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Non-Violence: Does it Work?, 1983.

Non-Violence: Does It Work?

Daniel Jeremy Silver

April 17, 1983

Contrary to the popular saying, war is man's oldest profession. All the ancient pantheons included a god of war, a Mars, and the god of war was not only a ferocious devil god, red of tooth and claw; but also a protector deity. People at all times have needed protection from their enemies.

Realists describe war as statecraft pursued by other means, which I translate to mean that war is the way tribes or countries seek to satisfy their communal greed and to work out ~~their~~ communal aggressions. As far as we know, every family tribe or society which has lived close by another human community has ~~organized some means of defense to protect their possessions and their persons~~. But simply, and I believe with some justice, this means that every family tribe or society which has ever lived has alternately felt threatened by attack and tempted to reach out to take what does not belong to it. ~~Greedy can always be rationalized with necessary defense, as taking back what is one's by right or as providing Lebensraum for its population.~~ Perhaps the saddest fact which history teaches ~~us~~ is that most wars have been fought under the illusion² that war ^{was} is the way to peace and ^{would be} that ~~this war, the last war, will be~~ the war that will end forever the necessity of another war.

Despite its commitment to peace, ^{The Biblical Tradition} Judaism does not blink away the necessity for self-defense. ^{The Bible does not espouse} ~~We are not~~ a pacifist tradition. Both ancient Israel and ancient Judea maintained standing armies. ^{TEXT} The ~~Torah~~ suggests that God, Himself, often led out the hosts of Israel ~~against those nations which barred the way of the Israelites during the wilderness trek.~~

^{HOWEVER IT NEVER GLORIFIED. IT IS TREATED AS AN} War ^{is looked upon} ~~is~~ sometimes unfortunate necessity. ~~It is never glorified.~~

²Military power is never paraded as proof of the nation's glory, "Let not the strong man glory in his strength," "Not by power, nor by might, but by my spirit." I could put together a thick sheaf of statements from the Bible and later rabbinic literature which emphasize the importance, necessity and urgency of peace. "Let the way of the righteous be the making of the peace." "How beautiful upon the mountain tops

are the footsteps of the messenger of good tidings who brings the message of peace."

The Talmud tells us "Seek peace and pursue it" and later commentators add, "Seek peace in your own place and pursue peace in the place of others." ^{The Jewish scriptures say,} For the last two thousand

^{with a prayer for peace} years the petitional prayers in our worship, the Amidah, have ended with the prayer:

"Grant us peace, thy most precious gift of Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the nations of the world."

^{is shared by all who retain a spark of sanity} The hope of peace and the need for peace are feelings we all share. Unfortunately, ^{we've not been able to translate hope into reality. Peacemaking is still} its achievement is illusive. When I think of all the brain power which human-kind has brought to bear on the problems which confront human society, I want to cry when ^{a primitive ant dependence almost entirely in trying to calculate off} I recognize how little progress there has been in the area of peacemaking. We are not ^{intentional enemies - what we call deterring. No cave man} much better than the cave man as he tried to make his lair safe from attack. The

medievals attempted to build impregnable castles. We have our bomb shelters and ^{own} because ^{missile silos} we recognize their limitations we invest the best brains of our scientists in creating new weapon technologies in the vain hope that we can create weapons which would punish an aggressor more seriously than he can punish us and so deter him from attack.

^{creation is a military art developed by our} Then, as now, peacekeeping is ^{carried out by} building stronger fortifications and developing even more powerful arms and armour.

^{it's an approach which doesn't work} If history teaches us anything, this attempt to create peace through military means is feckless. There will always be someone ^{general} who believes he can storm the impregnable castle or ^{as a scientist who believes he can counter} defend the most advanced weapons system. There is no electronic defense which cannot be pierced and no bomb shelter which can protect humankind from nuclear attack.

Ours is not the first generation to live under the shadow of attack, and ^{so} because I'm a realist I pray that we will not be the last. I find it interesting that ^{these} for much ^{and times when we pay little attention to the threat and often} of the post-war period we have lived with the bomb without too much expressed anxiety; yet, there are times, like now, when anxiety mounts and tension ripples through the society. The nuclear freeze movement is a clear indication of the immediacy of our concern. Yet, Fail Safe and Dr. Strangelove have been facts of life since the end of the

YET EVEN AT THE TIME OF THE NUCLEAR PACTS WERE MADE,
 second World War. Given the anxieties about war which is perennial, I hope some
 day psychologists will explain to us why at some times we feel less burdened by this
 danger and why at other times we feel the danger to be more immediate.

Some have related this peaking of concern to the belated recognition by the gen-
 eral public that the Soviet Union has been pouring much of its wealth into a massive
 military buildup and that our administration is determined to counter this threat.
 Presumably, the publicity about the Soviet's activity and about our program of military
 catchup has brought latent anxieties to the surface. It might be worth it if there
 was some hope in this "anything you can do I can do better" approach, but the arms
 race only leaps to even more dangerous and expensive expenditures by the nations in-
 volved. It's an unfortunate truth that every arms race ends in war. Any peace based
 solely on threat or deterrence is fragile and, inevitably, ends in conflict.

