



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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Brickner, Barnett plagiarism: clippings, etc., 1931-1937.



Report of Rabbi Brickner's address "If I were Dictator" in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Monday, April 11th, 1932.

"The long sweep program of industrial reorganization I would put into practice through a planning commission would be one that did not dodge the conclusion that the stability and success of the machine economy depends on higher wages than we have yet paid, shorter hours than we have yet set and lower prices than we have yet fixed."

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"I would co-ordinate all the basic industries into state trusts under government supervision, set up like the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Present security holders in these old corporations would exchange their shares for new state trust shares but dividends would be limited to 8 per cent at most and the profits of industry would go into wages."

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"I would split agriculture into two main divisions: Industrial farming controlled by a state trust, susceptible to mechanized mass production for wheat, cotton, corn, etc., and individual farming, continuing it as a way of life, applicable to diversified crops."

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Report of Rabbi Brickner's address "If I Were A Dictator" in Cleveland Press, Monday, April 11th, 1932.

"I would plan for unemployment insurance so designed that only a brazen liar could call it a dole."

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"I would issue from three to five billions in Prosperity Bonds for the purpose of immediately setting to work on public works a million or more unemployed."

\* \* \*

"There is, in my judgment, no dodging the conclusion that the stability and success of the machine economy will ultimately depend upon higher wages than we have yet paid, shorter hours than we have yet set, and lower prices than we have yet fixed."

By Glenn Frank - "If I Were Dictator" - "The Nation" Dec. 23, 1931

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"The coordination of all basic industries into state trusts, under government supervision but operating as independent units so far as possible - utterly removed from bureaucratic control. Present security holders to exchange their shares for new trust shares with dividends limited to, say, 8 per cent. The set-up to approximate the present organization of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company."

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"How about splitting agriculture into two main divisions - industrial farming and individual farming; the former to concern itself with the great staple crops - wheat, corn, cotton - susceptible to mechanized mass-production methods, the latter to continue farming as a way of life with diversified crops and a large measure of self-sufficiency?"

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"Your dictator will move at once to the inauguration of a system of unemployment insurance so designed that only a brazen liar can attach to it the term dole."

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"I shall cause to be issued from three billions to five billions of dollars in Prosperity Bonds for the purpose of immediately utilizing a million or more unemployed on public works."

By Stuart Chase - "If I Were Dictator" in "The Nation" of Nov. 18, 1931.

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# If I Were Dictator\*

By GLENN FRANK

I WANT to part company with most of my colleagues in this series by confining my discussion to one problem, alluring as the temptation is to write a kind of table of contents to one's thinking about the whole round of political, social, economic, and educational dilemmas that harass our time. The single issue I shall discuss is the manifest crisis confronting Western capitalism. I want, first, to state the problem, and, second, to state with the utmost brevity the manner in which I think I would approach its solution.

I do not want to join the oversimplifiers, and bring a false clarity to a situation that is admittedly complex. The cause of the depression that has swept the whole Western world cannot be captured in a phrase or its cure distilled in an epigram. It is not a simple sickness that has fallen upon us, and it will not yield to any simple and single remedy. A lush variety of causes lies at the root of the economic crisis of the United States. Political unrest the world around. Mounting armaments. Speculative mania. Abortive governmental attempts to stabilize certain commodity prices. The fall in the price of silver. Provincialism of policy in the fields of foreign trade, tariffs, and the exploitation of the world supply of natural resources. The direct impact of war-debt payments upon Europe and the indirect impact upon the United States. The gravitation of an undue amount of the world supply of gold into French and American hands. And so on to the end of a list I need not rehearse. Even a casual diagnosis of the confusion and arrest that have fallen upon Western affairs compels us to consider all of these factors in addition to the obvious issues of wages, hours, prices, technology, and management, as well as the deeper human factors of security, leisure, and self-respect for the toiling millions.

To all these issues, and more, we must bring a clear-headed and courageous statesmanship before we can expect the Banquo's ghost of depression to absent itself permanently from the economic table or even to schedule its appearances at more decently long intervals. I do not, let me repeat, want to join the oversimplifiers. But in any situation, however complex, there may be one factor more fundamental than the rest, so fundamental, indeed, that the presence of all other factors cannot compensate for its absence. Is there any single factor thus fundamental to the economic recovery of the United States in particular, and of the Western world in general? I think there is. A long series of causes lay back of this economic relapse, but one thing seems to me sun-clear: the leadership that has determined our policies for using goods and distributing wealth has proved inferior to the leadership that has developed our processes for making goods and producing wealth. The production of goods has halted because the distribution of goods has halted. And the halt in the distribution of goods is due to a fault in the distribution of wealth. The depression through which the United States is passing is, in essence,

an indictment, not of the machine order, but of the economic order. The machine order is ready to produce goods. The economic order is not ready to produce customers.

Our machine economy is today sinking us in a sea of surplus production, or surplus productive capacity, that could, were we statesman-like enough, be used to our advantage and to the good of the world at large. I speak of surplus production with some reluctance, for it is, in my judgment, a false surplus that is today choking the economic West. It would mark a definite gain in economic realism if we should reserve the term surplus production for goods not really needed, instead of using it, as we do, for goods that are simply difficult to sell at the moment. In the light of the social function of industry, business leadership has no right to regard as a surplus the goods for which an authentic human need obviously exists. Unmovable goods, unless they are at the same time unneeded goods, are not a sign that business leadership has been too zealous in producing goods, but a sign that it has not been zealous enough in building buying power among the masses.

I cannot concur with the observers who contend that we have been producing too much. There are 123,000,000 of us in the United States. As late as 1928, a year of prosperity, 8,000,000 Americans were living below the poverty line, and some 12,000,000 Americans living at a bare subsistence level. And today millions of our population have far from satisfied the legitimate demands of a healthy and civilized folk. There is a whole world outside our frontiers in which millions upon millions of men and women and children, outside the ranks of the dire poor, are living far below the consumption level that we have known and that health and civilized values dictate. To say that we are now or shall be for a long stretch of decades to come at the point where humanity is surfeited with goods and services it does not need for better living is, to me, too incredible to consider seriously.

Setting aside for the time other less fundamental factors in the rise and fall of prosperity, there are two ways to deal with this disturbed balance between production and consumption: (1) we can slow down production by deliberate policy, or (2) we can speed up consumption by deliberate policy. I shall not disguise my conviction that to throw the brakes on our productive capacity as a policy for the future, before we have fully explored the possibility of building a buying power adequate to absorb, to sound social advantage, our potential output of consumer goods, would be a coward's policy and a social retreat.

I am not at all interested in a shallow and sinister doctrine of consumptionism that would make it possible for the millions to buy prodigally only that business might grow bigger and the nation be swept into a kind of St. Vitus dance of industrial activity. An intelligent people will never trump up business just for the sake of doing business. I am concerned, however, that we shall not, in panic fear, take counsel of our timidity and under the magic of the new gospel of national planning rush pell-mell into a restriction

\* The fifth of a series of articles on this subject. Others will follow in early issues.—EDITOR THE NATION.



of production, thus allowing to lie even partially unused the matchless instrument of social emancipation which our genius has forged in the machine economy. Restriction of production is the line of least resistance. It has its appeal in a phase of sluggish inventory. It is implicit in much of the current agitation for national planning. It occupies the councils of most of our great trade associations. But until legitimate human need is served and saturated, a wholesale restriction of production is a confession that our capacity for economic statesmanship has gone bankrupt. What will be the judgment of future generations upon our genius if, after succeeding in elaborating a machine economy capable of putting an end to drudgery and poverty and insecurity, we say: "Now that we have sharpened this tool, we must dull its edge; now that we have perfected this swift efficiency, we must throw on the brakes"?

After the war some of the more farsighted leaders of American business and industry saw that a point had been reached in the evolution of our machine economy at which they must concern themselves with the purchasing capacity of the masses as well as with the producing capacity of their manufacturing plants. They adopted, in consequence, a new credo in which they asserted that stable prosperity and healthy industrial development require high wages, short hours, and low prices. This ran contrary to the business thinking of earlier days when business leadership generally thought that low wages, long hours, and high prices made for maximum profit. But outstanding industries throughout the United States proved by their balance sheets that high wages, short hours, and low prices were not only good for the masses but good for the manufacturers as well. The simple fact is that a machine economy must, along with the making of commodities, see to it that the consuming millions have money with which to buy and leisure in which to enjoy the products the machine economy creates in increasing volume and with increasing rapidity. Unless we can bring millions upon millions of men and women into position to buy the lavish output of Western industrialism, even our existing investment in its marvelous productive facilities will become, in large part, a permanently frozen asset.

When the market collapse and economic retardation befell the United States, it was basically at the place toward which the dreams of prophets and seers have pointed through the centuries. As we reread the literature of Utopian thought and list the things that the social seers have, with striking unanimity, set down as elementary requirements of an ideal society, we find that the United States was in position to provide them all in the closing months of 1929. Its technical genius had invented machines enough to free its people from drudgery. Its organizational genius had achieved a manufacturing efficiency that made possible the production of everything its people needed without their slaving from dawn to dusk. Leisure in which its people might laugh and love and adventure among things of the mind and spirit was within the nation's grasp. It was at such a moment that the United States found the shadow of a serious economic depression falling athwart its life. If some sinister spirit had been seeking to brew an exquisite irony, this turn of fortune could not have been timed with more devilish aptness. The machine economy has brought us to the threshold of a social millennium, but we have lacked the wit to unlock the door. And my contention is that, instead of planning to adjust ourselves

to the half-hearted and insecure existence that marks the current economic order, with its alternate swings between panic and plenty, we should be searching for the key that will unlock the door into this social millennium of prosperity, leisure, and security which science and the machine have made possible. I think we know what the key is. The only question is whether we shall have the courage and statesmanship to use it. The key is a wider annual distribution of the national income.

The radical agitator has long pleaded for a wider distribution of wealth on the ground of social justice. In the past this plea has been regarded by many as a peril to the capitalistic industrialism of the West. Today, however, events are proving that a wider distribution of wealth is essential to the solvency and success of capitalistic industrialism itself, on the simple ground that it is self-defeating for industrialism to get itself in a position to produce vast quantities of goods unless at the same time it sees to it that there are vast masses of consumers ready with money to buy, and leisure in which to enjoy, the goods that the high-powered industrial machine produces. A too great concentration of wealth means money in the hands of those who will invest it in producer goods. A wide distribution of wealth means money in the hands of those who will invest it in consumer goods. And it is the absence of an adequate and dependable market for consumer goods that is stalling the economic machine of the West. It has thus come about that the capitalist has an even greater stake than the proletarian in the widest feasible distribution of the nation's annual income, not in the superficial sense of dividing up by decree existing wealth, but in the statesman-like sense of so balancing the factors of wages, hours, prices, profits, and so on that, in the very process of producing wealth, industry will be making its market while it is making its goods.

There is, in my judgment, no dodging the conclusion that the stability and success of the machine economy will ultimately depend upon higher wages than we have yet paid, shorter hours than we have yet set, and lower prices than we have yet fixed. I am not naive enough to assume that the imposition of higher wages, shorter hours, and lower prices upon all industries by legislation would suddenly produce a stable and prosperous economic life. It would, on the contrary, probably drive industry after industry into quick bankruptcy. High wages, short hours, and low prices must come as the triple fruit of a farsighted and statesman-like application of the principles of mass production and mass distribution to every phase of industry to which these two principles of economic modernism are logically applicable.

Business and industrial America is, as I write, in a phase of wage-cutting. I do not suggest that wages should not at any time be readjusted in the light of other factors in the economic scene. The merely formal maintenance of a wage scale may be meaningless. A wage scale may be rigidly maintained while other factors in the economic process shrink or swell the purchasing power of the worker's dollar. Overtime or part time may double or halve the worker's actual income. I do not suggest that a reduction of a formal wage scale is always and inevitably a social backsliding. To say that would be the economics of infantilism. But we must not, in the rush of readjustment, fall into the easy error of assuming that wages are simply a charge on industry, and that every dollar subtracted from wages by reduc-



ing the scale of payment or lengthening the hours of labor means a dollar added to profits, for the contrary may be true. The working millions are not only industry's servants but industry's customers as well. Unless other factors exist as an offset, if industry puts 25 per cent less into the pockets of labor through reduced wages, industry must expect at least 25 per cent less to come out of the pockets of labor in the form of purchases of the goods industry produces. We cannot eat our cake and have it! I am not arguing against an intelligent balancing of all the factors in the industrial process. I am arguing only against the ancient fallacy that industry can grind labor and gain by it. What industry pays in wages is an investment in industry's market just as definitely as what industry pays for advertising is an investment in industry's market.

Three possible roads of economic destiny stretch before us, each having as its goal a wider distribution of wealth: (1) the road along which economic leadership may seek to effect a wider distribution of national income by the way it administers wages, hours, prices, profits, and the other factors of business and industry; (2) the road along which political leadership, in the event that economic leadership goes renegade to its responsibility, may seek to effect a wider distribution of the national income by taxing incomes and inheritances more and more drastically; and (3) the road along which social leadership, in the event that both economic and political leadership fail or refuse to effect a wider distribution of the national income, will seek to effect a revolutionary overturn. I hope America may travel the first road promptly. I think it is a better road than the second. I hope America may never have to travel the third road. It lies entirely with politico-economic leadership to say whether or not the road of revolution shall ever be taken. There is no reason why America should resort either to political radicalism or social revolution, for the wider distribution of the national income, which is the major key to economic recovery, is a policy of enlightened self-interest for industry. We need neither a Stalin nor a Mussolini if enough of our *big-business* men are really *big* business men, and if they will think socially and act nationally respecting this central problem of the wider distribution of buying power, which, while imperative in the interest of social justice and social stability, is at the same time both the best insurance policy for capitalism and the best business policy for capitalists.

With these beliefs at the center of my socio-economic outlook, if I were dictator I should approach the problem of economic recovery and stabilization from two angles. If the first approach succeeded, I should not need to resort to the second.

First, I should decree the creation of an integrated national organization in each distinctive field of economic enterprise, with the elaboration of the machinery and methods of responsible self-government as the goal of these organizations. I should undertake by persuasion, with appropriate threats lurking in the background of my appeal, to lodge the leadership of these national organizations of economic enterprise in the hands of the few really farsighted and statesman-like business leaders existing in the respective fields. I should notify the leaders of these functional associations that, in the name of the nation and in the interest of its future, I was committing to them the problem of organizing in their respective fields, on a mass-production and

mass-distribution basis, every phase of enterprise to which these principles were logically applicable and economically feasible, to the end that as much as possible of the nation's economic life might be on the basis that makes high wages, short hours, low prices, and large total profits a practical business possibility. I should emphasize the fact that mass production and mass distribution are not simply large-scale industry, which may, despite its scale, be inefficient and anti-social. I should remind these leaders that the private profit and social advantage that mass production and mass distribution make possible depend upon very great business statesmanship. I should tell them that the nation expected them to see to it that each functional field of enterprise was organized in a manner that would put the planning and managerial genius of the whole field at the service of the whole field. I should try to get them to see that it is to the benefit of every industrial enterprise in a given field that the whole field be ably organized and ably managed. I should, for a time, leave it to these leaders to figure out what such a commission would, when carried out, involve in the way of a recasting of our traditional notions of individualism. And I should serve notice that the dictatorship would not tolerate any wholesale attempt upon the part of these national organizations to go in for a restriction-of-production policy until an adequate expansion-of-consumption policy had been elaborated and put into operation. I generalize roughly here. I do not mean that production should be reckless and unplanned in total disregard of available markets. I mean only that I should definitely block any attempt to settle down to satisfaction with getting less than the full social advantage out of our machine economy.

Second, if this approach did not bring a prompt and hopeful response, after I had guaranteed the leadership of economic America against undue governmental interference with a business and industrial system that could guarantee the nation against social loss by effecting its own socially sound and economically efficient self-government, I should tackle the problem of providing the machine economy with an adequate market by the following method. I should call a congress of the leaders of the nation's great businesses and great industries and say to them: "I am imposing upon the income of you and your enterprises an unprecedentedly high tax. I shall not insult your intelligence by trying to prove to you that the government needs all the money this tax will produce. It does not. At least, it does not for meeting the normal expenditures that a government must make. Save in times of grave unemployment crises, my colleagues and I would have difficulty in finding wise ways to spend the money this tax will presumably produce. I hope that you will do your best to prevent my government from getting more from this tax than an intelligently economical governmental program needs. I hope you will deliberately trick the government out of a large part of this tax by rapidly shifting the organization of your enterprise to a thoroughly modernized basis that will permit your distributing larger and larger amounts through higher wages, shorter hours, and lower prices. In short, this is not a tax for needed revenue, but a club to enforce farsighted business policy."

If the business leaders took my hint, they would discover, I think, that their attempt to cheat the government had resulted not in reducing their income but in increasing their income; for high wages, short hours, and low prices



—granted, of course, that they had reorganized their businesses so that these were economically feasible—would mean that the masses would have money with which to buy and leisure in which to enjoy an unprecedented amount of goods and services. Business would boom, and although the profit per article would be low, the total profit would be great. And then, with the lesson learned, I should reduce the tax as drastically as I had raised it.

Something like this happened some years ago when vast

sums were poured into advertising as an alternative to having these sums taken by government in excess-profits taxes. The excess then went into larger advertising appropriations rather than into larger wages. But there has been in the meantime so much education of the business mind on the "good business" of high wages, when they are economically possible, that the next time we might expect to see wages share with advertising in absorbing money that would otherwise be absorbed by taxes.

## Rubber Money and Iron Debts

By HENRY HAZLITT

**T**HERE is a school of economists which holds that all business cycles are caused by changes in the price level—that it is rising prices which bring prosperity and falling prices which bring depression. If these economists are right, and if the business cycle is the unmitigated evil that most of them regard it as being, then the task to which all economists and statesmen ought to address themselves is that of keeping prices stable. To keep prices constantly rising would be as undesirable as it would be impossible. Such a plan would keep industry humming and profits soaring, but those profits would be mainly at the expense of labor, whose wages would rise more slowly than wholesale prices, and also at the expense of the creditor class. (There is a popular misconception of this term which leads to a great deal of confused thought. When it is said that inflation helps the "debtor class" at the expense of the "creditor class," many persons assume that this is equivalent to saying that it helps the poor at the expense of the rich. But "creditors" include all savings-bank depositors, holders of life-insurance policies, and so on, and "debtors" include all the great corporations with bond issues outstanding. The great stockholder is usually, in this sense, a great "debtor," and as such, stands to gain from inflation.) The history of Germany in the six years following the war is a sufficient example of the effects of the constantly rising price level.

The effect of a falling price level is, of course, much worse. By reducing or wiping out profits, it compels manufacturers to reduce output or shut down entirely and throw men out of work. When the general price decline is relatively small, and is accompanied by increasing industrial efficiency, it may benefit both the laborer and the creditor, as did the decline from 1925 to 1929, for example. But when the fall becomes violent, as it has in the last two years, a large part of the creditor class also suffers heavy losses through interest and principal defaults and receiverships.

All these evils could be done away with, in the opinion of many economists, if commodity prices could be kept at a single unvarying average level. The method most frequently suggested for achieving this is through some change, manipulation, or "management" of money. The schemes of this nature are innumerable, and in recent months magazine editors have been flooded with them. Most of them inescapably suggest the ingenious inventions with which the cartoonist Goldberg used to beguile us, in which, the object being, say, to kill potato bugs, Mr. Goldberg would design a marvelously intricate series of levers, pulleys, falling

weights, water-spouts, caged squirrels, and so on, and proceed to show how, through a process of causation partly mechanical and partly psychological, either a hammer would finally land on the bug, or it would die of fright. Apart from the more fantastic of these currency schemes, or outright inflationary projects which involve the manufacture of various forms of fiat money, those that have succeeded in commanding the most attention fall into three main groups: (1) bimetallism; (2) plans for stabilizing prices through control of bank rates and volume of credit; and (3) plans for controlling prices by varying the amount of gold in the dollar.

Bimetallism need not detain us long. Most of the present propaganda for it comes directly from the silver interests or from Senators from the silver-producing States. That it would raise the price of silver—particularly if the absurd legal ratio to gold that is usually proposed were actually accepted—is certain. Its other benefits are not clear. A bimetallic standard tends in practice to become an alternating single standard, depending upon the relative market values of gold and silver as compared with their legal-ratio values. If the silver interests could get silver overvalued in the ratio as compared with gold—which is, of course, their whole aim—then gold would be driven out of currency or reserve use by the operation of "Gresham's law"; and if silver were sufficiently overvalued in the ratio, we might very shortly find ourselves on a plain silver standard. We should also, in that event, find ourselves on a higher price level as a result of the debasement of the standard; but this end, if it were desirable, could be achieved in a more direct, dependable, and much less costly fashion by reducing the gold content of the present gold dollar.

It is much more frequently suggested that the price level could be stabilized through control of central bank rates and the volume of credit. Maynard Keynes's recent "managed-currency" proposals in the main suggest these means. There is of course an intimate relationship between bank rates, volume of credit, and price levels; but there is by no means a simple or a directly proportional relationship. It is possible for those in control of central banks to reduce the volume of credit by raising discount rates high enough, though it is impossible for them to know beforehand just *how much* effect a given advance in the discount rate will have on the volume of credit. And even this measure of control does not work the other way. In times of depression the discount rate may be lowered to next to nothing without increasing the volume of credit, as the recent experience of



# If I Were Dictator\*

By STUART CHASE

## I

IT is distinctly understood, I trust, that in this literary make-believe I am *dictator* in the bluntest sense of the word, unhampered by Congress, Cabinet, Supreme Court, the doctrine of States' rights, or similar checks and balances and democratic nonsense. The rules of the game provide, furthermore, that I possess a thumping majority of popular opinion. If the office is to be maintained by machine-gun, I quit. It is assumed that American farmers, workingmen, professional people, and industrialists (not to be confused with business men) want a change, and want it so badly that they are prepared to forego the sovereign right of the ballot, and to suffer a considerable margin of temporary inconvenience.

The first thing which I would do on taking up the reins, or the scepter, or the Big Stick, or whatever it is dictators take up, would be to inscribe over my desk, in a conspicuous location and in large black type, the following slogans:

Too Much Wheat and Not Enough Bread!  
Too Much Cotton and Not Enough Clothes!  
Too Many Bricks and Not Enough Houses!  
Too Much Drudgery and Not Enough Jobs!  
Too Much Goods and Not Enough Money!

The Economy of Abundance Has Technically Displaced the Economy of Scarcity.

And in red letters:

Mankind Is the Most Adaptable of All the Animals but Behavior Patterns Change Slowly!

It is assumed that your dictator has been appointed to meet a specific economic crisis, on the general order of the present one. His work therefore falls under two main heads. He has first to take steps for the immediate succor of human misery, steps overhasty perhaps, not completely mapped out, but *steps*. Secondly, he should call forthwith a planning council to prepare a long-swing program which hopefully may resolve some of the paradoxes which glower from his office wall.

## II

I appoint my obedient cabinet, and forty-eight obedient State governors. All legislatures are dissolved; not a law is to be passed for an indefinite period. Ukases only. Rustics are guided through the empty Capitols as Russian peasants now boggle through the deserted splendors of the summer palace of the Czars. Administrative departments and bureaus are maintained intact, headed by sympathetic executives ready to carry the dictator's orders into immediate effect. (Soon they will undergo extensive reorganization.)

My first order is to abolish the protective tariff save in cases where a genuine infant industry, well adapted to North American economy, can be proved. Coincident with this step, foreign governments are urged to stimulate world trade by doing the same.

I then renounce all claim to further receipts on account of war debts, and respectfully request my brother dictators and parliaments to do likewise. They may or may not; I shall.

I then abolish the army and the navy, replacing them with a magnificent air force at, say, 5 per cent of the cost. This force I shall maintain only until Europe ceases to simmer. A stout and efficient federal police corps had also best be retained for future reference in domestic reforms. Profiteers and speculators will certainly fight these reforms with a ferocity as yet unknown. The disposition of the displaced soldiers and sailors we shall return to presently. The broken-hearted admirals and generals had better be deported with a pension for life. They will never be happy here, and they might cramp my style from time to time. The behavior of jobless generals in Mexico I have observed to be thoroughly mischievous.

I lose immediate revenue on the tariff but more than make it up on the army and navy. The budget, however, needs additional revenue. I instruct the Treasury Department to put the war schedules of income taxes into operation with just a shade more emphasis on the higher brackets. I am strongly disposed to take all inheritances which exceed one million dollars, but I shall curb my impatience until the planning board reports. A million dollars ought to be enough to ruin the second generation almost as effectively as the more fantastic figures now obtaining. I also have it sinisterly in mind to come down on all personal incomes of more than \$100,000. That sum should be sufficient to keep an American family in modest comfort. Back of this drive, of course, is an attempt at better distribution of national income in order to maintain purchasing power at healthier levels. The cry will be raised immediately that all initiative and progress will fly the country. Fortunately I need only smile and point to Russia, which has achieved more progress and developed more initiative on \$125 a month, the official party salary, than any other nation has ever dreamed of in an equal period.

Which reminds me that I must recognize Russia at once, grant her long-term credits duly safeguarded, sell her a billion dollars' worth of American goods in the next twelve months, and thus give the depression another sock in its estimable nose.

I shall cause to be issued from \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 in Prosperity Bonds, for the purpose of immediately utilizing a million or more unemployed on public works. As I understand it, the blue-prints for the useful expenditure of huge sums are already in the files of the federal engineers, and work may be started any day without waste or lost motion. Highways, waterways, public buildings, power-site development, flood control, afforestation, slum clearance, construction of great recreational centers—these will be among the chief projects. The chemical division of the sometime army I shall turn loose on the mightiest war against insect pests and parasites any nation has ever known. Bugs, beetles, bacilli will be driven to the last ditch with flame and gas and

\* This is the first of a series. Articles by Glenn Frank, H. L. Mencken, Harold J. Laski, and others will appear in successive issues.—EDITOR THE NATION.



poison. The remainder of the army and navy will be apportioned, so far as they care to take the jobs, among the other reclamation services. Mr. Benton Mackaye will be invited to prepare plans at once for a great series of townless highways, the only sensible method of coping with the traffic problems of a country motor mad.

Your dictator will move at once to the inauguration of a system of unemployment insurance so designed that only a brazen liar can attach to it the term dole. In fact, it would be a good idea to give dole shouters a little vacation among the beautiful mountains of Alaska. Their lack of originality grows increasingly fatiguing. We propose a self-sustaining, self-respecting, scientific system based on the soundest of actuarial methods. It must be integrated with a network of federal employment exchanges, and ultimately with vocational clinics to direct men and women displaced by machinery to new jobs.

Since it will take some time to get the system functioning, immediate relief must be provided for those who are not absorbed by the public-works program. This federal relief will supplement local relief; and no American family will be permitted to fall below a certain minimum standard of living, say \$30 a week. For those too proud to take it, arrangement will be made to loan them the money against their status in the coming unemployment-insurance system. When they secure a job they may retire the loan and help the insurance reserves thereby.

Needless to say, these loans, distributions, and pay rolls for public works will add enormously to popular purchasing power, and so assist the recovery of industry as well as mitigate the plight of the unemployed. The effect on the federal budget will not disturb me in the least. The United States borrowed some \$15,000,000,000 for destructive purposes in 1917 and 1918 and soon afterwards embarked on a great prosperity joy ride with surplus governmental revenues which were positively embarrassing. We can borrow up to \$5,000,000,000 for constructive enterprises and necessary human relief without a qualm. At least, I can. We shall have a bit of a nest egg, furthermore, in the new supertaxes on incomes and inheritances.

Closely interlocked with the insurance project will be a complete system of old-age pensions. Payments on this account would hardly start to function until the immediate crisis is past. I shall take early steps, however, in withdrawing from industry all children under eighteen, putting them back in school, and making their jobs available to the adult worker. An intensive study will at once be launched into the varieties of work which the older man is best equipped to handle. This nonsense of firing at forty must cease without further ado.

Next I shall throw open the files of the Bureau of Standards to the general consumer that he may learn how to secure his money's worth. The knowledge which now permits the government to be the canniest purchaser in the market—knowledge for which the consumer pays—will then be his. This will be hard on the adulterator, the shoddy maker, the jerry builder, the price booster, the faker who relies on astute advertising to put his gadgets across. Such concerns must either mend their ways or go to the wall. Either course will be all right with me. But the honest producer will be deluged with new business. The net effect will be to cleanse and strengthen the industrial structure,

while wiping out some billions of waste in advertising and competitive selling. I think I shall use the cream of the displaced salesmen on a great publicity campaign for public health and sanitation. The others will have to report to the exchanges and secure a useful job on the new housing projects or the new super-power system.

Wine and beer will be made legal as well as desirable commodities. This will operate drastically to reduce the bootlegging industry and take much of the habit-forming compulsion out of racketeering in general. While we must plow deeper to remove the economic causes which are responsible for the phenomenon of the racket, I shall not wait for nature to take its course. The flower of the ex-army, the ex-navy, and the ex-marine corps will be picked to declare immediate war on the gangster, to invest every great city, and by any means, military or civil, to drive him to immediate capitulation or death. He is just as ugly a cancer in our social life as unemployment. Of the gunmen who escape alive, the youths I shall put in special schools and strive to recondition their habits; the veterans I can waste no further time upon. Their reconditioning is too expensive a matter. Hopeless cases will be placed on a large, roomy, uninhabited island, together with all the surplus stocks of government munitions, especially bombs and firearms, and bidden to go to it in one last grand fusillade. Nor will there be any babies on the sidewalks of that island.

### III

For the long-swing program I shall invite such persons as Wesley C. Mitchell, J. Russell Smith, R. G. Tugwell, George Soule, W. R. Ogburn, Grace Abbott, William Z. Ripley, Robert Lynd, Paul Douglas, Leo Wolman, Sidney Hillman, Charles A. Beard, Owen D. Young, Frances Perkins, John Dewey, Senators Norris and La Follette, Clarence S. Stein, Ralph E. Flanders, Walter Lippmann, Walton Hamilton, Bernard Baruch. If any candidate develops serious symptoms of rugged individualism, Hoover model, I will throw him out. Needless to say, every person appointed, including your devoted dictator, is a ramping, stamping individualist so far as ideas and behavior are concerned. A prime reason for economic planning in the future is that the going structure so thwarts and limits our personal integrity and liberty.

This group of perhaps one hundred persons will be divided into the proper subcommittees and asked to prepare a comprehensive plan for the permanent liquidation of too much wheat and not enough bread and the other paradoxes upon my wall. One is inclined to place in the agenda of the several committees such subjects as these:

1. The coordination of all basic industries into state trusts, under government supervision but operating as independent units so far as possible—utterly removed from bureaucratic control. Present security-holders to exchange their shares for new trust shares with dividends limited to, say, 8 per cent. The set-up to approximate the present organization of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, a well-managed, profitable, research-guided, national monopoly with no serious problems of overproduction, limited markets, unemployment. Such trusts are particularly needed in oil, coal, iron and steel, electric power, meat-packing, textiles, lumber, railroads. The Sherman anti-trust law is of course declared a piece of antiquated timber. One of the



early duties of the oil trust will surely be to scrap three filling stations out of four, and to put every oil field on a wasteless engineering basis.

2. Federal incorporation of all companies beyond a certain size—say \$1,000,000. Full reports to be issued by them as a basis for a glorious system of industrial statistics, leading to wise measures of coordination, guidance, and control. For industries not included in the state-trust program, an integration through the agency of their several trade associations may well be in order. Mr. Benjamin A. Javitz should be summoned for advice on this score.

3. The wisdom, if any, of compulsory labor unions, and of setting a minimum-wage scale.

4. The best method to reduce working hours with every measurable growth in the technical arts.

5. The division of the United States into regional areas following natural boundaries. How to develop these regions as economic units with a somewhat greater margin of self-sufficiency than now obtains. How to stimulate their local traditions and arts.

6. How to speed industrial decentralization. This is perfectly consistent with the state trust in that the factories or stations within a given trust will normally be located all over the country.

7. How to speed and utilize industrial and commercial research. I think I shall make Mr. L. R. Smith of Milwaukee, the man who employs 600 engineers and 7 salesmen, chairman of this committee. And I am afraid the patent office must be broken wide open. One might protect the inventor but hardly the corporation which fattens on him. The day of trade secrets in an economy of abundance is done.

8. A special—very special—report on how to stimulate incentives. There are, you know, at least ten incentives besides speculative profit which cause *homo sapiens* to take off his coat and spit on his hands. A commission of psychologists will be dispatched to Russia to study the methods there in use.

9. How about splitting agriculture into two main divisions—industrial farming and individual farming; the former to concern itself with the great staple crops—wheat, corn, cotton—susceptible to mechanized mass-production methods; the latter to continue farming as a way of life with diversified crops and a large measure of self-sufficiency? The first might well go into the state-trust technique like steel and railroads, and be operated by skilled agronomists frankly as an industrial enterprise.

10. What is a feasible and workable scheme to control new investment so that it is not wasted in excess capacity or purely vicious projects?

11. What is to be done with that costly luxury the New York Stock Exchange? With the securities of the state trust not subject to speculation, its activities, thank God, will be necessarily and automatically curtailed. But a margin of mischief will undoubtedly remain. We must keep an eye on it.

12. From the bankers—or better from members of my board who understand banking—I shall want a rather specific plan for expanding and contracting credit so that purchasing power may be kept in alignment with production. So that Americans, in brief, may buy back what they make. It is to be hoped that some progress in the solution of this

problem has been made by the steps already taken—the public-works program, unemployment insurance (as a buying-power reserve), free trade, heavy income taxes on the indecently rich.

13. Where, in the industrial structure, has free competition a legitimate function? In new industries, in luxury industries, in certain aspects of wholesaling and retailing, in certain service industries such as laundries? I shall ask that that line be drawn as rapidly as may be. It will have a profound effect on my whole economic policy. Free competition probably has its place, even in an economy of abundance, but hardly sprawled all over the bed.

#### IV

While the Planning Board is preparing its report—full time it must give, and well paid it will be—your dictator will, I fear, indulge himself in a few private ukases. These may or may not be pertinent to the solution of grave economic problems, but they will give him much personal satisfaction. After all, if one is to be a dictator, one might as well go all the way. It is a hard life and a few gleams of sunshine will be appreciated.

He will, then, inaugurate a nation-wide system of birth-control clinics with Mrs. Margaret Sanger and qualified physicians in command. He will establish sun-bathing reservations near all great cities, but the instant one of them turns into a nudist cult it will be summarily abolished. On and after a given date he will deport any citizen who places a signboard on a public highway. Designated hoardings at seemly locations will of course be permitted. He will incarcerate any pilot who so far forgets himself as to broadcast advertising matter from the air. A menagerie cage will receive those who seek to use the radio for advertising purposes. No tourist will be permitted to cross the Rio Grande without passing a comprehensive examination in comparative civilization, Mayan and Aztec history, and appreciation of the popular arts and handicrafts. Your dictator will forbid the manufacture of chewing gum, outboard motors, corsets, steam riveters, and derby hats. He will make it mandatory for men to dispense with woolen coats on hot summer days. He will appoint Mr. Gilbert Seldes the official Hollywood censor, and it will be a censorship not of morals but of art. His job will be to forbid vulgar and moronic films; to raise rather than to debase for profit the popular taste of Americans. Your dictator will tear down some twenty square miles of greater New York, plant it to grass and flowers, and give that suffocated city at last a chance to breathe. He will—but sterner matters call.

#### V

When the planning reports are handed in, I propose to set the recommended machinery moving as briskly as possible—with an eye still on the last motto above my desk. The best available executives will be secured at salaries running up to \$100,000 a year, the top price. When parts of the mechanism jam—as they are bound to—I will scrap them instantly, and if no substitute is available, retreat to the old procedure, pending a better plan.

When everything is running as smoothly as one could hope, I will appoint a permanent board of managers, preferably from the engineering profession, and retire. But a pineapple doubtless will have retired me long since.



B.R.B. BULLETINS SENT TO THE FOLLOWING

Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman  
Hartford, Conn.

Rabbi Charles E. Shulman  
Glencoe, Ill.

Rabbi Harry S. Margolis  
St. Pual, Minn.

Dr. Joseph L. Fink  
Buffalo, N.Y.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer  
Toledo, Ohio.

Rabbi Morris Lazaron  
Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Julian Morgenstern  
Hebrew Union College

Rabbi Currick (Max  
Erie, Pa.

Rabbi Louis Wolsey  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Louis L. Mann  
Chicago, Ill.

Rabbi Jonah Wise  
New York, N.Y.

Rabbi Armond Cohen  
Cleveland Jewish Center

Max Meisel  
Leader Bldg.





BULLETIN NUMBER ONE

THE TRIAL AND CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS

. . . . .

Address Delivered on Message of Israel Program

By

Dr. Barnett R. Brickner  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Over Coast-to-Coast Network of the National Broadcasting Co.  
Saturday Evening, March 20, 1937.

. . . . .

This address of Rabbi Brickner was printed in the Jewish Review and Observer of Cleveland on Friday, April 2, 1937.

This sermon of Rabbi Brickner, almost in its entirety, bears strange resemblance to the well-known address of Dr. Emil G. Hirsch called "The Crucifixion, from a Jewish Standpoint", published by the Bloch Publishing Company in 1921, and to the less known booklet of Rabbi A. P. Drucker called "The Trial of Jesus", published by the Bloch Publishing Company in 1907.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF  
DR. EMIL G. HIRSCH

(1) Wherever religion builds her altars, there flames a burning bush, and he who would draw near to it, in the proper spirit, must be mindful of the caution addressed to the old Hebrew shepherd: "Veil thy countenance, take off thy shoes, for the ground on which thou standest is holy."...He who has no religion, may scoff at the convictions of another; but one who himself cherishes as the best he has, his own religious principles, will only reverently enter upon the discussion of his neighbor's religious creed.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF  
DR. BARNETT R. BRICKNER

(1) Wherever religion builds her altars, there flames a burning bush, and he who draws near to it, must do so in the proper spirit, mindful of the Biblical injunction, "Veil thy countenance, take off thy shoes from off thy feet for the ground upon which thou standeth is holy ground." He, who has no religion of his own, may scoff at another's but he who cherishes his own faith, will enter upon a discussion of his neighbor's creed with reverence and with a sense of profound respect.



(2) Whenever a crime is committed, the perpetrator of which is unknown, but must be detected, those charged with the duty to bring criminals to justice, will attempt to establish above all, the one fact in whose interest the crime could have been committed...Who had, in those times, an interest in the removal of Jesus? Who was profited by his death? Who was disturbed by his teachings?  
(p.15)

(3) The supposition that his religious opinions and practice clashed with the Judaism of his time, is clearly untenable...He, himself, disclaims any intention of founding a new religion...He emphasizes his mission as one come to fulfill but not to abolish it.  
(p.15, 16)

(4) His saying that the Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath is an echo of a well-known rabbinical contention: "The Sabbath is given in your charge, you are not given in its charge."  
(p.17)

(5) It is not too bold an assumption, that in very truth the Quaddish, our Quaddish, is the prototype upon which the Lord's Prayer is patterned.  
(p.19)

(6) The Messiah, for the Jew, is never the redeemer from original sin. He is, however, the restorer of the state.  
(p. 32-33)

(2) Whenever a crime is committed, those charged with the duty of apprehending the criminal make a point of ascertaining one central fact - the motive. Let us ask ourselves, did the Jewish countrymen of Jesus have any reason for wanting to destroy him? Was there anything in his teachings that disturbed them? And if so, who could have profited by his death?

(3) The supposition that the religious teachings of Jesus clashed with the Judaism of the masses of the people in his time is untenable and false, for Jesus himself disclaims any intentions of founding a new religion. Jesus said that he did not come to destroy, but to fulfill the Torah.

(4) When Jesus taught that "the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," he was only paraphrasing a rabbinic maxim, "that the Sabbath is given in your charge and not you in its charge."

(5) The Lord's Prayer, as recited by Jesus, is only a rewording of the Hebrew Kaddish.

(6) To the Jews and to Jesus, the Messiah did not mean one who would come to redeem the world from its original sin, but the restorer of Jewish freedom.



(7) Let us cast, in order to make this as clear as possible, a glance at the conditions of things prevailing in Palestine at this critical period. The people had become restive under foreign domination. Mistaking patience for absolute stolid indifference, the Roman commanders had often outraged the religious susceptibilities of the people...they had carried the emblems of Roman supremacy, the figures of the Roman emperors... in pomp and parade defiantly through the streets of Jerusalem; the tax-gatherers plied their shady avocation without pity, sucking, vampire-like, the very aorta of the people dry to the last drop.

(p. 40)

(8) Nowhere were these indignities and the consequent sufferings, felt more deeply and borne more impatiently, than in the villages and hamlets dotting the Galilean hilltops. The mountains are the homes of freedom, so sings a German poet.

(p. 40)

(9) The Roman emperor, Tiberius himself, characterized the policy of Pilate by declaring that a "good shepherd tends his sheep without cutting their throats."

(p. 59)

(10) Into such times was born the child of Bethlehem...He was gifted with gentle temper, and a tongue of sweet eloquence. He felt that he could speak and therefore must speak.

(p. 42)

(7) Let us reconstruct the evidence with reference to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, as it can be pieced together from the most authentic Jewish sources. At the time Jesus came into the world, Judea was a vassal state of Rome. The Romans had been outraging the religious sensibilities of the Jews by carrying the effigies of the Roman emperors into the Jewish villages and towns. Their tax gatherers plied their oppressive vocations without pity, sucking dry, like vampires, the very life blood of the people.

(8) Nowhere were these indignities more resented than in the mountains of Galilee, where Jesus and his family lived. Remember that the mountains are proverbially the home of freedom.

(9) So much so that the Roman emperor reprimanded Pilate, saying that "a good shepherd tends his flock, instead of slitting their throats."

(10) Into such an environment Jesus was born. Gifted with a gentle temper and a tongue of sweet eloquence he felt that he must speak and rouse the people to their mission.



(11) On the eve of the Passover, Jesus ate the Passover meal with his disciples; at its conclusion he retired to Gethsemane to prepare himself for his public appearance. Early on the fifteenth of Nissan he repairs to the Temple to accomplish its cleansing.

