... ^{REVERSAL} ...
... "in ... in a ... of ...
"..." in a ...
... ? ...
... to in ...
... ?
... ?

... 1970, ... in 1917
... 1920's - ...
...
...
... !
... .

... on ...
...
... -

much reputation. To avoid the committee and, he selected
Leonard Frank to advise a Sp. department to negotiate
with Moscow, must be a golden opportunity. You know
would duly recognize PANKOW of Bonn cancelled the
recovery parties of the same agreement would cancel out of
Bonn and then to recovery to be. It seemed an
easy business in Bonn. The F.M. Heinrich had never been
in favor of the cancelled in the first place. Bonn must
be aligned with the major powers of the world. The world
was ^{happily cancelled} ~~cancelled~~! ^{Though} Bonn was ~~not~~ ^{not} unhappy
by the pre-emptive disclosure of the Margaret De Nevers, the
Sp. intermediary, of the unimpaired political lead toward
winning out to be recognized.

in the name of German ambassador just as imposed! of it all in a further way, I had
W.B. 2000 speaking on a further note
Bonn appeared surprised at the hand of ambassador
journal. Bonn of proposed change at the particular
highly imposed & general manifestation in the U.S. "But
we proposed financial rehabilitation!" the financial
rehabilitation was with the most careful and just many
for out long body line, many are not guaranteed fund,
security.

But let us leave the specific financial improvement
of all the for a moment, the one has been under the day,
rehabilitation and concern has changed the negotiation - The

I am afraid that our joint response is yet more common place
old tricks. In yet Washington has spoken of our desire to make
matters more for NATO ally. Mr. Hammer even requested for a full
Beck vacation to send to you. to quicken what then happened
and Mr. Beck was President's "very important matter". Would
that our joint way at such meetings be used for specific American
disputes and today continued to move to balance out some
our case. Our kind of agreement was further supported by the State
and announcement after the Krupp visit and the point about
the importance of American loyalty. "It is a matter of principle,
we do not have loyalty as a form of tribute." [I must

also add the State has been officially condemned to official
and loyalty against American from being in fact.

American policy in Europe - NATO also has been letting
an increasingly into them being joint Water opened
Berlin, passed Bonn, a move parallel to German W. German
economic movement. Well good! as various press

a progressive movement like for new to be
revolutionary movement. But an unstable movement - and on
poor - is likely to move slow - and we had better take
action now to make sure that we support
our joint or for our own could not support
for such negotiation - and we are not going to be
integrated into the West - not putting for us to be
lost.

It is true that an entire business policy was discussed.
But we can give a black card - we need to be for
non useful of an credit.

Some money - you are not a recipient - can you
your response is understand of passport - perhaps -
but we need to be at several numbers for a number
of the card entered to the year - 1930 - 31 - 32 -
when you are expected - perhaps - why?
2 no not! Perhaps because we want to make
of peace -

I would not be a WRHS member to you
for the winter party of Treasure - it would be nice -
I hope my mail



MARTHA REZNICK

The role of symbol and ritual in religious life is so we have some other things to help us believe in God. For the Christians, Jesus is a symbol for they believe he is the son of God and the Messiah. They pray to Jesus and believe in him.

We have many Jewish rituals and symbols. They are a part of our life because even we sometimes may say we don't believe in them we actually do. Such as lighting the candles on Friday night altho we may not do this we actually know it is right and we should do it. So, we really do believe in it. The wine and the blessing over it; the wine is a symbol and the blessing over it is an important part of our Jewish lives. Even coming to Sabbath School is a ritual. We are learning all the Jewish meanings and symbols. Rituals and symbols play a small role in my life because I am often thinking of them, but they really mean something to me and when I think of them I think of our Jewish life and heritage.

Yes, symbols are important for us to have if we didn't even have a Temple, a Rabbi, a Prayer Book or any of our symbols we couldn't really have a full complete religion. They help us to believe in God and know the meaning of our religion.

Public prayer is important to Jews because when we pray together it helps bring us closer to God and Israel. When praying to God our Jewish hopes and aspirations made clearer to us and we can think better also. When we speak out loud we express ourselves easier and better.

WRHS

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