Our anxieties naturally lead us to cast around for some program which will reduce
 the threat and resolve the tensions. For many, the nuclear freeze proposal seems to fill
 that bill. Europeans, who live closer to East-West divide, have set more importance
 on preventing development of the Cruise missile and in strategic arms limitation
 negotiations.

I am not an arms control expert, but I must confess that I set little store by
 either the nuclear freeze resolution or the current arms Geneva negotiations. Given
 the realistic fears the world's nations have for each other, any freeze program is

doomed from the start. The minute the pact is signed each nation will bend its ener-
 gies to find ways to militarily one-up the other. The negotiations go nowhere for
 the same reasons. When a business negotiates a contract the parties do so after a
 careful calculation of benefits and costs and with the recognition that if one party
 reneges, finds that it is no longer to its benefit to carry out its terms, a court
 has the power to enforce the original terms. There are no courts of law in the jungle
 which the nations of our world inhabit and no neutral enforcing agent. When the cold-
 eyed statesmen of the world calculate their national advantage and enter into an arms
 limitation agreement, as they sometimes do, they stick to its terms as long as it is to

their advantage, and if they decide to break the contract there is no court which can enforce it.

Some of you may remember the naval treaties which were negotiated after the first World War. The battleship was the super weapon of the twenties and the major naval ^{powers} ~~countries~~ negotiated a series of treaties which limited the number and the size of the dreadnoughts that could be built. The Western allies, who were tired of war, looked upon these treaties as a way of ^{reducing military costs} ~~saving monies~~ for domestic purposes. Germany and Japan looked upon these treaties as a means of gaining advantage on the West and proceeded to build a series of pocket battleships which were just a foot short of the size stipulated in the ~~contract~~, though they had, ^{in fact}, greater fire power. ^{no battleships} The letter of an arms limitation treaty or a SALT treaty is one thing, the spirit of such a treaty quite another. ^{Terms of} The first and second SALT Treaties ended with more nuclear warheads in place than in the year when the U.S. and the USSR negotiated these arrangements. ~~Given the mutual distrust which exists between East and West, between all countries of the earth, it is unlikely that an arms limitation treaty would end in anything but a determined effort by the powers that be to get around its terms. There's always a way around paper, and as a last resort a nation can just tear up the agreement.~~

Before we begin to fool ourselves about the willingness of governments to reduce armaments, we should look at a much simpler problem, a domestic problem, our attempt to take away the revolvers and the guns of those who threaten us on the street and in our homes. ^{Our domestic arms limitation program has been a total} ~~The simple truth is that we have been totally unsuccessful even in that~~ ^{Failure} ~~limited objective.~~ At the end of every ~~single year since World War II~~ ^{AND} there have been more guns in the hands of more Americans than when the year began.

^{with what passes for statesmanship, it's not surprising} Given these frustrations, ~~we should not be surprised~~ that some have begun to look for more radical programs which might help us deal with the question of life and death on earth. ^{Jennet Schell} ~~Some have~~ ^{in his popular book} ~~advocated~~ ^{was} an end to ~~all nation states~~ but have not been able to describe how this could be achieved. Others advocate unilateral disarmament but have not been able to ^{show us} ~~describe~~ how we might keep our freedoms. Others have advocated active non-violence and ^{let the force be} ~~have wondered whether~~ the example ^{of} ~~that~~ Mohandas Ghandi

By standing up to, ~~English army armed only with his weapons~~
~~set might not be one we could and should explore and exploit.~~ Why not, like Ghandi,
~~bandhi freedom~~, could we ~~_____~~
 bare our breasts and try, by exposing ourselves, to deflect the world from ag-
 gression.

There is no question that Ghandi is to be numbered among the heroic and noble figure
 of our century. He is seen as that most unusual of humans, a successful saint, ^{IN A SENSE} and

it is ^{THE} ~~the~~ assumption of success which attracts us to his example. We want results
^{SAINTS, BUT DE FACTO WE WANT HISTORIANS AND NOT SAINTS}
 from our ~~peacemakers~~. Our world pays little attention to saintly failures. Actually,
^{HOW TO MEASURE}
 historians ~~debate~~ Ghandi's success. They suggest that Indian independence was ~~inevi-~~

~~table in this century~~ and would have come whether or not Ghandi had appeared on the scene

^{BY} In this century colonialism has simply become ~~too expensive an investment for the Eu-~~
~~economic and political reasons to the imperial powers.~~ INDIA WAS NOT
~~ropean colonial powers, and we have seen the nations of the Third World gain their in-~~
~~dependence, one after another.~~ ^{ALREADY} Some did so by force, others by negotiation. Ghandi
^{NO ONLY NATION TO GAIN}
^{gained independence} or no, England could no longer afford India.