(p. 48)

(12) Thus, from whatever point of view we study this problem, the conclusion is forced upon us that the responsibility for the death of Jesus must forever rest on the Roman authorities...He had taught nothing or done nothing but what a most pious Jew could teach or do.

(p. 60-61)

(11) At the conclusion of the meal, he retired to Gethsemane, there to prepare himself for his public appearance in Jerusalem. Early on the fifteenth day of Nissan, the day of the Jewish Passover, when there was a milling multitude of thousands of Jews in and near the Temple, who had come to Jerusalem on their annual pilgrimage, Jesus spoke to the oppressed multitudes about cleansing the Temple...

(12) No matter from what angle we study the trial and the crucifixion of Jesus, the responsibility rests on the Romans, for the Jews had no motive either to try or to condemn him. He had nothing and taught nothing that was contrary to the Jewish faith.





FROM THE ADDRESS OF  
RABBI A. P. DRUCKER

(1) There was really no direct evidence brought out against Jesus at any point in the trial, all the witnesses, we are told, testifying from hearsay or rumor...No circumstantial evidence was permitted to be introduced before the judges of a Jewish criminal tribunal.

(p. 6-7)

(2) All the synoptics united in their assertion that Jesus was tried at night. This, too, would have been a gross violation of the rules of the Sanhedrin. No criminal court in Judea was allowed to be held at night. Court sessions opened after the morning sacrifice and closed at sunset with the last evening sacrifice.

(p.8)

(3) Two scribes had to be present at every trial to record the proceedings...Writing, however, was forbidden on a festival...The criminal case could not have started the day before a holiday or the day before the Sabbath.

(p.10)

(4) The High Priest, we read, asked the judges, "what think ye?" and they answered and said, "He is guilty of death."...There was no voting "en bloc" in the Sanhedrin.

(p. 11)

(5) There is a long-recognized and deep-rooted maxim in the Talmud which was handed down from the Sanhedrin that "no man can incriminate himself." (in Hebrew - Ain Odom messim a"smo" rosho).

(p.13)

FROM THE ADDRESS OF  
DR. BARNETT R. BRICKNER

(1) What direct evidence is brought against Jesus by the Gospels? All the witnesses, who testify, merely state what they knew by hearsay or rumor. And circumstantial evidence was never allowed in criminal action in a Jewish court.

(2) The Synoptic Gospels are unanimous that Jesus was tried in the night. This too is impossible for no Jewish criminal court convened at night. The court session opened after the morning sacrifice in the Temple and closed at sunset after the evening sacrifice.

(3) The Jewish law prescribed that no trial may be had on the eve of a Jewish holy day or the Sabbath, since two scribes have to be present to record the proceedings, and writing was forbidden on these days. Furthermore criminal cases were never started a day before a holiday or the Sabbath because a criminal case had to last at least two days to give the court a chance to be polled twice on two separate days.

(4) The Gospels tell us that the High Priests asked the judges of the Sanhedrin, "what think ye?" and they answered in one accord, "He is guilty of death." The Sanhedrin never voted en bloc.

(5) According to Jewish law, the confession of the accused was never sufficient for his own conviction for the rabbinic principles was "ain odom, messim es a"zma rosho". No man is required to condemn himself.



# THE JEWISH REVIEW AND OBSERVER

DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

VOL. LXIII. No. 14

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1937

\$2.00 Per Year—Single Copy 5c

## THE WEEK IN REVIEW

BY MILTON BROWN

**Palestine: Violence**  
For forty years, says the Bible, the Hebrews wandered in the desert to reach the Land of Israel.

And in that land today the Jews are not permitted to commemorate the event—Passover—with wholehearted joy because new Arab violence has brought new tension.

There were new clashes in which the toll of Jewish casualties rose, climaxed by what appeared to be a plot of Arab agents provocateurs to bomb a mosque, blame it on the Jews and foment a massacre. The plot was discovered by an alert policeman.

While Arab worshippers were entering the celebrated Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, holiest of the Moslem places of worship in Palestine, a rumor was circulated among them that Arabs had threatened to bomb the mosque. As resentment began to mount, a policeman outside noticed a loiterer whose clothing bulged conspicuously. A search revealed two bombs.

What might have happened if the plan had worked, no one can say. But it is recalled that Moslem riots in the past have been organized by the simple device of spreading rumors that Jews had designs on the Mosque of Omar.

In Safed, meanwhile, the situation was serious. It was reported that Arab leaders had organized a miniaturized totalitarian state in the North Palestinian city, ruling by terror, enforcing a rigid boycott against the Jews and even confining them in ghettos. High Commissioner Wauchope visited the city and promised measures to aid the Jews.

In the face of the continuing violence, the Jews decided to protest against the government's failure to suppress terrorism. First they planned a one-day strike, but more moderate minds prevailed and a day of prayer was held instead.

Palestine, meanwhile, had a problem not unlike the Washington administration's Supreme Court question—namely that the courts had a vexatious way of invalidating government measures. This promised to be solved by a new order in council clarifying the powers of the government.

**Rumania: Decrees**

When Parliament is not in session the government is empowered to issue legislation by special decree. Parliament closed last week without acting on proposals for restrictions on foreigners, but there were indications that these measures had not been dropped.

While the closing sitting of Parliament was in session, the official Labor and Public Health Review announced.

## BRITISH JEWS PRESENT LOYAL ADDRESS TO KING

London, March 31 (JTA)—A loyal address in the name of the Jews of the British Empire was presented to King George VI at Buckingham Palace last week by a delegation representing the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association.

The delegation included Dr. J. H. Hertz, chief rabbi of Great Britain; Neville Laski, president of the board; Leonard G. Montefiore, president of the association; Lionel Rothschild, Sir Osmond d'Avigdor, Goldsmid, Lionel Cohen, Gerald E. Beddington, Jordan Liverman, Lady Spielman, Leonard Stein, Sir Isadore Salmon, A. S. Diamond and A. G. Brotman.

The address follows:  
"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Most Gracious Sovereign:

"We, the London committee of the Deputies of British Jews, as the elected and representative body of Jews of the British Empire, and we, the Anglo-Jewish Association, in our own behalf and in behalf of our branches throughout the British Empire, humbly approach Your Majesty to offer sincere and respectful greetings on Your Majesty's accession to the throne.

(Continued on Page 4)

## The Temple to Honor Rabbi Silver's Twentieth Anniversary with Dinner

Elaborate plans are being formulated for the testimonial dinner in honor of Rabbi Silver's twentieth anniversary with the Temple in Cleveland. The dinner will be held in connection with the 87th Annual Meeting of The Temple. Mario Chamlee, gifted Metropolitan tenor, will be brought from New York as guest artist. The celebration will be held at the Statler Hotel on Sunday evening, April 18, at 6:30 o'clock. Invitations have been sent to all members of the congregation, as well as to important representatives of the various civic organizations with which Rabbi Silver has been identified. The occasion promises to be one of historic significance in the life of The Temple.

Eugene E. Wolf, president of The Temple, is serving as chairman of the Testimonial Dinner Committee, composed of the following members: Joseph M. Berne, Mrs. Helen Bing, Isaac Evans, Mrs. George W. Furr, Walter A. Goldsmith, Mrs. H. G. Goulder, Robert H. Gries, Roy M. Hexter, Bert Keller, George J. Koller, J. Albert Lowell, Max E. Meisel, Herman Moss, Leo Neumark, Miss Flora Rohrbacher, Mrs. Henry Steuer, Sidney M. Weitz, Mrs. Victor L. Wise.

On the morning of April 18, an anniversary service will be held in The Temple, to which all Rabbi Silver's Confidants during his twenty-year ministry in Cleveland have been in-



EUGENE E. WOLF

to attend this unique service honoring their spiritual leader. The service will be in the nature of a sacred consecration rally. This will be the first reunion of Rabbi Silver's Confidants.

## NEW ORLEANS WELFARE FUND GOES OVER TOP

New York, March 23—The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 100 East 42nd street, one of the main beneficiaries of the New Orleans Jewish Welfare Fund, has been informed that the fund's campaign has already gone over its \$50,000 quota with \$52,826 already reported and more than \$1,000 in additional pledges expected.

The chairman of the New Orleans campaign is Harry Latter, and Dr. David Fichman is secretary.

Among the National officers of the Joint Distribution Committee who went from New York to address meetings in aid of the New Orleans campaign are: Rabbi Joseph B. Wise, National Co-Chairman of the 1937 Joint Distribution Committee campaign for \$4,650,000 in aid of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe; Joseph (Continued on Page 4)

## Leaders of Academic Life in Cleveland to Welcome Dr. Hugo Bergmann

Dr. Hugo Bergmann, rector of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus who is visiting in the United States for the first time, will be the guest of Cleveland on Sunday evening, April 4. A banquet will be tendered to him at the Cleveland Hotel.



DR. HUGO BERGMANN

Representatives of educational institutions and of the city will greet the visitor. President W. G. Leutner of Western Reserve University, Dr. T. Wingate Todd of the Brush Foundation, Dr. A. Casswell Ellis, Director of Cleveland College and Mayor Harold H. Burton will convey the greetings of the city and its educational institutions. Mr. Max Simon, president of the Cleveland Jewish Community Council, will greet Dr. Bergmann in the name of the Jewish

## COUNCIL JUNIOR'S SPRING FORMAL TO BE TOMORROW

The Junior Organization of the Cleveland Section of the Council of Jewish Women are expecting to have a gala time when they stage their spring formal dance tomorrow night in the Show Boat Room of the Hollenden. Festivities will start at 10 p. m. and Hall Zeiger and his boys will furnish the music.

The Misses Edythe Zwick and Annette Nevens, co-chairmen for the affair, have been assisted by Rella Friedman, Beatrice Alexander, Zelma Sands, Violet Klein, Molly Finger, Della Press, Miriam Joseph Cecil Cohen, Miriam Hartz, Mildred Weiss, Fay Page, Jean Sandler, Virginia Heller, Doris Zychick, and Gertrude Spira.

Tickets can be procured at the door. Miss Florence Goldman is president of the organization.

## RABBI BRICKNER'S RADIO SERMON BRINGS RESPONSE

Response to the sermon preached on the Great Sabbath over the Message of Israel by Rabbi Barnett K. Brickner was an astonishing one. Rabbi Brickner preached on the subject "The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus." Whereas the normal response to a good sermon over the Message of Israel network runs into several hundred letters from all parts of the country and abroad, the mail in this instance has run into many thousands of letters, all asking for copies of the sermon and some asking for several copies for distribution to their friends. Inasmuch as the sermon topic is not announced in advance on The Message of Israel, it is a convincing evidence of the numerous outlets which this radio service has, with thousands of individuals writing in and announcing that they have been listening to the service.

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, who has been directing this radio program for some years, said: "The response to Rabbi Brickner's sermon was so astonishing and so moving that I really feel I ought to make some sort of an announcement to those who are interested in spreading the light and the truth about the Jews. It is gratifying beyond words to know that this service reaches listeners, who can be numbered every Saturday night in the hundreds of thousands. There is no longer any doubt of that. The number of outlets tapped, as indicated by recent letters and especially by the flood of letters which greeted Rabbi Brickner's remarkable sermon on the Crucifixion, proved beyond the question of a doubt that this service has outlets running into the hundreds of thousands. I could mention a seemingly fabulous number, but I refrain from doing so, although the best radio engineering is of the opinion that one could truthfully do so."

The Message of Israel is broadcast (Continued on Page 4)

## AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES ARE SNUBBING HITLER

The bi-centenary celebration of Goettingen University to be held in Nazi-Germany on June 30, again making June 30th, the day of Hitler's "purge," a Nazi holiday, will not be attended by a majority of American colleges and universities who have been invited by the Hitler Government.

This was declared by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, of which Samuel Untermyer is president, after it had received answers to inquiries sent to the presidents of 500 universities in all parts of the United States.

The replies revealed that most of the schools which have been invited rejected the Nazi bid without qualification, simply stating as the president of the University of Virginia did "that the invitation from the German Government has been respectfully and definitely declined."

A number of the American universities to whom the League's questionnaire had been sent, replied that no invitation had as yet been received from the Nazis, but if one should be received it would be declined. Among the schools who responded in this manner are: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Ursinus College, West Virginia State College and the University of Arkansas.

Harvard University is the only one which has signified its intention to attend the Goettingen "celebrations," declaring through Stephen H. Stackpole, Secretary to President Conant: "In this decision the authorities of the University were influenced by the same reasons upon which was based Harvard's acceptance of the invitation of the University of Heidelberg last spring. Those reasons were well stated in an address to the Harvard Alumni on June 18, 1936. On that occasion President Conant said in part:

(Continued on Page 4)

## J. N. F. COUNCIL SPONSORS PALESTINIAN PICTURE

A large enthusiastic audience is expected at the premier presentation of "This Is the Land" to be shown at the Uptown Theatre, tonight, April 3. This all-talking film with beautiful musical background, which is the latest creation of the Aza Film Production Company of Palestine, depicts the results of fifty years' of Jewish pioneer activity in Palestine.



MRS. LEON L. BERGER

From among the many organizations which are co-operating in this project the following women have volunteered to act as hostesses and ushers:

Hostesses: Mesdames L. L. Berger, A. Gomberg, David Glasser, A. C. Winkelman, Harry Epstein, Isaac Klein, Clarence Weidenthal, M. J. Gallin, A. Levine, J. W. Epstein, S. M. Winograd, Joseph Sharwell, Max Simon, S. Arnoff, Ezra Shapiro, Sam Feerman, Louis Blachman, Henry Frankel, Ben Ornstein, M. Singer, Harry Caplan, Henry Solomon, Emil Rothman, Jacob Usdin, Harry Levy, Ben Zimmerman, Samuel Klein, Belle Jacobson, J. Zaremsky, Wm. Goldberg, S. Kessler, H. Fox, M. Isaacs, (Continued on Page 3)

## JEWISH CENTER ALUMNI SPRING DANCE SCHEDULED

In keeping with its usual policy of presenting unusual dance events, The Jewish Center Alumni will present "Swing Frolic" on Saturday evening, April 10, at 9 o'clock, in the Centerville Ballroom. Lighting effects simulating moonlight and floral decorations will transform the ballroom into a moonlit garden. Howard Herzog is chairman of the Dance Committee, assisted by Miss Eve Ulevitch, Miss Jeanne Stein, Bill Greenberg, and Lloyd Goldman.

Music will be presented by Freddie Webster and his Harlequinians who have been named the official swing band of New York's Harlem.

A nominal admission charge will be made.

## EUCLID AVE. TEMPLE HOLDS YIZKOR SERVICES TODAY

A part of its concluding Passover Service on the 7th day of Passover, today, Friday, April 2, at 10:30 a. m., the Euclid Avenue Temple will again include the Yizkor Service. The custom of memorializing the departed (Yizkor) which has always been traditional in the Synagogue was added by Rabbi Brickner to the Passover Service, in 1929 and has been a part of it since.

It is the policy of the Euclid Avenue Temple to restore the more beautiful and significant traditions that were omitted in the early days of reform Judaism, thus bringing back to the service and to Jewish life some of the lost warmth and meaning.

A special memorial service has been prepared and will be distributed to the members as they enter the Temple today, Friday morning. Please note that the service begins at 10 o'clock.

Last week in connection with the first day of Passover, the members of the Junior Alumni Choral and Dramatic Groups presented a beautiful pageant as part of the service. The introduction of pageantry which has hitherto been confined to the children's services was this time introduced into the adult service, adding warmth and color but detracting not at all from the dignity of the service.

The principal roles were sung by Betty Zinner as the princess; Jeanne Sacherman as Miriam, Elaine Quint as Yochebed, Richard Weinstein as Moses, Norman Stern as Pharaoh, Hilbert Goldberg as the taskmaster, Sheldon Levin as the Messenger and Henrietta Zucker as the reader. Eunice Podis was at the piano.

Mrs. Harriet Korach Kohn directed the music and Miss Sylvia Stein was in charge of dramatics. The entire production was supervised by Mrs. Sigmund Braverman.

## LAST REMINDER SENT

A last reminder was sent this week to persons who have not paid their 1936 pledges to the Jewish Welfare Fund, requesting payment before the annual list of subscribers is published soon. Subscribers will be credited with the amounts they have actually paid, rather than the amounts pledged, the notice said, in fairness to the persons who have made full payments. With the fiscal year almost closed, an appeal was made for full remittances to member agencies which depend upon the Fund for support.

## CHILDREN JOIN ELDERS IN RESPONSE TO PASSOVER PLEA OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE APPEAL

Many More Synagogues, Temples and Congregations Expected to Set Aside Yizkor Services to Raise Money for Relief of Destitute Jews of Poland

## ELIGIBLES FOR EMIGRATION TO PALESTINE ASSISTED BY COMMITTEE

### HEIGHTS SISTERHOOD HOLDS MOTHER-DAUGHTER DINNER

The Heights Temple Sisterhood's last open meeting of the season will take place on Tuesday afternoon, April 13 at 2 o'clock, in Spira Hall of the Temple on the Heights, with Mrs. Albert Blum, president, presiding.

At this meeting, an election and installation of officers will take place, brief committee reports will be made, and there will be a coffee and social hour. The hostesses for the afternoon will be Mrs. George I. Klein, chairman, the Mesdames Alfred Spilka, Joseph Bruckman, George Manheim, Ben Klein, Sanford Folkman, Nate Rosenberg, Joseph W. Gray, and Leon Wald.

The date for the Annual Mother-Daughter Dinner has just been released. It is Wednesday evening, April 28, at the Temple on the Heights. Mrs. Otis C. Altfeld is chairman of the affair.

Children of Jewish religious schools have joined with their elders in answering the special Passover appeal for aid of the oppressed Jews of Poland which was made to every synagogue, temple and Jewish congregation in the United States by the American Committee Appeal for the Jews of Poland.

Though the appeal urged rabbis and congregation presidents to set aside the last day of Passover, when the Yizkor Services are conducted, for the collection of funds for the oppressed Jews in Poland, many contributions were sent in advance of that day, indicating the vast reservoir of sympathy existing in the United States for the 3,500,000 Polish Jews harassed by economic discrimination and tortured by pogroms and boycotts.

The Passover plea was issued as part of the 1937 campaign of the American Committee Appeal which is headed by Professor Albert Einstein, Honorary chairman; Benjamin Winter, National Chairman, and Z. Tygel, Executive Director.

Included among the contributions already received were several from children groups. Typical among these was a donation from the Flushing Free Synagogue of Flushing, New York, with a note reading: "The enclosed check represents a contribution of the children of the Religious School of the Flushing Free Synagogue, in answer to your appeal. This is their Passover gift to our distressed brethren in Poland."

Another from the boys and girls of Temple Israel of Boston, Mass., read: "The enclosed check is a gift from the children of the Temple Israel Religious School towards Polish-Jewish relief."

Congregations and Jewish groups situated in other parts of the country likewise made early responses to the holiday appeal. The Garment Center Congregation, located in the heart of New York's uptown business center, and serving the multitudes of Jews identified in the garment industry, sent a Passover contribution along with a word of cheer to brighten the sorrows and misery of their stricken Polish brethren.

From Detroit came several contributions, including one from the Tuxedo Talmud Torah and one from the Home Relief Society.

"Passover aid to the economically ruined Jews of Poland is a pressing need and becomes more urgent each year," Mr. Tygel declared. "Thus it is most important for every synagogue, temple and Jewish congregation in the United States to heed our plea to set aside the last day of Passover, during the Yizkor services, to raise funds which can be transmitted to Poland by the American committee appeal for constructive relief of the Jews in that land."

"The advance response of our co-religionists to the special Passover appeal was most gratifying. The many contributions were received heartens the American Committee Appeal to continue its work for relief of the oppressed and impoverished Jews of Poland with greater vigor and a more determined will.

"Those children groups and religious centers which have already responded have performed a most generous deed. We cannot make our appeal too strong to those other congregations which have not yet contributed to utilize the Yizkor services as a most appropriate occasion to remember the Jews of Poland whose plight is unparalleled in history."

The relief program followed by the American Committee Appeal, in cooperation with members of the Distribution Committee of Poland, not only renders immediate aid to those in need, but also promotes constructive rehabilitation of as many as possible. Among the committee's objectives are the extension of credit facilities to small business men and artisans to tide them over the emergency period; extension of financial aid to those eligible for emigration to Palestine, with particular emphasis on the growing generation; the provision of vocational training facilities for Jewish youth in these industries and crafts still open to Jewish enterprises; and the extension and strengthening of the Jewish cooperative farm movement in Poland.

### AT THE TEMPLES

**Euclid Avenue Temple**  
This Sunday morning, April 4, at 10:30 a. m. Rabbi Brickner will speak on "The Twelve Most Vital Dates in History."

**Oheb Zedek Congregation**  
The Sisterhood will present Miss Grace Meyette on Sunday, April 4 at 2 p. m. Miss Meyette will speak on "The Boycott of German Goods and Services."

**The Temple**  
At the Sunday morning services Rabbi Silver will deliver the sixth lecture of his series on "Problems of Human Life Reflected in the Bible." The lecture will deal with "Happiness— and its Difficult Conquest."

**Temple on the Heights**  
The High School-College Department will conduct the preliminary to the annual oratorical contest this Sunday morning at 11 o'clock in Room 305.

**Cleveland Jewish Center**  
Rabbi Cohen will preach this Sunday morning on "The Problems of Freedom—Paradox." The services begin at 10 a. m.

**Sherith Jacob Congregation**  
"The Great Sacrifice" will be the topic of Rabbi Hugo H. Klein's address Friday morning, April 2.

**Community Temple**  
Rabbi Goldfarb will lecture at the Saturday morning service. His subject will be "The High Uses of Freedom."

**Heights Orthodox Congregation**  
Today at the morning services Rabbi S. M. Zambrowsky will deliver a sermon on the subject "When the Jew Sings." Saturday morning the last day of Passover, the Rabbi will speak before the Memorial Services at 10 o'clock on the subject, "If We Could Understand the Language of the Soul."

## Welfare Fund to Have Largest Campaign Organization in History

A record breaking campaign organization was indicated this week as major divisions of the Jewish Welfare Fund were making rapid progress in recruiting their teams. More than 1,500 persons will take part in the extraordinary appeal to be made May 2-11.



PHILIP FRANKEL

Directing the recruiting, in addition to Philip Frankel as chairman of the Campaign Council, are Mrs. Siegmund Herzog, chairman of the Women's Division; L. W. Neumark, and Joseph Pevaroff, heading the Employees' Division; and Jerome N. Curtis, chairman of the Young Adult Division.

Organization for the drive is being done earlier this year than ever before, campaign leaders said. Stirred by the critical plight of Jews in Poland, Germany, Roumania, and other lands, whose condition is even worse than last year as a result of new restrictions, boycotts, and pogroms, care is being taken to insure a campaign personnel adequate to conduct the most intensive appeal ever made in the local Jewish community.

Major beneficiaries of the campaign will be the agencies which are keeping alive the thousands of European Jews who would otherwise starve.

## Eddie Cantor Speaks Before Hadassah Givers' Luncheon Via Telephone

Accepting Hadassah's invitation to appear in a telephonic broadcast from Hollywood at the Givers' Luncheon Monday April 12, Eddie Cantor, stage, radio and screen star with several other screen personalities, will speak directly to the audience.



EDDIE CANTOR

This is an unprecedented feature in local affairs and is being looked forward to by the rapidly growing list of patrons which already amounts to several hundred.

The Chapter is privileged to announce the principal speaker to be Mrs. Moses P. Epstein of New York, national vice-president of Hadassah.

providing vocational training to make as many as possible self-supporting again, giving education to children ousted from the public schools, transporting refugees and helping them to establish themselves in Palestine and other countries.

Heading the entire campaign organization will be Rabbi A. H. Silver, general chairman, and Rabbi B. R. Brickner, co-chairman. The Women's Division will be led by Mrs. Benjamin Levine and Mrs. Simon Peiser as co-chairmen with Mrs. Herzog.

Additional appointments in the business and professional divisions, include the following. A partial list was made public last week.

Builders, builders' supplies and architects: George Koller, David Levinsohn, George Mayer, and George Nachman, co-chairmen; Sam Apple, Jerome Blonder, Sylvester Fleishman, Ben Kahn, George J. Klein, Willard Livingston, David Schlesinger, L. H. Schwarzenberg, Joseph Weinberg, Adolph Weiss, and Samuel Kronenberg, vice-chairmen.

Drugs and beverages: Edgar Sloss and Adolph Weinberger, co-chairmen; Howard Bernan, Bert Klein, Sam Siegel, Joseph Spivack, vice-chairmen.

Food products: Morris L. Arnold, Max Freedman, and Julius D. Weitz, co-chairmen.

Oils and paints: Dave Myers and Leo B. Seidenfeld, co-chairmen; Isaac V. Evans, M. E. Glass, Myron Guren, Daniel W. Sanders, and J. B. Wise, vice-chairmen.

## JEWISH ORPHAN HOME ALUMNI TO HOLD DONOR DINNER

The Jewish Orphan Home Alumni Association is holding its 3rd annual donor dinner in Alumni Hall at Bellefairs, Sunday, April 25.

If early results mean anything this year's affair will overshadow the excellent successes of the past two years.

Graduates and friends of the Alumni Association are holding bridge parties, selling tickets and other things in order to raise the individual quota of \$5.

In addition to the dinner there will be professional entertainment and dancing to a swing orchestra.

Goldie Bender, 1361 East Boulevard, heads this year's committee.

Though one of the youngest leaders in the American Zionist movement, Mrs. Epstein is widely known among the Jews of this country and is eagerly sought as a speaker.

Emanuel Rosenberg, choir leader at The Temple, and associated as a member of the staff of the Cleveland Institute of Music, will sing.

A second rally in the series will take place Monday April 5, 2:30 p. m. at Hotel Cleveland where Rabbi Goldfarb will be the guest speaker. Rabbi Goldfarb, leader of the Community Temple combines a rich experience with a thorough knowledge of Palestine. Although comparatively new to Cleveland, he is rapidly making himself felt by his service to all worth while causes.

All the luncheon plans are in charge of Mrs. Ezra Shapiro, associated with Mrs. Henry Weinraub, and Mrs. Max Simon.

The patron committee is headed by Mrs. Samuel Feerman and Mrs. Samuel M. Winograd.

A partial list of the hostesses (those who have taken tables of ten) are:

Mesdames Sam Morris, Jack J. Bloch, Albert Saul, Bernard Kane, A. L. Bialosky, Henry Gottfried, Joseph Baskind, Abe Kramer, B. R. Brickner, James Dworin, David Frankel, Norman Polster, Henry Frankel, Grover Mendelson, S. O. Freedlander, Joseph Engelman, Jack Altman, Jacob Stael, David Shulman, Jack Grodin, Joseph Fetterman, M. Fine, Moses Garber, Frank Bolk, Harry Karklink, Ben Schwartz, Joseph Sharwell, L. B. Goodman, Joseph Spivak, Samuel Volk, Isador Evans.



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# Passover Greetings

to the  
Jewish Community

**Mt. Sinai Hospital**

## The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus

Address Delivered on Message of Israel Program  
by  
**DR. BARNETT R. BRICKNER,**  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple  
Cleveland, O.

Over coast to coast network of the National Broadcasting Company  
Saturday Evening, March 20, 1937

Wherever religion builds her altars, there flames a burning bush, and he, who draws near to it, must do so in the proper spirit, mindful of the Biblical injunction, "Vail thy countenance, take off thy shoes from off thy feet for the ground upon which thou standest is holy ground." He, who has no religion of his own, may scoff at another's, but he, who cherishes his own faith, will enter upon a discussion of his neighbor's creed with reverence and with a sense of profound respect.

All during this week, our Christian friends and neighbors are observing Passover Week, the week that culminates in Good Friday and Easter Sunday. The central theme of this week is the tragic story of the Trial, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus. Were it not for the fact that the Jewish people figure in the story, I would not feel called upon to discuss a matter that touches the very heart of our daughter faith. But as everyone knows, the story in the New Testament absolves the Romans from guilt, and lays upon the Jews the entire responsibility for the crucifixion. The widespread acceptance throughout the ages of the New Testament, reaching even upon our own day, has led to what might be called the Christian Jewish Tragedy.

### A Christian Speaks

It is encouraging that in recent years, Christian scholars and theologians of note have been realizing that a terrible injustice has been done the Jew throughout the past 1900 years. They now confirm the fact that the Jews as a nation were far less guilty of the death of Jesus, than were the Greeks as a nation guilty of the death of Socrates. In this connection, I quote to you from what a Christian Divine, Professor Conrad Henry Mochman of the Rochester, New York, Theological Seminary says in his recent book, "The Christian Jewish Tragedy." "The synoptic accounts of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus do not agree the one with the other. No one can bridge the chasm between the differing synoptic narratives on the one hand and the Johannine portrait on the other. All of the New Testament descriptions of the tragedy of Passover Week have undergone serious modification and expansion. Our Christian text books do not tell what happened in Jerusalem nineteen centuries ago. The Jews still possessed the right to try and execute persons transgressing their religious laws. The Jews did not crucify, they stoned or decapitated for blasphemy. The Roman procurator because of popular tumult and revolutionary tendencies among the followers of Jesus intervened and condemned Jesus on the charge of sedition. For decades after Calvary, Jerusalem Jew and Christian not along rather well together."

If these things be true, the teaching of Jesus demand that modern Christians acknowledge them and make a confession of sin because of the thousands and thousands of unjust statements found in their literature as well as for the revenue in many forms taken upon Judaism. "The student of history is amazed to discover that the results of the historical investigation of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus have not found their way into modern religious education, that text books are still being published which tell the story in the ancient gruesome way. Yet there must be millions of Christians who desire to know what really transpired at Calvary rather than go on believing the fiction of Oberammergau."

Because I believe with Professor Mochman that millions of Christians and Jews desire to know what really transpired there, I feel it is proper for me, a Rabbi, to present the case for the Jews with reference to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus.

### No Motive

Whenever a crime is committed, those charged with the duty of apprehending the criminal make a point of ascertaining one central fact—the mo-

tive. Let us ask ourselves, did the Jewish countrymen of Jesus have any reason for wanting to destroy him? Was there anything in his teachings that disturbed them? And if so, who would have profited by his death?

The supposition that the religious teachings of Jesus clashed with the Judaism of the masses of the people in his time is untenable and false, for Jesus himself disclaims any intentions of founding a new religion. Jesus said that he did not come to destroy, but to fulfill the Torah. If during the Passover Week, Jesus were to come to life again, the only house of worship that he would recognize and feel at home in would be a synagogue. When Jesus taught that "the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," he was only paraphrasing a rabbinic maxim, "that the Sabbath is given in your charge and not you in its charge." The Lord's Prayer, as recited by Jesus, is only a rewording of the Hebrew Kaddish. Jesus' Sermon on the Mount is but a collection of Pharasaic maxims taken from the jewel box of Jewish Rabbinic lore. The Golden Rule, which Jesus loved, was taught by Hillel, the Pharisee, an older contemporary of Jesus, eighty years before Jesus was born and when Jesus preached about the Kingdom Come, he was only emphasizing the Jewish teaching of Olem haBa the world to come, and giving comfort to his people that God would redeem them from the Roman yoke of tyranny. When Jesus spoke of the resurrection, he had reference to the Messiah that had died in vain in the struggle against Roman oppression, and who would awake and rejoice in the new day of the regenerated Jewish state. To the Jews and to Jesus, the Messiah did not mean one who would come to redeem the world from its original sin, but the restorer of Jewish freedom. At the time when Jesus was born, Messianism was in the air. Every Jewish mother prayed that she might bear the Redeemer of Israel. All that Jesus taught was Jewish. The Jews, therefore, could have had no motive in executing him.

### A Rebel

Let us reconstruct the evidence with reference to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, as it can be pieced together from the most authentic Jewish sources. At the time Jesus came into the world, Judea was a vassal state of Rome. The Romans had been outraging the religious sensibilities of the Jews by carrying out the effigies of the Roman emperors into the Jewish villages and towns. Their tax gatherers plied their oppressive vocations without pity, sucking dry, like vampires, the very life blood of the people. Nowhere were these indignities more resented than in the mountains of Galilee, where Jesus and his family lived. Remember the mountains are proverbially the seat of freedom.

soldiers had crucified the instance of Pontius Pilate, hundreds of Jews as rebels. So much so that the Roman emperor, reprimanded Pilate, saying that "a good shepherd tends his flock, instead of slitting their throats." And the Roman writ, Varus, said us, "that so many are crucified at this time, (crucifixion being a Roman method of capital punishment), that there were not enough crosses to go around."

Into such an environment Jesus was born. Gifted with a gentle temper and a tongue of sweet eloquence, he was that he must speak and rouse the people to their mission. He became one of those rebels, liberator — a Messiah. He preached in every hamlet and village on his way to Jerusalem, where he arrived during the fatal week preceding the Passover. Jesus won many followers. Palm Sunday is reminiscent of the way the people of Israel met Jesus in Jerusalem with Hosannas. When he came to the Temple and saw the traffic that went on in money changing and how the whole sacrificial cult had been traduced, he threw over the tables of the money changers, denounced those who trafficked in this unspiritual way, and thereby incurred the

wrath of the influential family of Annas, whom the Talmud knows as Chanann, which family was related to the High Priest Caiaphas. Jesus denounced them in scathing terms, as had the Hebrew Prophets centuries before, when they told the people that what God wanted was justice to the widow and fatherless, a contrite heart, and not the blood of sacrifices.

### The Seder and the Last Supper

It is now generally agreed among Christian scholars that the last supper of Jesus was the Seder, the Jewish Passover meal, which commemorates the exodus from Egypt, and which Jews celebrate to this day. In probably the same way that Jesus did with his own disciples. It was out of the Seder that the Christian theology derived the belief in Jesus as the Pascal Lamb, who came to save the world by his blood — the Mass and the Eucharist. The matzos and the Kiddush wine of the Seder were transmuted into the blood of Jesus. At the conclusion of the meal, he retired to Gethsemane, there to prepare himself for his public appearance in Jerusalem. Early on the fifteenth day of Nissan, the day of the Jewish Passover, when there was a milling multitude of thousands of Jews in and near the Temple, who had come to Jerusalem on their annual pilgrimage, Jesus spoke to the oppressed multitudes about cleansing the Temple, the Kingdom Come, and of their salvation by the Messiah that God was sending them. He was immediately apprehended by the Romans, as a rebel, who was arousing the people to rebellion and wanted to make himself king of the Jews. This was high treason of the worst kind. He was quickly tried—sentenced by Pilate with the words "to the cross." He was executed by the Roman method of crucifixion with two thieves.

This is undoubtedly the historical version of what occurred. It was the Romans, who feared Jesus, and who would have none of him. It is unfortunate that the Gospels make the Jewish people the accuser, the court and the executioner.

Why do the Gospels accuse the Jews and not the Romans? Let a Christian Divine give the answer. I quote from "Christianity Past and Present" by Guignebert, "According to all appearances, the efforts of our evangelists to absolve the Roman from guilt, and lay upon the Jews the responsibility for the crime, are not inspired by a desire to be true to the facts, but by a desire to humor the Roman authorities, for they were writing it at a time when those in authority were the sole support of the Christians."

### The Gospels Versus Talmud

The whole trial of Jesus, as described in the Gospels, is contrary to Jewish jurisprudence. A few instances will suffice.

The Gospel of John says that the trial of Jesus took place on the fifteenth day of Nissan, the day of Passover. The other Gospels claim that it took place on the fourteenth, which was on the eve of the Sabbath. Both of these accounts are improbable. The Jewish law prescribes that no trial may be had on the eve of a Jewish holy day or the Sabbath, since two scribes have to be present to record the proceedings, and writing was forbidden on these days. Furthermore, criminal cases were never started on the eve of the Sabbath, because a criminal case had to last at least two days to give the court a chance to be polled twice on two separate days.

The Synoptic Gospels are unanimous that Jesus was tried in the night. This too is impossible for no Jewish criminal court convened at night. The court session opened after the morning sacrifice in the Temple and closed at sunset after the evening sacrifice.

The Gospels tell us that the High Priests asked the judges of the Sanhedrin, "what think ye?" and they answered in one accord, "he is guilty of death." The Sanhedrin never voted en bloc.

Though the Jewish law recognized capital punishment, the death penalty was rarely inflicted. The Talmud tells us that a Sanhedrin, which would pronounce a death penalty once in seventy years, would be regarded as composed of murderers.

According to Jewish law, the confession of the accused was never sufficient for his own conviction, for the rabbinic principles was "ain odem messim es a'zma rosho," no man is required to condemn himself. And yet according to the Gospels, Jesus was made to testify against himself.

What direct evidence is brought against Jesus by the Gospels? All the witnesses, who testify, merely state what they knew by hearsay or rumor. And circumstantial evidence was never allowed in criminal action in a Jewish court.

Jesus is supposed to have blasphemed God before the High Priest and the Sanhedrin by stating that he could destroy the Temple and rebuild it within three days. Is this blasphemy? No Jewish court would have so regarded it at a time when Jewish Apocalyptic literature was filled with Messianic hope, and when they looked for a miraculous salvation. (Continued on Page 8)

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### The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus

(Continued from Page 5)

tion. Jesus did confess that he was the son of God and the Messiah. But this, too, did not constitute a sin, for all the Jews regarded themselves as children of God.

No Sanhedrin  
There are two further convincing pieces of evidence that Jesus was never tried nor condemned to death by the Sanhedrin. Firstly, no Sanhedrin existed at the time. It had been abolished by King Herod forty years before the birth of Jesus, and was only re-established ten or twelve years after Jesus' death. In other words, it had not functioned for over eighty years. What Jewish courts did exist at that time were petty courts that were permitted to try small civil cases. Major cases such as this were tried by the Roman military court under martial law. Secondly, the proof that the Jews did not crucify Jesus is that crucifixion was not yet the Jewish method of inflicting capital punishment. The Jews executed people when they had such power only by stoning.

No matter from what angle we study the trial and the crucifixion of Jesus, the responsibility rests on the Romans, for the Jews had no motive either to try or to condemn him. He had done nothing and taught nothing, that was contrary to the Jewish faith.

Anatole France, in his story, "The Procurator of Judea," tells how once a shadowy figure in an inimitable way, called on the aged Pontius Pilate, once procurator of Judea. He stayed to supper and asked his host a casual question, "did he recall a Galilean by the name of Jesus? Jesus of Nazareth... crucified for some offense." The aged Pontius Pilate frowned, groped in his memory, put a vague hand to his head, and answered faintly, "Jesus, Jesus of Nazareth—I do not remember. I cannot call him to mind." Anatole France was right. To Pontius Pilate, the trial and crucifixion of Jesus was only an incident in a life filled with campaigns, victories and governorships over various parts of the Roman Empire. But to the Jews and the world for 1900 years, it has been the source of the Christian Jewish Tragedy.

Has not the time come for the Christian world to correct the error of the ages? I hope that Passion Week may become a time when the world will glorify not the dead Jesus, but exalt the living spirit of a Jewish teacher, who tried to bring mankind a message of love and peace. "Out of the recognition of a distressing situation should come healing and a new life."

### MRS. MOSES GARBER TO HEAD HADASSAH LECTURE COURSE

The Cleveland Chapter of Hadassah offers its membership an orientation course entitled, "Forty Years of Zionism," under the leadership of Mrs. Moses Garber. The course is planned for four consecutive Wednesdays, beginning April 7 at Hotel Cleveland at 10:30 a. m.



MRS. MOSES GARBER

The course will clarify the function Hadassah discharges in the Jewish world scene and its relation to various important Jewish bodies such as the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, etc. Included in its scope will also be a study of Hadassah's extensive and ever broadening program.

As 1937 marks forty years since Theodor Herzl convened the first Zionist World Congress, the series will deal with the evolution of the Zionist parties. An adequate background will lead to a better understanding and greater awareness of the vital issues confronting the 1937 World Congress.

The first session will deal with political Zionism; the second will treat Cultural Zionism—the National Revival; The third will be devoted to American Zionism—the birth of Hadassah; the fourth will consider Present Day Zionism, and interpret the major issues of the World Congress which convenes in early fall.

### SIGHT SAVING COUNCIL

School children in Japan will soon be members of the Sight Saving Council which was founded in Cleveland less than three years ago and which has spread all over the world.

Helen Keller, whose remarkable victory over blindness and deafness has been an inspiration to the world and who aided in the early work of the Sight Saving Council, among the school children of Cuyahoga County, left New York this week for a two month tour of Japan. She carried with her the message of the boys and girls of Cleveland to the boys and girls of Japan.

She will be accompanied by her new companion, Miss Polly Thompson. She states that she has no apprehensions about the barrier of language and that the great work of conserving human eyesight, in which the Sight Saving Council of Cleveland has taken a leading part, will spread even more rapidly in Japan, where there is today a very high percentage of blindness.

A message of encouragement and good wishes was sent Miss Keller by the executive committee of the Sight Saving Council. When the Council was in its formative stage here Miss Keller had a message for the boys and girls of the county in which she said:

"When a child loses his sight, he loses many beautiful things. He cannot run freely or go wherever he pleases. There will be no more bright colors in the world for him, no flash of bird-wings. His movements, once so quick and eager, will become slow and timid, and his hands will often miss what they seek."

"My message to you, dear boys and girls is: Be careful of your eyes, guard the ones you would your most loved possessions. Remember, an ounce of prevention is worth many times a pound of cure."

### GOERING HINTS OF MURDER PLOT AGAINST HITLER

Berlin March 24. (JTA) — Germans continued to wonder this week what Col. Gen Hermann Goering meant when he spoke of those wishing to "overthrow Germany by murder and cowardly assassination" and then called for greater protection for Chancellor Hitler.

He declared in a nation-wide radio address: "May all those who believe perhaps that as a last resort they can overthrow Germany by murder and cowardly assassination realize that the ardent love of the whole people will form the most secure wall possible around our leader and his true comrades."

"Woe to him who plays with fire! It will not suffice that he alone or a certain number should perish, but all who are of his opinion, who sympathize with his intentions, shall be burned to a crisp!"

"Comrades, let us build around our Fuehrer a ring nothing can penetrate. Let us also build such a ring around the German nation that an enemy may not even put his foot on German soil."

