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Tonight is my last opportunity ~~in this series~~ to talk to you in this series. I must make way for others who I know will bring you stimulus, encouragement and strength. What shall be my valedictory to this great congregation of my fellow citizens? In times like these, each must speak out of his own heart.

I think of the mad rush of events. They sweep about ever higher like some menacing tide. Headlines daily scream of new dilemmas within the country and overseas east and west. And those who read between the lines sense melancholy overtones of tragic events that cast their shadows before them.

I see this, our great country, Unfurled before my eyes are the streams of peoples who came from the far corners of the earth, the forlorn, the destitute, the brave, the heroic, the disinherited, the martyred, the dreamers and warriors. White and black and yellow and brown; Protestant, Catholic and Jew. They dug into this earth and made her yield her treasures. They sweated in mine and factory, in forest and field. They belted the land with ribs of steel and strung the humming wires that carry voices which speak from coast to coast. They lifted the serried battlements of our modern cities. They fitted into the pattern of the founders' dream to make a nation where justice should prevail, where freedom should be guaranteed and whose dual crowns should be brotherhood and peace. I think on these things and our nation's past parades like some pageant before my mind.

Consider our country as a part of the international scene. Set as it is between Europe in the east and Asia in the west. War on both sides. For the schemers spin their webs and move here and there in Central Europe, along the Mediterranean in Spain, in China, <sup>in South & Central America</sup> within our very gates, hoping to paralyze the effort of our natural allies, the free peoples, to divide their strength and by confusing counsel among us to neutralize our power against the day they will choose. Do not let us deceive ourselves. The oceans may divide events in Europe and Asia, but a threefold united will makes each move. The world plays with fire and the

fire in the hands of madmen. All right is not on one side and grievous mistakes have been made. But the question is: What is the sort of life best calculated to promote human welfare? What is the sort of life that shall dominate the world - or at least be permitted to exist where men want it? Theirs or ours? We think ours. Is it worth preserving? Remember this: It takes two to keep the peace; one alone can make war.

All nations arm. We too must strengthen our defense. That is only common sense. But shall we also draw our skirts about us and dream of an isolation that cannot be? The ends of the earth are drawn together. Shall one strand escape? Is there naught to stop the racing juggernaut that may carry us down the abyss?

Events abroad move fast. Our government cannot move faster than our people's knowledge nor beyond their will to support it. We should amend the neutrality law and retrieve our right as a free people to condemn the aggressor and to help their victims. Has our nation lost the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong? Are our hearts cold that they have no capacity for indignation at brutality? We should join the liberty loving nations in a united front not against the poor driven peoples of the dictator ridden nations but against their ruthless masters whose mad ~~xxx~~ ambition drags the world to war. We should let our government know that we stand behind a frank, forthright declaration to the world that we would right the wrongs of Versailles, we would give opportunity, place in the sun to Germany, Italy, Japan; that we will lend our power to a just economic and political settlement, <sup>we should declare that</sup> ~~that~~ means sacrifice, sacrifice for England and France, <sup>we frankly state that</sup> sacrifice for us, but <sup>^</sup> in the last event America will take her stand with all her resources where she belongs, with the free peoples! Now, Chief of the Italian government, Chancellor of the Reich, Emperor of Japan - do you want war or peace? <sup>such a declaration may be</sup> I believe such a course <sup>^</sup> the one last chance to prevent a war! Shall we take it

or shall we drift on ignominiously to the fatal end when action will be forced upon us?

Military preparedness is necessary. But, my fellow ~~xxxx~~ countrymen, that is not enough. Spiritual preparedness is just as necessary. Spiritual preparedness without military preparedness is futility. Military preparedness without spiritual preparedness is brutality - body without soul.

We need a new dynamic in our America. It must be, it can only be a dynamic of the spirit. A dynamic that will once more make men proud to work and to give work; that will overcome the unwholesome lethargy which has infested the nation like a plague and sapped its very vitality - the willing eagerness to take from the public trough, to let someone else pay for your ride and to "let George" ~~do~~ ~~xxxx~~ the worrying; a dynamic so strong that it will make mighty men and mightier interests yield to its compelling power, sweeping greed and ambition and coldness from their hearts; that will make employers deal decently with their workers and pay the highest wage for an honest day's work; that will make the workers scorn to shirk and turn their backs upon unscrupulous leaders; that will bind the masses and the classes into one brotherhood, sharers of the American spirit; that will sweep away old prejudices and mould us into one people; that will make the city but an extension of the home and the entire nation one household, one family. We need some such dynamic in America, not built on hate or blood or soil nor on the backs of any victims among her citizens; nor at the sacrifice of essential liberties and the freedom which is the heritage of all men. We need loyalty to that greater America we might build, a loyalty larger than the lesser loyalties, harmonizing, embracing, transcending them all. Whence shall come the dynamic for this larger loyalty?

We've tried force and we've failed. We've tried law and we've failed. From the ancient shrines of church and synagogue might well come the moving impulses, the dynamic that shall spiritualize the nation and set the faces of our people

forward and their feet on the march to mould in greater measure for our sons and daughters a nation dedicated to freedom and justice and peace - the true democracy.

I know, too, that religious institutions that have spoken in His name have in reality all too often crucified His spirit.

Let us try religion in this largest sense. We have had churches and synagogues and cathedrals; we have had preachers and rabbis and priests - perhaps we've not had enough real religion. In the spirit of man is the force that can be tapped to the everlasting blessing of society; the frank acceptance of the ultimate fact that within us are areas of spiritual power we have not touched, related to that source of inexhaustible power outside us which is God. Man needs to bring this overwhelming force to dominance in his life. Religion is the key which releases it. Once released it will go down into the depths of his being; it will lift him by its transcendent power; it will make vivid for him the noble potentialities he possesses. It will give him strength to realize them.

We are not only "a product of our civilization". We are the builders of the civilization that is to be.

What we today must learn is to see our times in the great prospective of history. I do not advocate any particular system or machinery. That must be the task of statesmen, economists, and engineers. I do plead for an abandonment of the present heated partisanship on all sides - a moratorium on group and class selfishness, an attempt to solve our problems and contribute to a general gratification in the American way so as to preserve the American tradition.

I plead for a <sup>renewal</sup> ~~renewal~~ of the old spirit of America, the old strength of heart that conquered a continent because it was compounded of courage, compassion and faith and fixed its eyes on a distant glorious hope. We are not a craven people; we still have boundless capacity for energy and will. But we need to cast out fear and revive our faith and we shall renew our youth as in the former days. Let

that vision and that renewal come from the age-old shrines in church and synagogue! We are all sharers in the glorious adventure of American life. This is the task of Christian and Jew: to see to it in the name of the Living God that no basic human rights shall be ruthlessly destroyed; to see to it that our people shall cherish human personality; to see to it that we shall continue to live in freedom, to think what we please, to write what we please, to say what we please, and to do what we please so long as the greater social welfare is not menaced; to see to it that none shall be forced to take charity; to see to it that all who want work shall find it and that one's labors shall bring adequate return.

Christians and Jews, before the challenge of these common tasks, let us be patient with each other, trusting each other, helping each other, working together for human liberty and justice and ordered progress in the name of the one Eternal God.