In ~~reality~~, Ghandi's attraction lies ~~less in his success than~~ in his ability to
 personify a ~~political~~ policy which ^{EARLY ON, MORAL MEANS TO ACHIEVE A}
~~political end.~~ He ~~stands for~~ ^{political end.} the power of moral courage and a non-
~~militaristic response to threat.~~ His ideas have the same inherent appeal as Amos,
^{NEAR TO WORK - IT WORKS} ^{WAS DE-UNGER} ^{MADE BY FORCE}

"Seek peace and pursue it;" Jesus; if someone strikes you on one cheek, turn the other
 one also; and the Hindu concept of Ahimsa, that one ^{should} ~~must~~ act in such a way that ^{AN} ~~one's~~
 enemy is turned into a friend.

^{Ghandi's life exposed the ambition and greed of most leaders.}
~~For much of Ghandi's attractiveness lies in his integrity.~~ He gained great
 power, but ^{NEVER} ~~unlike most other leaders he did not use~~ this power for his material ben-
 efit. Where others rejoice in the ^{power, and circumstances if the white house} ~~good life power provides,~~ Ghandi lived in a simple
 hut on his ashram. Other leaders drive around in air-conditioned limousines, Ghandi
 traveled in a third-class coach or walked on bare feet across the Indian country-
 side. Where others dress well and coutouriers fight among themselves to dress their
 wives, Ghandi wore a simple loin cloth and asked nothing for his family. The auster-
^{his}
 ity of life is compelling. It is not surprising that he came to be seen as the Ma-
 hatma, the great soul.

Ghandi saw not ~~only~~ ^{AND} England's faults ~~but~~ ^{TUNED} India's ~~as well~~. He used his suasive power not only to point out the economic injustices of British rule but to remind India's merchant ~~princes~~ ^{WHO NEGOTIATED} that they must treat their workers decently and pay them a decent wage. He defended the outcasts, ~~that class of the Indian population which had been re-~~ ^{THE MARGINAL, AS NATURAL, HIGHER, AND} duced not only to poverty but to the status of a non-human. Ghandi brought them into his ashram and gave them equal place there with the well-born and the wealthy. ~~He~~ saw evil wherever it existed and ~~he~~ tried to combat evil by making the oppressors understand that they were doing violence not only to the oppressed but to themselves. They should mend their ways not only because they were harming others but for their own dignity and benefit. Ghandi's doctrine ~~is essentially the thesis:~~ ^{HAD THE QUALITY OF SIMPLICITY,} I will not return evil for good; I will not respond to violence with violence; I will disobey unjust laws, but I will not deny my disobedience and I will accept whatever ~~suffering~~ ^{PAIN} ~~my act of non-violence~~ ^{ENDORS} earns me. If I must suffer, then let my patience lead those who enforce evil laws to recognize the wrongness of their acts and the cost they were paying for being agents of an oppressive political or economic system.

It's a noble doctrine ~~but, unfortunately, it doesn't always work.~~ ^{IT SEEMS TO WORK IN INDIA, BUT IT WON'T WORK} Violence ~~today is institutionalized. It's no longer simply a matter of a single person's predis-~~ ^{I DON'T THINK SO, VIOLENCE, CONFLICT, IS FALLO TO FALLO CONTRADICTION} position. About a year after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ~~and so brought the Japanese war to a quick end,~~ Margaret Brook White, the photographer, asked Ghandi what he would do if a plane carrying an atomic bomb flew overhead. How would you change that pilot's heart? Ghandi responded: 'I would not go underground, I would come out in the open and let the pilot see I have not a trace of ill will against him; I know the pilot will not see our faces from his great height but the longing in our hearts, the will that he not come to harm, would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened.' That's a brave answer and no one doubts that Ghandi would have stood fast, but ~~it clearly wouldn't work.~~ ^{HE'D NOT STAY NO LONGER IN THE AIR} Flying five to ten miles above the earth in the noisy cocoon of a plane's cockpit, the pilot would not see Ghandi standing silently below nor would his head phones bring him the voice of Ghandi praying for the well-being of his soul. ~~Machines are impervious to human emotions~~

Modern warfare no longer is decided by face-to-face engagement. The destroyer no longer sees the person he destroys. In 1946 Margaret Brook White questioned Ghandi about the pilot of a plane flying several miles overhead. Today we'd ask the question about a technician at ~~missile~~^{or} control center several thousand miles away from ~~the target.~~^{missile's} IN AN AGE OF sophisticated Technology

In the inhuman conditions which our technology has brought into being, the idea that the courage of a single human being, or even of a community of men and women of saintly courage, could be compelling is no longer really tenable.

The philosopher, Martin Buber, whose ~~best~~ I and Thou has become one of the most popular books of religion and philosophy in the twentieth century, was a contemporary of Ghandi's. Actually, I and Thou provides some of the explanation of how Ghandi achieved what he did achieve. I and Thou is a study of human relationships. Buber believed that there are essentially two kinds of relationships: I-it and I-thou. An I-it relationship is a relationship where the I considers only the usefulness of another to himself. When I go to the store I don't think of the personality of the clerk. When I lecture to a class of 200 I can't really think of them as individuals. I'm simply the teacher and they're simply my class. Most of our relationships, inevitably, are I-it relationships in which we deal with people who are necessary to our lives.