### INFORMATION ON MORTGAGE LOANS AVAILABLE

An invitation to all residents of Metropolitan Cleveland interested in building or buying new homes and who are anxious to secure details as to how same can be obtained from financial institutions under the insured mortgage plan of the Federal Housing Administration was issued today by E. H. Blair, District Director. As Mr. Blair pointed out, these loans are not made by the government, but by the local financial institutions operating under the FHA plan. Loans can be made for a large percentage and for longer periods than would otherwise be possible under the present Ohio State Banking laws.

Persons desiring further information about how these loans can be secured, are requested to call at the Cleveland office of the Federal Housing Administration at 600 Bulkeley building.

### AID TO SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, with national offices at 245 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has received word that American technicians and skilled workers are needed and can be used immediately in Spanish industry. "At least 10 aviation mechanics, 10 metallurgists, 10 skilled machinists and 10 chemists, with practical experience and some theoretical knowledge can be placed immediately, according to sources of information we believe to be absolutely reliable," said Paul Crosbie, vice-president of the Society, in making the announcement.

"Two groups of American technicians have gone to Spain, one group early in January and the second group early in March," Mr. Crosbie announced. "We are informed that they have been assigned to key positions in Spanish industry. They receive regular trade union wages in Spain. Their usefulness in helping the factory wheels turning is obvious."

Mr. Crosbie explained that the American Society serves as a clearing house and information center for American experts who wish to go to Spain. "We also arrange financial aid to help these men carry out their plans," he said. Funds are raised by contributions from the public, and these men have come from every section of America, and even from Alaska since the Society was organized early this year. "Letters accompanying the contributions, often very meager sums, reflect the profound interest and sympathy of the American people in the struggle for democracy in Spain," Mr. Crosbie said.

The nearest local branch is at 819 Public Square building.

### CHEVROLET OPENS NATIONAL USED CAR OPERATIONS

T. H. Keating, for the past three years Chevrolet Midwest regional manager with headquarters in St. Louis, has been named to fill one of



W. G. Lewellen

two new assistant sales managerships just created by W. E. Holler, vice president and general sales manager of Chevrolet. Mr. Keating and W. G. Lewellen, formerly director of sales selling in central office, will have charge of an entirely new national used car operation designed to benefit the public by providing better values in used cars and better service in the used car departments throughout the dealer organization.



Thomas H. Keating

Under these men's direction — Mr. Keating in the eastern half of the United States and Mr. Lewellen in the western half — there will be built up a merchandising organization including the closely co-ordinated set-up which already exists in the new car end of the business, and which has carried the company to new sales records month after month and year after year.

In a statement announcing creation of the new operation, Mr. Holler said:

"For years, dealers and manufacturing companies have been endeavoring to improve used car merchandising, but no company has organized on a national scale to give its dealers and the public an operation backed and clothed with sufficient authority to make it effective. To do this means to promote more confidence in the buying public that the used car offered for sale contains as much value as the price tag is labeled."

It is the opinion of Chevrolet officials, Mr. Holler added, that the same management that has consistently been applied to new cars will, when applied to used cars, change the whole status of the present used car situation in the industry.

Both appointees are veteran members of the Chevrolet organization, and have wide circles of friends throughout the country.

Mr. Keating's post as regional manager will be filled by E. A. Nimnicht, another Chevrolet executive of long experience. Mr. Nimnicht comes to his new duties from the post of national manager of retail selling in the central office.

Belgrade—Yugoslavia never violates the principles of the Constitution recognizing equal rights for all racial and religious groups. Education Minister Svetozar said in Parliament replying to the anti-Semitic deputy, Dr. Milan Banic.

### FEBRUARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO MT. SINAI HOSPITAL

H. L. Rockwood, director of Mount Sinai Hospital acknowledges with thanks the following donations, contributed in memory of: Mrs. Miriam Corbin, Mrs. Harold Rosewater, Mrs. Robert Garson, Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Lichtenstader. In memory of Mr. Isaac Fleishman, Mr. J. W. Deutsch, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Harburger, Mrs. Constance Feiss. In memory of Mrs. Rose Galvin, Miss Ethel E. Rosenberg. In memory of Mr. David Hart, Mr. and Mrs. L. W. Newmark. In memory of Mr. Paul Liebenthal, Mrs. E. N. Newbury, Los Angeles, Calif. In memory of Mr. Emanuel Mandelbaum, Mrs. E. Mandelbaum. In memory of Mr. Emanuel Mendelson, Mr. A. Mendelson. In memory of Mr. George Halle Mandel, Mr. Sol Reinthal. In memory of Mrs. Max Myers, Mr. Claude Myer, New York City, Mrs. Constance Feiss, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Skall, Mr. S. Wonnacott, Dr. E. Freedman, Miss Mallory, Miss J. Bond, Dr. H. L. Rockwood, Mrs. E. Rubinstein, Miss H. Kaiser, Miss E. Rosenberg, Miss E. Kinnon, Mrs. E. Hensley, Miss R. Fitzpatrick. In memory of Mrs. Lambert G. Oppenheim, Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Farber, Mrs. E. N. Newbury, Los Angeles, Calif. In memory of Mrs. Rose Rivitz, Mr. Sol Reinthal. In memory of Mr. Charles Rosenfeld, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Harburger. In memory of Mrs. Sadie Solomon, Mrs. J. W. Deutsch.

Commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. H. Schlesinger, Mrs. E. N. Newbury, Los Angeles, Calif. In memory of Master Bobby Weil, Mrs. E. Mandelbaum. Contribution for equipment for Eye Department, Mr. Richard Kohn. Donation from Mr. N. G. Richman for Elliott Treatment apparatus.

### GENTILE GIVES MORE THAN JEWS

Miami Beach, Fla. — Col E. R. Bradley, Catholic, contributed \$48,000 to erection of a new edifice for the West Palm Beach Synagogue, it was revealed today. Jews contributed only \$2,000 of the \$50,000 campaign fund. Col. Bradley is America's No. 1 gambler. He has never refused a bet.

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FLORIDA

Charlie Griner, Manager

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All Outside Rooms—No Court  
Circulating Ice Water in every room  
77 Rooms—Single with Private Bath \$2.00  
44 Rooms—\$2.50 55 Rooms—\$3.00  
66 Rooms—\$3.50 23 Rooms—\$4.00  
24 Sample Rooms with Private Bath \$4.00  
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Very Attractive Weekly and Monthly Rates  
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# RABBI BRICKNER'S RADIO

## SERMON BRINGS RESPONSE

4-2-37 ——— J.R. + Ob.

Response to the sermon preached on the Great Sabbath over the Message of Israel by Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner was an astonishing one. Rabbi Brickner preached on the subject "The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus." Whereas the normal response to a good sermon over The Message of Israel network runs into several hundred letters from all parts of the country and abroad, the mail in this instance has run into many thousands of letters, all asking for copies of the sermon and some asking for several copies for distribution to their friends. Inasmuch as the sermon topic is not announced in advance on The Message of Israel, it is a convincing evidence of the numerous outlet which this radio service has, when thousands of individuals write in and announce that they have been listening to the service.

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, who has been directing this radio program for some years, said: "The response to Rabbi Brickner's sermon was so astonishing and so moving that I really feel I ought to make some sort of an announcement to those who are interested in spreading the light and the truth about the Jews. It is gratifying beyond words to know that this service reaches listeners, who can be numbered every Saturday night in the hundreds of thousands. There is no longer any doubt of that. The number of outlets tapped, as indicated by recent letters and especially by the flood of letters which greeted Rabbi Brickner's remarkable sermon on the Crucifixion, proved beyond the question of a doubt that this service has outlets running into the hundreds of thousands. I could mention a seemingly fabulous number, but I refrain from doing so, although the best radio engineering is of the opinion that one could truthfully do so."

The Message of Israel is broadcast  
(Continued on Page 4)



## RABBI BRICKNER'S RADIO SERMON BRINGS RESPONSE

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(Continued from Page 1)

every Saturday night over WJZ, New York City. It is a half hour of ritual music and prayer, together with a sermon by a prominent rabbi. The sermons are given by reform, orthodox and conservative ministers. The radio has no connection at all with any national group and so completely managed by the following committee: Harold Hirsch, Atlanta, Ga.; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; Albert D. Lasker, Chicago, Ill.; Fred Lazarus, Columbus, Ohio; Leo Lehman, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Felix Warburg New York City; Henry Wineman Detroit, Mich, and Jonah B. Wise. New York City.



BULLETIN NUMBER TWO

"TWELVE VITAL TURNING POINTS IN HISTORY"

Address by Rabbi Barnett Brickner as reported in The Cleveland Plain Dealer on Monday, April 5, 1937.

. . . . .

FROM A SYMPOSIUM "TWELVE GREATEST DATES IN HISTORY" in the Forum Magazine - Sept., Oct., Nov., 1930 and March 1931.

RABBI BRICKNER

(1) "The most common defect in all of our teaching and instruction in history has been an overemphasis on war and politics. History has been taught as a record of dynasties and battles and as the story of political campaigns and personalities. "Rabbi Brickner said. "Such teachings have made history just a pretty pageant of puppet players and concealed the secret wires by which the puppets are moved."

(1) Again, politics and wars seem to come in for far more than their proper share of glory...This reflects, one is compelled to believe, the most common defect in all our thinking about history; for, until very recently, the subject has been taught in our schools and colleges, solely in terms of dynasties, battles, political campaigns and personalities...it makes of history just a pretty pageant of puppet players, and at the same time conceals the secret wires by which the puppets are moved.

(March - 1931; p. 188)

(2) "Furthermore, there are certain ideas of the past that cannot be fixed by dates, because history occurs in blocks."

(2) They cannot be fixed by "dates"... Quite early, children should be taught to think of history as happening in certain blocks.

(Nov. 1930; p.269)

(3) "The decalog became the ultimate standard of conduct for the Western World."

(3) Those ten commandments which became the ultimate standard of conduct for the Western World.

(Sept. 1930; p. 144)

(4) 399 B.C. THE DEATH OF SOCRATES For the first time a whole civilization liberated itself from superstition and created that other half of the western world's intellectual and esthetic heritage, including philosophy, science, drama, democracy, liberty, which was later developed by Rome and passed on to Europe."

(4) 399 B.C. - The Death of Socrates When for the first time a whole civilization liberated itself from superstition, and created science, drama, democracy, and liberty, and passed on to Rome and Europe half of our intellectual and aesthetic heritage.

(Oct. 1930; p. 228-9)



(5) 632. THE DEATH OF MOHAMMED  
Mohammed was founder of a faith that over-ran and dominated a large part of the Near East and southern Europe. Despite the present political dismantlement of the Islamic world, Islam is still growing. The future may be theirs as the East turns toward the West."

(6) 1215. MAGNA CHARTA. On this occasion the barons pulled down the first props from under the theory of the divine right of kings. It was the first step in the introduction of constitutional government, which may be in the twilight now, but it is the twilight before the morning.

(7) 1769. BEGINNING OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. INVENTION OF STEAM ENGINE BY JAMES WATT. "The industrial revolution gave man a substitute for the human hand. It did away with the need for human slavery, but it introduced the iron hand.

(8) 1776 THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. "This marks the birth of a new idea in world affairs. The Declaration of Independence created a new form of government, through a federation of states."

(9) 1853. COMMODORE PERRY FORCES A COMMERCIAL TREATY UPON JAPAN. "This led to a reawakening of the yellow races and the rising nationalism of the Far East.

(5) 632 A.D. - The Death of Mohammed. It was in this year...that Mohammed left this earth, after founding the faith that was overrun and dominate for centuries northern Africa...that despite their political dismemberment they are still growing in numbers and strength...There is no surety that the future is not theirs.

(Oct. - 1930; p. 229)

(6) 1215 - Magna Charta. When the Barons forced King John to grant in writing a statement of civil liberties, they pulled down the first prop that upheld the Divine Right of Kings idea. They made their king admit the inalienable rights of man, Magna Charta marks the first step in the introduction of constitutional government.

(March - 1931; p. 191)

(7) 1769. James Watt Gets a Patent for His Improved Steam Engine...The slight but incredibly important improvement which James Watt brought about in the existing form of steam engine gave mankind at last a substitute for the human hand; it did away with human slavery and introduced the Iron Man.

(Sept. 1930; 145-6)

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(Nov. 1930; p. 271)

(9) 1853. Commodore Perry Forces A Commercial Treaty upon Japan.

(March - 1931; p. 190)



12  
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RABBI BRICKNER

FORUM MAGAZINE

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# BRICKNER CHARTS HISTORY; WAR OUT

Says Teachers Gave Battles Emphasis, Creating 'puppet' Pageant

"The most common defect in all of our teaching and instruction in history has been an overemphasis on war and politics," asserted Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, speaking on "Twelve Vital Turning Points in History," at Euclid Avenue Temple yesterday morning.

"History has been taught as a record of dynasties and battles and as the story of political campaigns and personalities," Rabbi Brickner said. "Such teachings have made history just a pretty pageant of puppet players and concealed the secret wires by which the puppets are moved."

In his enumeration of dates Rabbi Brickner omitted reference to the decisive battles of history, saying: "More ill than good has come to the human race through war. Furthermore, there are certain ideas of the past that cannot be fixed by dates, because history occurs in blocks and certain centuries like the fifteenth and eighteenth represent fresh spurts of energy which gave to western civilization a new lease on life."

Dr. Brickner's selection of the twelve greatest dates in history were as follows:

1330 B. C. MOSES AND THE EXODUS. "This relates us to Egypt and its civilization, to the birth of liberty of conscience, to the concept of justice under law, and to the first struggle for human freedom and liberation from bondage. The decalog became the ultimate standard of conduct for the western world, and the Mosaic law represents the first half of mankind's intellectual and ethical heritage."

399 B. C. THE DEATH OF SOCRATES. "This points to the great age of Greek civilization. For the first time a whole civilization liberated itself from superstition and created that other half of the western world's intellectual and esthetic heritage, including philosophy, science, drama, democracy, liberty, which was later developed by Rome and passed on to Europe."

34 A. D. THE CONVERSION OF

ST. PAUL. "This led to the Christianization of the western world. Paul was the real founder of Christianity. Jesus lived and died a Jew."

## Mohammed's Influence Growing

632. THE DEATH OF MOHAMMED. "Mohammed was founder of a faith that over-ran and dominated a large part of the Near East and southern Europe. Despite the present political dismantlement of the Islamic world, Islam is still growing. The future may be theirs as the East turns toward the West."

1215. MAGNA CHARTA. "On this occasion the barons pulled down the first props from under the theory of the divine right of kings. It was the first step in the introduction of constitutional government, which may be in the twilight now, but it is the twilight before the morning."

FIFTEENTH CENTURY. "This century witnessed the birth of Leonardo da Vinci, the greatest figure of the Renaissance, and the invention of printing by John Gutenberg. Printing enabled people to read the Bible and so engendered the Reformation. The danger of the printed word today is that for many people reading has become an opiate which stultifies critical thinking."

1769. BEGINNING OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. INVENTION OF STEAM ENGINE BY JAMES WATT. "The industrial revolution gave man a substitute for the human hand. It did away with the need for human slavery, but it introduced the iron hand."

## "Birth of a New Idea"

1776. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. "This marks the birth of a new idea in world affairs. The Declaration of Independence created a new form of government, through a federation of states."

1853. COMMODORE PERRY FORCES A COMMERCIAL TREATY UPON JAPAN. "This led to a reawakening of the yellow races and the rising nationalism of the Far East, which may ultimately restore to the Oriental peoples the supremacy of the world. In this awakening Japan is the leader."

NINETEENTH CENTURY. "This century gave us the steamboat, the first practical locomotive, the miners' safety lamp, reaping machines, pneumatic tires, gun cotton, the invention of the Bessemer process of making steel, the first practical machine gun, the beginning of lighting by electricity, the telephone, the motor car, the moving picture and radio telegraphy."

## Social Justice Experiment

1917. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. "This marks the beginning of an experiment in social and economic justice which is more fundamental than the French and American revolutions, which were only political in character. It has created, as a reaction, Fascism, with its socialized capitalism. If, in the next 50 years, Russia develops a successful Communism, then it may change the face of society."

1920. THE AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION GRANTING WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. "This ended a long struggle that started in England. The political liberation of women is only the beginning and, in a sense, the least significant in a process which may lead to the establishment of a new gynocracy, the rule of women and the feminization of our civilization."



"TWELVE VITAL TURNING POINTS IN HISTORY"

Address by Rabbi Barnett Brickner as reported in The Cleveland Plain Dealer on Monday, April 5, 1937.

.....

FROM A SYMPOSIUM "TWELVE GREATEST DATES IN HISTORY" in the Forum Magazine - Sept., Oct., Nov., 1930 and March 1931.

RABBI BRICKNER

(1) "The most common defect in all of our teaching and instruction in history has been an overemphasis on war and politics. History has been taught as a record of dynasties and battles and as the story of political campaigns and personalities. "Rabbi Brickner said. "Such teachings have made history just a pretty pageant of puppet players and concealed the secret wires by which the puppets are moved."

(2) "Furthermore, there are certain ideas of the past that cannot be fixed by dates, because history occurs in blocks."

(3) "The decalog became the ultimate standard of conduct for the Western World."

(4) 399 B.C. THE DEATH OF SOCRATES For the first time a whole civilization liberated itself from superstition and created that other half of the western world's intellectual and esthetic heritage, including philosophy, science, drama, democracy, liberty, which was later developed by Rome and passed on to Europe."

(1) Again, politics and wars seem to come in for far more than their proper share of glory...This reflects, one is compelled to believe, the most common defect in all our thinking about history; for, until very recently, the subject has been taught in our schools and colleges, solely in terms of dynasties, battles, political campaigns and personalities...it makes of history just a pretty pageant of puppet players, and at the same time conceals the secret wires by which the puppets are moved.

(March - 1931; p. 188)

(2) They cannot be fixed by "dates"... Quite early, children should be taught to think of history as happening in certain blocks.

(Nov. 1930; p.269)

(3) Those ten commandments which became the ultimate standard of conduct for the Western World.

(Sept. 1930; p. 144)

(4) 399 B.C. - The Death of Socrates When for the first time a whole civilization liberated itself from superstition, and created science, drama, democracy, and liberty, and passed on to Rome and Europe half of our intellectual and aesthetic heritage.

(Oct. 1930; p. 228-9)



(5) 632. THE DEATH OF MOHAMMED  
Mohammed was founder of a faith that over-ran and dominated a large part of the Near East and southern Europe. Despite the present political dismantlement of the Islamic world, Islam is still growing. The future may be theirs as the East turns toward the West."

(6) 1215. MAGNA CHARTA. On this occasion the barons pulled down the first props from under the theory of the divine right of kings. It was the first step in the introduction of constitutional government, which may be in the twilight now, but it is the twilight before the morning.

(7) 1769. BEGINNING OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. INVENTION OF STEAM ENGINE BY JAMES WATT. "The industrial revolution gave man a substitute for the human hand. It did away with the need for human slavery, but it introduced the iron hand.

(8) 1776 THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. "This marks the birth of a new idea in world affairs. The Declaration of Independence created a new form of government, through a federation of states."

(9) 1853. COMMODORE PERRY FORCES A COMMERCIAL TREATY UPON JAPAN. "This led to a reawakening of the yellow races and the rising nationalism of the Far East.

(5) 632 A.D. - The Death of Mohammed. It was in this year...that Mohammed left this earth, after founding the faith that was overrun and dominate for centuries northern Africa...that despite their political dismemberment they are still growing in numbers and strength...There is no surety that the future is not theirs.  
(Oct. - 1930; p. 229)

(6) 1215 - Magna Charta. When the Barons forced King John to grant in writing a statement of civil liberties, they pulled down the first prop that upheld the Divine Right of Kings idea. They made their king admit the inalienable rights of man, Magna Charta marks the first step in the introduction of constitutional government.  
(March - 1931; p. 191)

(7) 1769. James Watt Gets a Patent for His Improved Steam Engine...The slight but incredibly important improvement which James Watt brought about in the existing form of steam engine gave mankind at last a substitute for the human hand; it did away with human slavery and introduced the Iron Man.  
(Sept. 1930; 145-6)

(8) 1776 - The Declaration of Independence. 1776 marks the birth of a new idea in world affairs.  
(Nov. 1930; p. 271)

(9) 1853. Commodore Perry Forces A Commercial Treaty upon Japan.  
(March - 1931; p. 190)



BULLETIN NUMBER THREE

Sermon delivered by Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner on the subject  
"Failures in Work, Love, and Social Relations", as reported  
in the Plain Dealer, Monday, March 15, 1937.

. . . . .

RABBI BRICKNER SAID:

FROM THE ARTICLE "IS LOVE ENOUGH?"  
By Ludwig Lewisohn in Harpers  
April, 1933.

---

....."The valetudinarian intellectual with just strength enough for his productivity, the woman dancer or actress who in pregnancy would be put out of a job longer than she dare risk, the hopelessly narcissistic person who believes that an amour is enough and when it is over it should be torn up -- all these force love out of its context, and by foregoing the development of love toward rational and human ends destroy the real meaning of love.

"The trouble is that such types of persons, once despised -- and not wholly without reason -- by the solid citizenry of our land, have now become the ideals and the objects of a mythologizing process."

A valetudinarian thinker who has just strength enough for his productivity; a woman dancer whom pregnancy would put out of work longer than she dare risk from the point of view of either excellence or breadwinning; hopelessly narcissistic persons, like most minor practitioners of the arts -- such "sports" or exceptions may be forced to tear love out of its context and forego the development of love toward rational and human ends. The trouble is that such persons -- once despised, not wholly without reason, by the solid citizenry of every land -- have now become its ideals and the objects of a mythologizing process.



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RABBI SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D. D.

THE RUSKIN APARTMENTS

120 RUSKIN AVENUE

PITTSBURGH, PA.

March 27 1937.

Dear Abba

Do you have a copy of "The Conception"  
by Emil G. Hirsch? It is sold by Bloch Publishing  
Co. It will interest you to observe its  
depth & its ideas. If you ask me  
just why I am telling you about this  
well known pamphlet, I shall not  
answer you. דיק'ס חתונה

Selma joins me in best wishes  
to Virginia & you for a happy Yom Tov.

As ever  
Sol.



# THE EUCLID AVE. TEMPLE BULLETIN

Rabbi A. H. Silver,  
The Temple,  
Ansel Rd. & E. 105th St.,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

VOL. XVI.

CLEVELAND, APRIL 1st, 1937

No. 29

SUNDAY, APRIL 4th, 10:30 A. M.

**RABBI BRICKNER**

*will speak on*

**"The Twelve Most Vital Dates in History"**



*Friday Evening Twilight Service 5:30 to 6:00*

*Sabbath Morning Service 11:00 to 12:00 A. M.*

**CONCLUDING PASSOVER SERVICE**

**FRIDAY, APRIL 2nd, 10:30 A. M.**

**MEMORIAL SERVICES (YIZKOR)**

**RABBI BRICKNER WILL PREACH**

Rabbi Brickner will resume his Sunday broadcasts on April 4th, at 6:30 P. M. over Station WGAR.



## EUCLID AVENUE TEMPLE BULLETIN

Published Weekly from September to June at S. E. Cor.  
Euclid Avenue and East 82nd St., Cleveland, Ohio

Telephone, Cedar 0862-3 Subscription 50 cents per Annum

BARNETT R. BRICKNER, Rabbi

NATHAN BRILLIANT, Educational Director and Editor

LIBBIE L. BRAVERMAN

Director of Extension Activities

J. H. ROSENTHAL, Executive Secretary

Entered as second-class matter April 9th, 1926 at the Post  
Office, Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

### RADIO TALK BRINGS

#### UNUSUAL RESPONSE

The response to the sermon preached on the Great Sabbath over The Message of Israel by Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner of Cleveland was an astonishing one. Rabbi Brickner preached on the subject "The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus." Whereas the normal response to a good sermon over The Message of Israel network runs into several hundred letters from all parts of the country and abroad, the mail in this instance has run into many thousands of letters, all asking for copies of the sermon and some asking for several copies for distribution to their friends. Inasmuch as the sermon topic is not announced in advance on the Message of Israel, it is a convincing evidence of the enormous outlet which this radio service has, when thousands of individuals write in and announce that they have been listening to the service.

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, who has been directing this radio program for some years, said: "The response to Rabbi Brickner's sermon was so astonishing and so moving that I really feel I ought to make some sort of announcement to those who are interested in spreading the light and the truth about the Jews. It is gratifying beyond words to know that this service reaches listeners who can be numbered every Saturday night in the hundreds of thousands. There is no longer any doubt of that. The number of outlets tapped, as indicated by recent letters and especially by the flood of letters which greeted Rabbi Brickner's remarkable sermon on the Crucifixion, proved beyond the question of a doubt that this service has outlets running into the hundreds of thousands. I could mention a seemingly fabulous number, but I refrain from doing so, al-

## MEN'S CLUB

### ONEG SHABBAT

What promises to be a very entertaining evening will be held Friday, April 23rd, at the Temple. Dr. Abraham Sachar, director of the Hillel Foundation, Chicago, will be the guest speaker at the Men's Club Oneg Shabbat.

The Oneg Committee headed by Dr. S. S. Sidenberg has been busily engaged arranging details of entertainment for this evening. These evenings form one of the chief sources of intellectual recreation for Temple members and the Dr. Sachar Oneg Shabbat promises to exceed in scope the excellent programs of the past.

### FORMAL SUPPER DANCE

The date for the Men's Club Formal Supper Dance has been set for Saturday, May 8th, at 8:30 P. M. The dance will be held at the Wade Park Manor and Maurice Spitalny's Orchestra has been engaged for the evening. Watch your bulletin for further details.

though the best radio engineering is of the opinion that one could truthfully do so."

The Message of Israel is broadcast every Saturday night over WJZ, New York City. It is a half-hour of ritual music and prayer, together with a sermon by a prominent rabbi. The sermons are given by reform, orthodox and conservative ministers. The radio has no connection at all with any national group and is completely managed by the following committee: Harold Hirsch, Atlanta, Ga.; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; Albert D. Lasker, Chicago, Ill.; Fred Lazarus, Columbus, O.; Leo Lehman, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Felix Warburg, New York City; Henry Wine-man, Detroit, Mich., and Jonah B. Wise, New York City.

It reaches every part of the United States, most of Canada, Alaska, and is on a short wave from which responses have been had from European countries.



## SISTERHOOD

### BE SOCIAL AND ACHIEVE

Every Tuesday, the Recreation Hall is transformed into a large workshop where Sisterhood members eagerly come to participate in this weekly sewing group of the Sisterhood. The proceeds from the articles which are made here, are used for philanthropic work, and for the Scholarship Fund of the Hebrew Union College.

The Quilting Department where many beautiful lambs-wool lined comforters were made this season, is headed by Mrs. Sol Freyer.

Gifts for brides and ever so many lovely dainties are produced by the Gift Table of which Mrs. Charles Jacobs is in charge.

Mrs. William Greenbaum's group makes crocheted and assorted bags, useful for carrying one's handiwork.

The Apron Section headed by Mrs. David Geller offers attractive and serviceable aprons.

Mrs. Charles Adelstein heads the Flower Table in the making of artificial flowers of all kinds.

The Yarn Table under Mrs. J. Meyerson knitted the afghan from the wool donated by the Bailey Co.

Mrs. A. Bercu has charge of the Baby Table where lovely hand-made gifts for babies are made.

Mrs. I. Copperstein is in charge of the making of ceremonials, such as Challah and Matzo Covers, which should be in every Jewish home.

The Doll Table is where Mrs. Weinberg's group make attractive stuffed animals and lovely hand-made clothes for dolls.

It is the urgent plea of the sewing chairman, Mrs. Charles Korach, that more Sisterhood members avail themselves of this wonderful opportunity to help their Sisterhood and enjoy a very social time by joining in the activities on Tuesdays. Mrs. Harry Bernon's Com-

mittee serve delightful cafeteria lunches and the chairmen of attendance, Mrs. H. Dettlebach and Miss Rollie New are always there to greet new-comers and see that they become acquainted with all the ladies.

For those who are unable to sew, either by hand or on a machine, there is a Bandage Table, with Mrs. Emil Glick in charge where thousands of bandages are folded for the hospitals. Mrs. Harry Korach is in charge of the collection and distribution of this work to and from the hospitals.

Mrs. A. Licker directs the group that makes clothing for the Jewish Social Service Bureau and Mrs. Sally Roseblatt's group sew for the Jewish Welfare Association and Bellefaire. Mr. Wm. Loveman is chairman of the Social Service Work.

Pay us a visit some Tuesday.  
Watch for our sewing display in the new case in the foyer.

### KEREN AMI

The following poem appeared in the Passover issue of the Shofar, a Junior Alumni Publication. It is signed by Melvin Treitelman.

Those with empty stomachs  
Appreciate the feast,  
While we, with well-fed bodies  
Know of hunger least.

Thus beats the tune of suffering  
For every tortured Jew,  
While we rest in our free land  
Where suffering never grew.

How few of us will help them  
Who languish in that land,  
For those with unbruised spirit  
Will not understand.

Jerusalem (Palcor Agency). — Settlers in the Keren Hayesod village of Tel Joseph, in the heart of the Plain of Esdraelon, have established the custom of marking historic or momentous occasions by appropriately naming newly-born calves in the stable. The other day one of these newcomers was named "Madrida."



### DON'T MISS IT

Over fifty years ago the first Chaltzim left Eastern Europe for Palestine. Arriving there with very little material assistance but with undaunted courage and a strong desire to begin the rebuilding of a nation, they transformed a barren, undeveloped, swampy section into a healthful, fruitful country.

The story of this remarkable rebirth of a nation will be spread before the eyes of this community in a most vivid manner when the Jewish National Fund Council presents, for the first time in Cleveland, the picture "THIS IS THE LAND." This film, the latest achievement of the Aga Corporation of Palestine, is an all-talking Hebrew film with English tub-titles. In its breadth of scope and in its technical production it surpasses anything ever shown in Cleveland. A background of heavenly Palestinian music surges throughout the picture for over an hour.

Ward Marsh, film editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, says of the last chapter of the film, known as "Am Yisrael Chai," "I have never seen such remarkable editing in any picture. Pictorial rhythm seems actually to strike the ear."

The proceeds of this project are used entirely to purchase more land in Palestine, so that the discouraged and broken-in-spirit of Germany and East Europe may take a new lease on life in Palestine.

The film, "THIS IS THE LAND," is being shown for THE FIRST TIME IN CLEVELAND, Saturday midnight, April 3rd at the Uptown Theatre. Tickets at 50c are available at the Temple Office.

### FUNDS

The Temple gratefully acknowledges receipt of the following donations:

**To The Zahrzeit Fund:** Rena, Lenore and Sylvia Stein in memory of their mother, Rosa Stein.

**To The Library Fund:** Mrs. A. Joseph and daughters in memory of Abe Joseph, husband and father.

**To The Prayer Book Fund:** Mr. and Mrs. Horatio J. Joseph in memory of George H. Mandel, Mrs. Max Myers, and Sol D. Guggenheim.

### RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

#### BONDY SPEAKING CONTEST

The finals of the confirmation class, **Bondy Speaking Contest**, will be held on **Saturday, April 3rd, at 10:10 A. M.**, in the auditorium. Participants are Gertrude Green, Monroe Roseman and Ruth Schwartz.

### SENIOR ALUMNI

#### DISCUSSION GROUP

The next session of the discussion group will be held on **Friday evening, April 9th, at 8:00 P. M.**, in the Library of the Temple.

#### JEWISH YOUTH RALLY

The Third Annual Conference of the Cleveland League of Jewish Youth will be held at the Statler Hotel on Sunday, April 11th.

The topics for discussion at the various Round Tables, which will meet simultaneously, are:

"How Strong a Factor is Religion in the Life of the Modern Young Jew?"

"What Part Should Youth Organizations Play in Youth Movements of Today?"

"What Can Youth Do To Develop a Jewish National Cultural Life in America?"

"How Can We Better the Economic Lot of the Young Adult Jew?"

"What Is the Attitude of the Jewish Youth Toward Zionism?"

"Is an Arab-Jewish Relationship Possible; and Along What Lines?"

"What Should be the Relationship of the Young Adult Jew to His Community?"

Manny Landers and his orchestra will furnish the music for the dance which will take place in the evening.



RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER  
Nov. 1, 1937 - Cleveland Press

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Oct. 23, 1937

Today, more than ever before, we are bound to ask whether it really pays for the sake of a certain gain in tempo to abandon the gradualist, humanitarian, fraternal liberalism of our history for the progress that hacks through to its objectives, and lets the millions of human chips fall where they may.

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IT COSTS LESS to build NOW than it has for years. Consult the Real Estate columns for bargains in property.

# CLEVELAND PLAIN I

CLEVELAND, MONDAY, APRIL 11, 1932

## TWO RABBIS TELL THEIR PROGRAMS FOR DICTATORSHIP

Brickner and Silver Face  
Problems of Relief and  
Unemployment; Offer  
Their Solutions.

Two Cleveland rabbis yesterday told their congregations what they would do if they were dictators.

Rabbi A. H. Silver of the Temple said that he would initiate a vast construction program to put men to work, reduce hours of labor for all workers and introduce compulsory unemployment insurance.

"If I were dictator, instead of taking the position that some of our captains of industry take, that the machine has become a curse to humanity, and that we must slow down production by deliberate policy," Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner of Euclid Avenue Temple said, "I would take the position that the depression is an indictment, not of the machine order, but of the economic order.

"The machine order is ready to produce goods, but the economic order is not ready to produce customers," Rabbi Brickner continued. "Instead of slowing down production, we should speed up consumption.

### Higher Wage, Shorter Hours.

"The long sweep program of industrial reorganization I would put into practice through a planning commission would be one that did

not dodge the conclusion that the stability and success of the machine economy depends on higher wages than we have yet paid, shorter hours than we have yet set and lower prices than we have yet fixed.

"I would co-ordinate all the basic industries into state trusts under government supervision, set up like the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Present security holders in these old corporations would exchange their shares for new state trust shares but dividends would be limited to 8 per cent. at most and the profits of industry would go into wages.

"I would split agriculture into two main divisions: Industrial farming controlled by a state trust, susceptible to mechanized mass production

for wheat, cotton, corn, etc., and individual farming, continuing it as a way of life, applicable to diversified crops.

"There are a few small things that I would regulate, too. I would eliminate competing churches, and would compel ministers to preach about problems that affect the people's welfare instead of quibbling over texts and indulging in hair splitting theological sermons."

"If I were a dictator I would begin realistically with the problem of relief," Rabbi Silver said.

"I would bring all the resources of the government back of an adequate relief problem supplementing private and state relief. I would not wait until a man is totally impoverished before I would help him. I

would grant a measure of relief to all the unemployed consistent with a decent standard of living.

"I would at once initiate a vast construction program to put men to work. I would have the government advance credit to counties and municipalities to do likewise. I would concentrate on giving people work, not on saving railroads and banks.

### Cites Railroad Loan.

"What earthly good is there in advancing millions of dollars to the Missouri Pacific Railroad when that money goes, not into construction, but into reimbursing J. P. Morgan & Co. for loans previously contracted?

"I would reduce hours of work for all workers.

"Reduction of hours will not be

merely an emergency measure. To keep machines from displacing men the hours of the men must be reduced. It helps the situation not at all to hope that new inventions will appear which will absorb all the surplus labor. No new large scale industries are in sight to justify such optimism.

"I would offer to cancel all war debts if the nations of Europe would agree to total disarmament.

"I would scrap half of the government bureaucracy which now batters on the American taxpayer. Too many people are living off the government. I would force off the federal pay roll every war pensioner who is not disabled by sickness or old age. There would be no bonuses for the American Legion now or in the future."





# Russia—Good and Evil

By Sherwood Eddy

WITH our American seminar I have just finished a tour of seven of the principal countries of Europe, having recently returned from Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, the League of Nations at Geneva, France and Great Britain. After visiting this troubled continent in the present "pre-war period," before Mussolini plunges into Abyssinia, Hitler into a possible coup within Austria, and Japan into all China, I am sitting in the open sunshine beside Canterbury cathedral trying to think my way through this tangled situation, clamorous with strife and menaced by possible world war. I believe that God is not dead and I am not in the least discouraged, but I wish as a realist to report just what I find today in Europe, whether it be good or bad.

First of all in Russia, on this my twelfth visit in the last twenty-five years, although all of the four chief evils of the soviet system remain practically unmitigated, I found a greater advance along almost the entire economic and social front than in any previous year. Annually now, I find a slow but steady economic advance in industry and agriculture, but very brilliant and rapid progress in social matters, such as education, the reclamation of criminals, the steady abolition of prostitution, the multiplication of social services and insurance, socialized medicine, organized recreation, and in the provision for the esthetic and cultural life of the masses.

## *Material Advances*

Everywhere, and on an unprecedented scale, as in no previous year, I saw the extending of new paved streets and roads, the rising of new buildings, and the opening in Moscow of what is unquestionably the most beautiful marble subway in the world, the pride of this rapidly growing city, in the reconstruction of which nearly all students and youth, and indeed almost the whole population of the city, enthusiastically worked with their own hands. The ten year plan for the rebuilding of Moscow will ultimately cost more than the first and second five year plans of the whole U.S.S.R. combined, and will destroy and replace over 200,000 overcrowded dwellings.

I have walked through miles of new department stores and shops filled for the first time with all manner of consumption goods, bread in abundance without bread cards, food and clothing, necessities, comforts and luxuries. They are, of course, not half so well furnished as the shops of London or New York, nor as cheap as Woolworth's, but they obviously demonstrate that the second five year plan is visibly ministering to the needs of the people, as well as to heavy industry, and that it is beginning at last to place emphasis upon quality as well as upon quantity. The rooms in our hotel for the first time were nearly all provided with baths, and the table was so furnished with fruits and vegetables that we gave away the supplementary

food we had provided as unnecessary and almost untouched.

## *Socialized Recreation*

The Park of culture and rest in Moscow had made visible strides in socialized—not commercialized—recreation, frequented daily by 100,000 happy people, and 300,000 on special occasions, and was being reproduced on a modest scale in distant towns, villages, and even collective farms. The sports parade recently of 120,000 rugged athletes represented 60 million who are getting some form of athletics, gymnastics and organized physical education, and the impressive moving picture of it will soon be shown wherever it is permitted. It is to be feared, however, that most cities in Europe and the United States will not get the chance to see these healthy, happy young people in their socialized, uncommercialized life. Soviet Russia refuses to let its youth know about the rest of the world, save through its own distorted propaganda, and the west fears to let its people really know about Russia. But good or bad, such things cannot be hidden permanently by either side.

Our party was the only one allowed this year to visit the fascinating Kremlin, with its palaces and churches, once the center of the old tsarist Russia as it is now of the present government of the U.S.S.R. We visited again the model prison of the reclamation colony of Bolshevo, which has increased in eleven years from eighteen inmates to over 4,000 members. By an accident all of the officials and superintendents had been unexpectedly called to Moscow, and we spent a half day alone with the prisoners, or inmates, visiting the homes of those who had obtained permission of their own self-governing body to marry and settle down and interviewing at will any or all prisoners we met, both publicly and privately.

Across the square from our hotel the comintern, or third international, was holding its seventh convention, with the communist parties of 54 countries represented. There speakers were advocating a united front against war and fascism and there one speaker, from Germany, urged an alliance even with the persecuted Roman Catholics who are now menaced by the mad regime of Hitler!

## *Peasant Farms*

We visited the peasant farms where we learned that some twenty million out of twenty-six million peasant families, and over four-fifths of the land, are already in the collectives. Daily we walked through the individual farms and talked freely with the protesting peasants. Here we found members of the stubborn older generation who were still using practically the same methods of cultivation that were common in the time of Abraham. And then we returned to the commune or collective farm, where we saw them threshing



four thousand bushels of wheat and rye a day, plowing with tractors, operating their new automobiles, auto-trucks and electric light plant, and even threshing by electric light. In a decade these farmers had leaped forward by centuries in socialized and mechanized agriculture. Every night we debated with them in English and Russian, for fifty of them had worked in the United States for years, and then closed the debate with a competition in the best of spirits with singing and dancing by the Americans and Russians, yet with free speech and criticism of each other's social systems.

If space permitted I could name many other signs of progress, as in the thirty million students and pupils now enrolled in their educational system, with an almost equal number in adult education, so that nearly half the population is now studying. Or, I could describe the titanic undertaking of connecting by canals all the rivers of the republic of Russia and joining this unified river system with the sea. Or, I could tell of their remedying their defective animal husbandry by breeding by an amazing extension or multiplication of the ordinary processes of nature hitherto unheard of, and so on, and so on. None of these undeniable signs of progress, however, blinds me to the four glaring defects or relatively permanent evils which seem to inhere in the very nature of the soviet system:

#### *Defects in the Soviet System*

1. The top-heavy, over-centralized, burdensome bureaucracy of red tape, much as they deplore it and fight against it, is now being extended so that Moscow is tightening its grip on the small counties as well as on the large republics, states and provinces of the U.S.S.R.

2. Of political liberty there is almost none, in the denial of free thought, free speech, free press, association and assembly, to any but that portion of the communist party—even though it be the majority—which follows Stalin. For the rest, may God pity them, for man does not.

3. The violence of the "continuing revolution" is lessened. After the assassination of Kirov a few months ago 117 of their enemies were executed, avowedly for crimes of violence, and over 50,000 are said to have been sent into exile, apparently because they were suspected of continuing sympathy with Trotsky and of actual or possible plots against the regime in power. The ruthless violence of the regime was also in evidence in the Ukraine and the Caucasus when over a million perished in the man-made famine of 1932-33, which the government has always officially denied.

4. The dogmatic atheism required of all members of the communist party continues to be the implacable foe of every form of religion. A decreasing number of churches are still open, some of the older believers are weakening or dying off, while the soviets have captured the youth of Russia almost solidly for communism and atheism.

These glaring and abiding evils, however, much as we deplore or condemn them, should not blind realists to the values which are being realized in this regime, which is such a strange mixture of good and evil.

1. While there are perhaps two million unemployed in Great Britain, some ten million in the United States with twenty millions on relief, there is no unemployment in Russia. (There is a serious turnover in labor owing to unsatisfactory living conditions.) This is the one country in the world or in all history which has placed the ownership of all land, resources, banking and means of production in the hands of all the people. Here is the one country which combines an almost inexhaustible open frontier, with its wide open spaces and rich resources, harnessed to a completely planned economy. This is not left to the drift and chaos of competitive profit, but is planned equally for both production and distribution, for the welfare of all the workers and the whole mass of the people. Many of their jails and prisons are now emptied, with prisoners out working on canals and public works, and large numbers even of the kulaks have been restored to full citizenship.

