

tious and pushing, though another insists he is shrinking and does not mix; that he controls the sources of financial power, though the facts are that he is but a microscopic part of the world of finance; and finally with utter inconsistency, that they are all Communists, though the figures show that if every Communist in the United States were a Jew, an absurdity, there would still be a negligible portion of Jews so enrolled.

To the suggestion that these are but petty infractions of human rights and that the great guarantees of our Bill of Rights still remain as a bulwark against oppression, I answer that no legal sanction in the history of the world ever operated effectively unless it had its roots deep in the hearts, the minds, the conscience and the assent of the people themselves.

It is but a poor solace to a young Jewish boy, denied his ambition to enter a medical school and become a healer of men, to be told that in America all men are free and equal. The poverty of that solace is also obvious to everyone of the Jewish faith who is denied that opportunity to which talent and character entitles him.

And the other side of the picture is this: If you make mere verbal phrases of the constitutional guarantees for one group, you are opening the floodgates that will batter them down for many another group. If you take away essentially the rights of the handful of Jews that constitute about 4 percent of the people of America and either, by action or inaction, permit injustice to be wrought upon them, you are setting a vicious pattern for injustice to every man and woman in these United States.

Especially I counsel against complacency. There is no rumor, no whispering, no slander, no ridicule that has ever

been uttered against the Jew that has not also been uttered against other sects in the American scene.

Christian and Jew alike, we believe that man was created in the image of God and that the divine concern, as it is also the concern of government and of civilization, is to preserve and enhance the dignity and the glory of the individual whom God has made but little lesser than the angels.

I ask nothing more than complete loyalty to that ideal, which is the ideal of Christianity. The solution for group tensions in America is merely this—that every Christian will in his everyday life act in accordance with the teachings of Christianity, and that by the same token every Jew will in his everyday life exemplify the teachings of the Decalogue which were thundered forth to Moses on Mount Sinai.

I end on a note of hope. Great leaders in every Christian sect have been aroused to the seriousness of this problem and are leading the fight; great groups of right-thinking Jews and Christians are banded together in this holy crusade; and from their faith, their courage and their ideals, let us of lesser stature partake; let us highly resolve that in word we will make ourselves a part of a common brotherhood of man.

Thus will America ever remain the land of the free as we all—Protestant, Catholic and Jew—answer in unison the age-old question: Yes, we are indeed our brother's keeper.

I cannot close a discussion of this war against bigotry without a tribute to the creator and leader of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the late Newton D. Baker. This last phase in a brilliant career was the ultimate flowering of a great soul. The seed was a profound and reverent belief in

human brotherhood. At every stage of his life, not merely at its end, he could say: "Write me as one who loved his fellow men."

He was a great lawyer, entitled by genius and position to command. Yet those to whom was given the high privilege of association with him bear witness to his gentle consideration for his colleagues, his innate modesty, his impulsive readiness to yield the glory while the labor was his.

It was a paradox that to this ardent follower of the Prince of Peace was entrusted the solemn responsibility of leadership of his country's army in the awful catastrophe of war. In the discharge of that responsibility, he never permitted rancor to poison the wellspring of his compassion—and though he had to devise the horror of battle, always his goal was a healing peace that should find its fruition in a benevolent parliament of the world. For that he never ceased to fight. And those of us who were so fortunate as to hear his glorious proclamation of his creed at the Democratic National Convention in 1924 can never forget his passion for peace nor ever doubt the eternal rightness of his call to beat the swords of nations into plowshares.

Charity for the underprivileged found in him its champion. In outstanding struggles against injustice, by reason of his very nature, he became of course the head of this great association to enforce the gospel of peace on earth. At a time when the world was rent asunder with hatred and bigotry, he above all others, gave practical and wise and self-sacrificing leadership for all men of good will who believe that no human being should be made to suffer for the choice of his religion. Sympathy, mutual understanding, forbearance and tolerance, he preached and exemplified. We shall not look upon his like soon again.

Today I can safely set down that organized anti-Semitism—of the brand of the Coughlins, the Ku Klux Klan and the McWilliamses—is on the wane. Fair employment practice acts have eased off many discriminations in employment and have

had the important secondary consequence of bringing about that better understanding which always results from man-to-man association. Social anti-Semitism, however, persists. I never cease to wonder that so many men of good will, some of them my close and devoted friends, continue to countenance it by their failure to protest.