On the other hand, An I-thou relationship is one of openness, one in which my personality and my needs and your personality and your needs are intimately exchanged. ^{REACT ON EACH OTHER}

An I-it relationship ^{but does not intimately affect us;} is functional, ^{I AND} but an I-thou relationship is the basis of friendship, love, intimacy and true learning. In an I-thou relationship there is a flow of personality, a flow of ideas, a flow of empathy back and forth and ^{WE ARE} ~~no one~~ changes in the process. ^{GANDHI'S WAY IN HIS ABILITY TO MAKE} Ghandi ^A made England look at him as a Thou, not as an it, another heathen native or loin-clothed holy man. ^{HIS ABILITY ENCOURAGED THEM.} When Ghandi stood up in an Indian court and said, 'yes, I have broken the laws of sedition and I am prepared to accept whatever punishment you determine,' the judge pronounced sentence, but was changed by Ghandi's example and courage. He had been deprived of that ultimate confidence in the majesty of England's laws that he had before. He had become a more sensitive human being.

Ghandi moved men in large part because he lived in an era when for the first time the world became conscious of all its parts. Consciously or unconsciously, he was one of the first great leaders to recognize and take advantage of the technological revolution in communications to effect public policy. Had he lived a hundred years earlier, his long march from his ashram to the coast where he proposed to make SALT in defiance of the British SALT monopoly, his act might have granted two lines in the London Times which would have been published six weeks after the event and simply reported that an Indian holy man had taken this quaint protest. His act would have made little impression on India or the world, but Ghandi lived in the era of the camera and the telegraph. Reporters and photographers followed him to the sea and his protest made compelling next day news throughout the world. Ghandi's I-thou impact on many in the West sensitive to the evils of imperialism paradoxically was made possible by the machine he had so little use for. Technology gave his action a sense of immediacy and Ghandi entered an I-you relationship with many throughout the world who were ready to condemn the Raj and eager to believe that the nobility of the human spirit could make possible the world's hopes for peace and justice.

I and Thou explains something of the psychological mechanism which accounts for Ghandi's impact, how he was able to affect those with whom he came in immediate contact and through the media with thousands who knew him only by reputation. He did ^{change} ~~change~~ ^{open the eyes of those imperialists who already had some doubts about the Raj,} many a conflicted imperialist into a believer in Indian independence. But what of those with whom neither he nor we can have anything but an I-it contact, the pilot in the plane, the man in the missile control center? I'm afraid that much as we would like to believe otherwise, there are ~~many~~ ^{some} situations in which Ghandi's concept of the power of active non-violence will not achieve its desired effect. Ahimsa and Satya ^{Graha} are not panaceas. I'd like to ^{illustrate this to you} ~~read to you~~ from an article Ghandi published on the 26th of November in 1938 in his paper, Harijan. ^{by reading it on the} ~~The untouchable~~ Ghandi raised two questions: ^{the use of force against!} ~~the question of Jewish settlement in Palestine and the question of the German treatment of the Jews.~~ Ghandi begins by saying he has been asked a number of times about these issues. He finds them difficult to answer. ~~He sees the Jews as the harijans, outcasts of Christianity by which he means that over the centuries Chris-~~

~~tianity devised and executed a religion based concept of apartheid which turned the Jews into pariahs just as Hindus had done for the untouchables.~~

My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have know them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became lifelong companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanctions have been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them.

~~But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for a national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. . . Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?~~

~~Of course the nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled?~~

~~But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. . .~~

Germany is showing to the world how efficiently violence can be worked when it is not hampered by any hypocrisy or weakness masquerading as humanitarianism. It is also showing how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness.

Can the Jews resist this organized and shameless persecution?

Is there a way to preserve their self-respect, and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn? I submit there is. . . If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest gentile German might, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this I should not wait for the fellow-Jews

to join me in civil resistance, but would have confidence that in the end the rest were bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can. . .

I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading manhunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the Godless fury of dehumanized man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity. They will have rendered service to fellow-Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

Martin Buber took it upon himself to respond to Gandhi. He reminded Gandhi that ~~this was November of 1938. The Nuremberg laws had been passed. In Germany the Jew~~ ^{HITLER HAD BEEN IN POWER OVER HALF A DECADE AND HAD NEVER DEVIATED} ~~was required to wear a yellow badge on his garment. Kristalnacht, the burning of the~~ ^{HE WOULD HAVE SEEN PICTURES OF JEWS BEING BURNED AND WHIPPED} ~~synagogues, had taken place. The concentration camps were open though not yet the death~~ ~~camps. The concept of racialism had been proclaimed. Murder and violence were openly~~ ^{PERMANENT} ~~tolerated against the Jew and it was Hitler's announced policy to make Germany Judenrein.~~ Martin Buber ~~tried to point out to Gandhi the difference between Germany in the 1930's,~~ ^{and} ~~and India in the 1920's and 30's. He made the point that Gandhi's prescription was~~ ~~little more than a prescription for mass suicide, and he said that Jews are taught by~~ ~~Scripture not to commit suicide. The Torah was given to Israel to live by it, not to~~ ~~die for it. Martyrdom might be an acceptable solution if in fact it had any chance~~ ~~of success, but against an ideologically motivated foe it has none. Ideological fanat-~~ ~~icism blinds people to the humanity and nobility of those declared enemy. In India~~ ~~and South Africa where Gandhi had fought colonialism and racism, he had faced men~~ ~~and a government committed to common law which makes no racial assumptions. The~~