#### *Seriously Seeking Social Justice*

2. Here is the one country within my knowledge which is seriously seeking to give social justice equally to all its people (save to its remaining perishing political enemies) and which is rapidly building a "classless society" where there will be neither rich nor poor, neither Jew nor gentile, neither white nor black. There is literally not one rich man in all Russia today (nor will any be permitted again to amass a fortune, own the means of production of others, hire labor for one's own private profit and leave his wealth to his children to produce a possible new bourgeois class). But if I did not see one man who was rich neither did I see a single man in such abject poverty, as a derelict of drink or of the slums, as I have seen here in old England which, like the United States, is chronically suffering from want in the midst of plenty, and maldistribution in the midst of so-called "overproduction."

I saw many other values in this daring new experiment to build an entirely new social order, as well as other dangers or evils which there is not space to describe. Broadly, I found in soviet Russia an experiment in social justice, just as in Anglo-Saxon countries I find an experiment based upon the principle of liberty. Neither of these is fully realized as yet but in my judgment both justice and liberty will be necessary if we are to build a worthy or enduring social order in an organized world in the future. If so, both the soviet union and the Anglo-Saxon countries may have their contribution to make to the "brave new world" of the future, which both are even now, however imperfectly, preparing.

#### *Communion*

I WOULD be one with Thee.  
And is thy brother near?  
He would not come with me.  
Go thou, and bring him here.  
And if he does not come?  
Then come not thou to me;  
We must be Three in One,  
Thyself and he in Me.

LOREN W. BURCH.



Allen - "What Life  
Should Mean To Me" FRI  
NOV. 8, 1935

# "OVERCOMING INFERIORITY COMPLEXES"

By Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner

Human beings are hard to understand, because the pattern of each individual's life is different from that of his neighbor. No two human beings are alike. Therefore, it is difficult to make wholesale judgments about people.

In trying to understand particularly the thinking and feeling of people, we must remember that we are dealing not merely with a conscious and rational mind, but with a subconscious mind and with that whole area known as the irrational and the erotic. Human beings are not thinking animals, who sometimes feel; but feeling animals, who sometimes think.

It is an interesting fact that man began his scientific investigation as far removed from himself as possible. Long before the human race knew anything about its own instincts, there were scholars, who could chart the course of the heavens. Man took himself for granted. The science of psychology, if a science it may be called, is only of recent origin, and indicates that only yesterday, as it were man woke up to the realization that though he knows a great deal about the outside world of nature and how to control it—concerning his own nature and his ability to control himself, he is still in a fog.

## The Human Skyscraper

We owe much to the work of Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, because he gave to psychology a new turn. Freud may be called the Columbus of the human mind, because he discovered and described—to be sure, still in very rudimentary fashion, that vast area of our being—the sub-conscious mind that we were almost completely ignorant about before his researches came out.

To illustrate what Freud has discovered, let us compare the mind to a huge sky-scraper with hundreds of stories and thousands of rooms. Into the rooms of this huge structure, there moves every second of our waking moment impressions, experiences, noises, etc., which give rise in us to all sorts of reactions, desires, attitudes, etc. The most enduring impressions, says Freud, are those made during the first few years of our lives, but the flow is continuous. All of the pictures and impressions—whether they come to us from the outside world or from the world within, distribute themselves over the floors of our mental skyscraper in some orderly and systematic manner. As a general rule, we have a clear conception of them and can, when the occasion requires it, bring them into play. This skyscraper we may call our normal consciousness. But this skyscraper also has a huge basement and a sub-basement in which there are some very deep dark and even ugly corners. The basement of our minds we may call our sub-consciousness. Separating the super-structure from the basement is a heavy door, which we may call forgetfulness. And guarding it, almost constantly, is Mr. Censor, who regulates the impressions as they pour in on us, and dictates where they shall go—whether into the upper stories or into the basement. To the latter area—that is into the sub-conscious mind are relegated those impressions and experiences that we do not wish to be burdened with, that are painful, that we are ashamed of, that are contrary to conventional morality. These the censor definitely repress and suppress and often tries to put them into chains, so that they may never cross the threshold that separates the sub-conscious from the conscious mind.

The censor is not only the guardian, but he also possesses the power of what we call rationalization. He helps us to adjust to society and to fit in with the demands of civilization. He is the right-hand man of our instinct for survival. In the sub-conscious mind, there are two groups of prisoners—those that we may on occasion choose to bring up into the daylight and those who we keep repressed always, or rather would like to keep repressed always. But no matter how strongly we try to affect this differentiation, there are times, when we experience the futility of the censor's efforts. This happens when we are asleep or ill. Then our mental resistance is lowered and the watchman's power is no match for the pressure that the tenants of the basement exert upon him.

Our dream life is to be explained in terms of the crossing over from the sub-conscious to the conscious mind of our suppressed desires and wants, those we thought were buried and forgotten. We dream, however, not only when we are asleep, but also when we are awake. Day dreaming, is simply another manifestation that the censor is off duty. Slips of the tongue are also very significant in this regard.

The whole mental and emotional life of civilized man is a civil war. His ego represents a constant struggle to maintain a balance between the sub-conscious and the conscious. The subconscious is primitive, uninhibited crude, egotistical, erotic; the conscious tries to be controlled, rational, co-operative. And neuroses of various kinds are an indication of the ego's inability to make a proper adjustment between the two.

I have given you this background because I want to discuss one manifestation of the conflict that goes on in our nature and that expresses

complexes.

## Inferiority and Superiority Complexes

By an inferiority complex is generally meant the unhappy obsession and feeling of oppression that in some way and for some reason, we are not as able or as intelligent, and brave or otherwise as worthy as those around us. Feelings of inferiority are common to all peoples, because all of us find ourselves in positions, which we wish to improve. Every man suffers defeat sometimes in his life, and almost from our earliest years, we have a sense of being either an anvil or a hammer.

A superiority complex is the compensatory feeling, which the mind generates in order to offset the paralyzing effect of inferiority feelings, because none of us can go on for very long oppressed by the burden that we are not making the grade, and that we are handicapped in the battle of life to the point where there is no use living. Associated with the struggle for survival is the desire in each of us, to want to play a role, and to be a somebody, and to be recognized by those, whose opinion we cherish.

The inferiority and superiority complexes are not in the germ plasma. They are not in the blood stream. Therefore, they can be modified. Inferiority feeling is always a sign of self-centeredness and usually comes as a result of lack of courage to adjust socially. When it is compensated for by superiority, it expresses itself in some form of arrogance, impertinence, conceit, snobbishness. Inferiority expresses itself sometimes in slyness, cautiousness, in pedantry and the tendency to pay attention to small and trivial things.

The principal causes for inferiority feelings are firstly the recognition of real deficiencies, physical or mental, and secondly the conjuring up of imaginary defects. We see in others certain abilities and traits that make them stand up and succeed. We find that we are not as prominent nor as successful. We conclude that therefore, we are not as good as those who do succeed; and furthermore, we never can be and there's no use trying. Whenever we admit, without carefully checking up on our own abilities, that the other fellow is better and abler equipped than we are, then we are licked, for it breeds in us a feeling that we are vulnerable, and that there are weak spots in our armor, which if discovered and lanced would wound us mortally.

The question that at once comes to us is "can we overcome these feelings of inferiority?" and the categorical answer that I give you is "yes—decidedly yes."

With reference to any real deficiencies, that we may have, whether they be physical or mental, the way to correct them is to build up in yourselves self-confidence. But how? you inquire. By recognizing our faults, but instead of being handicapped and defeated by them to accept them as a challenge to the latent abilities in us. Only a coward refuses to face himself as he is. If you want to be a fighter and a winner in the battle of life, face every limitation that you have as a challenge, decide what the best thing is to do about it, and do it.

## Some Illustrations

Think of that young Austrian pianist, Witkenstein, who when the war broke out was on the way to becoming one of the world's great pianists. A shrapnel blew one of his arms off. It would have been perfectly understandable if after being invalided home, he would have brooded over his condition and developed an inferiority complex that might have defeated him completely. But no. He did not let the handicap beat him. He went to work and trained his other hand to lightning speed and developed his technique so that he could cover transitions gracefully and subtly, and give a solid two-hand effect to his playing, with the result that last year he was a solist with the Boston Symphony orchestra, and all the critics hailed him as a great pianist.

But even if Witkenstein had not been able to overcome his handicap, he would still be better off trying to overcome it, and then accepting whatever the outcome was as a good sport, than to develop an inferiority complex over it. If you have a fighting chance to win, there is no greater challenge that you can possibly receive, than that of making good on this fighting chance. One could multiply instance upon instance to prove it.

Demosthenes wanted to be an orator. He stuttered and stammered, which by the way is usually due to a hesitating attitude. There is in all of us that social feeling which drives us to make connections with our fellows, but low opinion of one's self, fear that we will fail in the test, conflicts with your social feeling, and the result shows in your hesitancy of speech. But this, by the way.

But what did Demosthenes do? He went to the seashore, put pebbles in his mouth and spoke against the roar and the waves of the sea. He thought he had overcome his troubles. He appeared in public, stuttered and failed. And then, according to his biographers, he shut himself up in a room, shaved one side of his head so as not to be presentable, set himself to the task and overcame his stuttering.

Theodore Roosevelt had a weak body, an unprepossessing appearance and a terrible temper. He noticed that strong boys played active games, swam, rode horses and did hard, physical work. He became active, rowed, played and worked with a vengeance and became a model of physical energy.

(Continued on page 6)



## "OVERCOMING INFERIORITY COMPLEXES"

(Continued from page 4)

duration and the advocate of the strenuous life, which was simply his way of overcoming his own timidity. He greeted people with a broad "delighted," because he found that in this way he could compensate for his shyness, and he found it impossible to be afraid of them. He captured health by acting as if he were healthy. He overcame fear, by acting as though he were not afraid. Theodore Roosevelt never duped himself, he recognized his faults, and he built up self-confidence by acting as though he did not have any faults.

Abraham Lincoln is another instance. He was so ungainly and homely, that the New York papers referred to him as the "Illinois ape." All his life, he suffered from a feeling of inferiority, which was induced by early ridicule. Even though he was the author of the Gettysburg address, the noblest utterance in American literature, he often considered himself a failure. But once in action Lincoln forgot his defects. He found the antidote for his inferiority by developing his genius for understanding people, and building up the other capacities, which he possessed for leadership. And today, his very ungraceful face and figure have become his badge of honor.

Yet, there are thousands of people, chiefly women, but men also, who permit an unprepossessing personal appearance to induce in them feelings of inferiority, which ruin their lives. I know of one woman, whose blemished face led her to suicide, when she could have developed the fine mind that she had made her character her fortune, instead of her face.

### Looking Inside Yourself

The people who present a real problem are those who suffer from inferiority complexes, but who cannot discover in themselves any genuine defects, physical or mental, to which to attribute their inferiority feelings. In cases like these, when the psycho-analyst, has made certain that there are no physical or glandular root causes, he endeavors to go back into the early child pattern of the individual's life. In a sense he attempts to do what the archaeologist does, namely to reconstruct from fragments and particles that he finds, the life of the city which has perished. The archaeologist to be sure, deals with fragments of earthenware, tools, the ruined walls of buildings, broken monuments, the leavings of papyrus and carvings on stone and clay; whilst the psycho-analyst must deal with incidents and fragments in the life of childhood, many of which are forgotten and difficult at best to recall. Ofttimes, in the forgotten sub-soil of our childhood, and in the subconscious mind, which is like a bag full of compensating tricks, he will dig up the roots out of which the inferiority feelings have grown.

The mind, like the body, endeavors to heal itself. The mind does it by building up compensations, which induce a feeling of superiority to overbalance a feeling of inferiority and to which I have already referred.

Ofttimes, this compensatory tendency manifests itself, without our being quite conscious of it. For example, some people, who are short—wanting to gain attention—refuse to wear rubber heels so that the clatter of leather heels will call attention to their presence. A child that is short will stand on tiptoe when measured for height.

People often feign sickness, which in time becomes real, though originally quite imaginary, in order to call attention to themselves and to compensate for a lack of being noticed. The carping critic tears other people down with criticism because of a feeling of inferiority. He watches for little short-comings in others and magnifies them by mockery; and if those, who are superior to him lack faults, the critic will invent some. This is the origin and the motivating reason for slander and gossip.

Consider the instance of the man, who is bossed at his shop by a foreman and made to feel inferior by superior workers; yet for fear of losing his job, he won't talk back; but he will come home and bully his wife and be a dictator to his children and in that way compensate for a feeling of inferiority.

Take another instance—the husband, who in his heart of hearts feels inferior to his wife. When he is out among people, he will act as the superior; but at home, he will remain the slipper-hero.

Different people express their inferiority and superiority feelings in different ways, consonant with their own style of lives. Let me illustrate. Alfred Adler, an associate of Freud and one of the leaders of Individual Psychology, tells the anecdote about three children, who were taken to a zoo for the first time. They shrank behind their mother's skirt at the sight of a lion. One whimpered, "I want to go home." The other, pale and trembling, stuttered, "I am not a bit frightened." And the third glared at the lion and asked his mother, "shall I spit at him?" These three children were all manifesting feelings of inferiority, but each expressed it differently.

Escape and retreat before difficulties is another way that people use to compensate for inferiority feelings. Suicide is a good example of escape. It is induced by a feeling of inferiority at its worst, compensated by escape, and self-justification. The suicide says to himself "I tried, I was superior, but circumstances treated me brutally and unfairly. And therefore, I defy them by running away from it." He hasn't the courage to face it and

iority feeling by a compensatory trick. It leads in later life to a sense of the super-ego and of self-righteousness, and a constant complaining that "all others are wronging me, and that I alone am just and right and that everybody else owes me an apology, or else I will destroy them." Tantrums are associated with hate and rage and the desire to injure others. There are people like this in every community, and they are dangerous, because they are uncooperative.

Germany today is trying to compensate by a display of tantrum for its inferiority feeling which came from its defeat in the war. It has led her to build up a theory of race superiority, which everybody knows to be a fiction, with the result that they are destroying the good will in international relationships on which living together is based. Ultimately they will destroy themselves.

Consider the instances of children, who are pampered by their mothers—generally an only child. They soon begin to believe that every wish carries with it a right to fulfillment. They never learn that they could win affection and love outside the bounds of their own home, if they would only put forth some kind of independent effort. In adult life, they are tied to their mother's apron string. When they marry, they look not for an equal partner, but for a servant—like their mother. Such a man wants a wife who will cuddle him, praise him and help him out of his occasional dumps, and tell him when to put on his rubbers, and wrap his muffler around his neck. He wants a woman who will worry about his headaches and gastric palpitations and prepare the food his mother used to make. This man has married not a wife, but a mother substitute. He is trying to compensate for an inferiority induced by bad early training.

In insane people, we notice inferiority complexes in their worst forms. That is why many insane people keep saying, "I am God or Jesus or Napoleon or the Emperor of China." They are compensating by superiority.

I once asked a boy in my Confirmation class, "why are you so lazy and disturbing?" And he said, "in order to get your attention. You never pay any attention to good boys who never disturb." You see, all that he was trying to do was to attract notice. Why do some women dress so outmodishly—for the same reason—to attract attention that they wouldn't get otherwise, and to compensate for an inferiority feeling.

To overcome your inferiority feelings, therefore, the first thing you must do is study yourself. Try to figure out the pattern of your own life. Go back to the very earliest recollections that you have, and see if there isn't in that early configuration some caustic factor that is creating the trouble.

Unless the condition that you have discovered is pathological, it does not require a psycho-analyst. You can do it for yourself; and you will find that self-discipline is the best method of curing yourself. The second thing to do is to emphasize those talents, which you do possess and to build your life up through them, so that whatever handicap—physical or mental—you do possess is over-shadowed; and therefore you needn't feel ashamed of yourself, and you get recognition from your fellow-man on the basis of the abilities you do manifest. Remember that the moment a man gets a grip upon himself, then his weakness has a tendency to sink into a secondary place; and whatever deficiencies he does acknowledge, he dares without being borne down by them.

As a man adopts this course, he will find his sense of impotence leaving him. He will realize increasingly that he can cope with the battles of life. And even if he gains but a single victory in the beginning, the thought of it will stimulate him to overcoming other defects. Only a harmonious, sincere and effective struggle against one's weakness through the utilization of one's own powers on the good side of one's character can bring about the conquest of an inferiority complex.

Edwin Markham, the poet laureate of America expressed in his beautiful poem "The Testing" some thoughts that ought to be helpful to all who suffer from feelings of inferiority:

When in the dim beginning of the years,  
God mixed in man the raptures and the tears,  
And scattered through his brain the starry stuff,  
He said, "Behold! Yet this is not enough,  
For I must test his spirit to make sure  
That he can dare the vision and endure.

"I will withdraw my face,  
Veil me in shadow for a certain space,  
And leave behind only a broken clue,  
A crevice where the glory glimmers through  
Some whisper from the sky,  
Some footprint in the road to track me by.

"I will leave man to make the fateful guess,  
Will leave him torn between the no and yes,  
Leave him unresting till he rests in me,  
Drawn upward by the choice that makes him free—  
Leave him in tragic loneliness to choose,  
With all in life to win or all to lose."

es a cry-who finds  
"water-pot" others



# IS LOVE ENOUGH?

Radio address delivered by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple,  
Cleveland, Ohio

While making some calls in the hospital the other day, I dropped in to see a lady, who is the mother of several married daughters. I no sooner come into the room when she told me that she had some observations to make apropos of my subject for this evening. "Please, Rabbi," she said, "tell your radio audience, especially those young people in it, who may be contemplating marriage, that love is not enough—that a young man must be able to support a girl in the style she is accustomed to, and if he hasn't any money, he should get a downy. Tell them that two can't live as cheaply as one—that no one can live on love alone—that love does better with fine clothes, a nice apartment, a maid, a car, etc., etc."

Some of you may say that her views are old-fashioned and unromantic and that she is out of tune with modern times. But you will admit that her opinions have experience behind them.

## The Continental and American View of Marriage

In his "Memoirs de Deux Jeunes Mariees," which Balzac wrote a century ago, that great French novelist and keen student of human nature and love, gives us his version of the subject "is love enough?" In this novel, he relates the love lives of two friends, Renee d'Estorade and Louise de Chaulieu. Renee married a man much older than herself, one who could give her everything, but whom she did not love at the time of their marriage. Her friend, Louise, who had a very affectionate nature and was romantic, married a man whom she loved passionately. Renee's marriage was a marriage of reason; Louise's of romance. Balzac then proceeds to tell us how these two marriages turned out. Renee, who did not love her husband in the beginning, learned in time to love and respect him. Her life was very happy. Louise's marriage, on the other hand, ended disastrously for herself and her husband, because of her excessive love and jealousy.

Balzac, who favored Renee's type of arranged marriage and who believed that love would generally follow, if the couple were young and normal, speaks his view at one place through his heroine, as follows: "Marriage looks to life—while love only to pleasure. But marriage, my dear Louise, remains when pleasures have vanished, and it gives rise to interests far more cherished. Perhaps all that is necessary for a happy marriage is friendship, which because it is indulgent and kind tolerates a

good deal in the way of human imperfections."

Dr. Alfred Adler, the famous Viennese psycho-analyst, writing on love and marriage a hundred years later, confirms Balzac's opinion. "I would not advise anyone to get married before he or she has shown the ability to be a friend and to have friends. Each should be more interested in the loved one's happiness than in one's own. Each should desire, first of all, to embellish and relieve the other's life. All this talk about sexual agreement being the chief foundation of happiness in marriage is rubbish. Agreement on other fundamental problems is far more important. You cannot bagatelize love and sex. In love, there are deeper and more complicated problems than our sensations. We must not make a mere plaything out of love."

In the "Memoirs de Deux Jeunes Mariees" Balzac may be said to be presenting what we can now regard as the Continental and the American views of marriage. Renee's marriage is the typical Continental kind. It was arranged and was a marriage of convenience and common sense. The reputation and social standing of the families, the political and religious agreements, the matter of finances—these were everything. Love was secondary. Louise's marriage represents our American conception. In it, romantic love is all, and everything else—finances, social position, religion, etc., pale into insignificance beside it.

With reference to the American emphasis on romantic love, this should be said. What we are apt to call romantic love is usually ninety-five per cent lust and only five per cent reason. This kind of love is apt to give the lovers an untrue picture of the object of their affection. It is the sort of love that is blind. It is like light that is too strong; it blurs the vision. Under its spell, the lovers do not see the real persons to whom they are attracted, but an imaginary being. The man sees in the woman, a Madonna to worship and a mistress to love—both created by passion. Romantic love is tempestuous, wild, exotic. It has a tendency to flare like a flame and to consume like a fire. It is apt to lead us to expect in marriage a happiness too marvelous to be realizable. It foredooms itself. In the end, when the flame of passion no longer flares, nothing is more disillusioning than to discover that the Madonna, who has been worshipped as a goddess, is after all only a woman with feet of clay, and

that the stalwart hero is only a man—an ordinary human being.

Statistics indicate that in the Anglo-Saxon countries, where marriages of love prevail, divorcees have always been more numerous than on the Continent, where marriages are arranged. The Continental marriage trusts that love may develop between husband and wife, and if it does not, then love finds its outlet in a recognized and acknowledged system of double households—each separate; one legitimate, the other illegitimate—the one with wife and children, the other with a mistress. This double standard is, of course, abhorrent to our American way of thinking.

## Mating and Marriage

When we examine into the nature of the Continental marriage, we find that it is based on the distinction made in primitive society between mating and marriage. In early society, sex was regarded as an instinctive biological drive and was permitted free indulgence. In fact, many primitive peoples did not associate sex with procreation. The former was a gratification of the passions, whereas children were a mysterious blessing and gifts from the gods. Marriage was a social institution, which had its basis in the mores of the people and its form was molded by economic and social conditions. For that matter this is still the case today.

A very early form of family life was the Matriarchate in which the mother was the head of the family. The children went by the mother's name and were her property. As a rule, they did not even know their fathers and were not dependent upon them for support. The mother's brother assumed the role of the father. In this type of primitive society, there was no individual or private property. The clan lived communally. Since women worked as hard as men, if not harder, men were not essential to their economic maintenance. In those early days, no shame was attached to pre-nuptial relations. If children came and there was no one to support them, they were destroyed. A woman could live with as many husbands as she desired.

In the course of time, a fundamental economic change took place, namely the passing from the Pastoral to the Agricultural stage of society. With it came the advent of private property and the Patriarchate or the family organization in which the father became the head of the family. The wife and the children now belong to him and are his chattel, his property. Sexual selection was transferred from the female to the male. It is in this stage of family life that the practice of the double standard with all the prohibitions about marriage have only been retained in modern times. The Continental system of mating and marriage is not a fulfillment of family development. In the Anglo-Saxon world, however, mating and marriage were ever together by romantic love in the hope that it would act as the binding cement between husband and wife. But this does not happen automatically. The fact that the union is declared a sacrament by the Church, does not ipso facto have the effect of welding the two souls into one. For mating and marriage to be really one, sex has to be transformed into love and love into marriage. This is an art. It must be cultivated. It is not instinctive.

## The Art of Love

Havelock Ellis, who has the most spiritual conception of love, writes "the art of love is the greatest thing in life. To make the most of love, man must be an artist." It is only when love has been transmuted with artistry that it is enough. Though the art of love is not easily achieved, man can nevertheless be an artist. What we call culture and civilization is the proof of man's artistic ability. It is in this respect that man differs fundamentally from the animal. The animal from whom man springs and much of whose nature man still retains spends his whole life adapting himself to his environment, but never transcending it. Man's career on earth, however, is marked by a constant striving to change the environment and even his own nature. He does this not merely to satisfy his physical and material needs, but to make the environment accord with his ideals.

Let me illustrate this very fundamental point. Primitive man saw nature in the raw—the trees, the grass. As he progressed, however, he proceeded to make out of it a garden lovelier than Eden. Primitive man heard the wind and the trees and the sound of the waves beating

on the shore, and in time, he contrived to cut his reeds, to string his lutes, to mold his brasses, to shape an orchestra to play the harmonies of a Mozart and a Beethoven. Primitive man saw the crude blocks of marble, and then he proceeded to carve them into a Parthenon, which he adorned with the sculptures of a Phidias. Early man perceived the colors of the rainbow and the sea and in the course of his development, he began to paint pictures like the "Night" of Rembrandt and the "Day" of Turner. The whole history of human progress, the evolution of man, is a manifestation of spirit at work upon matter. It represents the alchemy of mind in the process of changing matter.

Man is an artist, not only in relation to Nature, but in relation to himself. He has succeeded in part not only in caging the tiger of the jungle, but also in caging the tigers in his own breast. He has taken his passions and lusts, which are powerful drives and harnessed them in self-control. He has socialized the instinct of pugnacity and made it the slave of his will, enabling him to live in a society in which peace and brotherhood are possible. To be sure, every now and then, as Freud points out, these suppressed tigers of his nature break their cages, and when they do, man goes on a rampage, smashing up in war or revolution the cultural creations, which it took centuries to produce. Unless we conceive of man as able to control the pugnacity of his nature, civilized society itself is impossible. But the history of mankind has given us sufficient warrant to believe that the dream of peace and brotherhood is not an illusion and a mere escape from reality.

But in simpler things too, man has shown a capacity for artistry. There was a time when eating was merely a physical process akin to that which it is among animals. Primitive man tore the living animal limb by limb and ate the raw flesh. The ethics of the Bible rebel against it and prohibit it. When man became more civilized, he cooked his food, but continued to eat it with his fingers without knives and forks and spoons even as they did in the days of Henry the VIIIth. In the course of time, however, eating became transformed from a mere physical process into the delicate and noble art of hospitality. It has been adorned with lovely furniture, silverware and linen, and men beautified by the culture of social intercourse and the art of the table.

Just as the art of eating has been transformed from a raw and wild sex into a refined and noble art of love, so the art of love has been transformed from nature's view-point into the art of love. Marriage have only been retained in modern times. The Continental system of mating and marriage is not a fulfillment of family development. In the Anglo-Saxon world, however, mating and marriage were ever together by romantic love in the hope that it would act as the binding cement between husband and wife. But this does not happen automatically. The fact that the union is declared a sacrament by the Church, does not ipso facto have the effect of welding the two souls into one. For mating and marriage to be really one, sex has to be transformed into love and love into marriage. This is an art. It must be cultivated. It is not instinctive.

"The sexual embrace," writes Havelock Ellis, "can only be compared to music and prayer." It is the most aesthetic feeling in all of life, it is a sacrament of the spirit. Man, the artist, has through romantic love taken the purely animal instinct of sex and lifted it from the plane of the physical to the plane of the spiritual. We no longer think of it as mere animalism and as a concession to the flesh as did the early Christian ascetics. For us, it is an experience beautifully divine and spiritually refining.

But the artistry of converting sex animalism into something spiritual and of transmuting lust into love calls for knowledge and technique. It demands discipline and self-control. Too many young people today confuse lust with love. They fail to realize that sex is only the instrument through which true love expresses itself. Sex is to love what the voice is to the song and the violin to music. True love does not end when sex no longer calls.

All married people, who have passed through the vicissitudes of seeing their loved one stricken with illness and lying in a bed of pain for months know how true this is. As husband and wife move into the years when the passion of sex weakens, love does not die, it matures and becomes rich with the years. By some alchemy of the spirit, sex is purified through companionship and flowers into true love. Plato once remarked, "he is a vulgar lover, who loves the body rather than the soul," for true love is love of the spirit.

## What Is Love

But you will ask, what is love? It is not easy to define, and yet I will attempt it. In its quintessence, love is a reaching forth of the inner man to that completion in another, which cannot find within itself. All of us are imperfect and conscious of our incompleteness. We yearn to be fulfilled and completed through another. And this relationship of fulfillment, of completion, we may call love.

In a beautiful parable of man and woman, Plato depicts them as two bodies with one soul. At their creation, the Lord divided one soul and put a half of it in their respective bodies. On earth they move restlessly, yearningly, in search of completion, which entails the finding of the other person, in whom is the

other half of their soul. It is out of this parable that we get the term "soul-mate." Alas, too many people go through life wildly and carelessly experimenting in the search for a soul-mate.

Put in other words, love is the searching for the hidden and the divine thing by each in the other in the faith and in the assurance that there is a deep and abiding worthwhileness in the nature of our loved one. Love is the conviction that the richest union can be achieved between two people, not in the swamps of their natures, but at the summit. True lovers should live in such a way that by their every word and act, they elicit that which is finest and truest in the nature of the other.

But I realize that it is not enough to speak of love in these ethereal terms. We must translate it into reality. And this we shall do. Alfred Adler, in one of his books, tells us of a practice that they have in a certain section of Germany, where it is an old custom to test the suitability for marriage of an engaged couple. Before the wedding takes place, the bride and groom are brought to a clearing where a tree has been cut down. They are each assigned to one end of a two-handled saw, and they are set to the task of cutting the trunk of the tree. If they prove their ability to pull together and cooperate, they are declared eligible for marriage. In other words, it is cooperation, which makes two people suitable for marriage. Of course, cooperation entails compatability, mutual trust, confidence and a willingness to assume an equal share of responsibility. Cooperation and compatability are both made easier if the couple have a community of tastes and interests, a common cultural level and come from similar, social, religious and racial backgrounds. In marriage, husband and wife must take each other for better or for worse. One of the best ways to wreck a union is for one to try to mold the other in his or her image. People must be true to themselves not with the view of reforming each other, but to get along as they are and to adjust their lives. This is what Tennyson refers to in the "Princess"; "Not like to like, but like in difference; husband and wife set together like perfect music into noble words."

If men and women would only understand the art of love, there would not be so much unhappiness. And the art of love requires that love should be cultivated and not left to take care of itself, that the courtship should be continued into marriage. Men particularly do not understand the value that women place on little things and on little attentions, and how eagerly they crave love making. Someone has well said that most men are like orangutangs trying to play on violins.

## Happiness in Marriage

Many young people make the mistake of being too impatient and hasty in marriage. They do not realize that happiness in marriage is as in all other human relationships, a process and not a condition. It is not something granted at the beginning as by a miracle but something achieved as an end by dint of labor, sacrifice and patience. Yes, time and patience are the very essence of happiness in marriage. Time is the setting in which the drama of marriage is played, and patience is the atmosphere in which the actors of the drama breathe.

To expect a marriage to be happy all at once, just because two people believe themselves in love with each other is like expecting a seed to yield its harvest in a day. There may be some marriages made in heaven that achieve this miracle. But the ordinary fruitage of marriage requires maturing. Though the substance of marriage must be love, we must give it time. Young people, I warn you not to make hasty decisions and to terminate your relations abruptly. If things don't break right with you at the start, don't say that your love is over. Give it a chance. There is a statistical foundation for the belief that if a marriage survives after the third year, it is likely to endure until the end. The first year is for acquaintance. Though you may have been engaged for a long time, you don't really get to know one another until you have lived together. The second year is for disillusionment, as passion quiets and softens and romance passes into reality. The third year is the crucial one. It may be one either of disappointment and separation, or it may, as I believe it should, end in the high resolve to make a go of it.

I do not believe in arranged marriages, even though parents with the very best of intentions sometimes promote them. I believe that an arranged marriage is one, which is not likely to experience the supremest ecstasy of life, which is love. And therefore, I would personally as soon think of binding two stones together without cement as to bind two lives without love. But when I say love I mean it in the sense in which I have defined it—as sex transformed by something artistic. And even in this sense, love alone is not enough.

For marriage to eventuate happily it is necessary not only for a man and a woman to be in love, it is necessary that they should give serious consideration before marriage to their compatability, to their tastes, to their likes and dislikes, to such homely things as budgets. If one is inclined to be a spendthrift and has no sense of the value of money and the other is a hard worker with a sense of the need for saving and living within one's income, then they won't likely to get along, even though they may be in love with each other. If they differ violently about the way in which children should be brought up, if the way their life to spend their leisure is radically different, if one likes lectures and hates

night clubs and the other adores night clubs and is bored by lectures, then they aren't going to be able to spend their evenings together amicably. Of course, the engagement period is a very good way of testing out these matters. If during this period, they quarrel constantly, there is no use of their believing that after they are united and living in the same apartment that some miracle is going to happen that will make them agreeable. The likelihood is that just the reverse is going to take place and they will get into each others' hair and on each other's nerves much more readily than when they just see each other a few nights a week.

There are some men, who are reckless gamblers when it comes to marriage and the mere matter of whether or not they can support a girl more or less in the way in which she has been accustomed doesn't seem to occur to them as important. And society seems not to take a serious attitude in this connection. For example, if a man should go into a business venture or a partnership on a shoestring, his friends would ridicule him. Yet these same friends will congratulate a man when he enters into marriage with a girl, because she has a pretty face and figure, plays bridge well and likes to go to night clubs, without due regard to his financial ability to maintain her, or without due regard to whether their tastes run together. The usual results of such a marriage is that some years later this man is having an affair with another woman while his wife is a bridge fanatic. They are both extremely unhappy and if they do decide to remain together, it is usually for the sake of their child, who is the neglected football kicked between the goalposts of their antithetical egoisms.

Falling in love is of course essential, but what must not be overlooked is that love and marriage is not a task for people, who haven't yet outgrown their adolescence. It is a project only for mature men and women. Love is not something found ready made, like a garment to fall into and out of. It is the fruition of years of cooperation, of suffering together and then enjoying the things upon which both have labored. The complete love life moves out of adolescent romance as inevitably as spring moves into Summer. It is accompanied by many a shower and thunderstorm, but it is consummated by a developing friendship, with common affection for children, common interests in work and play and a restfulness of mutual trust.

Though I believe that in some instances, divorce is a necessary evil, I cannot help but feel that the tendency of many people to fly apart at the slightest provocation, often trivial in its nature, is cheap and isn't facing one's responsibility. It shows a lack of character and sportsmanship. For when a man and a woman get married, they should do everything in their power to make that marriage a success. To be sure, there will be quarrels and tensions. I am not so naive as to believe that they won't. But if they are married, they should be able to handle them. Some placid people, who remain tranquil and who are aroused even under provocation, frankly, the usual run of people are not like this. Tranquility and peace in marriage as in nature comes after the storms are over and is the blessing of the years when we are not so self-willed or tempestuous as we were in youth.

My advice to young people is to try and stick it out together, and not fly apart at the slightest provocation. And it is only as we live together that love emerges. I have said that quarrels and recriminations are bound to occur, but my advice is don't let them last. Never let the night pass over a quarrel. When the Bible says, "Let not the sun down upon your wrath," it states something applicable to love and marriage, because if you allow the night to pass over a quarrel, the next morning it becomes bitter and grows in intensity. One should not be such a fool as to keep pride and lose happiness. Why should a couple be so absorbed in a quarrel that for the sake of satisfaction, they lose Paradise. You know the story of the two birds, who were engaged in a vocal quarrel so terrific that they forgot even danger, and suddenly their enemy, the hawk, took advantage of the opportunity, swooped down and carried one of them off.

I cannot emphasize too much the need of cultivating love and paying attention to the artistry that is involved in its development. As a neglected garden is soon invaded by weeds, so a love carelessly guarded is quickly submerged by unkind feeling. When this occurs, everything threatens it: ennui, monotony, illness, the spitefulness of a third party and then comes the blight and everything withers. Andre Maurois, the French novelist and biographer, from whom have secured very valuable ideas on this subject, wrote "marriage is a strange mixture of love and friendship, of sexuality and respect, of indulgence and admiration; it is an amazing blending of the human and the divine. It is in our power to make it both." Maurois once announced that he was going to lecture on marriage, and in the mail he received a letter from a woman, who wrote to him as follows: "You are going to discuss happiness in marriage; and I, who am a happy wife, am going to tell you the recipe for conjugal happiness, which my grandmother gave me. 'Put into a pot a great deal of perseverance, much patience and an equal quantity of good will. Stir carefully and frequently to remove egotism, laziness and negligence. Cook slowly for a long time without leaving the fire side.' This is the recipe for real happiness."

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FR. Jan 3, 1936

# "IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE"

Address delivered over Station WGAR  
by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Sinclair Lewis' recent novel "It Can't Happen Here" in which he points out what would happen in America and to America under Fascism is an alarm bell and a warning.

Sinclair Lewis has a knack of bringing out a novel just ahead of the news and one that says all of the things we are fumbling with in our own minds. He is without a doubt the most sensitive writer we have to the social and political changes that are taking place in America. It is therefore tremendously significant that he should choose to write a novel about Fascism, and not about Communism, as the thing imminent in America. I am personally convinced that we have little if anything to fear from Communism because its whole ideology and practice are far removed from American conditions. One can say with a sense of assurance that Communism can't happen here. However, one cannot be so equally certain with reference to Fascism, for if this present upward swing should prove temporary and affairs take a turn for the worse, what has happened in Germany, Italy and other countries can with modifications happen here.

## The Symptoms

We have in America all the raw materials out of which Fascism and Dictatorship can be made. The reading of Sinclair Lewis' book confirms my conviction that we have in this country most of the elements that brought on Fascism and dictatorship in other countries and that sinister forces are at work here, threatening us with Fascism. When all is said and done, human beings are everywhere alike. They are controlled by the same economic needs and subject to the same political and social drives.

No country in the world can become more hysterical than America. Witness the Huey Longs, the Father Coughlins, the Dr. Townsends, and the masses turning in tidal waves toward all sorts of "crazy" share the wealth plans. Consider such phenomena as Chicago Graft, Tammany Hall, the War hysteria, Billy Sunday, Aimee McPherson, the Red Scares, William Jennings Bryan and the Monkey Trial in Tennessee, lynching and prohibition.

Some Business interests of America are desperately afraid of Communism, and who like their counterparts in other countries would not mind heading it off with Fascism, which everywhere stands for the retention of the existing economic system.

We have in America the middle and working classes, overburdened with kinds and down into the proletarian employed, who are the victims of unemployment and the government. They are readily swayed by demagogues with plans to share the wealth and to give everybody something. It is an interesting psychological aberration that the more fantastic and impossible these plans are, the more convincing they sound to the rabble.

We have the hundreds of thousands of young people, who have never had a job. They are all dressed up with education, have nowhere to go and are looking for some flag to follow. They are the ardent supporters of Mussolini and Hitler in their respective countries and they would support some demagogue here.

We have with us also the millions of discontented farmers, living in fear and dread of losing their land. They are an easy prey to schemers, who would promise them security.

Then there are the military people and the veteran's organizations. Although in America they are outspokenly opposed to Fascism and Communism, nevertheless similar organizations in other countries supported dictatorship when it came. Let us hope that in this country they who know the hell of war may not be stampeded by Dictatorship.

And last but not least, we have the rabble-rousers.

Yes, we do have all the raw material out of which Fascism can be made.

## What Is Fascism?

And what is Fascism?

Politically, it is the totalitarian state, presided over by a dictator, whose word is both "the law and the prophets." Under his regime, and in the name of unity, order and efficiency, representative government is abolished and all civil liberties abrogated. His motto is "render unto Caesar all things."

"On the economic side, Fascism is the last desperate effort of a decaying economic order to defend itself against complete disintegration and to head off the revolt of the masses. How does it do it? By using political power to enforce a measure of industrial discipline and suppressing every liberal and radical threat to the existing order and stifling all labor unions.

"Emotionally, Fascism is the use of any prejudice, fear or unreasoned emotion by which the people can be moved to support the dictatorship. Racial, religious and national antipathy are always deliberately accentuated under Fascism.

"Internationally, Fascism is the repudiation of the economic and cultural inter-dependence of the nations, and an attempt to revert to a world in which sovereign and isolated states scowl at each other across belligerently guarded borders.

Racially, Fascism is the resurrection of exploded theories of racial superiority for the sake of building

up a false sense of destiny, power and price in a misled, disillusioned and hopeless people.

"Socially, Fascism means pushing women back from their position of emancipation into the medieval status of kirche, kuche, and kinder.

"And educationally, it means turning the hands of the clock back, making science the prostituted instrument of false political and racial theories."

Fascism is a study in death and retrogression. It always means war and leads back to barbarism.

It is because Sinclair Lewis is alarmed at this turning back of the hands of the clock that he has written this novel, better called a tract, which translates the present Germany into the future of America with a skill and power that will give you insomnia for several nights after you have finished reading it.

## The Story

I am going to let Sinclair Lewis tell his own story.

It opens at the ladies night dinner of the Rotary Club of Fort Beulah, a small and typical New England town, which nestles in the lovely mountains of Vermont. The guest speakers of the occasion are a retired general of the U. S. A., whose subject is "Peace Through Defense, Millions for Arms; But Not One Cent for Tribute;" and Mrs. Gimmitich, a leader in the D. A. R.'s. During the last war she led a movement "to provide the boys in the trenches with dominoes and to send each one a canary in a cage, so as to induce memories of home and mother."

With biting sarcasm and irony, which he underlines so that even the average reader may get his meaning, Lewis reminds us that these very Daughters of the American Revolution, who are supposed to be the descendants of the seditious American colonies of 1776 have become so reactionary that they attack all contemporaries, who believe in precisely the very principles for which their ancestors struggled.

Present at this meeting are the usual folk, who belong to a Rotary Club. They are not as a rule the most radical members of the community. But among them is one Doremus Jessup, editor of the town's newspaper and known for his outspoken liberalism. He is the sort of a New England liberal, who defends collective bargaining and presides at meetings at which men like Norman Thomas and Oscar Garrison Villard are speakers.

Mrs. Gimmitich, the D. A. R. speaker, addresses the meeting on "How You Boys Can Help Us Girls." She complains that women have done nothing with their votes to help the country, that they must resume their place in the home and have at least six children, so that the foreigner's won't over-run the country. She is interrupted by one Lorinda Pike, the good-looking, high-tailed and intellectual village spinster, who counters "but what about the poor gals who can't hook a man. Should they have their six kids out of wedlock?" This infuriates Mrs. Gimmitich. She proceeds to condemn all intellectuals and insists that what the country needs is discipline and character. She encourages the General to speak his mind freely and tell about the country's need for preparedness. The General confesses his admiration for what Germany and Italy have accomplished, and says, "we ought to do likewise, particularly in the light of what is happening in our colleges, where professors are knifing our capitalistic system." Again the village spinster interrupts. But she is checked by Doremus Jessup on the ground of freedom of speech.

The meeting breaks up quietly and a few of the men adjourn to the home and bar of Tasbrough, the owner of a quarry and the capitalist of the town. Around his bar, we meet the sane and sound business crowd. Jessup warns them that in these serious times, it is possible that the country might sweep into the Presidency, the demagogue, Senator Windrip, a counterpart of Huey Long, who is supported by Bishop Prang, an Episcopal equivalent of Father Coughlin, who has swung his radio audience and "League for Forgotten Men" to Windrip. Jessup predicts dictatorship and Fascism.

The company cries, "Nonsense, you're crazy. It can't happen here."

However, one of them mutters, "It might not be so bad even if it did, for what we need here is a real strong man like Hitler or Mussolini to take care of lazy bums, pan-handling on your income and mine."

"Yes," says Jessup, "Cure the evils of Democracy with the evils of Fascism—funny therapeutics."

Then chapter by chapter, Sinclair Lewis begins to pile up the evidence. It is 1936. What the crowd at Tasbrough's bar said can't happen here can and does begin to happen and with a vengeance.

In one of the early chapters, Lewis shows academic freedom beginning to be suppressed in the colleges, and liberal professors "fired" for airing their views. The national convention of the Democratic Party held in Cleveland nominates Senator Windrip. He had been barnstorming the country with a programme to share the wealth, building up an organization and popularity. His manager is the very able, Lee Sarison, former Socialist Editor, who ghost-wrote "Buzz" Windrip's book "Zero Hour Over the Top", which is a sort of Hitler's "Mein Kampf." The nomination was high pressured through the Convention with the support of the League of Forgotten Men, the D. A. R.'s, the Legion, the unemployed.

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## "IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE"

(Continued from Page 4)

ed, and more especially with the support of Reverend Prang, the Episcopal radio preacher, who buys time over the air. With respect to this Radio Priest, Sinclair Lewis makes this interesting comment: "It being only in the twentieth century that mankind has been enabled to buy time as it buys soap and gasoline."

In the campaign, Franklin D. Roosevelt, defeated for the nomination, because he had gone too far Right leads a Third Party Ticket. The Republicans nominated a sane and intelligent conservative. Both campaign soberly and talk sense and reason to the electorate. But Buzz Windrip, the Prairie Demosthenes, knowing the temper of the electorate better and realizing that they are hungering for emotions and not for reason, gives them slogans and promises everybody everything. By organizing his Minute Men and taking advantage of the split among the liberals he attracts the discontented elements of the population and is elected by an overwhelming majority.

Doremus Jessup observing the mad scene from his little editorial press room in Vermont, laments that "all the rabble-rousers have a solution, but the liberals, whose solution is 'that there is no solution.'" He believes that there will never be a state of society anything like perfect and ruminates that "the more and more I think about history, the more I am convinced that everything that is worthwhile in the world has been accomplished by the free inquiring and critical spirit, and the preservation of this spirit is more important than any social system whatsoever. But the men of ritual and the men of barbarism are capable of shutting up the men of science and of silencing them forever." Such is the substance of the faith of Doremus Jessup, the small town editor and liberal.

Windrip is installed as President. The next day, Fascism starts its work. Windrip's first act is to order that his Minute Men be recognized as unpaid, and later as the paid auxiliary of the regular army. He commands Congress to pass his fifteen point program. When Congress rejects it, he abolishes Congress, declares martial law, and orders his

Minute Men to put into jail over a hundred of the recalcitrant Congressmen. Riots break out all over Washington. The President reconvenes what is left of Congress and the quorum out of jail pass his fifteen point program.

From his little town in Indiana, Bishop Prang is flabbergasted. He seeks an opportunity to speak to the people over his favorite station, but is told that under orders from the President he cannot speak. He goes to Washington to call on Windrip to demand an explanation, but he never returns and nobody ever learns what happened to him.

Censorship is clamped down on the press. The chief of the staff of the regular army is deposed. Windrip's Minute Men come into power. They act as the militia and as the snoopers, like the O.G.P.U. of Russia and Gestapo of Germany. The Supreme Court Judges resign. And all of this happened in the first eight days.

This is Sinclair Lewis' answer to those who say, "It can't happen here."

Windrip is an American Hitler. He proceeds to abolish the forty-eight states and re-organizes them into eight provinces with District Commanders, judges and deputies. He takes the title of "Chief." All political parties are liquidated. The American flag gives way to a new flag with an emblem of a ship's steering wheel to designate the ship of state and the wheels of industry originally suggested by Bishop Prang. Then a corporate state with six departments is instituted a la the Italian pattern. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. Labor camps are opened for unemployed workers. This is a substitute for the five thousand dollars a year promised to each family in wages. Wages are reduced to one dollar a day and those who won't accept it are dismissed for insubordination and have to go to labor camps. Prices rise, Big business profits in the beginning, because they can pay off their bonded indebtedness with a dollar worth thirty cents. The Jews, particularly, are reduced to an inferior position. Many people flee to Canada by what was known as the Underground Railroad, as the

negro slaves did in the Civil War Days. Trowbridge, the defeated Republican candidate for President is among them. In Toronto, he organizes the N.U.'s—the New Undergrounds, and starts a paper.

The masses grow discontented and restless, but Windrip speaks to them over the radio and tells them that they are the "honored foundation stones of a new civilization and the advance guard of the world." The demagogue always knows how to flatter the vanity of the rabble and how to feed them words, when what they need is bread. It works. Despite their plight there are still the Jews and the negroes to look down upon for they are deprived of citizenship and are thereby in a lower category. As long as a man has someone lower than himself to look down upon, he is a king. That is why all dictatorships have to have a scapegoat—a people on whom all the blame can be thrown. The Jews are usually the scapegoat.

Doremus Jessup, watching all this from his little New England editorial tower, cannot endure it any longer. He writes an editorial denouncing what has been happening. He is especially aroused by the incident about a Rabbi who is murdered by several drunken Minute Men. The result is that Jessup's newspaper is confiscated. His office is wrecked by a mob led by his former houseman, a low-down good for nothing person, who always had it in for his boss, and was raised to the position of District Commander "gets even." Jessup is thrown into jail and violently beaten up. There before his trial, he muses "the fault is not that of big business and the demagogues, who do their dirty work. The fault is with the conscientious lazy liberals and the average man, who is indifferent to what is happening around him and allows the demagogues to get into power without even putting up a protest." Jessup is tried and paroled on condition that he will write editorials for the paper as per dictation from a government flunkey. He submits because he is an elderly man with a family to support. He goes back to write what he calls "Yow-Yow" editorials.

Secretely, however, Jessup begins to flirt with Communism, but he can't swallow either its ideology or methodology. "Windrip and Hitler,"

he says, "will join Stalin before the descendants of Daniel Webster, who are liberals and who don't like murder as a way of argument."

Finally, Jessup tries to flee to Canada, but he is turned back at the border. Strangely enough, Jessup's son, Philip, has become a Commissioner of "the Corps." He visits his father with the view of persuading him to change. When Doremus Jessup complains about the bloodshed and the concentration camps, the persecution of liberals and all of those out of sympathy with the Administration, the son replies, "Father, you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs." To this, the father replies, "Mens souls and hearts are not egg shells for tyrants to break."

Jessup's wife is a simple hombody, who doesn't know what it is all about, but he has two daughters, who are deeply sympathetic and are "in the know." With the help of a liberal Catholic Priest and other town friends, Jessup organizes a cell of the "New Undergrounds." They are discovered. Jessup's son-in-law, a young doctor, is murdered. Jessup himself is caught and is thrown into a concentration camp, where he almost dies of torture inflicted a la Nazi methods. With the help of his spinster friend, whom we met earlier in the book and who was one of the group of N. U.'s, and with whom incidentally, he has an illicit love affair, Jessup is smuggled out of jail and across to Canada. There he lives in exile until Windrip is overthrown by his own Lieutenant Sarason who is in turn overthrown by one of the military leaders of the Administration. Then revolution breaks out in the West and Doremus Jessup returns by the underground way to help lead it and to restore America to its former life—a life of liberty, reason and democracy, for as he declares, "A Doremus Jessup can never die."

To save itself, the Administration declares war on Mexico. Here Sinclair ends the story, having shown us the whole gamut that Fascism pursues from the time it seizes the country to the time it wrecks it.

### Critique

Sinclair Lewis has written not a great book, but a stirring book, not a novel, but a tract. To be sure, he has painted a picture that is in the future, but it is not so far out of reach that we cannot stretch out our hands and almost touch it. The

not be so simple for President Windrip to disband Congress as a dictator and lock up the members of the Supreme Court so soon after his inaugural, and make himself dictator, without creating something of a sizeable and effective rebellion, backed by the army and the government of the different states and their militia.

Personally, I do not believe that the toboggan is so well greased as to warrant all this happening in 1936. I suppose you will say that I am a "softie" but I as one reader cannot get myself to believe that Americans would be capable of the same sadism and brutalities as are the Nazis. Americans as a people are different from the Germans. We are not so frustrated for one thing, and have never had to live under the "Verboten" sign as have they.

Sinclair Lewis pays his respects, and they are deserved, to dogmatic Communists, who would persecute with the same ruthlessness all those who did not accept their theology as do the Fascists on the theory that "the end justifies the means."

He pays his respects also to big business, which talks about liberty, but means liberty for themselves to make big money, but are not concerned with the welfare of the masses.

Sinclair Lewis gives us no guarantee that the rebellion, which breaks out in the West, will win. He leaves us to guess. But he does suggest that there are those in this country, who like Doremus Jessup, will fight against dictatorship, because they want a country that will no longer be ruled for the benefit of the rich, who want liberty as we understand it, and not as Russia and Italy understand it.

What oppresses me is that Lewis has proved to us that we have here all of the elements that may make Fascism possible. I believe that it can happen here unless we bestir ourselves. The book is a warning and an alarm bell.



## THE STATE OF THE NATION

Address delivered over Station WGAR  
by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Belligerent of mood, moved to the heights of forensic eloquence and imbued with the courage and vigor of his trust-busting namesake, President Roosevelt delivered recently a message to Congress, which is epoch-making on three scores. Firstly, on account of its attack on autocracy abroad and plutocracy here. Secondly, because of its fervent plea for neutrality and the promise to keep the United States out of war. And thirdly, because it was undoubtedly heard by the largest audience that ever listened to a Presidential message in this country. In fact, it was heard around the world.

This evening, I want to analyze it as objectively as I can away from the glare of klieg lights, the whirl of motion picture cameras and the awesome array of microphones in which it was delivered. I want furthermore to consider it in the light of subsequent events in Washington, particularly with reference to the invalidation of the A.A.A. by the Supreme Court, the Soldier Bonus Bill, etc. As I have studied the message, I find in it much to praise, some things to blame, and considerable to puzzle over. And this I say as an admirer of the President and one who has followed him in the general direction of social change in which he has led, even though I have not always agreed with him in details.

For the first portion of his message, in which he denounces dictatorship and autocracy, there can be nothing but highest of praise. He spoke with courage and frankness as has seldom been heard from an American President. Though he did not mention any names, it must have been clear to all who heard him that the President was denouncing autocracy in Italy, Germany and Japan and upbraiding their war-making dictators, Mussolini, Hitler and the militarist clique that rules in Tokyo.

Considering the present state of the world, the President's challenge to fascism and imperialism was particularly significant. It made clear to the dictators of Europe that we stand in opposition to them.

This portion of the speech represents in a sense the President's first significant utterance on international affairs since the late London Conference, which was an ill-starred incursion on his part into European and world diplomacy. In this message, the President indicates that he is alive to the newer trends in world affairs and more particularly that he is sensitive to the definite relationship, which has developed in our day between the inevitable rise of Fascism out of a decaying economic order.

He indicated his fear that the development in certain European countries might happen over here too if:

American plutocrats should seize control of government. For all of this, I have nothing but commenda-

tion, and find myself able to "ride along" with the President the whole way.

### Neutrality

It is when the President begins to deal with neutrality, knowing the sort of a huge appropriation for armament that he sponsors in the budget that I begin to find myself parting company with him. On the one hand, the President assures us that there is no one on this continent, whose attack the United States need fear. The good neighbor's policy of the Americas is one he points to with pride, and calls special attention to it as an example for European nations to follow. Furthermore, we of the United States are tied all the other Americas by the Monroe Doctrine, which in a sense pledge us to defend the territorial sovereignty of our neighbors from foreign invasion. We know further that it is wholly beyond the realm of possibility that any European or Oriental power should cross the Atlantic or the Pacific to attack us. Neither our peace, nor our territorial integrity is threatened, excepting perhaps with regards to the Philippines. It is conceivable that some day Japan may attempt to seize the Philippines. But if and when that should happen, I as one American citizen want to put myself on record as believing that I would rather see us lose the Philippines than lose a hundred thousand men to recapture those islands.

If it is true that we are secure and safe from attack, then it must follow that all America needs is a navy and an army for home defense. If that is the case, then how can the President explain his support for the building of huge dreadnoughts and tremendous airplanes and the strengthening of our fortifications at Hawaii. Most naval experts will agree when pushed to it that no navy can be effective that must fight anywhere from five to seven thousand miles away from its base, which would be the case in a war with Japan with our dreadnoughts having the fight in Japanese waters. The disastrous experience which the Russian fleet suffered in the war against Japan in 1905 should be warning enough of this. Yet the President does not find it inconsistent to boast about good neighbor policy and on the other hand sponsor a budget for military expenditures that runs to a billion dollars for 1937, an amount twice as large as our military expenditures two years ago, and a quarter as large as the budget for the last year. Peace goes with disarmament and not with re-armament.

What sort of an example are we showing to other nations that have less reason to feel secure than we—talking of peace and proceeding to arm to the hilt. It is all wrong.

On the other hand, if the President believes that war is not only imminent but inevitable in Europe, then all our

talk about peace and good neighborliness is in a sense meaningless, for the next European war is likely to be a world war and in that event, it would be better for us to be prepared, and the bigger the army, navy and aerial fleet the better. I understand the military-minded people, who speak in this way, but I am always wary and suspicious of those who say "we want a big navy but not for use, just for show."

It is apparent from the President's utterance that he believes war in Europe is imminent, only he thinks that by following a policy of no foreign entanglements, we can keep out of war. In the event of a European war, he proposes that we stop all trade, travel, communications and loans to belligerent nations, irrespective of the merits or demerits of their belligerency, and to warn all American citizens who may engage in such trade or travel that they must do it at their own risk.

In a recent article, Walter Lippman points out that embargo will be a very difficult policy to carry through, that it means voluntarily imposing upon ourselves serious depression conditions. Furthermore, he says that if the European nations know in advance that they will not be able to secure munitions and other necessary war materials from the United States, they will be compelled to enlarge their own munitions works and make alliances with other countries, which can and will provide them with the sinews of war.

There is considerable merit in Lippman's contentions. Yet, despite them, I find that a policy of no neutrality, worse. Isolation at least has the merit of exerting per chance a deterrent effect upon the nations, who must realize that they cannot for long engage in a war without America's help. But in the light of the realities of the last war in which we tried desperately to stay out and ultimately went in, and considering what is happening in Europe today as a result of the inability to effectively carry on a policy of sanctions. For witness how England and France have consistently declined to impose oil sanctions against Italy, knowing full well that if they did, it would cripple Italy in less than a year—in the light of all the realities—past and present, I believe that a policy of isolation is not enough for America. Just think what would happen if all the nations followed our example. It would put an end to all international cooperation for the preservation of peace. Isolation may be good for the present, but it is unworkable as a long range policy, because the modern world is an inter-dependent world, particularly in an economic sense and no nation or group of nations can go it alone. Therefore I find it particularly difficult to understand how a nation like ours that is the greatest creditor nation in the world, that is dependent for important raw materials on other countries, and that must have markets abroad can for long take the isolationist position. But aside from economic considerations, there are also spiritual and moral considerations that a great nation like ours cannot ignore. We

have played a very strange role with regards to war and peace in recent years. Through Wilson, we gave the world a League of Nations and then rejected it. We sponsored the World Court and then we refused to join it. We initiated the Kellow-Briand Anti-War Pact and then we ignore it, at to top it all off, we propose to go isolationist. Is this befitting for a nation life ours?

### World War Must be Averted

As I view it, the critical hour has arrived for America and the world. The President must think not only of keeping his own country out of war, but we must use all the influence America has to avert war permanently; the next war means the end of civilization, and that includes the United States too. For let us not delude ourselves. When the next war breaks out between major nations, whether in Europe or in the Far East, it will not be a confined war, but a world war. It will be like the influenza, which started in the trenches, but before it was through ravaged the whole world. And no matter how drastic may be the neutrality resolutions and the policies of isolation, which we adopt now, when the next war breaks out, they will be as scraps of paper, for ultimately we will get into the next war as we did in the last war. Why? Because our people being only human may legislate on the plane of their ideals, but they live on the plane of their needs; and therefore, they will not be able to resist the temptation of making money, of selling goods, putting ourselves back to work, and then the inevitable will occur again. We will find ourselves more heavily involved financially on one side than on the other, which mean that we will be compelled to stand by that side where our greatest interests are involved.

Recently during the present Nye Senate Investigation J. P. Morgan said "neutrality between right and wrong was difficult and therefore they felt it was right to do all possible lawfully to help the Allies win the war as soon as possible." He recalled how President Wilson, despite his proclamation of neutrality finally came to regard it as duty to go into war on the Allies' side.

What Senator Nye and Clark, the leaders of this investigation are trying to prove is that this neutrality was broken, and we went into the war on the Allies' side because it was on their side that we were most heavily involved with loans, etc.

I am convinced that we will either succeed in averting war for all the world, or when the next war comes, we might as well make up our mind now that neutrality or no neutrality we will be in it. In heaven's name, let us stop camouflaging.

If we really want and mean peace, then the President should convene at the earliest possible moment a conference of the nations, even as he did in 1933 and to discuss those issues that may lead to the averting of the war toward which the world seems so positively to be drifting.

There are the issues of international trade, markets, currency, the migration of peoples from overcrowded countries to countries not densely populated, the question of the sated and the hungry nations, with reference to colonies and sources of raw materials. These are the things that drive Japan into Manchuria and will drive Hitler into Russia's Ukraine. It is these motives, which drove Mussolini, unsatisfied with the colonial crumbs that fell from the table of Versailles, into Ethiopia. Some day these questions have to be dealt with. Why not now before War has destroyed western civilization. I call on the President of the United States to exercise that moral leadership, which it is our duty to exercise, and to restore America to a position of respect in the eyes of the world. We must avert war for our own sake and for theirs. And in calling together such a conference, the President can safely ignore the League of Nations, firstly because we are not

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## THE STATE OF THE NATION

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a member of it, secondly, because it has proved itself ineffective. Had we been a member of the League of Nations, I am convinced that much of the troubled situation that has developed in the world might have been averted. The Versailles Treaty would have been different. Germany would have fared better, and if that had been the case, there would have possibly been no Hitler.

## Internal Affairs

I now turn to the second portion of the President's message, which deals with internal affairs.

The critics of the President have stated and I think correctly that it was political. But I am tempted to say to this criticism, "so what." When let me ask has the Presidential Message to Congress in an election year not been political. Always in similar years, Presidents have written their messages with at least one eye toward the people and the other on Congress. Theodore Roosevelt, under similar circumstances, in a Presidential message coined the phrase "malefactors of great wealth" which parallels our own President's phrase "intrenched greed."

The President has by his attack on finance capitalists, the holding company wizards, and the whole resplendent array of big business statesmanship, placed himself on record as not ready to yield one iota so far as the New Deal is concerned. For him the dye is cast. He must go forward and onward with it.

What amazes me, however, is that after laying down this barrage against intrenched greed, and calling upon Congress to advance, the President himself stands still and pulls his punches. The whole tenure of his message gives no indication that he has any new proposals to make and leaves me with the feeling that the President believes the New Deal is complete as a plan. So far as I am concerned, in the light of what the Supreme Court has done with most of the proposals of the New Deal, it should be really just the beginning for it.

## "Pulling His Punches"

Apologists for the President may say in answer that the President deemed it wise for strategic reasons not to show his hand. This answer leaves me unconvinced. I still believe that the President is being intimidated and that he is pulling his punches. Last July, in his letter to Mr. Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspaper syndicate, the President promised the country a breathing spell. This was his first concession to big business and it was just what it was clamoring for. Big Business wants assurance of no more interference, no more regulation, no more control. The President now yields to them and follows in this message with promises to hold down taxes, to balance the budget, and to reduce expenditures for relief. These are all concessions to the Liberty League and to what the President saw fit to term the "forces of intrenched greed."

Frankly, as an admirer of the President, I find it exceedingly difficult to understand his agile bowing to disarmament on the one hand and a big navy on the other to a moratorium on taxes and an attack on big business, to a reduced relief budget and his promises to the unemployed. Can it be true as one of the liberal weeklies phrases it "that the President is more interested now in winning the campaign than saving the country," that he is playing politics instead of following statesmanlike policies. In a word may it be possible that the President is frozen in his tracks?

Personally, I hope that this is not the case. I am rather trusting that Mr. Roosevelt will show the same courage for action today as he did when he began, for the country is still in need for the same kind of vigorous leadership that won for him the wholehearted support of all the people in those critical days of 1933.

If the President allows himself to be intimidated by the very forces that he is now thundering against, he will lose out. I predict that it will not be possible for him to win the election unless he saves the country; and if he saves the country, there will be no trouble about his winning the election.

How is the President going to hold taxes down. Is it not true that higher taxes are inevitable; witness the extra two billions for Soldier Bonus, etc. If the President sees fit not to assess them now then they will come in 1937 after the election.

The Liberty League supporters know full well that eventually all of these expenditures have to be paid with taxes, and that the rich, will have to pay most of them. The President promises to balance the budget, and one of the ways will be to reduce expenditures for relief. Yet he must know how impossible it will be for the federal government to succeed in shifting the millions still unemployed despite the P. W. A. onto the cities, counties and states.

The truth is that we have in this country a permanent unemployment problem. Even if a miracle should happen and the "good days" of 1929 were to return, there would still be from five to six million people able to work, who will never return and be absorbed by private industry because machinery and efficiency has displaced them. The statesmanlike thing for the President to do would be to advocate a permanent public works program, to absorb these millions; but this would mean further unbalancing the budget, and would be, politically unwise. This is only one instance in which economic statesmanship is sacrificed to the expediency of politics.

## The Supreme Court

I want to say a concluding word with reference to the implications of the Supreme Court's invalidation of the A.A.A. and other New Deal legislation.

It is frequently said that ours is a government of law. In reality, ours is a government only of such laws as the lawyers on the Supreme Court bench will accept, which makes our government not one of law, but really of lawyers. I think it can be adequately shown by a review of the decisions of the Supreme Court that it has at different times held entirely contradictory types of legislation, constitutional depending upon the temper of the court itself. A statesmanlike court is one that interprets the Constitution, which is at best a very flexible instrument, in accordance with the expanding social and economic needs of the country.

Through their invalidation of so much of the New Deal legislation, the Supreme Court has set its face against the sort of social change, which Congress almost unanimously found necessary.

The chief danger of a Supreme Court constituted as ours now is, that it prevents experiments from being tried and social change from being affected in the quick way that emergency conditions may demand. I will not be a bit surprised if the effects of the Supreme Court actions will be the passing of a law, which on the one hand, will limit the power of the Supreme Court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, unless the whole Court is unanimous about it. And secondly, it may lead to the adoption of a constitutional amendment, which will give Congress such powers over agriculture, commerce, manufacture and the natural resources of our country as will enable it to pass such legislation as was purposed under the N.R.A. and the A.A.A.

Personally, I prefer to see social change effected in our country without the need of constitutional amendment. Frankly, I am afraid of the affects of pressure groups operating under conditions of hysteria. I prefer that progress be made within the framework of our existing institutions. The lamentable thing is that the Supreme Court in this great emergency is not rising to the need of the hour.

A statesmanlike court could be helpful to the country in a time like this. I realize that the conservatives will regard what the Supreme Court has done as statesmanlike, but it is the sort of statesmanship that reminds one of what Napoleon once said to his generals "one more such victory and we are lost."

Much as I revere the Constitution, I do not believe that it should be "a sacred cow." Let us never forget, that it is neither the Supreme Court nor the constitution that can preserve our democratic system for us. Ultimately the power to preserve democracy rests with the people themselves. If they become too indolent or too ignorant to cherish it, and to fight for it, they will not only lose it, but deserve to lose it.



Fr. Feb 21, 1936

## Reducing the Strains of Modern Living

Radio Address delivered over Station WGAR by  
Dr. Barnett R. Brickner, Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple,  
Cleveland, Ohio

Modern living and strain have become almost synonymous. This is brought home to us in a singularly striking way by such words as burning yourself up, worried to death, high tension, a case of nerves, speed, rush, quick lunch counter, and tempo, which have become part of our every day speech. On the other hand, such expressions as repose, poise, contemplation, meditation, and a night at home, are disappearing from our vocabulary because they have practically passed out of our way of living. It is my conviction that unless individually and collectively, we learn that life is not agitation and speed, but is instead repose and meditation, we are dooming ourselves spiritually and culturally.

It is a strange paradox that the generation, which has the largest number of gadgets and witnessed the greatest technological development the human race has ever known, should at the same time suffer from the severest nervous ailments and be the victims of the most cataclysmic depression.

There are those, who jump to the conclusion that one method of effective relief would be a return to the simple life that antedated the Machine Age. I doubt whether that is possible or practical. The complexities of modern living are, I think, here to stay, and our problem is to arrange our lives in such a way as to enjoy the benefits of modern civilization and yet learn to reduce the strains and not burn the candle at both ends.

### "It's Too Much"

Some time ago, I recall reading an article by Ida M. Tarbell, who is the Dean of American women journalists and the author of an excellent biography of "Abraham Lincoln." She tells of how when she was a child, she made the discovery about her elders, who lived in what we would call the Victorian Age, that they too were subject to periodic attacks of what she supposed was called "It's too much." It was this "too much" that used to make her mother come home from the church supper or the meeting of the Home Mission Society, where there had been a ruction, with tight-set lips and eyes that warned "don't bother me." When mother got that way, she would pick up her knitting and make her needles fly furiously. Soon, her tempo would slow up, her lips soften, she would smile and was alright again. She knitted herself into peace. "Knitting," reflects Miss Tarbell, "cured 'too much'."

Her father too had his strain. Men did not go through the eighties and the nineties in active business without speculation, reckless exploitation of natural resources, and the attempt for the common, even legal rights of others, that were characteristic of those days of rugged individualism.

Miss Tarbell tells that often when her father came home with a case of "its too much," he ate his supper in silence, settled in his favorite chair, lighted his pipe, and that his cure for the "too much" came from his eye for the comic and his sense for the humorous. Soon, he felt better and would begin to regale the family with a new story or a witty sally or a drone occurrence. The whole family used to roar with him, and then he felt again, that all was right with the world. A good hearty "belly-laugh—not just a tolerant smile—is the best cure-all for the "too much" feeling. I well recall Miss Tarbell's comment that it took her years to appreciate the wisdom in her father's and mother's technique—namely, the relation between tension, knitting and laughter. From the earliest days, the needle, the loom and the embroidery frame were regarded as symbols of tranquility, and laughter has always been looked upon as one of man's major needs. The courts had their jesters, the circuses—their clowns. During and after the war doctors prescribed knitting

to shell-shocked soldiers.

It is doubtful if Lincoln could have carried through the grueling task of the Civil War, or that he could have kept the Union with him, if it had not been for his sense of humor. The late Will Rogers did a great deal for this nation in the after-war days and during the depression by trying to give the American people a good laugh every day.

All of us, who seek to work out a practical and harmonious way of living, must learn that the strains to which the burden, the irritations and defeats of each day subject our minds and spirits, must be promptly relieved, or sooner or later there will be a crash. It is strange how many of us learn this only when the crash has already come. Sometimes I think that if we built our bridges, automobiles and airplanes, with as little attention to strains, as we build our lives, the world's death rate would be many hundred times what it is today. We bow to the laws, which govern matter, because we know full well that they make no allowances for our ignorances, or our carelessness. But when it comes to our minds, spirit and nervous system, we are usually willing to take a chance. What is the reason? Is it vanity? Is it the unwillingness to admit that there are limits to human powers? Is it our revolt of self-control? Probably, it is something of each.

I realize that if we are to take care of the strains and tensions of life, we will have to use more than knitting and laughter. I only use these as illustrations. Our reliefs and cures must be as varied as the drugs on the apothecary's shelves. We need things not only that slow us down, but sometimes we get so bad that we need an anesthetic—something that actually deadens pain. Beware, however, of ever letting yourself get that far, if you can help it.

Now let me turn to the practical side of this question and deal with the "hows" or reducing the strains.

### Check Up on Yourself

At least once every day stop to think about the things you are trying to accomplish—whether great or trivial—and then ponder over the method that you are pursuing toward these ends. Check up on yourself objectively. Consider just what it is that you seek in life. Most of us spend too little time thinking about the satisfactions that would really yield us the most satisfaction. Oftimes, this may mean having courage to change our vocation. I know a young married man with a wife and child, who gave up a good business, which he entered when he came out of college, because all the time, he was searching of heart and mind, he and his wife agreed that he resign from his business and enter medical school. His wife helps out and they are abundantly happy. He will be graduating this year as a M. D. They gave up the idea that high material standards were necessary to their happiness.

### Devaluate the Dollar

If the strain of your life comes from worrying about money—my advice is to devaluate the dollar. By that I mean, make up your mind to get along on less and make your income suffice for your needs. Find your joys in the things that you can create instead of buy. A distinguished university professor was asked after the war what impressed him most deeply about the conditions at home. He answered "the fact that it is very easy for a family to live on \$500 a year when nobody else gets more than that." I don't agree with him about the amount . . . I would add another cipher. But the fact is that all of us could get along on less—excepting those who have nothing—if nobody else received more . . . A great deal of our unrest is due to the wide economic differentials between different classes of people in this country. But today money no longer makes the man, because man no longer makes money. Intelligent

men and women have learned to forego money and profits for the more abundant life—abundant in spiritual terms.

It is absolutely imperative that everyone of us should find the secret of relaxation—physical and mental—which suits us best.

### Nerves

Many doctors' offices are cluttered with people seeking a cure for conditions of the digestive tracts—the cure for which does not lie in pills, medicines, x-rays, etc. The trouble lies often in over-wrought nerves—tension—and requires psychological treatment.

Such people need to learn how to re-condition themselves. Doctors will tell you, if you are in this condition, to adjust your diet to your normal expenditure of energy. If your job is such that it does not require heavy work, then avoid food that builds up surplus energy—such as meats, starches, and sugars and to eat fruit and green vegetables instead. Most doctors would probably also advise you to go easy on tea and coffee—because these are stimulants. Few of us require three meals a day. I find that it is largely a social habit. "Have you ever experimented with eating only two—breakfast and dinner?" said a doctor to me once. Get outdoors often—exercise if you like, but after 40, the doctor may tell you to go easy on exhausting exercises—especially if they tire you unduly.

You can't relax in an overheated room. Keep the temperature at about 68 degrees with the humidity about 50. It will be a great boon when we have air-conditioned homes that will be automatically regulated. Learn to sleep at a moment's notice, because it is the best opiate to tense-ness. A good practice is to get into the habit of taking a short nap during the early afternoon, and lie down for a few minutes before supper—and if possible nap off. Do this, particularly, if you are going out for the evening. Sleep restores energy to the drained human battery. A tense day is likely to be followed by a tense night, unless you can make every muscle of your body lax and limp and think about nothing. It takes long practice to accomplish it. Let me also remind you that clean conscience makes for sound sleep—for when we are asleep the conscious mind is at rest. Then the sub-conscious mind, into which we think we have shoved and buried the disturbing things we want to forget opens up with all its grotesqueness and up with all its gratesqueness and produces its dreams and its nightmares. A clean life gives one a clean conscience. Oftimes, reading or the movies supply an anesthetic for tired and overwrought nerves. When you reach a point when everything has lost its savor, then a detective story, which keeps its secret to the end, may be read with no thought of criticism. It serves to give the mind the oblivion that it needs. Of course, what one wants from a story is not its chloroform but the very essence of life and beauty which it reveals. People, who get into the habit of reading detective stories and similar things and read nothing else, are to be pitied, because they are like people, who must take drugs. The movies may prove very relaxing. In this sense, they become a necessity instead of a luxury. And if you are a really mature person, it makes little difference what movie you see. Some to be sure may be more inane than others but if they relax you, they have served their purpose.

### Plan Your Day

Another thing, I would suggest is that you plan your program each day, so that it is flexible and contains some free periods. I direct this caution particularly to professional persons—like doctors, and lawyers and high-powered executives. Do you ever stop to ask yourself what your better self is getting out of each day? Your day is your largest capital investment. You are not only the majority stockholder in it, but you own all the stocks and bonds. If the company defaults, it is your own loss. My advice is avoid seeing too many people during the day and reserve some time each day to yourself to think.

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## REDUCING THE STRAINS OF MODERN LIVING

(Continued from Page 6)

Inaction on the other hand is most deadening. Idle time is the heaviest time. If I could reach the tens of thousands of the unemployed, I would say to them—use the time you have to retrain yourselves, for the chances are that there will be no room for you at your old vocation when things get better—so make yourself proficient at something else. But in heaven's name, don't just sit around brooding.

### Surfeit

One of the major causes of our unrest—and this is particularly true of women of the middle class—is the habit of trying to take in everything for fear that they will miss something good, with the result that they dash half hysterical in many directions at the same time. Why can't we understand that if we are going to get the most out of life we must be selective and that there will have to be many good things which we will be obliged to miss in order that we may avail ourselves of the few really good things. The best way to miss the best things is to nibble, to dabble, to putter, to grope around, and to try and take everything in. Our very surfeit is our poison, and our mad desire to be tasting too many good things is responsible for our failure to enjoy any of them.

What we need, of course, too is to learn the art of repose, poise, and meditation—and to give up agitation and speed. The curious thing is that Europe, which had the former, is acquiring the latter from us.

One thing that is very essential is that within and without our vocations we should have something that provides us with a change and affords us a hobby. Pearl Buck, who wrote "Good Earth," and is an author by profession states that she finds relaxation in translating from Chinese to English. Einstein and Mussolini both turned to the violin for relaxation. The thing to look out for in a hobby is not to make it more absorbing and tempting than your job.

### Time to Kill

There is a strain and tenseness that comes to women in middle life, who are emancipated from housework, whose children, either grown-up and independent or away at school. Their housework is done by themselves or a maid in half a day. Then come the long hours of leisure, the tick of the parlor clock—it comes like the crack of doom. They must find something to do. Many therefore fritter their time away in bridging and social tea-ing . . . in attending this lecture and that lecture. They don't realize that this running around to lectures is really a form of intellectual massage, where the lecturer is the masseur. They may get the relaxation, but what is all the time sticks in the mind and in the memory. Because, the way we learn best is not by listening, but by doing—studying things out by for ourselves. The lecturer is only worthwhile, if he stimulates you to do your own reading and thinking. If you hear too many lectures, they simply confuse you. It is only your own mind that can organize you, give you a sense of unity and work out your own point of view.

Why don't many of these women with time to kill—what a funny American expression that is "time to kill"—the most precious thing in the world—time—the only thing that you can't retrieve if you have lost it—and yet we speak of killing it. What a force for good this army of women could be if they organized themselves into groups, with the purpose of studying and attacking the live issues of their community. To mention but a few: There is volunteer social work of many kinds developing peace-mindedness among people, educating the consumer to know values. Yes, consumers must be educated. Hardly, one person in ten thousand knows what and how to buy. Every year women spend and miss-spend twenty billion dollars or more, and fully one-quarter of this vast sum is wasted, because many women know the price of everything but the value of nothing.

Woman's major job is raising a

family. But to loosen the manifold strains to which this talk subjects her, she may follow a career if she has been trained for one. But this does not necessarily mean that she must do it for financial returns in competition with others, who depend upon it for a living.

### Family Strains

Let me say a word about family strains while I am on this subject.

One of the major ironies of life is that the important strains come often from association with those whom we hold dearest . . . our own flesh and blood. Despite the "dears" and the "darlings," the family is the most discordant group. There may be true affection at the bottom—but the surface is always stirred up by needless friction. Read Clarence Day's book "Life with Father" and you will see what I mean.

I say needless friction—and yet inevitable . . . because the family is the most intimate of human groupings and serves us to relieve ourselves of all the pent-up and frustrated feelings that we wouldn't dare give vent to on the outside. If Charlie Jones should give way to one of his rages in the office, as he gives way at home, sometimes when the coffee isn't quite hot enough or the cheese cake flat and soggy, he would be given notice. Or if Lilly Smith made one of the scenes at the country club that she does at home, she would be dropped. The poor family becomes the dumping ground for everyone's grievances. The family gathers at the dinner table and each one gets off his chest every disagreeable thing that happened to him that day instead of exchanging the pleasant experiences that brighten life.

A golden rule for every family to follow—and one that I would have embroidered on every tablecloth—is "do unto your family as you would do unto outsiders."

As for relieving the strains between the husband and wife, when they have gotten on each other's nerves . . . I would advise them to take a holiday away from each other. It is a mistake to believe that we should never be separated from those we love. The frictions may be on the surface, while underneath there may be an abiding affection. A holiday will cure the surface tensions, and the abiding affections underneath will come to the surface again.

Secretely in their hearts many people today are asking: "How can we be relieved of this excitability—of this endless tension, and how can we bring calm into our spirits; and be serene?"

The prayer of people is Grant us peace. Find for us some ideal. Give us some cause greater than ourselves. Unfold for us some mighty hope, so that when life breaks down we may have that inner strength, which gives to life a sense of its worthwhileness.

I feel that if people would only turn back to religion, to faith, they would get some of this peace—some of this inner calm—some of this mighty hope—for which the whole human race stands so sorely in need.



# BRICKNER VISIONS GERMAN SMASHUP

Mon. Oct 19, 1936  
Hitler Steering for Lone-  
Hand War or Economic  
Collapse, He Says.

Comparing conditions he observed in Germany this summer with those on a visit in 1932, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner yesterday morning said Hitler had done much on the surface for his country, but had failed to overcome under-surface factors which must inevitably lead to internal economic collapse. It was Rabbi Brickner's first Sunday lecture of the season in Euclid Avenue Temple.

He said he had found the economic life of Germany tottering, with private capitalism giving way to state capitalism, and that, in turn, likely to give way to state socialism, which probably could do no more than private capitalism under the dictatorship.

"If Hitler continues to dry up the resources of capital in order to keep the munitions and public works program going he will be headed into inflation," Rabbi Brickner asserted. "If he stops the process he will have unemployment. Either inflation or unemployment would be catastrophic."

## Three Chances.

"Either we will wake up some morning to find that the military, which is a sort of semi-independent state within the state, has polished off Hitler and put a military dictator in his place; or Hitler will find himself compelled to choose between these alternatives, pushing Germany into war, or radicals in the party will seize power, with or without Hitler, with Communism coming through state socialism."

"Germany, which has long feared military encirclement, now finds herself facing economic encirclement because of devaluation of the franc, the lire, the dollar and the pound. This leaves Shacht and the German mark high and dry."

"On the political front Hitler has made considerable progress. He has destroyed the Treaty of Versailles, re-armed, entered the Rhine, practically seized Danzig and Memel, penetrated Austria, rebuilt his navy and restored Germany to her position in 1914. Today, although feared and hated, Germany is respected."

"What Hitler doesn't realize is that with every expansion he creates new tensions. He cannot continue to aggravate the world and get away with it. He is counting on the present British indecision and interpreting it as a stable neutrality. I predict that the same thing will happen in 1937, 1938, 1939 or whenever the day comes, as in 1914."

"In the end, Great Britain will go with France and Italy and Russia will join them. It is all a preparation for some Armageddon which may be postponed but will come. In a world war Communism may come to Europe. If it is a long war America will be in it."

CLEVELAND P

# FINDS SOVIET LIFE HARSH FOR WOMEN

CPD Mon.  
Rabbi Brickner Says They  
Are Losing Femininity  
Because of Work.

Russian women seem to be losing their femininity, charm and beauty, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner asserted at Euclid Avenue Temple yesterday, where he discussed impressions gathered in Russia last summer.

"Their muscles bulge like those of athletes," said Rabbi Brickner. "They may be encountered on roads doing construction, jumping from parachutes, piloting commercial planes. They work just like men. Yet they do still seem to have a desire to be beautiful, for, although their incomes are small, they will spend as much as 35 to 50 rubles for a permanent wave. Beauty parlors are increasing in Russia."

"It is neither an imagined paradise nor a lost paradise. It is a mixture of light and shadow, good and bad. It is an experiment in social justice, just as the United States is an experiment in liberty."

"Outwardly Russia is drab," he continued. "But I saw progress on almost every front. Bread cards and lines are no more. There is no unemployment. Production has increased tremendously. But there is a terrible shortage of clothing, shoes and houses in large centers."

"The U. S. S. R. cannot be compared with anything outside itself. The only fair criterion by which present Russia can be judged is in the light of what it was during the Czarist regime. I see a consistent advance on the economic front. The advance is particularly brilliant in education."

"As an American, I see three evils in their system. They are: the denial of political and civil liberty, the violence of a continuing revolution that never ends until the last enemy is dead, and the harsh dogmatism and dogmatic atheism."

JEWISH REVIEW AND OBSERVER

Fri. Nov 20, 1936

# POISE AND SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Address delivered over Station WGAR

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

One of the commonest of human failings is self-consciousness. Millions suffer from it in silence too proud to acknowledge it either to themselves or to others. Self-conscious people are as a rule proud and sensitive. Inwardly, they may even feel superior, but put them with others and their superiority withers. Then they lose their poise, become shy, timid, and bluish. This sort of person quivers with fright when called upon to make a speech even in an intimate circle of friends.