British had oppressed the native population but had not ~~tried to declare~~^{ON PLANNED DEATH EXTINCTION} them a sub-human species. ~~There were always limits to the arrogance of power. Nazi Germany admitted none and there was no reason to believe the world would be moved to effective actions by any slaughter of the innocents.~~

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Ghandi never understood the blinding power of religious and political position. He had been raised in a rather unique environment. His father had been Prime Minister of a small northwestern Indian principality where a rather unique ecumenicism was the dominant religious form. The main shrine was Hindu, but it had no idols or icons. The Vedas were read, but so was the Koran, the Holy Scripture of Islam. The population of this small city-state was about equally divided between Hindus and Muslims and its shrine attempted to bind these traditions and communities together. Ghandi was nurtured in the belief that the great religious traditions, Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Hinduism, were united in spirit if not in form. He had no patience with ideas and attitudes which divided religious groups, so he had little understanding of men and parties who know they possess the truth and whose truth excludes all who are non-believers.

Ghandi saw Hitler as a well-intentioned but misguided leader. He never understood his paranoia or his fanaticism. He thought of him in much the same way as he thought of some of the English high commissioners he had confronted and he believed that if one moved Hitler by personal example, as he had moved them. He never understood that the Naziism was a determined faith whereas the English raj was simply a reflex of economic greed. ~~Buber tried to point out to Ghandi that the situations in Germany and India were not analagous. However much hurt the British had caused India, they had not proclaimed a policy aimed at genocide. Quite the contrary.~~ The British had worked hard to educate the Indians. They had erected hospitals and schools and brought many modern advantages to India. Hitler had only one purpose towards the Jews, to drive the Jews out of Europe, to purify Europe, to Aryanize Germany. Buber made the point that had all the Jews of Germany stood up and practiced satyagra ^{Further} the Germans would not have ~~been~~^{been} moved to restrain their witless ~~anger~~^{its} and the world would have ~~done~~^{been} little

~~To interfere. All was the age of Munich, years in which~~
~~but make verbal protest. The world had responded in just this way to Munich and the~~
~~our state department planned a serious act~~
~~abandonment of Czechoslovakia. That in fact was the case. The Refugee Conferences~~

~~in~~ ^{NOT TO MAKE REFUGEE DO NOT DEFUSE PUBLIC OPINION}
~~of Evian and Bermuda were designed by our State Department to be pure window dressing.~~

~~Despite the suffering of people~~

The West did not even welcome those who managed to flee. The ~~treaties~~ ^{30's} were an era of

barred doors and denied visas. Buber did not cite the evidence ^{yet knew of} of Auschwitz, of the

~~death camps. These had not yet been erected, but the guards at those camps were not~~
~~moved by the courageous deaths of thousands who took the road Ghandi promoted and faced~~

~~death with courage, perhaps even forgiving in death their butchers.~~

~~Unfortunately, it~~

is not true that passive resistance inevitably commands

world-wide indignation. The news is selective. We read daily of El Salvador but little

of the death of thousands in Afghanistan or millions in Cambodia. How much was the

world moved by the destruction of the Kurds in Iran and Iraq? Did the destruction by

the Turks of the Armenians in the early part of the century lead to any kind of massive world outcry? The answer is no, and no, and no again.

Active non-violence works under certain conditions and not under others. It

worked in our country during the early years of the civil rights campaign when Martin Luther

King reshaped Ghandi's doctrine to the American scene. The conditions then were

relatively similar to those in India two decades earlier. Just as England had come

to the point where ruling India had become a costly luxury, so segregation in the

United States was costing the country far more than it was of benefit to those whose

interests were advanced by segregation. The 50's was a time of prosperity. The

economic pie was growing larger and those who enjoyed advantage could allow others

to eat without loss to themselves. Our political tradition of constitutional law

and our expectation that law must treat everyone equally were powerful factors. A

significant body of opinion saw the injustice of what had been done to the blacks and

other minorities. The time was ripe. The country was prepared for change and certain

kinds of non-violent action: the rights marches in the south, the sit-ins in the

front of the bus, simply catalyze changes which were ready to be born. The time may

be right for change because a significant body of opinion had decided the old ways

were counter-productive.

NON-VIOLENCE will not work when change is not at hand or when
 A policy of systematic genocide of a people by those who have decided that
 they are the master race is quite another. In dealing with ideologues who demand the
 conversion, forceable or otherwise, of the world, I'm afraid that despite its non-
 violence, active or otherwise, will not necessarily lead to the peace we seek. Thousands
 of martyrs and saints have gone to their graves unnoticed.

Ghandi lived in a society where the holy man was a known figure who had for cen-
 turies commanded respect, and at a time when conditions dictated independence change.
 Certainly, he showed through his life qualities of courage and nobility of spirit which
 were/are noble and compelling. But when it comes to the ~~problem with which we began,~~
 missiles at ready in their silos, the piling up of weapons which can kill, I'm afraid
 that a single Ghandi, or even a legion of Ghandis, ~~are not the answer to the question~~
 of ~~peace~~. The problems of war and peace must be faced politically and structurally ~~still~~.
 We'll have to find a way to create a force large enough and strong enough to control the
 greed and ambition of individual nations and make them live up to their agreements. We
 will have to negotiate piece by piece and bit by bit the outstanding divisive issues -
 and recognize that even as we do so new ~~Tensions~~ will ~~also~~. Radical political change
 is, I am afraid, a long way off. Until then we must make such arrangements as we can
 and recognize that we're going to live under the shadow all our lives, ~~that~~ we need the
 fortitude to keep pecking away at the problem. There are no panaceas. Ghandi is a
 spiritual hero, but not the answer to our prayers.

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
17 APRIL SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on NON-VIOLENCE: DOES IT WORK? Confirmation Class Mystery Trip 5:30 - Branch	18	19 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Jonathan S. Woll 10:30 a.m. - Branch	20 TWA Board Meeting 10:00 a.m. - Branch LUNCH WITH THE RABBI Uptown Somerset Garden Room Noon - 1:30 p.m. TMC Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	21	22 Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	23 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. - Branch Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 a.m. - Noon Main Temple Bar Mitzvah JAMES DOLIN 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel
24 SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on LEBANON: TO BE OR NOT TO BE?	25 <i>AYN Kelchew</i>	26 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Jonathan S. Woll 10:30 a.m. - Branch	27 Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 - 6:00 p.m. Main Temple	28	29 Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	30 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. - Branch Bar Mitzvah MICHAEL BRANDAIS 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel
1 MAY SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak	2 Religious School Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	3 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Jonathan S. Woll 10:30 a.m. - Branch Temple Young Associates Board Meeting - 8:00 p.m.	4 Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 - 6:00 p.m. Main Temple	5	6 Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel FIRST FRIDAY Donna & Bennett Yanowitz 8:15 p.m. - Branch	7 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. - Branch Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 a.m. - Noon The Main Temple Bar Mitzvah ADAM KAUFMAN 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel Bar Mitzvah RACHEL KRAUSE 4:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel
8 LAST SUNDAY SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak	9	10 TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Jonathan S. Woll 10:30 a.m. - Branch Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	11 TWA ANNUAL LUNCHEON 12:30 p.m. Oakwood Club Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 - 6:00 p.m. Main Temple TMC Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	12	13 Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel 1933 Confirmation Class Reunion	14 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. - Branch Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 a.m. - Noon Main Temple Bar Mitzvah JONATHAN NORRIS 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel Bar Mitzvah BENJAMIN COWAN 4:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel

Whether such plain living is possible for an isolated nation, however large geographically and numerically in the face of a world armed to the teeth, and in the midst of pomp and circumstance, is a question open to the doubt of a skeptic. The answer is straight and simple. If plain life is worth living, then the attempt is worth making, even though only an individual or a group makes the effort.⁹

Several letters have been received by me asking me to declare my views about the Arab-Jew question in Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this very difficult question.

My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became lifelong companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. . . .

But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for a national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. . . . Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?

The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? . . .

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. . . .

Germany is showing to the world how efficiently vio-

⁹ *Harijan*, September 1, 1946.

lence can be worked when it is not hampered by any hypocrisy or weakness masquerading as humanitarianism. It is also showing how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness.

Can the Jews resist this organized and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect, and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn? I submit there is. . . . If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest gentile German might, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this I should not wait for the fellow-Jews to join me in civil resistance, but would have confidence that in the end the rest were bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can. . . .

. . . I am convinced that, if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading manhunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the Godless fury of dehumanized man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity. They will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their title to be the real Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about things in the wrong way. The Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a

geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs. They should seek to convert the Arab heart. They can offer Satyagraha in front of the Arabs and offer themselves to be shot or thrown into the Dead Sea without raising a little finger against them. They will find the world opinion in their favor in their religious aspiration. There are hundreds of ways of reasoning with the Arabs, if they will only discard the help of the British bayonet. As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them.

. . . Every country is their home, including Palestine, not by aggression but by loving service. . . .¹⁰

. . . If [the Jewish people] were to adopt the matchless weapon of non-violence, whose use their best prophets have taught and which Jesus the Jew who gladly wore the crown of thorns bequeathed to a groaning world, their case would be the world's, and I have no doubt that among the many things the Jews have given to the world, this would be the best and the brightest. It is twice blessed. It will make them happy and rich in the true sense of the word, and it will be a soothing balm to the aching world.¹¹

. . . I happen to have a Jewish friend [Herman Kalenbach, who purchased the farm for Gandhi's first ashram in South Africa] living with me. He has an intellectual belief in non-violence. But he says he cannot pray for Hitler. He is so full of anger over the German atrocities that he cannot speak of them with restraint. I do not quarrel with him over his anger. He wants to be non-violent, but the sufferings of his fellow-Jews are too much for him to bear. What is true of him is true of thousands of Jews who have no thought even of "loving

¹⁰ *Harijan*, November 26, 1938.