Recently, I had a letter from a man, who asked for advice with reference to how to overcome his own self-consciousness. His letter is typical of many that I have received. It is these queries that have prompted this address on how to overcome self-consciousness and develop poise. Here is what he writes: "My trouble commences when I have to talk to groups of people. Then I begin to stammer and hesitate for words. Blood rushes to my head and I feel like I am tongue-tied. It makes me feel cheap and embarrassed. I believe I am capable of holding a better job than I now have if it wasn't for my fear and self-consciousness."

## Causes

Self-consciousness is a social phenomenon. We feel it most in the presence of others, whom we are apt to compare with ourselves to our own disadvantage. The causes for self-consciousness are numerous. Some psychologists believe "that people are born with a predisposition to over-value their personal worth." This is not as easily overcome as the forms of self-consciousness that are due to external factors.

Take the case of one who possesses a noticeable physical defect. Need it breed self-consciousness? Not necessarily—if the one suffering from it learns to do something so well that it more than compensates for the defect. I have in mind that young Austrian pianist, Witkenstein, who though he is minus an arm, blown off by a shrapnel during the war, has trained his other hand to such lightning speed that he can now cover transitions so gracefully and subtly as to give a solid two-hand effect to his playing. Despite the fact that one sleeve flaps empty, he is not self-conscious and has appeared as a soloist with some of the largest symphony orchestras in Europe and America. Anyone familiar with the biography of great men from Demosthenes through Napoleon, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Steinmetz know that physical defects need not lead to self-consciousness.

## The Good of Self-Consciousness

In one sense, self-consciousness is not at all a bad thing. It is only a drag on personality when it exists in an extravagant form, by which I mean the overwhelming pre-occupation with one's self to such an extent that it throws us out of efficient relationships with others.

There is a sense in which self-consciousness is the setting of the jewel of conscience," as one writer puts it. I agree with Roback, the psychologist, that self-consciousness may be the early superficial mark of the dreamer and the artist, of the man and woman of imagination, of the tender-minded and the mental aristocrats. Many composers, painters, writers and scientists complain that at one time or another they have been self-conscious. But this too must be emphasized. No composer, painter, writer, orator, or scientist ever became creative unless he lost his self-consciousness. A mild case of self-consciousness, especially in youth, may often be the incentive for self-improvement, particularly if it makes us aware of our own deficiencies and leads us to follow those whom we believe to be superior and more gifted than we are.

The opposite to self-consciousness is ego-consciousness, for whereas self-consciousness leads to self-depreciation, ego-consciousness leads to conceit. Both are equally bad states of mind, that should be mastered. If I had to choose, I would prefer to be self-conscious to being ego-conscious.

## Poise

The real question is how can we overcome self-consciousness and develop poise? And by poise I mean that state of complete inner and outer harmony, which enables us to meet the emergencies of everyday life without flying off the handle and with a sense of proportion and humor. Poise is

that synthesis within ourselves of the things we cherish most in life.

Figuratively speaking, poise may be compared to the art of the trained dancer, who moves from figure to figure with flawless grace, because by training and practice, she has acquired the knowledge of what to expect from moment to moment. The same is true of people of poise. They are masters of the present, because they have trained themselves to know what is coming and are prepared to meet it.

The elements that contribute to poise are confidence, a fair appraisal of one's self, a sense of self-mastery and magnanimity. Their opposites which must be overcome are fear, exaggerated ego, the lack of self-discipline and the cultivation of antagonistic emotions.

## Purpose

We generally find that a person of poise is a person with a purpose in life—a purpose that grows out of a philosophy that he holds dear. It is this which unifies and coordinates and integrates his personality. The person of poise is usually so absorbed in his purpose that everything that happens to him appears trivial and inconsequential in comparison with and in the light of the objective, which illumines his life and makes it incandescent. It is this absorption in a purpose that softens the blows of life and enables a man of poise to meet life's major tragedies as well as its pin pricks with admirable calm. The man of poise is also the man of power, irrespective of whether his sphere of usefulness is that of the garage mechanic, the politician, the merchant, or industrial leader.

Poise can be acquired as self-consciousness is overcome. The first requisite in overcoming self-consciousness is to stop thinking about yourself and to find something else or someone else—some person, cause or work other and outside of yourself to think about and to concentrate on. Some substitute must be found that will replace self-obsession from your consciousness.

It is this obsession of self that is devastating. Take the case of a public performer, who is struck with stage-fright. Stage-fright, the psychologist tells us, is due to prefunctioning, which means that the performer whether he be actor, singer, orator, or the man on the flying trapeze—instead of identifying himself mentally and physically with the thing he is supposed to be doing, imagines himself at one and the same time a member of the audience. When this happens, the nervous organization, which is built up through years of practice and habit formation, is intercepted by the extraneous thought of self. The inevitable result is disastrous.

You cannot perform successfully unless you merge your whole personality, mentally and physically with the things you are doing. Everything that you are must melt in the performance you are rendering, in the work you are doing. The minute you allow pre-functioning to enter, you are lost. This does not mean that artists, no matter how great nor how experienced, must completely lose sight of the challenge which an audience presents. If they do, their performance becomes perfunctory, mechanical, recitative. It loses its creative power, which every audience feels. The challenge of the audience must always be there, but it must not be there in an exaggerated form.

What is true of the artist is true of the lesser individual. He too must identify himself with his task in order not to become self-conscious. Therefore, if you are suffering from self-consciousness, try to find something that will so absorb you that you will not have any time to think about yourself.

## Like Others

Consider also that self-consciousness is a form of conceit. No one should allow himself to become so egocentric that he believes that everybody is concerned with him, is watching him, ready to pounce on him for the slightest mistake.

It is important too for people, who want to get rid of self-consciousness, to learn to like other people and not simply to appear to like them. Here simulation gives one an air of snobishness and of patronage, which people are quick to sense. Snobishness is all too frequently a compensatory attitude that people develop to overcome their own self-

some thing. It is this, which gives one a sense of self-worth before which fear melts, and self-depreciation falls away. It is this which makes an employer feel superior and not self-conscious in the presence of an employee. The experienced lawyer is not self-conscious in the presence of his client, nor the mature physician self-conscious in the presence of his patient, nor the teacher with the pupil. Prosperity, age, experience, achievement—all of these will aid the one who is suffering from self-consciousness to throw off the inferiority feeling.

## Magnanimity

I have also referred earlier to magnanimity as a necessary element in the building up of poise and overcoming self-consciousness. An illustration of magnanimity is that ability to listen calmly and deliberately to a point of view expressed by another, even when we don't agree with it, or to be able to rejoice in the well-earned success even of a competitor. Without wishing to mention names, I want to tell you the story of the violinist, who some years ago, at the height of his career, when he was the darling of every audience before whom he appeared, found that a young man was coming to the fore. People were raving about his playing. One night, the older violinist attended a concert where the young man was playing. In the box with him sat a world-renowned pianist. The young man was unquestionably making a great hit with the audience. They were applauding vociferously. This made the older violinist fidgety. He got warm around the collar. The perspiration broke out over him. He turned to the pianist with the remark "isn't it hot here?" and finally it did get too hot for him and he went out in the corridor to cool off. When he returned to the box, the audience was still applauding. Without realizing how he was giving himself away, he said to his friend, "I am surprised that you can stand it here, it is so hot." To which the friend replied, "I don't feel hot, because I am a pianist and not a violinist." The older man couldn't take it. He was not magnanimous. He couldn't rejoice in the well-earned success of a younger colleague in a field in which he had formerly been tops. He lacked poise because he lacked magnanimity.

With reference to the relationships between poise and purpose and the power and dignity which they give to life, may I say that to find this purpose, one doesn't have to go far afield. It may be found in the routine of our daily lives. It may be achieved through transforming into a reality one's vision of what a beautiful family life should be. It may be found in the cooperative effort between one's self and one's associates.

If one's life is cramped and irritating, one may compensate for it by creating a wider and more beautiful world through the aid of friends, books, music, literature and keeping company with great thoughts and creative minds.

## Summary

To sum it up, I believe that self-consciousness can be overcome by finding something else to think about instead of concentrating on yourself, by learning to like other people, by identifying yourself with your work, by having faith in yourself, by trying to make a success in some one branch of life, by the cultivation of poise, by taking hold of some great purpose that will command everything you are and have, by substituting for the narrow and irritating influences of your environment the lofty and the true and the beautiful.

Self-consciousness is not a disease excepting in its most extreme forms, when it becomes psychopathic. In the main, it is the result of a wrong attitude toward people. This nearly everyone who suffers from self-consciousness can overcome.







# Shall Religion Fight Communism?

Sermon Delivered By  
Rabbi Henry E. Kagan

Rodef Shalom Congregation  
Sunday, December 6, 1936



Rabbi Henry E. Kagan

IN world history the most bitter of wars and those most revolutionary in effect have been wars inspired by religion. The psychological reason for this is obvious. Religion sanctions order. It fixes the pattern of life. It makes us feel at home in the world. Therefore when religion involves itself in war, it destroys not only life and property but also all those peaceful associations which it fostered in the mind. In a religious war the psychic upheaval is more ruinous than the physical destruction.

In the 12th century through Papal inspiration Christianity waged a Crusade against the infidel Mohammedans. For two hundred years armored knights waded ankle deep in blood to regain the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The result was the complete breakdown of the social system of feudal Europe. Three hundred years later another religious struggle took place. Following the Reformation, a League of Catholic nations fought a union of Protestant princes over the secularization of Church lands. For thirty years mercenary troops on both sides plundered and pillaged and reduced Germany to a state of hopeless exhaustion from which it did not recover for 150 years. In the flames of that religious conflagration, medieval Europe was consumed. In 1300 Europe was ruined by the Crusades; in 1600 it was ravaged by the Thirty Years War. Three hundred more years have passed by. Are we approaching another religious war?

Of course our age emphasizes the economic rather than religious causes of events. We recognize that in the World War industrial competition for colonial markets played the major role. Tremendous economic power more than man power made of it such a frightful debacle. But when one recalls the ruin of religious wars, one begins to imagine how infinitely more dreadful the recent World War might have been had it too been inspired by religion. Both the allies and the central powers were blessed by their respective Churches and Synagogues, but we never had the impression that it was a war between religious forces. Political slogans as "making the world safe for democracy" sufficed to obscure the real purpose. How much more barbaric might we have been if civilized man had been induced to destroy each other "to make the world safe for religion!" One shudders to think what might happen to civilization if to modern poison gas is added the old poisoned hate of religious fanaticism.

Such a religious-economic war is of more than theoretical interest. Bel-

ligerent nations today no longer conceal their material preparations for war. But propaganda preparations are more insidious. They are being stored up surreptitiously in the minds. The victims are not aware of the deception until it is too late. As yet it may not be generally known but there is rising in the world a tremendous wave of propaganda in behalf of a religious Crusade against Communism. Is there more than a mere coincidence between this religious movement and a war against Soviet Russia?

Germany and Japan recently signed a pact which they say is not a military treaty against Russia but a mutual agreement to wipe out "international Communism" from their respective countries. It is true that at one time Soviet Russia did vigorously sponsor Communist Revolutions in other countries. But in order that

she might be free and unmolested to establish socialism in her own state, Stalin reversed this policy, even exiled a Communist hero, Trotsky, who favored World Revolutions and instructed Litvinoff to establish peaceful relations with capitalist countries. This does not mean that Soviet Russia has betrayed her former zeal for the working classes of the world. She now believes she can best help them not by setting the world aflame with revolution in which Russia may lose, but by setting an example of a successful socialist experiment that might be copied.

Therefore, no sane person gets excited any longer about imaginary "orders from Moscow." Furthermore, it is sheer nonsense for the Nazis with all their own terrorizing power to say to the world that they need Japan's help to wipe Communism out of Germany. The world can see behind

this treaty the real program of territorial expansion. Hitler believes the future of Germany depends upon the conquest of the Ukraine, and Russia is an obstacle to Japan's mastery of Northern China. This German and Japanese fight over Soviet land is dangerous enough to world peace even if limited to the countries involved; but when the conquest is being dressed up as a saving Crusade, how much greater is the danger that it might succeed in drawing in the rest of the world? For one shrewd way to gain sympathy is to encourage the religious forces of the world to believe that by supporting the Fascists they can defeat the anti-religious Communist Russia.

Thus in his infamous Nuremberg address Hitler has called the world to what he terms a "holy war against Communism." And by recognizing the Spanish Rebels, Germany and Italy would have the world believe that suddenly they have become the defenders of the Church and the leaders of a Crusade to save Christian civilization from the atheist Communism. Are they to be successful in this appeal for religious support?

One great international Church has (Continued on page 32)

## THE JEWISH CRITERION

### Shall Religion Fight Communism?

(Continued from page 7)

started a world wide Crusade against Communism. In common with religious leaders of all faiths it abhors Russia's anti-religious program. All religions oppose atheism but this particular group has assumed leadership in this movement, not simply because of its theological belief, but also because of its geographic proximity to the field of conflict.

The impending battle line between the Fascist states and Communist Russia is drawn through an area in which the Church has been struggling for survival since the World War. Soviet Russia is not the only country trying to eliminate the Church from all influence. She is admittedly atheistic. But the same animus against the Church exists in Fascist countries. In Germany and Italy the Church lives only by sufferance. Hitler and Mussolini are as godless as Stalin. This is especially indicated by their removal of all education from the Church in order to subject youth to Fascist indoctrination. Thus for self-protection, if for not other reason, the Church is being compelled to find some working agreement under the dictatorships of Europe. The anti-religious Nazis and Fascists are willing to tolerate a weakened Church if they can use the Church's opposition to atheism to strengthen their attack on Russia. They will grant a little room to the Church in the totalitarian state only if the Church agrees to a mutual alliance against Communism.

When we clarify this political background of those sources abroad from whence there come appeals to the Churches of the world to unite in the fight against Communism, we hesitate to respond. Under these political circumstances those truly interested in religion are impelled to ask these three questions regarding the proposed religious Crusade against Communism: Is it really a fight for God? Is it to defend the personal soul? Is it to establish social justice?

All that has been said about the Godlessness of Soviet Communists is true. Unless you are a publicly avowed atheist you stand no chance of success in the official Communist Party. In the Soviet socialization Church and Synagogue became State possessions. They can be transformed into other uses unless attendance by sufficient worshippers justify their continuance. A Union of militant atheists spreads propaganda to extirpate religion from a country which was so religious as to be known as "Holy Russia."

Can the Soviets wipe away all belief in God from the minds of one hundred seventy million people? Even a Communist professor of ethics at Moscow University says that centuries of deep religious background as well as the emotional needs of human nature will make this impossible. Nevertheless, for the sake of progress, material or spiritual, the old medieval Church had to go for it was a superstitious opiate. It was necessary to free the mujik from his reliance on the magic of priesthood, if but to teach him the mere rudiments of modern farming. To break down the control of a backward Church is one thing, but to wipe out all religion and a spiritual interpretation of the universe is quite another.

The Soviet leaders soon found it necessary to create substitutes for those religious institutions which served the spiritual needs of the Russian people. Communism was converted into a type of Godless religion with its own elaborate Red ritual and an orthodox dogma of economic salvation. Now the Soviets are willing to tolerate whatever vestiges of the old religion remain because they no longer think it is a menace. The new constitution of the Soviet Republic adopted yesterday provides for religious freedom and even enfranchises the priests. We should not conclude that the dictatorial party has suddenly had a conversion of heart. But we must await the verdict of history as to whether Judaism and Christianity purified will survive, or a different spiritual form arises under a Communist economy. That is a problem which will be worked out in Russia. It certainly is not the immediate concern for a Crusade on the part of Churches and Synagogues elsewhere.

We need not worry so much about Godlessness and materialism in Russia. There is plenty of it right here at home. In Russia they are creating substitutes for their anti-Religion; here we have something as bad as anti-Religion; we have irreligion! A lazy-going indifference to religion. Our Churches and Synagogues are open, to be sure—but how many come? In other words, atheism, anti-religion or materialism are not destroyed by destroying Communism. Atheism existed long before and will exist long after. We cannot browbeat our own people to believe in God; how much less can we enthrone God among the Communists by a fighting Crusade? The only methods which can yield the permanent and worthy victories of life to the Church and Synagogue are not the methods of crusading belligerents,



but the methods of education, inspiration and love.

Those who call for a Church fight agree that God can only be taught by love. But, they add, the Church should prove this teaching by coming to the rescue of those fellowmen whose right to their personal souls has been denied by the Communist. Now because of our traditional American belief in religious freedom we might be persuaded to enter such a war of liberation and free the Russians from their oppressors. But if personal liberty be the motive of the Church's Crusade, then why limit it to an attack on Communism? If the inviolate sanctity of the individual be grounds for a religious war, then the Crusade must just as vigorously attack Fascism. There is as little freedom under one as under another. Fascists and Communists alike hold that a collective political end, in the one the classless workers and in the other the supreme State, justifies any and every sacrifice of individual freedom. Because of her new constitution, it remains to be seen whether there will be a slight balance in favor of democracy in Russia. But at present we repudiate them both.

The Churches and Synagogues of a liberal democracy will never follow a religious leadership which can at one and the same time be an enemy of Communism and a friend of Fascism. The American Churches will no more bless a war against Communism than they will a victory over Ethiopia or a rebellion against a people's self-determined government of Spain. A Church that is willing to be on comfortable terms with Fascism may declare a general war against Communism but religions schooled in the environment of democracy will not follow its banner. They do not like its enemy; but they like its friend no better. For, as the "Christian Century" truly declares, the axe and rods which the Church may bless are as red with blood as the hammer and sickle it may curse.

Thus when the religious Crusade calls for an attack only on Communism, we are left with the impression that it is not liberty that the Church is concerned with but the liberty of the Church. It is not so much dictatorship which it abhors but only dictatorship which interferes with its own privileges. We must not be stampeded. It is just these false fears of a red menace that have destroyed democracy all over Europe. If religion in America manufactures a red scare, it plays directly into reactionary hands and ultimately subverts the very liberty for which it believes it is fighting. We in America know that freedom can be enjoyed only so long as it is available to all. Once we deny free speech to any minority, Communist or otherwise, there is no telling where the suppression will end. When called for a Crusade to suppress Communists, with the national commander of the American Legion whose patriotism cannot be questioned, we say that the way to make more Communists is deny freedom to the few there are.

If we are to gain no victory for God nor a liberation of the individual by this militant religious Crusade against Communism, is there then no way, unsullied by hypocrisy, by which religion can protect itself? Religion has an intelligent and effective counteraction against atheistic Communism if and when it realizes that it is not atheism which attracts men to Communism. Communism's sole appeal is its promise to the masses to abolish poverty and establish an economic Utopia. Our bulwark against it therefore is to fortify our Constitutional democracy by a self-sacrific-

ing devotion to the needs of the greatest number of our people. America's insurance policy against all subversive forces is to protect her citizens' right to work and particularly to insure for her youth the opportunity of earning a decent livelihood. Therefore, if in America religion uses up its energies to fight an imaginary Communism instead of applying its intelligence to these social problems, it will unwittingly aid Communism. For Communism thrives on poverty; religion and democracy prosper on social security. If we have a healthy economic body we will never break out into a Red rash! The role of religion is not to frighten people by bogies, but through an intelligent ministry help prevent economic disease.

The American people in our recent election repudiated those reactionaries who try to stop needed social adjustments by the false charge of Communism. Conservative politicians and especially reactionary newspapers have finally learned this lesson only to be sure, after a painful experience. Certainly the Church and Synagogue of America cannot afford to make the same mistake. The old Russian Church would never have been supplanted by Communism if it had used its intelligence to lift the great Russian masses from their poverty and misery. Instead they distracted the people by confounding them with anti-Semitism. They tried to satisfy hunger with hate. Hate only breeds more hate and the perpetrators of hate are eventually consumed with their victims in the venomous flame.

Intelligent, free loving Americans fully realize how this type of deceit put into power in Germany men who have destroyed everything Americans hold dear. Therefore they will not permit themselves to be poisoned by tasty offerings of any kind of scapegoat. Behind the hue and cry of Commu-

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Dec 18, 1936

## YOUTH AND TOMORROW

Address delivered over Station WGAR

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Is youth in America a lost generation—is it facing a dead end—or is America still a land of opportunity and a wide open road for all who are able, ambitious and willing to work hard? A partial answer is to be found in the play called "Dead End," which I saw in New York last year. It shows how a lack of opportunity, unemployment, extreme poverty, verminous tenements, unemployment react on young people and how they make gangsters and racketeers.

"Dead End" is a strange play in one sense, at least from the point of view of production. There is no curtain rising in it. When you enter the theatre, the stage is dark. Only as your eyes get accustomed to the darkness do you perceive that the stage has been converted into a pierhead at the dead end of one of New York's streets facing the East River. When the play opens, the stage brightens. Perhaps the author wants to impress us with the fact that this problem of blighted youth with which he is dealing is not one on which a curtain needs to be raised. All he does is turn on the light and something is revealed which has been going on in the back alleys of our cities and which, though we have not faced it going up and down in our cars to and from business, is nevertheless plaguing our lives and robbing our communities of its most precious possession—youth, for as Disraeli once remarked, "the youth of a nation are its trustees of posterity."

## The Story

When the play begins, we notice a group of street urchins diving off the dock for a swim in the polluted waters of the river. They use the vilest, filthiest language. We hear

them talking about thefts and their conversation reveals the plotting of the gang. In one corner on the pier sits Gimpy, a young crippled architect, who is unemployed and on relief. He is drawing and dreaming—dreaming of slum clearance and better housing for the poor. He is in love with a socialite, who is living out of wedlock in the swanky apartment house that faces the river, and the rear end of which is visible on the stage. She seems interested and in love with Gimpy, but in the end lets him down and goes off on a yacht party.

The play, as I have already intimated, deals with how gangsters are made in our cities. The central character is baby-faced Martin, who is Public Enemy Number One, and whom the G-Men are scouring the country to find. He was reared in this dead end, but has been away from it for some years. Overpowered by a desire to come back to the old haunts, he returns to the dead end. He is particularly anxious to see his mother and to find the girl, who was his first sweetheart. As baby-faced Martin comes on the stage, Gimpy recognizes him. Martin, who has had his face lifted, seeks to elude detection. He repulses the friendly approach of Gimpy, who knows that there is a price on the gangster's head. When he is rebuffed, Gimpy vows in his heart someday when the opportunity comes, he will squeal and collect the reward.

Among the strongest scenes in the play is when baby-faced Martin faces his mother. He has sent his bodyguard to locate her. He waits patiently and finally she appears. He expects her to rush toward him, to embrace him and hold him to her

breast, but instead she shuffles on sullenly—her face deeply lined, her hair gray. She is perturbed and uneasy. Her face tightens and she hardly lifts her eyes to see him. He rushes toward her and wants to hug her to him. He attempts to kiss her, but she only lifts her hand and slaps him on the cheek as she cries out, "Why did you come back—you who have brought shame on us. We are disgraced and the police do not let us alone. Go away. I want to forget you. I never want to see your face again. I curse the day I bore you." Never had baby-faced Martin suffered. It was unexpected, to say the least, from his own mother. He tries to reconcile her, but she turns from him. He offers her money. She scorns it and leaves the stage. Baby-faced Martin is undone. He revenges himself by teaching the gang in dead end the tricks of gangsterism, the use of the knife and the gun.

There is another powerful scene when baby-faced Martin met his first sweetheart. She is truly glad to see him. They reminisce about their early puppy love and their first sex experience. Pityingly, as if to revive the old romance, he bends down to kiss her, but she draws away, for she is now a common street woman suffering from the diseases of her calling. Again what he looked forward to—a renewal of the old romance has turned to ashes in his mouth.

Still another unforgettable scene is that between the leader of the boy's gang, young Tommy, and his slightly older sister. They are orphans and she is mothering her younger brother. She is a sweet darling flower of the gutter with the instincts of motherhood and in love also with Gimpy, who has no eyes for her. She is out of work—on the picket line—striking for higher wages and hoping when the strike is over to be able to earn enough to move away to a better neighborhood where Tommy will have a chance.

And still one more scene I want to bring to you. It is where the little rich boy, who comes through the gate from the fine apartment house is first teased and then beaten up by the gang who have laid in waiting for him, and the new wrist watch about which he has boasted is stolen from him. We see the father of the little sissy, who happens also to be the son of an influential New York judge, running out to defend his son in the melee, he gets cut on the wrist. One of the gang who is apprehended "squeals" on Tommy. When Tommy learns that another member of the gang is being held innocently, he returns to the scene of the stabbing and gives himself up. In the midst of the excitement, Gimpy informs the police. They arrive and recognize baby-faced Martin. He opens fire. They return it and the gangster is shot dead. Tommy's sister pleads with the judge's son to have mercy, not to prosecute her brother. She tells this accuser that the reformatory will do him no good and that he will only come out embittered and an accomplished gangster. In the reformatory, he will get a post-graduate course, so that he may duplicate baby-faced Martin, but the judge's son is adamant. Tommy is taken off to jail and as the play closes, Gimpy is heard assuring Tommy's sister that with the money he has received they can hire a lawyer to clear her brother. I left the theatre, however, convinced that Tommy would be sent to the reformatory and that when he gets out, the cycle of baby-faced Martin will have been completed—the fatalistic dead-end.

There is nothing new in this you will say, and perhaps you are right, excepting for this—that there is more of this happening as a result of the depression, and that one of the by-products of the last six years may be a large crop of baby-faced Martins. Millions of families can't go through six years living on relief and receiving barely enough to keep body and soul together, with hundreds of schools, settlement houses and Y. M. C. A.'s either closed or operating on a curtailed budget, without the disastrous consequences of gangsterism. How many people in this country, who never have had to miss a meal though they have lost much know that close to three million or one in 6 of those on relief in 1935 was made up of young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five; and even though employment has picked up tremendously in the last year, the proportion of one young person to every six unemployed still holds today.

In ordinary times, a large number of these three million young people would be attending high school or college, or engaged in some productive enterprise, but in times of depression, it is the young, who are victimized. Of the employable young people of the country between the ages of 18 and 30, 28 per cent were unemployed a year ago, and of the young women—42 per cent of the college graduates between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine, one in three had no job. There were a million transient youths wandering like a lost generation through the country last winter and spring. Up to a few months ago when the tide turned toward recovery, we had a depression generation with empty hands and idle minds, which never had a chance to show what it could do; and even with the present recovery, jobs have not materialized for all of them.

People wonder about what has happened with the morals of this depression generation. Well, I can tell you. Many of them say rather defiantly that since they have no hope of being able to marry and since their generation is still interested in marriage, they are entitled to some happiness either within or without the marriage bonds. Many girls who have been engaged for some time, will not permit the young man to take on an added responsibility of home and children. But as one investigator put it, "they prefer for moral and economic reasons to avoid the possible consequences of indiscretion, and therefore it now is becoming smart to be decent."

## President Roosevelt's Speech

Last year the seriousness of the youth problem in America called forth a remarkable message from President Roosevelt in which he said that "flaming youth has become a flaming question." In this address he called for social pioneering against unemployment where is located the nub of the problem. The President advocated a shortening of the work week, because our machine civilization is producing a marginal group of unemployed, who are becoming a permanent problem in America. It is likely that five to six million people in this country, who though still employable may never go back to work, and that we will even tend to develop a prosperous economy without them. But what to do with them remains a problem, which this administration will have to solve if it expects to succeed.

One of the things the President has advocated in this connection is that the employment age be limited at both ends, so that it does not begin until eighteen and stops at sixty-five with retirement. I think it will have to be even lower than that—perhaps sixty. Certainly everyone will be with the President if he sticks to his plan to keep young people in school up to the age of eighteen and in that way prevent them from competing with their own elders for the available jobs. The President has sounded the warning. It is for the leaders of industry and those concerned with the most perishable of all commodities—youth—to take up the challenge and do all that is possible to conserve the strength that youth represents. What we do about young people now before their youth is passed, and the opportunities that we create for them, will determine the sort of a country that we are going to have.

## A Psychopathic Generation

The present generation of young people are the products of the psychopathic kind of handling. The boys and girls who have been brought up since 1914 or 1915. Their earliest memories are of mob murder and war hysteria.

Their next earliest recollection are the cynical reactions to war sentimentality and war's futility. Their adolescent period was divided between the crass materialism of the jazz days of the 1920's and the shock of the economic collapse. Their tragedy is that, they went to high school in limousines, and washed dishes in college. Therefore what they want above all else is not riches but security.

This generation that has reached maturity, saw us abolish heaven and outlaw hell. Is it any wonder that they have lost their faith and have nothing spiritual to anchor to and to sustain them when trouble comes?

This generation has watched us set up money as a god and then watched that god topple.

They have seen us distribute fame as generously to Al Capone, Huey Long and Mae West as to Woodrow Wilson, Jane Addams and Albert Einstein.

Is it any wonder then that they are cynical, that they believe that pull and not hard work or education gets

you places?

Yes, this generation has seen poverty and starvation overtake honest men and women, who were content to strive on whilst they rolled steel and stood behind counters, and kept books faithfully. They also read of lame brained heiresses literally tossing away millions. They have seen people, who wanted to work unable to get jobs, living on the same level of government bounty with those, who did not want to work.

Is it any wonder that instead of swinging out for themselves, they sit around waiting for a lift—a lift from the government—and are content to thumb a ride instead of getting away on their own power.

In other lands, the youth left idle and hopeless amidst the debris of an economic holocaust, turned impatiently to a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Lenin. Nazi-ism, Fascism, Communism are in the main movements of young people. Their leaders did not promise them jobs, but they did offer them a challenge—a challenge to rebuild their country and to create opportunities for themselves. In other words, they gave them a cause—a flag to follow and youth always idealistic and romantic followed.

Even though I was very much impressed with the enthusiasm and almost Messianic faith in which the youth of these countries are caught up, nevertheless I am grateful that no such youth movements have started in America, because in the main, the youth is being exploited. Their hopes will not be sustained and the let down will be terrible. It will end in disappointment, in disillusionment and in despair.

But on the other hand, I am oppressed by the lack of spirit in our young people. They seem perfectly willing to sit around and wait until somebody does something for them. Our youth has lost that which always is to me synonymous with youth—fresh energy. They are bogged. They do not even have enough energy to cry out against the intolerable conditions under which youth is compelled to make both a life and a livelihood for itself. A decade ago we used to refer to the revolt of youth, but that was simply a period of wild experimentation. Then youth just simply threw over the fences and took to the fields little realizing that self-expression—the thing they seemed to want—required first the development of self, and that this called for discipline, self-control and training.

## Wake Up Youth

Fortunately, the period of flaming youth is over. But that and the depression through which they have passed has left them cynical. They are not radical about anything. The lack of rebellions in American youth is more ominous than even active radicalism would be. The time has come for the youth of this country to wake up, to realize that their future depends upon what they will make of the next twenty-five years. The world today challenges youth. It calls for the abolition of poverty, of dictatorship, of war, of racial intolerance and religious bigotry. There is the need for the building of a healthier world. Youth needs to get out of the old ruts and blaze a new trail. This does not necessarily mean rebellion; but if we want to preserve the fine things for which America has always stood, we must now be willing to stand up to youth to experience the storm.

When I was asked by Penn College to define Americanism I answered that to me it stood for freedom of opportunity, respect for freedom of opportunity, respect for personality, tolerance, sympathy for religious and racial group differences, the opportunity to develop initiative and creativeness, that America was for me the spirit of youth by which I meant the ability to change when change is necessary. I said America is a very young nation and in the making. Americanism I continued stood for economic and social justice, I pointed out that political democracy was not enough, that what was needed to make democracy real was industrial democracy, and the abolition of poverty in this country, for which there is no longer any justification. In other words, for me America still stands for the open road and not the dead end.

## A Letter

Some days later, I had a letter from a student, who wrote me as follows: "Dear Rabbi Brickner: 'I was among the students who heard your address. The profundity of your faith in the myth of the great American democracy made an impression on me. I am sure that many of the other students present were also impressed by it and confirmed in their beliefs, whereas I was not. Your reiteration for liberal-mindedness undoubtedly influenced them. You are responsible for maintaining an illusion in their minds. What illusion? Today, I noticed in the Plain Dealer an article which very well expresses my criticism of your illusion. The letter has a clipping appended to it headed 'Threatens Negro Revolt On Heroes.' It quoted the secretary of Phillis Wheatley Association as threatening to organize her neighborhood to vote against future school and city levies, because she claims that her race did not benefit from taxes. The news item goes on to tell how miserably Negro neighborhoods in this city have been treated. This young man could have had he thought of it, sent me another article, which also appeared recently, and which tells how one of our high state courts held in the Sissle Harvey case that retail stores may deny service to Negroes, for that matter anybody else that they chose on the ground that a store is not like a hotel or a railroad, a semi public utility. If the young man had sent me this article and claimed that it represents a denial of civil rights, he would have been right."

I am surprised to find how little

ished fact that retail stores may deny their services to customers on racial and religious grounds, we have opened the door for a repetition of that which is destroying civilization in Europe today.

To this young man and to others like him, I say that as long as we permit the things that he has referred to, as long as we tolerate in this country conditions of unemployment that make it next to impossible for millions of young people to find jobs, so long as we permit such conditions which exist among the sharecroppers in the South, then democracy is denied; and they are partially justified if they call this democracy a myth and an illusion.

But it is up to youth to change all this. They cannot depend upon their elders, who permitted America to get into the last war, and let the depression come to inaugurate the changes that will keep America American. Youth will have to rely on itself. It must know where it is headed. Change in the structure of American political and economic life can be made through the ballot box. It does not require revolution. We have every possibility in the framework of our government to make democracy mean what it should mean, provided youth will not go into a dead end, but will discover the open road.

## Faith in America

I have faith in America. I believe that it is still a great country and that it can again become the country of opportunity. Unlike Europe, ours is not an exhausted land, nor a closed economy. Though there are no longer any physical frontiers, there are still many economic frontiers to capture and the young people, who are willing to set high standards in their own lives and give leadership to others will be the first to find themselves.

Teachers, club workers, parents, ministers and all of those who work with young people can perform no greater service than to help change the mood of our young people with reference to America from one of disillusionment and cynicism to one of hope and faith; to convince them that there are still open doors in America for youth, provided they will give up sitting around and waiting for the government to give them a lift and stop thumbing a ride, and get up and shape opportunities.

What young people need to realize is that though it is true that "pull" will help a man get a job, that all the pull in the world can't keep him there unless he's got "the stuff" and that the young man who has "the stuff," the training, the personality and the education cannot in the long run be denied the place that is his to fill. It is true that in our present economic conditions there is considerable overcrowding in certain vocations and professions, but it is equally true that in the higher levels there is still room, as there always will be, for good men, who are willing to have patience, the patience which long apprenticeship demands. There is still a chance for those willing to start at the bottom, and if need be go away from home and the larger cities to the smaller places.

I call upon youth to have the courage of its convictions not only to dream about a better social order, but to plan and to organize to bring it about. Youth should seek counsel from their elders, but they must yield to the counsel of the natives that "this cannot be done." If democracy is to be saved, if Capitalism is to be corrected, if I have called America again to have a chance.

But above all my appeal to youth is not to lose faith in America or in democracy. Seek within its framework to build that form of life which will give us security without depriving us of our liberty. Let it be the glory of youth that it build an American society in which their children will be able to live happily.

DOCUMENT DAMAGED



# THE ABDICATION OF THE KING

Address delivered over Station WGAR December 20, 1936  
by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

A discussion of the political, social, religious, and moral issues that motivated England's momentous decision.

During the past few weeks, the world has been witnessing events in England so unprecedented, so tragic, so far reaching in their significance that they seem almost beyond belief. It will stand to the eternal glory of this nation's character that they were able to make the momentous decision, which carried with it the unprecedented abdication of their King, without harshness on the one hand or weak sentimentality on the other. Stunned with amazement and grief, they yet manifested clear judgment. By their action, they have rendered a priceless service to Parliamentary government, and have strengthened the principles, which make for loyalty, stability, peace, and progress through out the world.

In this address, I want to come to grips with the central issues, many of which have been lost sight of in the mass of confusion and sensation, which have arisen.

**More Than a Love Story**

The abdication of the King is more than a love story. It is a great political drama involving an unprecedented constitutional issue. The personality of the King and the Prime Minister, the wisdom or the unwisdom of the marriage that the King proposed, the pressure of the Church and the aristocracy are only tangential issues. The real issue, as we shall see, was that of Parliament vs. King in which fortunately Parliament was victorious.

To really understand the issues involved it is necessary to see the

whole thing from the viewpoint of the British mind and tradition. For the average American, who is apt to regard a King and Monarchy as something mediaeval in character, and who sub-consciously may even look upon people who tolerate them as backward and reactionary, it is particularly desirable that he should orientate himself in British conditions and traditions. I, who have lived among British peoples and visited England, can assure you that there is no more democratic form of government anywhere—our own included—than in England.

Let us see what there is in British character and in their relation to the Crown, so that in the most critical hour in their history they could make a decision so momentous without sacrificing either the Crown or democracy, which from the British viewpoint are like Siamese twins.

How has it come about that the Crown represents the great unifying symbol for one-fifth of the peoples of the earth, holding together different races and languages—not by force of arms, but by sentiment. Few people realize how far-flung this Empire, which is now a commonwealth of independent nations, really is. And despite the cynical explanation of one Indian, who said that "the reason the sun never sets on the Union Jack is because the Lord can't trust a Britisher in the dark," there is about this imperial unity a quality of unity, stability and permanence never before experienced in the world's history, and the British Crown is the symbol of it.

When a British subject, no matter where he be, and whether he be white, black, yellow or brown, sings "God

ave Our Noble King," or rises to hail him with the toast "To the King," there is a quality of patriotism expressed that is international in character and therefore unique. Most patriotisms are parochial, narrow and exclusive. They are confined within the borders of one country. British patriotism transcends frontiers. It is a loyalty to what is veritably a 'League of Nations;' and it is in a sense a symbol of that greater unity, which may some day come to all mankind.

**The Crown**

Like most great human institutions, constitutional monarchy did not come into being as a result of the conscious reasoning to men. Significant incidents and events have shaped its development. Thus because George I, the King who came from Hanover in the early part of the eighteenth century, could not speak English and was thereby forced to abandon his right to preside over the Cabinet of his Ministers, there came into being without a conflict the first great division of executive power. By this separation, the King gave up his real power as a King and became, as it were, only a figurehead, which the British King has remained to this day. Whenever he resumes this lost power, then democracy under the monarchy will have passed.

In England, devotion to the Crown is a chivalrous sentiment. The royal family is an object of affection and even of tenderness. How did this come about, whilst in other countries, Kings have been hated and often de-throned and beheaded? The unique esteem in which the British crown is held is due to the fact that Queen Victoria was a woman, and devotion to her became a matter of chivalry. This sentiment has been carried over to her successors. Her Prince consort, Albert of Saxe-Coburg possessed all the family virtues. Since then, British sovereigns have led a sort of puritanical and conventional family life. The predecessors of Edward VIII chose their friends carefully, went to church regularly, and truly gave the impression of being good and God-fearing people. As a result, there has developed a tradition that the name of the sovereign must never come into public reproach and ridicule. The English Crown has become a guarantee for the preservation of English custom. It has acted as a check upon a too rapid change in manners and morals.

Those who have worn the British Crown have known how to be reasonable and moderate. They have understood to perfection the delicate mechanism of constitutional monarchy. That is why there has been no revolution in England. The mainspring of this mechanism has been that the King must never assume responsibility for an act of government. This power belongs to the majority in the House of Commons and is exercised by the Cabinet. The King must always accept the recommendations of the Prime Minister, who is usually the head of the largest political group in Parliament; and as Bagehot, the great political scientist of England once said, "The King must sign his own death warrant, if it be presented to him after a vote of the two Houses."

**King and Prime Minister**

The King must act according to the advice of his Ministers, whether or not it accords with his personal judgment, because it is the Cabinet and not the Crown, which is responsible to Parliament. Only by adhering strictly to this policy can the Crown keep above the storm and stress of political entanglement. In return, it is an unpardonable sin for a Minister to compromise the King. The King must never be quoted publicly. It is the duty of the Prime Minister to assume full responsibility for his acts and never take shelter behind the throne.

The King retains three rights: to be consulted, to encourage, to warn; and a sensible King will not wish for more. A King must always be kept informed. Privately, he may urge on the Prime Minister that he is making a mistake, but he cannot alter the course of government, although he may intervene in foreign affairs. In principle, the King chooses the Prime Minister; but as a matter of fact, the leader of the dominant party automatically becomes Prime Minister and the King cannot put him aside for another. Queen Victoria disliked Gladstone as much as Edward dislikes Baldwin, but neither she nor he could do anything about it. In theory, the King has the sole right to dissolve Parliament; but in fact, he cannot do so except on the advice of the Prime Minister. The King has the sole right to create Peers, who sit in the House of Lords. The Honor List is prepared by the Prime Minister, but the King may refuse certain names. On occasion in order to force the House of Lords to approve the budget, the government has to threaten them with the creation of new Peers—enough to change the majority in the Upper House. To make good this threat, the Prime Minister must have the backing of the King. This creates a dilemma for the King, who is the natural head of his Nobles and who on the other hand wishes to act constitutionally.

When compared with the President of the United States, the King of England does not have the authority of the former, who is not only head of the State, but also its chief executive. On the other hand, the King in England has more power than the President of the French Republic, who can dissolve Parliament only with the consent of the Senate, but who cannot name new Senators.

**The Church View**

In the light of this background, it becomes apparent why the idea of a morganatic marriage, which the King proposed to his Prime Minister, was everywhere unpopular and did grave harm to the King's prestige. It is fairly certain that when Mr. Baldwin rejected this proposal, he had behind him the sentiment of the country, as well as of the Church and the Dominions.

Some people say, "look at the inconsistency, consider the paradox. Was not the Church of England, which forbade the marriage on the issue of divorce, itself founded by Henry VIII to make divorce possible?" Are not the Archbishop and clergy hypocritical when they raise the issue of morality, for would they not have had their eyes at the King's living with as many mistresses as his heart desired, as they have often done in the past? But now that he want-

ed a marriage and a family, as he did in his parting radio message to the moralists, Mr. Baldwin and the Archbishop saw fit to prevent it, thus misusing their moral position by denying to the King a moral solution to his problem. What provoked the wrath of the Church of England was not immorality, but just the opposite."