¹¹ *Harijan*, July 21, 1946.

the enemy." With them, as with millions, "revenge is sweet, to forgive is divine."¹²

It is no non-violence if we love merely those that love us. It is non-violence only when we love those that hate us. I know how difficult it is to follow this grand law of love. But are not all great and good things difficult to do? . . .¹³

. . . Human nature will find itself only when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal. . . .¹⁴

A violent man's activity is most visible, while it lasts. But it is always transitory. . . . Hitler . . . Mussolini . . . and Stalin . . . are able to show the immediate effectiveness of violence. . . . But the effects of Buddha's non-violent action persist and are likely to grow with age. And the more it is practiced, the more effective and inexhaustible it becomes, and ultimately the whole world stands agape and exclaims, "A miracle has happened." All miracles are due to the silent and effective working of invisible force. Non-violence is the most invisible and the most effective.¹⁵

Belief in non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in the essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love. . . .

How can non-violence combat aerial warfare, seeing that there are no personal contacts? The reply to this is that behind the death-dealing bomb there is the human hand that releases it, and behind that still is the human heart that sets the hand in motion. And at the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied in a sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, bend the adversary to the tyrant's will.

¹² *Harijan*, February 18, 1939.

¹³ Letter to a friend, December 31, 1934, in Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 18.

¹⁴ *Harijan*, October 8, 1938.

¹⁵ *Harijan*, March 20, 1937.

as Bader - also pointed out Jan. Taylor "to save
life - not sanctity" - what would be gained?

Holocaust leaving no real ^{in Bader} ~~thought~~ 2. as of real -

N. ^{for} public opinion - celebration of hatred & violence -

M. is related -

Bader L. & D. and struggle of D. in J. C. of -
Bader wanted him to be strong in L. & D. and
could not see under - conscience says
of them men & how to show D. and could
appeal -

German L. & D. opponents of peace
union - ideology - anti trans in PARANOMIS -

Walter Darré - no union - how and - English
ideology of union -

None really related to judicial law
opponents (did not intend to understand)
positions)

How and there : thought misunderstood
- mostly good idea all part - but
ideology on peace , under the good -
+ small needs - under name " how
have peace " but no example thought

in 1946, just after the U.S. had ended war against
Japan he appeared in the house in Hudson & Nogard.
Myself beside him, the daughter, a few ladies here
and ^{the} ~~person~~ ^{myself} moved around a bit and you say
& just - SATYACAN - could afford the most
of a fine young man & boy - and a
"D" has in a collared man - see a man -
could stand - perfect in condition & person &
around young and was more & effort in a
round in collared free time.

The answer is that he can not - but
would not stand see!

I will not be in the house. I will come
out in the open and let the pilot see
I have not a trace of ^{it} ~~it~~ will
against him, the pilot will see you
Face from his front height, it knew, it
The landing in the house - just would
but can't know - would never up to
him and his eyes would see again -

A man man - just incredibly man to see
and ready to hug - man man after
where he stood before in place only - to see

could advise about, just ask - ~~the~~ ^{non user is useful}
as an agent of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~user~~ ^{discovery} to
accept the presented provisions for discovery the law -
the and not really a recovery of the English Court -
the recovery admitted in fact - say simply ^{the}
Section Law is urgent - Law should seek
Justice as well as Law in order -

The Q are not all the same kind - present -
SATYAGRAH - active non violence - not advising
to do some of the world's violence - but really
the deliberation of the ethical or the ethical side -
it is a study - a study which is the main
work at all times is the ethical - is it
concern to be made?

~~By way of answer, I want to say that a
little known European lawyer has been +
two of the first opponents of the 20th century idea
Montesquieu is just for Europe - But
English - and the English - the English is the main
of the idea is the idea of the idea is the idea
the idea of the idea is the idea is the idea~~

consider it humane - he was intended
being of the oppressed - the enemy -

Glenn Gould is amplified, but he was not a
simple man - he showed total English. modern man
meaning - that man was born in the enemy camp
who had no sympathy with the oppressed, politics
of imperialism - He was one of the first to see &
opposed the commercial revolution - - 2nd, 1944
certainly not the enemy, seen del in his person
last day & wishes to be repeated at home - & the
the report was based on many careful concern -
Gould said - the eye of the murderer, the
half murderer was
lawless - India was no longer the murderer
any - not full of murder murder - the first
one of the murderer was to be long to be
shouting murder into the enemy man -

2 He not want to suggest that Gould was
a modern murderer - a murderer - He was not -
He was before in human murderer, long ago
peace . He believed that the murderer was not the
murderer was suffering from the murderer was

practice as successfully as I have seen in the first half
of the century? — what if the power of UNARMED
disarmament has been successful ~~for some time~~
~~short~~ release motion picture?

Gandhi was truly one of the most famous of our
century, he may not have seen the same India
nor the independence for Gt Britain — — as we.
The real revolution of our century has brought ^{colonies} ~~that~~
to an end almost everywhere — but in instances
SATYA GRAHA
last resistance has been by ~~SATYA GRAHA~~ — and
active non violence and Ahimsa — power of the
peace of your army as well as your war —
presented to world with a philosophy — of truth —
of your world of peace — rather than war

Gandhi would not succeed

the power was the power of disarmament

conciliation — the power of

a man who did not

love the normal appearance

of peace — offer — renunciation — refusal —

the power of the armed — of the war

disarmament — the power — of a

system — and of a revolution

...and I don't know how far ... in 2 days ... -
Each State ... has a ... the US ...
more ... murder ... murder ...
the very ... , ... to ...
... .

...
I don't ... and ... murder ... -
but as a ... I don't ...
... - We're not ... to ...
in our own country

...
... of ... murder ...
... of ... murder ...
... to ... murder ...
... murder ...
... murder ...

...
...
...

...
...
...

But when I speak, they are for me -

I have no hope for peace - except ...
... murder ...
... murder ...
... murder ...

can testify that these expansion might bring on an
at the moment - The Nuclear Energy movement is the
outward manifestation of our concern - The ^{present} ~~reality~~ ^{is}
found source of unprecedented Russian nuclear power
build-up and the announced policy of the government
to catch-up

So even in other ways to go back to quality ^{of}
put a plan now regulated & even more
defined reciprocity system -

The Nuclear Energy movement remains in force -
but the pace of the our now can be slow
down some regulation - 2 and before a set
later alone a total regulation - - which must
be regulation an early try to find a down which
will come then early at a advantage - -

When our relation are regulated - a - the
Nuclear fact on the top a movement of Bullheads
after WWI - what seems to be a new frontier
There is now and a sign of the unleashing of the power
and of the West - a fact here but we
now understand power must play for -
The fact - the fact to reach the bullheads

always elusive - For the most part the leader here found
no other means of admission & navigation save than
a strong defense - we decided to hunt the enemy at
least as much as he can hunt you - Distance -
A balance of Terror - as not a Cold War matter -
since early the weather here told the one walls
and castles and answer to protect the peace &
later punishment -- and no phases, however,
irreversible - no any, however, peaceful &
well equipped in how close to later attack
over an extended period of time -

of history books in any way, it is that in time
occasions to even consider that he can control the
nature of the elections and democracy which protect
his refugee here - on the unhappy of the which
putted some on side. ~~that~~

Please the unusual ^{hope} in peace &
commonly thrive -- There are two sides now
push the fact on for us see us for conclusion -
& later side can present under the TRR might
heavily on us - By Delegated could appear the
undoubtedly substance of the presence - but we

TRUTH IS A NECESSITY NOT PROOF OF NATIONAL GUY - 2

"NOT BY POWER, NOR BY MIGHT; BUT BY MY SPIRIT" - and

I would feel a ~~true~~ authentic ~~truth~~ truth for an
~~eternity~~ ~~and~~ eternity to make peace,
not war

פירם דאָס אפֿען דאָס

The work of the righteous, shall be
peace

Have handled ever to ~~nothing~~
are too fast of the ~~moving~~ of

good things  also ~~annex~~
peace

Be of the ~~simple~~ of ~~peace~~ and
seek peace & pursue it

Seek peace in your place and
pursue it in others -

Every day, as far as you can piß p'ß - and in peace -
must pursue it, O our eternal peace and
shall be a message of peace
people of the earth :

The Prayer is heart felt - it's achievement

every morning in the land reported on his mind to be
see on the whole the hands down - fact - Nobility
MUST be renewed - acknowledged - in order to
give respect -

reputation which we have to do in war by
machines - ^{46 years} ~~46 years~~ ago the agreed men. fact
so high to which not even one under men in the
tough men - They - the men under under
men the under under be - a dark men
large elections over - 1000's of men any
fun to try - 2 hundred men needed - the
men needed to take - less of men - will
receive low under - a fact still - 50m
of the state fact.

To work non under - 500 men needed
human under - not under under needed men
called in 500 men - men of men
for under men - over you had to men men
for men -

Spending of money under under / men
(with men) had an under men men

see memo in 1939/39

(10)

It says in Nov '39 when London published a
article in Harper's (magazine) - in which it
says to say that we had received several letters
about

1) Anti-Jewish B. in Pub.

2) Treatment of Jews in Germany

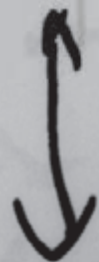
Difficult B.s - my opinion are also subject to

fact. The subject is given to HARVARD - the

entire subject of K's - also an interest of

2nd - religion had been used to - as the

in how the Thematic



The war under Nov '39 - November being seen

had been moved / K's had been moved +

The circulation was lost and it was decided very

was - open

2 Things not to be said

① "All war and peace are subject to change"

Prophet in the end - really more needs -

I would also tell ^{but} ~~but~~ ^{even} no sympathy for
under material home - just stand is - less -
Can release a rel. ing on goodwill of man - No
one of sign

In the area - under - sign on the line - in
area to the own area - 2' - of the not - the
to we signed - Power of signs too signed by
order - put there) - But even center where
we are standing

U.S. - 1950's with sign - in the area -
There was provided (property - not
for their purpose) + length
provided - much standing -
concerned to have made -
set in a field of the -

But you not provided ^{power} (the area about to open)
as well as LOAN - we are part to under
many are dead to an UNCARING world -