Furthermore, some very liberal folks in England and in America are arguing that the Church's position, throws a stigma on all divorced people in England. They say, "supposing Mrs. Simpson's ex-husbands, who are now living and who admire her greatly, were suddenly to die and she became a twice widowed instead of twice divorced woman, would it make the situation satisfactory and moral?"

Is there an answer to these arguments?

**Church and Divorce**

I yield that it was pretty poor sportsmanship for the Archbishop to have waited until the King had abdicated to reprimand him for the company he kept and for his night life habits. It is true that the Church of England was founded on a divorce, and that all too frequently the Church has sanctioned and given its blessing to loveless marriages made by Royalty to breed future candidates for the throne and condoned infidelities and indiscretions on the part of Kings and Princes. I hold no brief for the English Church and its unholy alliances with Tory rule and rulers. The continuous strikes in recent years by the English impoverished tenant farmers, who refuse to pay tithes to their landlords, the Church, would be sufficient ordinarily to dissuade me from defending the Church's position. But in this instance, the Church is backed by the people. We must not forget that since the time of Henry VIII, there has been a very real shift in the mores of England, and that it has long been the place where Puritanism has been most strongly entrenched.

Compare the attitude on divorce during the last two centuries in England with that across the Channel in France, and one immediately realizes what a profound difference there is and always has been on this issue. For centuries the British puritanical mind has looked askance upon divorce and upon the open flaunting of the moral conventions.

**New Winds Blowing Yet . . .**

This does not mean that present day England is a mid-Victorian reactionary in a modern world. Like other Anglo-Saxon countries, she has her Mrs. Grundies, but new forces have been making themselves felt. In recent years, old class distinctions are becoming blurred due to the spread of modern housing, the motion picture and automobiles, which place aristocrats and commoners on the same level, and certain old time pruderies and frumpishness are disappearing. I found last summer that birth control is open and unashamed in England, with no police regulations to prevent it from spreading. Parliament had just given a second reading to a bill widening the grounds for divorce; and even the Archbishop of Canterbury has admitted that "the time may be coming when the established Church will have to reconsider its attitude toward divorce." Some Churchmen with whom I spoke even believed that the dis-establishment of the Church may become a political necessity."

But this does not mean that the British people have "chucked" their older notions of the rightness and wrongness of things, or that their morals have gone streamline and they have given up their puritanism and all together are now ready to stand for the flaunting of their conventional morality. These newer and liberal forces to which I have just alluded have made considerable headway in London, but just as Times Square, Hollywood and New York are not America; so Piccadilly Circus in London is not Great Britain nor the British Empire.

Nothing was more revealing during the recent crisis than the contrast between the attitude of London and that of the provinces toward Edward. I feel, as does an English correspondent of the New York Times, that if there had been a plebeian and the people would have been asked to express themselves, London might have voted to let Edward stay on the throne with Mrs. Simpson as his morganatic wife, if not as his queen; but members of Parliament from its outside constituencies reported that their people in Lancashire and Yorkshire, which is England in the same sense that Kansas and Ohio are American, were solidly against his marriage with a divorced woman. Even South Wales which has an enormous admiration for Edward, because of the sympathy he had expressed for their blighted conditions, felt as did the masses of the people in Scotland, a sting of aversion to a divorced woman near the throne. You see, the British people still insist on keeping the throne clean and free from scandal. It is a healthy legacy from Victorian times and it played a great part in Edward's downfall. They wanted him to be human. They loved him because he was not stodgy, but they did not want him to become common. Liberal writers, such as H. G. Wells and others, are opposed to this puritanism, but they are not the people of England, nor do they speak for the people of the British Empire.

**Was It Hypocrisy?**

Let us now deal with the contention that the Church's attitude was a case of hypocrisy. Was it? Is it hypocrisy to be opposed when a man, be he king or commoner, seeks his happiness by running after another man's wife and asserts while associating with her that he intends to marry her? You may say it is done every day. Perhaps it is. But is it therefore something to be applauded and initiated? Is it in accordance with the highest ideals of human relation? It is the habit of some people to be "liberal" when the husbands or wives, sisters or brothers of others go on the loose, but these very people would be the first to denounce it if their own were involved.

Many people admire Edward's sincerity and lack of pretense but as King and the head of the Church, it was unbecoming for him to play around with another man's wife and openly flaunt the decent conventions.

In former times, a King could do as many did, and was away with it, even though his indiscretions and infidelities would be known to the in-

ner court circles. But as Walter Lippman has suggested, this has become impossible in a democracy, and in a day when the radio, the camera, and the newspaper pry into the personal affairs of their public figures, and denying them the privilege of privacy in their personal lives by exposing their behaviour to all the world.

The masses are now "in the know," and as a rule they are extremely conservative, especially with reference to such basic things as the home, family, the Church, etc. In a sense, they even resent that the King preferred his private affection to his public duty, because that very affection of which he is so enamoured was "unlawful" and his duty demanded that he refuse to yield to it. I do not believe that it would have been any different if Edward's romance with Mrs. Simpson had commenced after her divorce. I believe that the British Parliament and the British people stood with the historic Church of England in opposition to the King's marriage, not because he wished to marry a commoner, nor because he wished to marry an American, but because he sought to marry a woman who is divorced and who still has two husbands living.

Nor do I believe that this act puts a stigma on divorced persons in England. But I believe that it does put a stigma on looseness in the marriage bond. And this stigma is in some senses being leveled against divorce even in Bolshevik Russia where there has been considerable experimentation with family life consequent to the loosening of the marriage bonds. Now instead of seeking to destroy the "bourgeoisie" monogamic family, they are seeking to reinstate it, and they are discouraging divorce by making it costly so that the second and third divorce becomes almost prohibitive for the average worker to obtain. If I read the temper of the American public correctly, they too are beginning to get worried over the damage that is being wrought to the American family and the American home by one out of every five marriages ending in divorce—and usually before the first five years are up. The hypocrisy is on the other foot, for it is hypocritical when people who wouldn't tolerate things in their own family life, become very "liberal" and tolerant when it concerns somebody else's wife, or someone else's husband.

In these days of confused moral judgment, the British people, by taking their stand on the side of the conventions in marriage and against the ethics of the barnyard, have made a great contribution in stabilizing morality.

**The Constitutional Issue**

But as I have indicated, the greatest issue and the one that swung all elements in Parliament behind the Tory Prime Minister, so that the King's abdication was accepted with only five negative votes, was the political and constitutional issue.

Strictly speaking, the Prime Minister cannot force a King to abdicate no matter what he does. Under the unwritten Constitution of England, "the King can do no wrong." This must not be interpreted ethically, for it is strictly a political formula. It really means two things. One, that the Cabinet accepts responsibility for the Sovereign's words or actions; and secondly, the Sovereign speaks or acts by the advice or with the acquiescence of his ministers.

It is rumored that when Baldwin offered the King advice on the company he was keeping, the King resented it as an unwarranted incursion of his private life. Finally, when the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury told the King what they thought with reference to Mrs. Simpson, Edward again told them "to mind their own business."

In a sense, there is support for his opposition, for never before has the Sovereign been disciplined by the Prime Minister because of such "friendship." In the cases of George I, George II, George IV, William IV and Edward VII, there was every ground for such intervention—had there been a Prime Minister so disposed. Never before has a Sovereign been informed that his marriage must be determined by permission of the Cabinet or Privy Council.

Queen Victoria made is perfectly clear that her choice of Prince Albert as consort was her own; and she faced the privy council with a fait accompli. In Edward's case, Baldwin refused the compromise, which the King proposed, namely that as the Duke of Cornwall, he would marry Mrs. Simpson, who would then become his Duchess. This meant that the ministerial veto was imposed not merely upon Mrs. Simpson as queen, but upon Mrs. Simpson as wife. And this was a precedent, for up to this time, the only restriction on the marriage of the Sovereign was that he must not marry a Roman Catholic.

The reason for this precedent is to be found in the Statutes of Westminster which were adopted in 1331, and which changed the character of the British Empire from one of Empire to a Federation of independent commonwealths. These Statutes of 1331 hold the King responsible for considering the advice from the governments of the Dominions. This is the first constitutional crisis to arise since the Statutes were passed. After Baldwin canvassed the Dominions and brought back a negative reply to the King's proposal; then the King could either abdicate or renounce his love. To do anything else meant making himself independent of Parliament and the Cabinet and thus breaking the Statutes of Westminster. It was a constitutional issue of the King versus Parliament, for which there has been no precedent in England excepting when King James II fled from London in 1688.

**The Labor Party**

Many people have wondered why the British Labor Party, which has absolutely nothing in common with Baldwin and the economic Bourbons of his Tory Party, should have stood shoulder to shoulder with them in this issue. Many even urged that here was a chance for the British Labor Party to come back to power by siding with the King. This would have split Parliament so that it would have to be dissolved, and then they could go to the country on a popular issue and win the election. But they rejected, and as Harold J. Laski, intellectual leader of the British Labor Party, explains, "Though they had profound personal sympathy for the difficult and tragic choice the King

had to make his position as a man could not be separated from his position as King, for such is the nature of the British Constitution."

The Labor Party recognized that an election fought upon the issue of the King's right to act independently of his Ministers would end the British Constitution. It would serve to revive powers, which time has rendered obsolete, and necessarily so, if the constitutional monarchy is to continue.

The King must act upon the advice of his Ministers, and the place where the issues of policy are decided is and must be the House of Commons, come what may. A King's victory would mean sooner or later a reassertion of his independent power in politics that might make him a tool in the worst kind of Tory hands. And the fact that Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the Black Shirts and Fascists in England, supported the King was an indication of the direction in which the wind was blowing. With the danger of Fascism threatening England, and the possibility of a dictator coming to power, perhaps if needs be in the person of the King, in an age of dictators, they demurred. They refused to let the King act independently of his Ministers. They did not want to see him become master of the Constitution.

So long as there is a constitutional monarchy in England, the King in his personal capacity might dislike the measures of Parliament, but so long as Commons has accepted them, he would be bound by the advice of his Ministers. Therefore, should the day the Labor Party looks forward to its capitalistic society into a more socialized and cooperative order—a day the Labor Party looks forward, then their only chance is under a constitutional monarchy.

This was the crux of the whole problem. And though the romantic element overshadowed all else, the dominant issue in the newspapers and underneath it was this question of whether England should remain democratic or take a step which might lead it closer to Fascism.

With reference to the Archbishop's threat to refuse coronation to the King, whatever be its spiritual significance, it is unconstitutional, because it amounts to a Privy Counselor, and the Archbishop is such—declaring his right to exercise a personal veto on the succession without reference to Parliament, and irrespective of the acts of succession. If the Archbishop preferred to abstain from the ceremony of coronation, he was privileged to resign his office.

**Political Consequences**

In the battle, the King lost and Parliament won. But the victory is not without severe political consequences to the Crown. The abdication has removed a great deal of prestige from the throne as a symbol of British unity, because the average British subject, whether in England or across the seas, must begin to doubt the value of the Crown as the symbol of imperial unity, when the King in the full spring of his reign, sees fit to toss it into the junk pile.

The presence also of an exiled King raises the question whether he might become the source of trouble during his exile, even as Carol of Madame Lupesque fame was to Roumania. I agree with those who express doubt whether Edward will permit himself to be influenced by the troublemakers, who are anxious, undoubtedly Mosley and others may be, to capitalize his position. If it is true that he was fed up keeping the job, it may be that he will be too fed up to try to get it back, when all has been said and done.

There is no doubt that the heart of the people everywhere, especially young people, go out for Edward and Mrs. Simpson. This is sentiment even in a hard-boiled world that it is glad that it was not love that abdicted.

Those who feel for and with the ex-King can only hope that he may carve out a new career for himself elsewhere. Otherwise, though it is said he is a very rich man, Edward is almost bound to join that pitiful group of former European kings, who are wasting their days and years somewhere on the Riviera. The ex-King is of a restless mind and temperament, and it is very likely that an idle life—even with the woman he loves—will well on him. And then there is this too to consider, no woman, no matter how attractive, can continue interminably to weave her spell over her man.

Now, Edward is hypnotized by Mrs. Simpson. How long will it last? It will be tragic indeed if and when this spell breaks, and Edward has to compare what he gave up with what he gave it up for.

**Honi Soit Oui Mal s' Pense**

There is something of unconscious irony and portent in the Christmas cards chosen this year by the English royal family and prepared months ago. Edward VII's card has the title, "The White Walls of Old England" and shows some sailing vessels in the foreground and the white cliffs in the background. Abdication has made him exile finds refuge in the castle of a strangely enough, this distinguished exile finds refuge in the castle of a family who belongs to a race that knows too well the bitter taste of exile.

The cards, which the Duke and Duchess of York, now King and Queen, chose, depicts the origin of the Order of the Garter. In the background are smiling courtiers and tittering ladies, the Queen on her throne; and in the foreground, Lady Salisbury, who has dropped her garter, standing with embarrassment while her chivalrous King is about to master the situation by picking up her garter and restoring it himself, thus making the order of the Garter the most exalted form of British Knighthood. The card has for its caption "The Order's Motto" with which I close this talk. Honi soit qui mal y pense. Evil be to who who evil thinks."



## THE OUTLOOK UNDER ROOSEVELT

Address delivered over Station WGAR December 27, 1936  
by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Most of you, I am sure, will agree with me that the outlook in America in the next four years is intimately bound up with what Roosevelt is going to do.

There was a time when government and business were relatively independent of each other, but that is certainly not the case today. The government is in business. Through many agencies, such as the T. V. A., it either actually competes with privately owned electrical utilities, or via agencies, which run the gamut of the whole alphabet, it has subsidized and now regulates business and industrial undertakings of all kinds. Stuart Chase, in a recent book, "Government and Business," estimated that there were over forty million people in this country, whose livelihood last year was directly or indirectly dependent upon Washington.

There are many countries in the world today where government and business are synonymous. Russia is the perfect example of it. In Fascist Italy and Germany, government regulation of business has become so intricate that the average business man feels himself only an employee in his own concern. This is fortunately not the case in our country. I am confident that Americans have no sympathy with this sort of thing. Yet even here, the relation of government to business has become such that it is no longer possible to reckon on prosperity without taking account of government policy. This tie up between business and government, though a new phenomenon for America, is a meritable one, because we too are passing from laissez faire to a socialized economic order.

Another thing I wish to point out is the growing tendency of people to associate government with personality. In Italy, Fascism is Mussolini. In Germany, National Socialism is Hitler. The New Deal is Roosevelt. It seems inevitable that people will associate principle with personality, for personality is a much more dynamic and tangible thing. We have grown accustomed to speak of Roosevelt instead of the Democratic administration. This is particularly true in a campaign. Last November, the people voted not for the Democratic platform as against the Republican platform. This they did even though in a vague sort of a way, they knew that Landon stood for the maintenance of a free competitive capitalism under a decentralized government of limited powers; whereas Roosevelt stood for a limited and controlled competitive capitalism under a more centralized government of extended powers. Yet it was not for this difference in the philosophy of capitalism and government that they voted, but for one man as over against the other. It was the personal element that swayed the public.

Of course, there is always a danger in this. That is why the Founding Fathers of our republic set up a system of checks and balances; divided the responsibilities of government into three branches—the legislative, the judicial, and the executive; and entrusted to the President only the executive function. They frankly feared entrusting too much power in the hands of any President, and sought to make ours a government by law, rather than a government by person. Time and experience has proved the wisdom of their course.

All of us recall the days of 1933 when Congress "went to pieces" and when the President's "must" legislation was the order of the day. It is fortunate for us that we averted dictatorship in those trying times.

The intimate relationship between government and business in America today leads me therefore to address myself to the question, what may we look forward to under Roosevelt in the next four years?

There are some people, who believe that the President is likely to become more conservative now that he no longer needs to measure his policies in terms of vote catching. On the other hand, there are those who say that he is due to become more radical now that he is free and able to be himself. Which will he be?

There is an old maxim in American politics that in the first term, a President works for re-election; whereas during the second term, he works to establish his place in history. In one sense, Roosevelt has already established his place in American history, because in the last three and one-half years, he has done the Herculean task of pulling America out of the worst depression it has ever been in and restoring prosperity. It is naive to believe that it would have come of its own accord. In 1933, our economic

order was like an automobile that had skidded on a wet and dangerous pavement, left the road, turned over and lay badly ditched. Then Roosevelt came along with his crew, lifted the car out of the ditch, put it back on its wheels, fixed it up, restored it to the road. Now they are watching the machine start away on its own power with green signals ahead and picking speed as it goes.

Business is good—very good. In many lines, it is as good as it was in 1929. Wages are up. Less people are unemployed. In 1933, there were sixteen million unemployed; now there are only eight and one-half million. Capital is liquid—ready for investment. The spirit of the country is cheerful and optimistic. The Security Act has forced all corporations to distribute their surpluses. Stockholders, who for years had not received a penny in dividends, are now getting dividend checks. Employees are receiving bonuses. In a word, the people have money. Instead of putting it in the bank and laying it away for a rainy day, they are spending it, because they figure "we have it this year and who knows if we will have it next year." One can hardly blame them for this spending spree. During the last six years, they have had to deprive themselves of many things, so that now they are making up for it. If ever there has been a merry Christmas, it has been this one; and people feel confident that it will be a happy New Year, especially if one judges by the financial page of the newspapers. Since the end of October, dividends have amounted to \$1,200,000,000. This amounts to about three percent of the national income in 1932 and 1933, and to at least two percent of the present income. In addition to receiving a billion and a quarter in cold cash, stockholders have the satisfaction of knowing that the value of their holdings has increased by more than a billion and a half during November.

Three years ago, Roosevelt was worried over how to raise prices. Today, paradoxically enough, he is concerned with how to check the rise in prices and not to prevent the present boom from becoming a run away boom. There is a real danger of a run away inflation. The government is also worried about "hot money." The billions of foreign gold that has taken flight from its own country and is invested here is not a wholesome thing for us, because its too sudden withdrawal would sink our market and throw us into a panic.

I referred to the fact that Roosevelt and the government are getting to be synonymous terms to the people. But if Mr. Roosevelt wishes to maintain his popularity and prestige, he must do two things. He must be as liberal and progressive as he talks, and he must convince the people that the old time policies—Farleyism and the decrease in the merit system and party favoritism in the P. W. A., etc. are on their way out and a new time economics is on its way in.

Roosevelt received a mandate from the people in November to go ahead and to put into practice his "we have just begun to fight" policies. Now he must actually do so. He can't afford to let them down. I believe that Roosevelt will not modify his liberal policies, even though he will try not to be radical. But whether he remains liberal or goes radical will depend largely on two things: (1) Whether big business will play ball with him; and (2) the continuance of recovery. If something should happen to either one or both of these factors, then Roosevelt may be forced to adopt radical measures. Roosevelt is what he once called himself—a quarterback, who must call the signals. His game is government and politics. His chief concern is the welfare of the people. Though by temperament and training a Liberal and middle of the roader, who wants to see the capitalistic system preserved, he believes that it can only be preserved if the evils, which have been generated under capitalism, are corrected.

Like all true leaders, Roosevelt is clairvoyant. He senses what the people want. I believe he is determined to give them what they want. Above everything else, they want recovery. The workers want steady work, far better wages, a shorter working day and week, security against unemployment, old age, illness, etc.; and the business men want business with profits.

The American people are not Polish. They are not even moderately socialist. The small vote that the Socialist, Norman Thomas, and Communist, Earl Browder, noded in the last election on the heels of the

worst depression that the country ever experienced is an indication that our people do not turn naturally toward the forms of economic and political systems that people under similar conditions turn to in Europe. You would imagine that the millions of people that were on relief would be sufficiently bitter to want to bite the hand that so inadequately and parsimoniously had been feeding them. But this was not the case. When the depression struck us, the people were angry at the business leaders, the bankers, the brokers, and the politicians and turned to the government for help. They did so in the conviction that the business leaders had not known how to maintain the prosperity that they had bungled in the worst way. And they became convinced that somehow Roosevelt, the political leader, was managing by radical legislation to bring about recovery, which is likely to last until the business cycle repeats itself or until war comes.

**Business Peace**  
"The last election has demonstrated," says John T. Flynn, economist, "that since 1933 the mood of the country has changed. Whereas then they were ready to have Roosevelt and Congress go to any lengths to change our economic order, today they are no longer bitter or resentful." Today, they don't want to get even with anybody. Now they believe that most of the necessary adjustments for recovery have already been made. They want happy days again. Therefore, I believe that during the next four years, Roosevelt will concentrate on recovery. To accomplish this, the President must have business peace. This involves securing the cooperation not alone of the leaders of business, who with the press almost unanimously opposed the re-election of Roosevelt, but it means obtaining the support of labor, which almost to a man voted for the President and are now in a mood "to collect." What labor wants, business is not prepared to yield, and here is where the rub comes.

Unless the President can persuade the captains of industry to meet labor's demands, there is going to be trouble. Already, we are seeing what may be only the beginning—strikes and threats of strikes. I point to what is happening in the shipping industry, to the sit down strikes in the rubber industry, the strikes in the automobile and allied industries.

In the next session of Congress, I look for legislation that will call for the thirty hour week and that will endeavor to bring back some of the features that labor wants and that were in the old N. R. A. The O'Mahoney Bill, which calls for the licensing of corporations engaged in interstate commerce on condition that they will meet certain conditions of labor, will accomplish this end.

Now the question is: will this sort of legislation mix with Roosevelt's desire to go easy on business? The answer is that it will not. Big business in this country will undoubtedly oppose it. It may result in a very ugly situation. In it, many competent observers see a break between labor and the administration, out of which there may emerge an American Labor Party, and there is a great possibility that it may be led by John Lewis.

**Unemployment and Relief**  
There is another aspect to this situation—the problem of unemployment and relief. According to Louis Stark, competent labor reporter of the New York Times, "while productivity and national income are steadily climbing and business indices in almost every line are on the increase, the relief roles have not decreased in proportion as business has expanded. And there are still millions of unemployed."

There is a keen difference of opinion on the question of unemployment and relief. The business group appears very optimistic about the situation and heralds the "new day" by asserting that in some lines, production has already caught up with the 1929 record, and has even acceded in some respects. They hold that if there are still large numbers of idle people, it is still an emergency problem and should be treated accordingly. They deny the possibility of a permanent caste of federal pensioners, and assert confidentially that in the coming months, industry and the various services will take care of the remaining idle; but working hours must not be reduced or else the national production and income cannot expand to the point where it was in pre-depression days.

"Turn the problem back to the States and the local communities," they say, "and take the federal government out of relief." Yet when the W. P. A. calls the Mayors of the American cities to Washington and tells them that this is exactly what the Government intends to do, because there is a shortage of funds, there is a howl and cry, "you mustn't do that. The States and the cities are not able to assume the burden." And the paradox is that many a Republican mayor, who during the campaign attacked the President on the ground of relief extravagance, now pleads on his knees for the government not to curtail these very expenditures. The same is true of the business men, who yell about balancing the budget, not realizing that the budget can only be balanced at the end of a business cycle and not in a year; and that it also depends upon what expenditures will be necessary for relief and national defense, despite the phenomenal increase in government revenue.

The other side of the picture seems to me to be the more realistic. It is presented by Harry L. Hopkins, W. P. A. Administrator and many social workers. They contend that even if 1929 estimates of business improvement are equalled in all lines, there still would be millions of idle, because of the increase in the working population since then. Furthermore, they state that unemployment is a phenomenon of the industrial and machine age civilization, whose manifold benefits are unfortunately accompanied by a wide swing of the business cycle, and that no solution has as yet appeared for the problem of mass misery which they believe to be latent in these cyclical fluctuations. There is also the danger that our economic system may organize upon a flourishing basis, while excluding the millions of unemployed, who have been affected as unusable by our machine age. We are living in an age, where motor cars take the place of mules. As labor saving devices are introduced into industry, we will either have to cut down the hours of work, or face the fact of a constantly increasing

problem of the unemployed. To meet this problem, it is suggested that the government organize a permanent program of government work for the unemployed and not wait until the next depression for crackpots like Huey Long, Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend to spring up. Returning prosperity after six years frustrated their attempts to seize government. But they may be more fortunate next time.

The situation is perfectly clear. Either industry, especially the great capital goods industries, must get going on an unprecedented scale and assume the burden of employment now carried by the Government; or Roosevelt must go on spending for another four years. And the spending of borrowed funds, the continuance of the deficit, and the expansion of the national debt for another four years would mean failure to him. The outlook for this country depends in great measure upon a reconciliation between capital and labor affected under Roosevelt's guidance. Unless this is possible, we may as well admit, considering all that has been done by the government, that Democratic capitalism is in a bad way and prepare for some really drastic change.

**Thumbing a Ride**  
With reference to the outlook for agriculture, I don't believe that the President can pull back. The farmers have tasted red meat in the form of government checks, and they won't be satisfied with lettuce.

In fact, the whole country is now suffering from the attitude of depending for a lift from the government. Like the fellow standing by the roadside and thumbing a ride, everybody looks to the government to help them out when they get into a jam. It is not a healthy thing for a whole people to get into this frame of mind; and it would be a God-send if the President could during the next four years change the temper of the people in this regard.

**The Constitution**  
Many people are under the impression that the President may seek a review and reversal of the hampering Supreme Court decisions and if necessary push for constitutional amendments to give Congress the power to regulate industry and agriculture. I think this is doubtful. Firstly, during a recovery period, there is, as I have indicated, likely to be a recession in social legislation. Secondly, it may be safely assumed that the nine old men on the Supreme Court bench, who are the arbiters of the nation's legislation, have taken notice of the mandate that President Roosevelt received. I think the country wants Congress to have the power to regulate and prohibit child labor, and also to regulate minimum wages in industry. But on the other hand, the country does not want to have the Supreme Court power and effectiveness weakened or intimidated, so that it becomes simply a rubber stamp o. k.'ing every fleeting current in American economic and political life.

It is unfortunate that the Supreme Court has in every era of our history been the bulwark of the property classes; and the place to which they have always run for relief. Nevertheless, it has on the whole been one of the safeguards of our democratic form of government.

**Housing**  
I have spoken of relief and unemployment and of labor problems, but there is another great need, and that is for government subsidized housing. From eight to ten million families in this country live in houses shockingly inadequate, which should be destroyed in the interest of public health and safety.

The American slum is a blight. In these areas, diseases are from two to five times as great as under conditions of decent housing. And the same holds for juvenile delinquents. In Cleveland, the slum area paid in \$225,000, and it cost the city two million dollars to take care of the problems it creates. The net loss is a million and three quarters a year. This is true in varying proportions in other cities. Private speculative building cannot afford to go into housing projects with cheap rentals. Therefore, the government must subsidize it. There is no other way out. One can only hope that the President will put himself behind this project, even though it will require large financial outlays, which add to the difficulties of balancing a budget. But human needs are to be regarded before balanced budgets, for what good is any economic order if it makes money, but unmakes human lives? And the first business of the government is the welfare of the people.

**Money**  
With reference to money, a subject on which Father Coughlin filled our ears aplenty, while he was on the air, it seems to me that the devaluation power, now held by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury is likely to be retained as a safeguard against the juggling of foreign currencies and the danger of "hot money." On the other hand, the rise in the general price level has sidetracked gold, silver and the commodity dollar as monetary issues.

There is one subject on which the President may be said to be "hipped". It is providing cheap electricity for the people of this country. He first got started on it in the State of New York, where he crossed swords with the utility corporations of that state. He is determined that either the private utilities should provide cheap electricity, or he will proceed to drive for lower rates by such means as the T. V. A., which is in a sense the really first out and out socialistic endeavor that this administration has undertaken. The next four years will witness a battle royal between the utility corporation and Mr. Roosevelt in which I believe he will be victorious.

**Social Security, etc.**  
On the subject of social security, I think that the country is overwhelmingly behind government old age pensions, though it is my feeling that they would rather have the pension money payable at the age of sixty than at sixty-five, and the sum should be set at a minimum of forty dollars a month. I also believe that the popular sentiment is behind unemployment insurance. The next Congress may do something about correcting the danger of allowing its huge reserve funds to remain uncommitted and at the discretion of Congress.

I do not look for new taxes, either do I look for any reduction of them, for the simple reason that the cost of government today is definitely on a higher plane. It now costs around seven billion dollars a year to run the government, and even though

the country overwhelmingly feels that the ordinary housekeeping expenses of government should be curtailed, I do not see any substantial cut in sight. Few people realize that ninety percent of all the taxes raised by the federal government come from what is generally called hidden taxes, which ninety-nine percent of all the people pay. It would be well if there could be a reduction of these hidden taxes and an increase in the other tax brackets, on the generally accepted tax theory that taxes should be assessed against those, who can best afford to pay them.

**Neutrality**  
One of the passionate wishes of the American people is to be kept out of war. The President realizes perhaps better than do the people that the only way that the country can be kept prosperous and secure is through peace. His recent trip to South America with Secretary Hull, who has been pushing the trade pacts by means of which the clogged channels of commerce have been opened up, is a wonderful demonstration to the rest of the world concerning our peace intentions. But on the other hand, the President is a former Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He believes in naval preparedness and in adequate national defense. That explains the one billion dollar expenditure for armaments in the budget. As the world grows more bellicose, we may look for a substantial increase in this branch of our expenditures.

The peace sentiment in the United States opposes intervention in the affairs of Europe. It places faith in conference methods and in regional agreements. In order to really remain neutral when war comes in Europe, Congress should pass a law that would take the profits out of war by limiting all incomes during war to \$10,000 and corporation returns to six percent, that would nationalize munition plants, conscript all factories during war, provide for national referendum, and prohibit all selling to either side.

I look forward with optimism to the next four years under Mr. Roosevelt, because fundamentally I believe that he is committed to a program of peace and a more abundant life for the people of this country, and he will do everything in his power to bring that into being, and because I think after six years of exhaustion we are on the upgrade. Only a sudden war or upset of the business cycle can set us back.

It is necessary to go forward with optimism and in faith. This the President has emphasized recently in an address in South America in which he stated that "much depends on our faith, particularly our faith in God. In the whole history of mankind, far back into the dim past, before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by the existence—the fact—of religion. Periodic attempts to deny God have always come and will always come to naught. . . . The faith of the Americas therefore lies in the spirit. The sisterhood of the Americas is impregnable so long as her nations maintain that spirit. In that faith and spirit, we will have peace over the Western World. In that faith and spirit, we will all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith and spirit, may we also with God's help offer hope to her brethren overseas."

1937

Best wishes for a  
prosperous New Year

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# I VISIT GERMANY

Address delivered over Station WGAR January 10th, 1937  
by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

I begin this series of lectures with Germany, because of all the European countries, she is the keystone of the European arch. Hitler's policies and tactics dictate in a very large measure the feverish re-arming of the continental nations. In Germany, we see epitomized the malaise of the whole Western World with its precariousness, its autarchy, its exclusive racialism, its abuse of technique, the failure of democracy, the rise and threat of Fascism, and the via delarosa, which points to war.

I was in Germany just before the Olympic games and while the preparations were in progress for them. I went there as a Jew, not for pleasure or to see the Olympics, or because Germany was a relatively cheap country this summer. These motives undoubtedly prompted many of the Americans, who swarmed there this summer. I went because I wanted to see what had happened with my own eyes and at first hand impressions of the things we have all been hearing and reading about. Some of them were too terrible to believe. Should you ask me "are things as bad as we are led to believe they are?" my answer is "yes, and even worse." Many things that are happening there

are so terrible that they are firstly too difficult and secondly, too subtle and personal to describe. All sensitive, liberal and truly cultivated people are being spiritually destroyed by the course of events, and their outlook is one of despair. They feel like living ghosts of a world that once was and that they believe can never be again.

I must say that I did not have any difficulty in getting a German visa and that no difficulties were put in my way, excepting that as a Jew, I was forbidden to visit Jewish organizations or institutions other than the synagogue without the permission of the Gestapo—the secret military police. They don't want outsiders to be examining what they have done to the Jews too closely. I had, however, no trouble in seeing Jews. Many of them spoke quite confidentially with me. They told me that so far as they were concerned, it was all over. When I tried to comfort them by saying that Hitler can't last forever, they would answer, "aber ja—he will last long enough to finish us."

It was not my intention this evening to discuss the Jewish phase of the German situation other than to say what I just have, because you can readily understand that it is altogether too painful for me—a Jew—to describe it and also because the Jewish problem is after all only a small part of the whole problem of Hitlerland. But many friends—Jewish and Gentile—have called me up and urge me to make at least a brief answer to the very uncalculated, stupid and vicious attack on the Jews in Germany made at the annual dinner held under the auspices of the Electrical League of Cleveland by one Dr. Antonia Logoria, who invented a death ray machine and who is an expert in electrical welding. Instead of sticking to the subject he had been invited to speak on, I am told he took it upon himself to discuss the social conditions in Germany, labor movement in America, and its attack both the Jews there and labor here. It is a pity that at a meeting of men, who devote themselves to the spreading of light, so much darkness should have been generated. I must say here and now that for what happened, I hold only the speaker guilty.

## The Jewish Question

Dr. Logoria, who has probably received considerable orders from the Third Reich, was himself "sold a bill of goods" by the suave Nazi, and the unfortunate thing is that now he feels called upon to sell it to America. He charged in this address, according

to the newspaper reports, that the German Jews "brought it on themselves," that "they have not been forced to leave in great numbers," that "they are malcontents," and that Germany "is being misrepresented over here."

Let us look into these charges "that they have not been forced to leave." Here are the facts. Since 1933, the Jewish population has shrunk from close to 600,000 to 425,000 at the present time. Does Dr. Logoria believe that the German Jews, whose ancestors came there with the first Roman legions, one thousand years ago, and who were more German than Jewish, would leave of their own free will where they had prospered, even if all the nations of the world would welcome them with open arms? It is too preposterous to believe. They leave because they must. Many a Jewish parent said to me "so far as we are concerned—well, we must die here. But if only we could get our children out and provide them with some future, for there is none here for them." And in this opinion, alas, they are right. For has not Goebbels said recently, "in two years there will be only Jewish beggars left in Germany; and in five years only Jewish homes for the aged and cemetaries." Let us hope that he exaggerates much. But under conditions, when Jews are forced from every vocation and the whole population made to feel that Jews are pariahs, how can anyone in his senses say that Jews are not being forced out? The fact is that many Jews of wealth have fled penniless, having had to leave or sell their property for next to nothing, and what they did receive for it, they could not take out. The Nazis would like to get rid of all their Jews tomorrow if they could, but it is not so easy.

Dr. Logoria said, "they are malcontents." What does this mean? It can only mean two things: that they are "agin" the government, or, and that they are Reds. It does make sense that the Jews of Germany today do not like the Nazi regime. How can anyone expect them to consider what that regime is doing to them? Yet, I am convinced that if Hitler and the government had not gone anti-Semitic, many a Jew in Germany would have supported them, as they did Mussolini in Italy. But this, I must add, although they do not like Hitler, they have for obvious reasons conducted no campaign against him and in many instances, some of their leaders have even tried to dissuade the leaders of other Jewish groups from protesting or conducting the boycott movement. As for their having been Reds, that is an exploded lie. Firstly, Communism would have shattered their economic position, so why would they deliberately choose to commit suicide? Secondly, even if by some insanity, every one of the 600,000 Jewish men, women and children in Germany had turned Bolshevik, it would still not account for the millions of Communist votes that the party used to poll before Hitler came to power. Think of the nonsense of speaking of those Jews as malcontents, who gave over 12,000 soldiers to the war—many of whom were decorated for bravery under fire, who produced most of Germany's Nobel prize winners and added glory to the name of the Germany that still loves German music, literature, philosophy and culture.

It is true, Mr. Logoria, that you said Jews in almost all occupations were being driven out of Germany. Since the increase of the war, tension this summer, a new way to destroy the position still held by the Jews has set in, and heaven knows, these positions are few and far between. Jewish businesses have been expropriated one by one. Wertheim's, the great department store in Berlin, now only has a handful of Jews left in it. Aryans have taken over Jewish business and property, buying them out, as I have intimated, for next to nothing. Jewish business is dying out entirely. Jews are barred entrance, for example, to the cattle trade. Physicians and other professional men, who still survive, are boycotted. Patients of Jewish doctors are publicly denounced as traitors. Jewish employees are forced out of their factories. The Nazi Party Press reveals anew in Jew baiting. And under the slogan of the "fight for freedom," the wildest kind of press campaign has been launched against those countries in Europe, where anti-Semitism has not reached the height that it has in Germany. The fact of the matter is that Dr. Logoria is simply repeating uncritically all the vicious stuff about the Jews that was given him by the Nazis.

Having been in Germany, I know that there are millions of Germans, who do not share the Nazi hatred of the Jews, that Hitler's anti-Semitism does not represent the mind of the German people, and that some day when Germany frees itself from Hitlerism, it may rid itself of the racial poison, which Hitler has injected into the veins of the German youth.

As for Dr. Logoria, I would advise him to "stick to his last." Just because a man is a good inventor does not mean that he has a right to speak on social, political and economic matters, which he has proved are wholly beyond his ken and his experience. Any man, who talks about American labor being malcontent and who advocates chasing American labor leaders out, condemns himself. I charge Dr. Logoria not only with having said what is not so, but with fomenting racial prejudice, which is to say the least unpatriotic and un-American. We in this country are trying to weld together into harmonious unity many races and religions. Our motto is "e pluribus unum." Our way is to live and let live. To transfer the forces, that are disrupting Europe and principally Germany and making the Continent a cockpit, over here is a disservice to America.

Now let me turn to the larger subject. I found all of Germany very much excited over the Olympics. Berlin was all dressed up and decorated. They are masters at the game of propaganda and the art of decoration. They spent forty million dollars to bring the Olympic games to Berlin and build up all the necessary equipment. In all of the papers, they told visitors in four different languages how very welcome they were, but asked them not to criticize the government. I have before me a copy of "Das Schwarze Korps," which is the paper of Hitler's own soldiers, under date of the 30th of July. In it in English I find the following: "But here we must say something further. One who has crossed the German frontier nobody will question you as to whether you are a Jew or a Christian, or a political party or organization you

may belong. Nobody will be interested to know whether you are a member of some "Popular Front" or some "Fascist" or a member of some Liberal Party or other.

"That question does not affect the degree of kindness, which the German will show to you. On the other hand, as we do not interfere in the problems of your country, we take it for granted that you will accept the political conditions in Germany as they are and show them the same respect as we show yours."

"Here you will never be made to feel that we want to turn you into a National Socialist. National Socialism is the expression of the German spirit and therefore a national matter for ourselves alone. For this reason we do not invite the criticism of people from abroad, just as we do not criticize affairs in their respective countries."

"Just as it would be impossible to drill the Olympic idea of peace into a people overnight, if the people had not that living idea already in their hearts, so it would be impossible to organize demonstrations merely for the purpose of impressing foreign visitors. What you will see here is not a carefully staged show but a natural cross-section from the daily life of the people. That cross-section may strike you as strange and you may not wholly understand it. But just as the hallmark of sound character consists of respect for the ways and ideas and achievements of others, we naturally assume that you will give us that measure of respect which we extend to you."

## Hitler's Accomplishments

Since I was last in Germany, I noticed that the changes are very profound. There are things, which Hitler has to his credit. He has done something for the German people. He has taken a divided and bewildered democracy and molded them into a strong unafraid and acutely chauvinistic despotism. There is marching and parading everywhere, especially on Sundays. The youth in particular is marching, singing and saluting. And most of their songs are about feeling proud to die some day for their country. Naziism seems to be largely a youth movement, said to say.

I also found that the prestige of Germany in Europe has arisen. The most powerful nations are now polite and conciliatory toward her. In this respect, Germany is back where she was in 1914. Feared and hated by her neighbors, she is nevertheless respected. It is true that the factories are humming, making munitions and that the people are working. Those not in factories and fields are in the army or in the labor camps. In construction of roads, buildings, etc. Germany parallels Russia. There is absolutely no denying that Hitler has done something for Germany. This accounts for his leadership and his followers.

But there is a dark side to the picture. You cannot be in Germany very long without feeling a sense of strain. Soon you begin to look around in all directions before speaking. There is a crowd in Germany. You feel the absence of freedom. Everything is Spartan and somber. There is a shortage of food—of eggs, meat, butter. The German housewife has to be a miracle worker. She uses substitutes for the real thing. The dress of the people is drab, although in Berlin on Sundays, the air seems in a holiday mood, because of the thousands, who come in excursions from the provinces for a day through the Kraft and Freude movement (strength through joy), which allows the people to travel for next to nothing on the railway trains on Hitler's theory that they are running anyhow. The German women don't use cosmetics. And only last October, the League of German Girls, which is part of the Hitler youth, descended to allow the wearing of the evening gown. The round eyed admiration with which German men regarded the well dressed, well manicured foreign women visiting Berlin during the Olympics, must have contributed to this pronouncement.

In Berlin, I hardly recognized "unter der Linden." The big trees had been cut down to make way for the subway and little saplings had been planted in their stead. The Berliners kid about it and call that lovely boulevard—"unter der lanterns." The Olympic stadium and the Olympic village located outside of Berlin accommodated over five thousand athletes and over one hundred thousand spectators. The purpose was propaganda and to provide work for the people. Hitler had declared that "even if we have to build pyramids," it is worthwhile. Now that the games are over, the village has been converted into an officers' training school; and as somebody remarked to me when we were going through, "can you imagine training for death in a spot where life is more pleasant?" It is only life is more pleasant under the surface of things in Germany that you begin to realize the tragedy of German life that is bound to end in disaster.

## Cannons Not Butter

There is a new household phrase in Germany, "Cannons not butter." War preparations and the need for increased steel and concrete production have forced the German people to draw in their belts. The troops that march into the Rhineland have remained there. New contingents are moving. The great cities of the Rhine are now overflowing with soldiers. There are brigades in the little city of Pflaz and on the Saar, where the World War battalions were quartered before. They fill the old barracks and the new ones. A friend of mine, who visited down there, told me that there are places where the children have only a day school, because troops are quartered in the school buildings and that these troops are equipped with complete field outfits—with infantry guns, armored defense cannon and motorized divisions. A short time ago, maneuvers of two army groups took place, which demonstrate that the new army is nearly but not quite ready for Der Tag.

During the last six months, a fortification wall has been raised on the French border and in Eastern Germany similar to the famous defense line that victorious France created after 1918. In the Ruhr district, the hours of labor were raised to sixty, because of feverish haste with which war orders must be filled. In these factories, there is a military regime. The greatest electric concern, Siemens, now has 70,000 workers working on military orders as over against 30,000 formerly employed. Cake factories have been converted into shell factories. Piano factories, as in the case of the Steinway works, are making airplanes. A few weeks ago, a two year period for military service was

put into force. An active army of more than two million men stands ready under arms with a reserve of ten million waiting only for the order to be given. In the meantime, Nazi propaganda is spreading all over Europe, creating unrest. The cry against Communism has been raised. And now Berlin is shouting again, "they have stolen our colonies from us!" all of which is calculated to one end, war. And in the meantime, Germany realizes that if it is going to have cannons, it cannot have bread.

## Inflation vs. Unemployment

I believe that Germany will soon have to make a choice between inflation and unemployment, because if it keeps on with its war orders, draining the country of its capital and its resources, it can only lead to inflation. If it stops its munitions building, then millions of German workers will be thrown out of jobs—jobs that are not now netting them enough to earn a living, with the result that unemployment will become unmanageable. To escape from either alternative, Hitler may be forced to war as the least of the evils.

Germany is in a bad way economically. For years, they have feared military encirclement, which has been slow in coming. But as a result of the recent drawing together of the pound, the dollar, the franc to form a world wide zone of sane financial conditions, Hitler's Reich is now faced with peril of economic encirclement. And now that Mussolini has made an alliance with England, he has shown Hitler that he does not hold with the German idea of creating a powerful group of states in Europe under Italian German leadership. Also now that the major European currencies are devalued, the agricultural Balkan States with whom Schacht, the head of the German Reich's bank had made barter agreements, now finds it just as cheap if not cheaper and easier to trade with other European nations.

## State Capitalism

There is a further difficult situation in the economic field caused by the fact that German capital and credit is being frozen. Germany's system is one of state capitalism. All industries, banks, commercial institutions are under government control. The profits are fixed at no higher than six percent. For all basic commodities, prices are fixed. The control over business has become so complete that business men feel like hired men in their own plants. The government is taking their capital and surpluses and substituting short term notes, ostensibly for ninety days, which can be renewed for five years, and which would be worthless if the government collapses. There is practically no gold reserve behind the German mark, which is pegged currency that has no value outside of Germany.

The government was last spring and summer increasing her short term indebtedness at the rate of six hundred million marks a month or seven billion marks a year—all for the sake of her war machines on which Germany has spent four billion dollars in the last year and a half. Capital is being bled white. There is no private capital market. Business men are not borrowing, and money and capital is frozen in munitions and unproductive lines. Private enterprise is stifled and steadily withering.

To make Germany self-contained, heavy expense all sorts of enterprises that are creating substitute raw materials, such as wool out of wood fiber, at a very heavy cost. In Germany today, they are making everything from gasoline to bottle stoppers synthetically on the theory that Germany would not have lost the World War if it had been better prepared economically. But to do all this is costing five times as much as the original articles would cost to produce. All the economists that I spoke to in Germany were mystified as to how the financial structure stands the strain of this steady and enormous expansion of Germany's floating debt. They looked for an inevitable internal financial crash soon. The truth is that capitalism is fading in Germany today. It may lead to state socialism, particularly if the radicals in things have become dominant in it. They will insist on putting Nazi representatives on all the boards of corporations, on the government taking over the public and semi-public utilities; dividing up the huge landed estates of the Junkers, which Hitler has not yet done, and which he has largely subsidized to maintain intact; nationalizing all the department stores and munitions works; and the writing off of capital.

There are two groups contending for power. On one hand is Schacht, who represents the Reich's bank, the Junkers, the Army, the manufacturers, the capitalists. They are the economic policies of the government. And then there are Goebbels and Goering and that crowd in control of the party and the government, who have nothing to lose, who are seeking more power, and who if the food shortage this winter should become too acute, may drive Hitler to extreme measures.

In one sense, the Army is having a restraining affect. It keeps telling Hitler that Germany is not yet ready and to go easy. And I was informed on good authority that they were opposed to the move into the Rhineland and that Hitler put that one over on the Army. In Germany, the military is and has always been a state within a state. The Army is now behind the State, because the government now supports rearmament. But the military are not wedded to the State. The Army appoints its own officers. During military service, all party affiliations rest in abeyance. There is no brown militia any more. The Army took over the whole show. Hitler just has his own twenty thousand black uniform soldiers. They are his private guard and the Army doesn't like it. The Brown Shirts are the Partei workers. They make the parades and form physical training corps. In case of serious domestic crisis or economic collapse, I look for the Army to polish off Hitler and place Germany under a military dictator that won't be much better than Hitler.

## Labor's Portion

Now from the viewpoint of labor, the workers are not satisfied. The average wage of a skilled worker is about two hundred marks per month or about fifty dollars in our money. He gets seventy-eight pfennig an hour. The government keeps the rents low, as they do in Russia, and the social services high. Less than forty percent of the German workers are above the poverty line. Eighty percent pay no taxes either to the Church or the State, because they earn less than

fifty dollars a month. Those who do receive two hundred marks or more are heavily taxed for the social securities and the party. The result is that there is a lot of under breath-schimpferei, cussing.

The German workers are discontented because though the prices are fixed, they are nevertheless high, especially for food. And one can't blame them if they don't take graciously to meatless and eggless and butterless dishes.

About a million and a half is the official number given for the unemployed. But there really were about four million this summer, because those that the government gave sixty marks a month and put to work on "made work," they took off the unemployed list. The labor camps for boys and girls though not compulsory are "advisable," if the boy and girl wants to have a career. I went through several of these labor camps, which are like our C. C. C. camps. The signs I saw on some of the walls read "live through, be brave in battle, laugh at death." "If we are few, we must be strong—and if we are strong, we will be free." "All the former struggles between the classes no longer exist." They are all aimed at molding the minds and the attitude of the youth to believe in race, blood and country and to feel that blood and not intelligence control the destiny of a nation.

## A Racket

From many, who know the situation, I heard that National Socialism is just one vast racket in the American sense, though for the youth, it is a mission and salvation. Many of the leaders—Hitler excepted—I was told are in it for what they can get out of it money, power and prestige. I saw a wonderful mission that the head of the Labor Front was building for himself in one section of Berlin. In Stockholm, I was told that Goering had deposited close to a million mark in a local bank. Those who control the publishing houses in Germany, including Streicher, the editor of the infamous paper, "Der Sturmen" are making a fortune out of these publications. But none of these charges can be made against Hitler, who lives very frugally, has no money, gives all the income from his book, "Mein Kampf," which now would have netted him close to three quarters of a million dollars, if he had kept the money to the Party. He is undoubtedly an idealist. He is clairvoyant in politics. He senses what the people want. He is convinced about three things: anti-Semitism, the undoing of the Versailles Treaty, and in blood and race. He is highly neurotic, has little education, "blows up" easily in interviews, and never appears anywhere excepting very heavily guarded. His God is the German people.

With reference to the Party, it has a membership of about four million, which is now closed and constantly being purged. Just as in Russia and in Italy, the Nazi prefer their own disciplined youth as new members. The leaders in the Party today are those who followed Hitler before 1933. The training of the German youth is also much like it is in Russia, though they are not conscious of it. It came to Hitler from Lenin via Mussolini. The difference between Germany and Russia seems to be this. Russia has vast resources, but has the disadvantage of an undisciplined population. Germany has the most highly educated and disciplined people, but its resources are strained.

## The Church

On the subject of the Church, I found that the Nazis are attacking the Catholics almost as bitterly as they are the Jews. The policy of the government is to make rascals out of them—not martyrs. That is why the German papers are filled with accusations of immoralities and home exuality against the Franciscan Order. I was told that there was one lay Catholic Order where there was such a condition and that the Church should have cleaned it out, but the press made it appear that this crime was typical, not exceptional, among the Catholic Orders. I have a clipping before me from a paper that I brought with me out of Germany accusing nuns of immorality, and many of the Church leaders are charged with smuggling monies out of the country. The professional Lutheran Church is now trying to come to terms with Hitler, and I believe will.

However, this summer, Bishop Noemiller, who is one of the heroes of the German submarines and beloved, sent a letter to Hitler and signed by himself and other courageous ministers indicting him on seven points, among which are the danger of de-Christianization of Germany on account of the activities of Dr. Rosenberg's pagan group. They accuse the Nazis of destroying the Church or organization. They charge that National Socialism and anti-Semitism are un-Christian. They object to the deification of der Fuhrer, who permits his portrait to be hung in front of Christian altars. The fact of the matter is that the government is using paganism as a whip to beat down the Church, just as Bismarck did when he promoted the old Catholic Church during the Kultur Kamp. It is clear to discerning church men that in the

totalitarian state, the Church is equal with or independent of the State. It is a pity that the Church world, even in Germany, did not begin this in the early days and destroy the Church and Christ in the long run.

With reference to concern camps, several American correspondents told me that all we hear concerning them was the truth. There are about twelve of these camps in Germany today; and every one knows about one person, who is in a concentration camp. Frau Ing of Denmark, well known European woman leader, is responsible for statement that "eighty percent women prisoners were made pr in these camps, because they charge are sadists and brutes."

On the political front, there much to be said, that I cannot deal with it in this address. Next time I am on the air, I will cuss it, and will give special attention to it.

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## GERMANY'S DRIVE FOR COLONIES

Address delivered over Station WGAR January 24th, 1937

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Hitler thrives on drives. All dictators do. Drives are essential to keep up the morale of the masses in countries where the people are compelled to keep pulling in their belts without even the right to cry out in protest.

In Germany today, there are drives against the Jews, drives against Communism, patriotic drive, etc., and now there is a drive for the restoration of colonies and mandated territories. This drive was first developed for home consumption and was soft pedalled outside of Germany for diplomatic reasons. Now it has broken out into the open and is conducted on a world wide scale.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, astute and able director of the Reich's bank, has just published an article on German Colonies in our American quarterly, "Foreign Affairs," in which he points out how essential their return is for the German economy.

Many people in Europe and in America today are apt to view with sympathy this demand. As a matter of fact, if all that Germany wanted was a return of her old colonies, I believe it could be arranged in Europe without much difficulty, even though the Germans would interpret such an act as a sign of weakness and fear, or as proof that the colonies were worthless. I am confident that it would serve only to make the militant and war mongering Nazis more cocky than they now are. It was the opinion of many European leaders with whom I discussed the matter that the recovery of her colonies would do little to solve the Reich's problems and that the other nations will eventually have to provide Germany with raw materials by means other than colonies, such as credit arrangements with countries, whose needed materials are plentiful.

The real purpose behind Hitler's drive for the restoration of colonies is not, as every one in Europe knows, to get back the old colonies, but to prepare the ground for a push into Russia's granary, the Ukraine, which Hitler advocates in his book, "Mein Kampf," and the demand for which he recently repeated at the Nazi Party's Nuremberg Congress.

The relation of colonies to raw materials, markets and surplus population is so pertinent in the world today and involves so many fallacies that it needs considerable explanation.

### Surplus Population

Italy, Germany and Japan are the dynamic powers of Europe today. The reason for their dynamic character is their over-populated condition, which can be relieved they claim only by colonies, where their human surplus can be dumped.

Of course, one quick and effective answer to this conclusion would be birth control. The fact is that the birth rate in both Italy and Germany has been rapidly declining since the World War and more especially in the last few years, despite all propaganda for big families that is being made in these countries. But this argument aside—the fact is that the low native

living in African and other colonies is such as to make it almost impossible for whites to live there and to compete with the natives. There were more Germans living in Paris in 1914 than in all her colonies put together. The number of Japanese in Formosa and Korea, which belong to Japan, was actually less than the total increase of new births in Japan in one year. In the course of the last fifty years that Italy has owned Eritrea, she has succeeded in settling all told about four hundred families, whereas to Lybia, another of Mussolini's colonies in Africa, there went in 1914 only ninety families, despite the offer of government subsidy. In her newly acquired Abyssinia, the most that Italy can hope to send would be twenty thousand white families.

In England's Wales, the population is twice as dense as it is in all of Italy. Wales has some of the most desperately blighted areas, with whole villages deserted and people out of work

for years. Great Britain has the largest colonial empire in the world, yet in 1934-35, the return of Englishmen to England exceeded by twenty thousand the emigration of Englishmen to the colonies.

Poland is today contending that her economy is unable to sustain her population, that three out of the three and one-half million Jews must leave, because she has five and one-half million too many peasants and her land cannot sustain them. Therefore, if the Jews would get out, the peasants could take their places. But when the speaker said to a member of the Polish ministry in Warsaw last summer, "But what about dividing your landed estates, which are controlled by a handful of Polish noblemen? That would relieve the peasant problem, which is really suffering from land shortage and from the scourge of tenantry, that is worse than the lot of helots." His answer was, "But that is Bolshevism and we in Poland, who belong to the Western World, do not practice that. When you leave here and go to Moscow, you will go from the Western to the Oriental World, and Bolshevism is of the Orient," by which he meant to imply that it is Semitic.

To relieve themselves of the Jewish problem, Poland's foreign minister has been knocking at the doors of Downing Street and Prime Minister Baldwin pleading that England should open the gates of Palestine and other colonies for Poland's "too many" Jews. And in the event that this is impossible, Poland may ask the League of Nations for colonies. It is again obvious that this is a purely fictitious and camouflaged way out of an internal difficulty, which the introduction of a socialized economy could and would cure. In the face of these facts, is there any reason why intelligent people should place any confidence in the contention that overpopulated countries must have colonies?

### Markets

Another argument frequently advanced for the need of colonies is that they furnish good markets for exports. But as Norman Angell and others have pointed out, the fact is that colonies are proverbially bad customers, again because of the low native standard of living that prevails in most of them. The native population does not have any use for, nor money with which to buy, the things that the mother country produces. It has long been established that the best customers of a country that produces for export are the civilized neighboring countries, which paradoxically, are also keen competitors.

Despite the fact that we control the Philippines, the best market which the United States has is Canada. We sell more goods to our neighbor on the North, than does the mother country, England. The best market, which Japan has is not China, which boycotts her goods, but the United States and Canada. India boycotts English cotton and Great Britain now puts up a tariff against Australian wool.

### Raw Materials

A third argument that is frequently made on behalf of colonies is the need for raw materials. This may be a good argument in times of war, and even then I doubt its efficacy because the enemies' submarines make it next to impossible to count on bringing large amounts of raw materials from colonies across the seas. But in times of peace, the argument for colonial raw materials is even more fallacious, because the nations, which possess colonies with raw materials, do not use these raw materials themselves. They have to sell it on the open market to anybody who has money to buy them or goods to exchange for them. The world today is not suffering from an undersupply, but from an oversupply of raw materials.

For example, the British textile industry depends largely on American cotton, which has to compete with Egyptian and Indian cotton on the international market. Yet British textile manufacturers have never had

any difficulty in securing American cotton, despite the fact that Britain does not own Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Still another example—we in the United States depend upon rubber and tin for two of our greatest industries—automobiles and canning. Yet if we owned all the rubber plantations in the Congo, or tin mines, which are largely controlled by British capital, wouldn't it cost just as much or more to produce these raw materials than it now costs. Further more, do we have any difficulty obtaining all the rubber and tin that we are able to pay for? The Firestones now have a rubber producing plantation of their own in Liberia. Does that make us a nation more independent and self-contained?

Countries that have an abundance of raw materials suffer just as frequently from periodic depressions as do other countries. The U. S. A. has an abundance of cotton, tobacco, wheat and live stock. Were there less unemployed in America proportionately than in England, Germany or Italy? On the contrary. Our depression was worse than theirs, and our recovery came later than England's.

The real solution to these problems lies in reciprocal tariffs, which will open up the clogged channels of exports and imports and make for the freer exchange of goods among the nations. One thing most necessary is to put the smaller nations, which were formerly good customers, and which cannot buy goods because they are financially bankrupt, back on their economic feet, so that they can buy as well as sell. The necessary implementation of the world's economic restoration will only be achieved when the nations give up their stupid plan of locking themselves behind their own walls, and trying to become self-contained. It will come some day when we have international economic conferences that will deal with such matters.

The seat of all the trouble and particularly of war lies not in the lack of colonies, markets and raw materials. These can be settled with the use of a certain amount of economic horse sense. The basis of much of the difficulty lies in such factors as national jealousies that demagogues and politicians find easy to stir up, particularly when they say, "Why should such and such a nation have, and we not?" It lies in theativisms of our animal past, which talk of blood and racialism. It grows out of the pursuit of false glory and national honor and things of that kind. It is because Germany is headed in this direction that she now raises the false issue of colonies. It is all pretext.

I still have ringing in my ears the words of a foreign correspondent, who has lived in Germany for many years and who said to me, "Rabbi, it is all preparation for some Armageddon, which may be postponed one, two, three, five years. But mark my word, it must come. And after Europe has been racked with war the outcome will be Communism and the permanent partition of Germany."



## I VISIT GERMANY

(Continued from Page 6)

to the problem of Germany's demand for colonies.

In Germany, they tell you that Nazism is not for export, but this is not so. I found Nazi propaganda in almost every country in Europe. And wherever it existed, it was a source of trouble stirring up racial and economic prejudices. I came out of Germany with the words of a foreign correspondent, whom I knew very well and who has lived in Germany for many years, ringing in my ears, "it is all preparation for some Armageddon. It may be postponed one, two, three, five years, but it will come; and then may come Communism and the partition of Germany."



# I VISIT FRANCE

Address delivered over Station WGAR January 31, 1937

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

France was in many respects the most interesting and exciting country in Europe this summer, because she was the center of novelty and experimentation.

France, the country which had the most celebrated case of anti-Semitism of our times, elected a Jew last spring, Leon Blum, as Prime Minister to head a government composed of elements that no one previously believed could be harmonized—liberals, right and left wing Socialists, Trotsky and Stalin Communists who united to prevent France from going Fascist.

## Sit-in Strikes

Another thing, which this summer made things hum, was the sit-in strikes. A better name for them would be lock-in strikes, because they were designed to forestall the lock-out strikes. They ended in a great triumph for the workers. The union membership rose from one to five million. Shortly thereafter, the franc was devalued. France, which this summer was one of the dearest countries in Europe, has again become liveable for American tourists. Now they can get twenty-two francs for their dollar instead of fifteen.

## Peace is Watchword

The fact is that during the last seven months, greater changes have been wrought in France than had happened in three generations. And yet, it was all done without the firing of a single shot, without bloodshed or violence, except in isolated cases where opposing political partisans came into direct conflict. With peace as their watchword and shattered cannons as tokens of their opposition of war, I watched the followers of Leon Blum hold a meeting near Paris, and I said to myself this is a symbol of what France stands for. So far as events have gone, there has been no justification whatever for the hints and the whispers that France is on the verge of revolution.

For me, it is highly significant that confronted with problems similar to those, which led other countries in Europe to Fascism and Bolshevism, France—mother of liberty and bulwark of democracy made radical changes in the economic and social structure of her government without altering the framework of democracy and the parliamentary system.

## An Interview With Leon Blum

Leon Blum granted an interview to a small group of the party I was with. He is a charming, friendly, cultivated man of sixty-four—a combination of lawyer, dramatic critic and literateur, characteristics which in any other country excepting France would almost disbar a man from becoming Premier. He was brought up in wealth. He joined the ranks of the Socialists twenty years ago, because he believed that the day of the bourgeoisie regime was over, since it provided justice to the mass.

The capitalistic system, which he inapt and inefficiently made a model of, had become a source of extreme luxury and extreme mass distress and hatred, and international insecurity.

At the close of the interview, Premier Blum stated that France had come to a place, where a change was necessary, and that they were now protecting legislation like our New Deal in America. He said that his government does not believe in economic self-sufficiency; that though there were Marxists in the government and in his Cabinet, the purpose was not to introduce Socialism, but rather to bring about a proper distribution of the national wealth; that though theoretically, it might be true

that Socialistic and Capitalistic countries cannot exist side by side, as Trotsky holds, yet actually they do; that France under his leadership would work with other countries, irrespective of their form of government. He believed that what was most needed now was a strengthening of the democratic spirit in France and throughout the world. He expressed the hope that the United States would not continue its policy of isolation, but rather increase its participation in international affairs. All who were in the party that interviewed Blum were impressed with his deep sincerity and sagacity. He is universally regarded as the ablest statesman in Europe today. How fortunate France is to have such a man at the helm at this critical juncture in her life.

## Internal Dissension

The government is not having easy sledding. Internally, Blum has to meet almost daily the onslaughts of the radical Socialists, who are really neither radicals nor Socialists, but a sort of reform party, who accuse him of going too far to the left. The Communist charge that he leans too far to the right, particularly in refusing to support the Loyalist Spanish government, and thus menacing France with Fascists encirclement. As if this were not enough, the Rightist Fascist groups denounce Blum with being under orders from Moscow. Their slogan has become "France must be saved from the reds."

Mr. Philips, competent New York Times correspondent in Paris writes

Despite this internal partisan dissension, Blum manages to hold the parties together, because he relies entirely upon persuasion. He does not threaten. It is an essential part of his belief that men can be better swayed by argument than by threat, and the furthest he has gone in coercion has been to remind the unruly members of the Front that they were elected on a common program and that this task is to apply that common program. He insists that he is not a Socialist Premier, even though he is personally a Socialist, and that his is not a Socialist government. He repeatedly says that he is the head of the common front government strictly bound to carry through only the reforms outlined in the common front program; and if any member party of that common front breaks away, it will be its responsibility. He himself will loyally abide by the joint election promises of all three parties and go no further. Even though Blum is a convinced Socialist, he has never put his Socialism in front of his duty as head of the combined majority and his endeavor to play fair by all parties.

It is in this absolute loyalty to his followers that Blum's force of leadership lies. He towers above most of them intellectually, but above all, he has proved that his strength lies in his moral courage. He is convinced that the only way to save France is to support a government for the French people, and he has avoided offending its adherents deeply.

Had it not been for Blum and his government, which is favorable to the demands of the workers, there might have been revolution and bloodshed, for the industrial situation in France when he came to power had become serious, and the temper of the people was beginning to run high.

## Policy Toward Spain

Blum, as I have indicated, has been very much criticized and opposed by the French Socialists and Communists for his stand on the Spanish situation. He is responsible for the non-intervention policy, which in principle the nations of Europe are supposed to follow with reference to Spain. There are many in France, who believe that if Blum had not now been a member of the government and could follow his natural desire, he might have been among the first to urge that France should go to the defense of Madrid. But being at the head of the government changes the situation. When one is charged with responsibility, one must see all around the problem. From the outset, Blum has recognized and insisted that France alone can do nothing to help the Left parties in Spain.

Just as at home, he has to work with a coalition of three parties and set his pace sometimes to what is the average for all the three, he believes that in international affairs, he must also keep in step with Great Britain and with the popular and governmental sentiment in the United States. Blum is too far alive to the dangers of the situation in the Mediterranean and their accentuation by the Spanish war to risk the isolation of France. The position he takes is that there must be no break in the solidarity of the democracies of the world and no separate action, if Fascism is to be finally checked.

## Bastille Day

I happened to arrive in Paris a few days before July the 14th, Bastille Day, which is to the French in a sense what the Fourth of July is to us. It happened to fall on a Tuesday, and so a four-day holiday was declared, for if a holiday falls on Tuesday, there is really no point in going to work on Monday, and since Sunday is normally a holiday, there is really not much sense working on Saturday. So, believe it or not, practically everything public office, banks, factories, shops, etc., were closed from Friday evening to Wednesday morning. That is the French temperament for you. They work to live, not live to work.

It rained nearly every night during this time. Yet, the rain didn't dampen the holiday spirit of the French. Every night, there was street dancing and festivity. I was very much im-

pressed with the absence of the color line in Paris. White and colored mingled freely, and white girls and colored men danced together. In France, they don't seem to object to inter-marriage between the races. The attitude is radically different from what it is over here.

On Bastille Day, there was a great military demonstration on the Champs D'Elysses. Hundreds and hundreds of airplanes zoomed overhead in various formations. Though I have always hated war, I could not help but feel that if it were not for French military strength, a large part of Western Europe might go into cultural eclipse as has such a large part of Central Europe. When lunatics are running wild, sane people have to protect themselves. The time may soon come when the democratic free nations may have to join hands and make a last stand against the political fanaticism and reaction which is sweeping Europe. The only thing these dictators respect is force. As I stood there under the warm sun on the lovely Champs D'Elysses, watching the airplanes overhead and the lovely field blue uniforms of the marching French poilus. I could not help but feel thankful for French military defense.

In the afternoon, I witnessed a parade that lasted six hours. The newspapers estimated that over three hundred thousand marchers participated. They were almost all French Popular people. Red flags were waving. The upraised clenched fist salute of Socialism was everywhere evident. The streets resounded with the singing of the French Marseillaise and the Socialist Internationale. Placards were carried bearing mottoes, "Let the rich pay;" "We are all united against the two hundred;" (the two hundred refers to the families, who traditionally have controlled the Bank of France.) The parade marched to the Bastille monument, where Leon Blum and other government leaders addressed the crowds. On the whole, it was a very peaceful parade. There were only a few minor "incidents", fights, we would call them, with the Fascists. The government fearing trouble had a combined force of eleven thousand police and mobile guards in the side streets ready to jump into action, but they were not needed. It all ended that night in a blaze of fireworks, dampened only by the rain.

## The French People

What has happened in the last seven months in France is not explainable solely in economic terms. To understand it, one must know the French people. The French come of an old country. They have all the virtues and defects of complete maturity. Their habits and feelings, thinking and prejudices reflect the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, as a people, they are dead set against the world of the machine, and especially against ruthless social change. Temperamentally, as someone has said, "France is a horse and buggy country, full of old-fashioned notions." Their hearts are always on the left, but their pocketbooks are on the right. They may go left with their mouths, but they go right in the politics because the French are a very frugal people. They believe that you can make money by saving money, whereas we believe that you have to spend money to make money. It is the French temperament that explains why a new deal government of social reform can be headed by a Marxist Premier.

There is a lot in the French character that I like. I like their fixed orderliness and sweet logical reasonableness. I like their respect, almost reverence for leisure. To a Frenchman, enjoying the scenery is far more fun than going places. He takes his family out in the country for a picnic and they sit and while away their time and have a wonderful day. We are too impatient. We get into our cars and drive. It doesn't matter where, just so long as we are on our way. Instead of seeing the scenery, all we see is the pavement and inhale the fowl smelling odors of gasoline. We have go-itis, which makes our leisure enervating, rather than invigorating. With the French eating and drinking is a fine art. The Frenchman likes to sit in the cafe and spend two hours for lunch—and such a lunch, such wine, such sauces, such pastry. Even the French public schools close two hours for lunch, so that school has to be dismissed at 5 instead of 3 as it is with us.

Before the war, France was truly a middle class nation, a nation of the golden mean and the middle road. The margin between much and little wealth was narrower than in our country. The average Frenchman had little, but he knew how to get the most out of what he had. He was essentially conservative.

It is not generally understood outside of France why birth control is more prevalent there than in any other country, despite the fact that France is one of the most Catholic countries in Europe. The answer is economic necessity. Most of the French people are small peasants and the land they own runs in very narrow strips. According to their tradition, the eldest son inherits the father's land. You can readily see what would happen if they had large families. The narrow strips could not support them.

The French came of age long ago. They are a mature people. Therefore, they do things differently from the way they are done in Germany, England and America.

## The Result of the World War

Already before the war, France saw other countries, particularly Germany, cutting into her trade and forging ahead of her. Yet she did not bother. Then the war came. The Frenchmen went to war to save France. They and their allies won. Everyone expected that Germany would pay for all the damage, but she did not. England got what she wanted out of the peace-conferences and the destruction of the German navy, but France received promises. She tried to make Germany pay by going into the Ruhr; but by so doing, she paved the way for Hitler. Then came inflation. When it was over, a large part of her middle class was wiped out, which welled her already surplus lower classes. France should have done something to save herself. She couldn't have changed from the handicraft to the factory system and improved the machinery she'd have. But

nothing of the kind occurred. Instead, France tried to handle the situation politically by putting her heel on the neck of Germany and building up alliances with Poland and Roumania and other lesser powers in Europe. The domestic situation went from bad to worse. Other nations experimented with their currencies, but the French had too much gold in their socks to go off of gold. Deflation came. The cost of living mounted. Unemployment rose. They still stuck to two hours for lunch, and as one writer puts it, "even though there wasn't much lunch. The whole world was changing, but not France."

And when Hitler came, the Frenchmen rubbed their eyes and realized that they had lost, not won the war. It was a shock. This was followed by the fowl Stavisky scandal, which revealed the political decay and degeneration of French politics. The press was corrupt and venal. France has hundreds of small partisan papers. They carry practically no advertising. The writers and critics can be bought. It is a common thing even for the government to subsidize these papers in their political interests. The French Parliament with its numerous parties blocs and haggling is a dumb show.

To clean up the mess, the Rightist element sallied forth. And you recall the bloody riots of February 6th, 1934. It looked for a while as if there would be civil war. The Rightists were ready for a coup d'etat. But then the workers suddenly woke up and showed their strength. There was a monster demonstration of the Left forces and civil war was averted. French masses feared Fascism, "C'est la guerre." Something had to be done about low wages, the high and antiquated taxes, the menacing sound of German steel rattling over the frontiers, and the back wash of the American depression, which were affecting her adversely. The great majority of the French people wanted bread, peace and liberty. And so when an election came, they voted into power, the Front Populaire to take care of their needs, just as we voted in Roosevelt.

## The French New Deal

Shortly after Blum came into power, the government passed over sixty laws, most of which were about as radical as those passed by our Congress when Roosevelt first became President. Among them were the forty-hour week, the fifteen-day worker's vacation with pay, the right of collective bargaining. They nationalized the war industries. They broke the grip of the hereditary financial oligarchy which controlled the Bank of France. They introduced agricultural reforms, fixed food prices and planned to subsidize small manufacturers, who can't stand the pressure. They reformed the press by stopping the government subsidy. Blum had one advantage. There was no Supreme Court to invalidate these laws.

In France, as in America, many people say, "aren't these things Socialistic?" My answer is "maybe they are, but they are not revolutionary." They are the only methods available to save Capitalism and Democracy from Fascism or Communism. On the international front, Blum has again offered a five branch Hitler, but he has made it clear that France is willing to fight for democracy and that she will not barter it away under any terms.

Will the Blum government last? I believe that the workers, whose wages have been raised; the small traders, who are protected by the fixing of prices at small profits; the small manufacturers, who are now being subsidized; and the peasants, who have been helped by the agricultural laws and subsidies—that these people, who constitute the great bulk of Frenchmen are not likely to let the big industrialists and the rich middle class crush them, as they did in Germany and Italy. Therefore, I believe that the government will endure.

It is true that the French people voted into power the Socialists and the Communists, but instead of being converted to Socialism or Communism, they converted these parties to think first in terms of social reform instead of in terms of Red dictatorship.

## Blum and Roosevelt

The government is giving the French people a new deal, which is also a square deal. Blum is neither going to the left nor to the right. Like Roosevelt, he is striking out for a middle course. Both leaders believe in democracy, in the power of men to live decently and by common consent, with justice toward all. Both are social minded aristocrats, even though one is a Capitalist by training and outlook, and the other a Socialist. Both men have attractive personalities. Both are persuasive in debate. Both have strong support from the masses, and yet neither of them has been a member of that class.

To me, it is significant that at a time when Germany is being controlled by Adolph Hitler, who champions all that is reactionary in the world today, France is led by Leon Blum, the Jew, who champions de-



Feb 12, 1937

# WHAT IS ENGLAND DOING?

Address delivered over Station WGAR February 7, 1937

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

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## England's Sources of Strength

The answer to the question, "what is England doing?" can be given in two words—muddling through. The English have a habit of meeting crises with a minimum of excitement. They know how to keep their heads. The abdication of King Edward proves it. Emerson once said, "Every Englishman is an island like England herself—shy, cold and isolated."

It is a remarkable fact worth thinking about that a nation of forty-four million people, living up in the North Sea on an unfertile island that most of the time is covered with fog, control one-sixth of the habitable globe and rule over five hundred million people scattered in fifty-five colonies and autonomous areas. Their interests and economic investments are even more far flung. One of the sources of their strength is their pragmatic approach to things. Unlike the Germans, the English never start with ideology. Their point of departure is always a practical problem. As a people, they are extroverted. They don't like to accelerate evolution. They trust to the unexpected happening. That is why they gamble with situations, hoping to get the breaks.

Other facts worth remembering are that in all the centuries of their existence, England has never had a violent revolution like France, Russia, or the United States. No great power has ever landed on their shores. England is a country of aristocratic traditions. The English recognizes class distinction, yet in their politics, they are most democratic and in government most efficient. They know how to reinforce their aristocracy by additions from the lower classes. Politics in England is an honorable profession, which the best people enter. The top men from their universities go into the Civil Service, instead of into business. That is what makes their Civil Service so strong.

## Three Major Problems

Facing the British today are three great problems of major magnitude. (1) The economic: Having brought under their control one-sixth of the earth and having become accustomed to being the leading financial trading

and industrial power of the world, now that she is being severely challenged for world economic dominance by the United States and Japan, can Britain recover her financial leadership? One thing in Britain's favor is that they didn't have the abrupt peaks of depression we had due to our abnormal speculations. Therefore, they are better balanced economically.

(2) Social Justice: One-tenth of the people of England, according to Sidney Webb, possess nine-tenths of the wealth. Some have an income of five thousand dollars a day, and some fifty cents. Some live in palaces and most in slums. Can England socialize without following the road of Moscow and revolution? In 1878, Karl Marx predicted that Great Britain would change over without revolution. It has not yet happened, will it?

(3) The Imperial problem: Controlling one-sixth of the world, can she hold it together in the face of rising nationalisms in Ireland, India, Egypt, Canada and Australia? And will she be able to retain her position as mistress of the seas, keeper of democracy, and stable force for peace?

## Recovery in England?

With reference to the economic problems, I found definite recovery and even prosperity this summer. London was the gayest capital of Europe. Business was good. Employment was up. The people were spending. In 1933, there were two and one-half million unemployed. In 1936, the number had decreased by a million and jobs were being made. The rise in wages was running parallel with the rise in the cost of living.

How was England managing to climb out of the depression? In 1932 finding the exchange rate of the pound too high, they went off gold. They followed this by their traditional free trade policy to one of protective tariffs. They were forced into this position. With markets and raw materials in every part of the globe, England imported raw materials, manufactured them, and sent out the finished products to all the parts of

her Empire, and to the markets of the world. British investment circled the globe. The high seas were her natural highway. In addition to raw materials, British ships also brought back the food to feed the nation. This fostered a sort of economic cosmopolitanism. The British housewife puts a griddle around the globe. On the British table, one finds Danish bacon, Irish potatoes, New Zealand lamb (the famed English lamb was too expensive for the English family), Ceylon tea, Canadian apples, bread made from wheat grown in the United States, Brazil or South America, etc.

## Division of Labor

Britain believed in a division of labor. She ran the ships, banks, the brokerage business, fabricated machine made goods for the world, and was content to let the other peoples grow their food and mine their raw material. This policy, she followed for a hundred years. In pursuance of it, the British had discouraged domestic farming, and converted there areas into grouse and fox hunting ranches. This system bred leisure and wealth for the classes and produced the English gentlemen and English culture, which is the finest in the world and the most civilized. The British have long known that a great nation cannot sell without buying. This is something our country will some day learn, and I hope we do before it is too late.

## A Planned Economy

When the war was over and the depression set in, nations started to shut themselves in, and others out of their market. In an economically bleak world, Britain found herself out on a limb. Her plight became desperate. She was therefore forced in self-defense to protective tariff. In Britain today, there are government subsidies, quotas on production, marketing boards to control prices, committees for agricultural promotion so numerous that they outrun all our alphabetical agencies. There has also been a great deal of voluntary cartellization by large industries. In the coal industry, for example, the coal areas have been divided into seventeen districts, and to each is assigned a maximum and a minimum quota. There is price fixing. The same is true of the textile, the shipbuilding, and the milling industries. All of these are encouraged by the government.

The question is whether planned economy and economic nationalism, which is the pathological flowering of the nationalism of the seventeenth

and eighteenth century, is a wise long range policy for England and the world to follow. Many economists in England, with whom I discussed this question, thought not. England cannot compete with Japan, who because of new improved spindles bought in England, with cotton bought in England's Egypt and India, and low wages, can lay down finished cotton goods in England cheaper than the British can manufacture it, despite a high tariff.

Furthermore, many of Britain's colonies are becoming self-contained. Australia is not only raising her own wool and wheat, but is also manufacturing it into finished products. The same is true of South Africa, Canada and even India, which is now producing the bulk of her requirements in iron, steel, cement and cotton yarn, and weaving their own cloth. The result is that the iron, steel and coal areas of the North of England are desolate. The loss of cargo has laid up millions of tons of British shipping and created scalled devastated areas, which may never come back, unless England succeeds in making practical a new process to convert coal into oil and to create in the old shipping centers a new light power industry, which would have to be government subsidized.

## Housing and Slum Clearance

Yet another way that has led England to recovery has been her housing and slum clearance projects. According to one observer, riding down from Liverpool to London, the quiet old country side looks as though it was breaking out with a veritable rush of new houses. In recent years, they have been building over three hundred thousand new homes a year. People have been moving out of the slums at the rate of six thousand a week. Rentals in the homes with municipal or governmental subsidies were only three to four dollars a week. Two-thirds of the new houses built immediately after the war were subsidized, but eighty per cent of the new cottages and flats in this present building epidemic were built by private firms for purely private profits. The quality of this recent construction is rather poor. It is the old story of "built for quick sale." England's housing and slum clearance project is responsible for from one-third to one-half of their recovery. About a million of these houses are of the fabricated kind—seven room cottages put up for a cost of about \$3,600 to \$4,000, one-third cheaper than we can build them over here. While Britain built 328,000 houses in 1935, this country with three times the population built fewer than 60,000, or a rate of progress of only six per cent of that of Great Britain.

Three things made British building possible. The first was the increase in the real wages of the workers. Retail prices were controlled and kept low. Wages increased, due to the strong pressure of the unions, which are a political factor and inclined toward semi-socialism. Therefore, compared to 1924, the British worker of 1936 is fourteen per cent better off and has more purchasing power, which he puts into housing. This gave a stimulus to all related business fields.

A second factor has been the reduction in the interest rates from seven and eight to four and one-half per cent. In 1934, the Building Loan Society alone increased the number of loans from 553,000 to 1,045,000. The third factor is that the government put out more than \$750,000,000 to subsidize slum clearance. There is still a shortage in England of decent houses for the poorest paid workers, because the largest part of the building boom was for the lower middle class workers. But in 1936, the building boom began to taper off. The number of houses that private builders could erect at a profit is limited, and the competition is reducing the rents. Professor Cole, one of the keenest economists of England, stated that the building boom would have slumped so badly at the end of 1937 and that it would have brought with it wide spread social consequences, had it not been for the introduction of re-armament and munition building on a huge scale.

## The Re-armament Boom

The big thing in England seems to be the fear of war. Everything in the country is being geared to catch up with Russia and Germany. Old munition works, discarded since the last war, have been reopened and reconditioned. The eight hour law for women in industry has been abrogated. Over forty million gas masks alone are being made. Re-armament is keeping up the level of employment and wages. But it too must come to an end, unless war breaks out. When the re-armament boom tapers off, as the housing boom is doing, it may lead to a depression beginning about three years hence, and reaching its bottom about five years hence, with an even greater load of unemployed to be cared for than previously by social insurance. England has one of the greatest and most comprehensive schemes of social insurance of any country in the world.

## The Cooperatives

Another feature of British recovery has been the role played by the co-operatives with its several millions of members. In London and other places, I saw the show rooms of the co-operative organizations stacked with every kind of edible goods and wearing apparel, and selling everything from toothbrushes to houses. The British cooperative system when compared with the Swedish cooperatives is subject to this criticism. The British cooperative stores buy from private industry about eighty per cent of what they sell through the co-operative wholesale society, whereas the Swedish cooperatives are also manufacturing and wholesale co-operatives. They make, for example, over one-third of the electrical bulbs produced in Sweden. They are therefore independent of capitalistic producers. As long as the cooperative movement of England is dependent upon private enterprise to supply it with the basic commodities and to transport its goods, it must necessarily operate by sufferance and can be checked off any time that industry sees fit to do so.

Under the present scheme of British recovery, with its quota system

ment doesn't herald a new day. It looks rather to be about a six per cent improvement on capitalism.

Despite the increase for armaments, England has yet been balancing her budget, due largely to improved business conditions, and taxes which are not much higher than ours when our hidden taxes are counted in.

## Parties and Political Set-up

With reference to the parties and political set-up, England seemed less seriously split into Left Wing and Right Wing camps, than I had expected to find it, especially when compared to political affairs in other countries of Europe. Radicalism is of course on the increase. There is said to be hardly a significant writer among the conservative group, and the literature of protest mounts. Harold Laski told Dr. Goodwin Watson's group of Americans this summer, that when he was at Oxford twenty years ago, the Socialist Club had forty-six members and included two dons. Today it has eight hundred members and includes ninety dons.

Street fighting occurred frequently and there have been several larger riots since carried out by the Mosley group, which refuses to die from public scorn. Repressive legislation has been fast, but the overwhelming weight of British public opinion remains loyal to a conservative government, which carries out policies much like our New Deal. As Dr. Watson commented, "The Tories in England are much cleverer than the American Liberty Leaguers. They don't fight social security. They take it over. They don't fight planning. Half the acreage in England is now being planned by one hundred and twenty-two regional committees, made up of the same men, who have always ruled. They subsidize health, housing, workers' legislation, and steal all the Socialist bait. The Labor Party's foreign policy is not much different from the armed neutrality of a Baldwin regime. And for all its reputed conservatism, 'the City,' England's Wall Street, this summer refused Hitler's urgent request for loans; but gave the largest export credit guarantee ever granted by Great Britain to the Soviet Union."

The Communist Party in England has only a few thousand members, and only one representative in Parliament. He came from England's poorest section. The British Labor Party would not cooperate with the Communists at any price. It doesn't look to me as if the Labor Party has much of a chance to come to power. Though Baldwin is a Tory, he does much the same thing as Roosevelt under the New Deal, and it seems to me, he is likely to stay in power a long time.

I believe that England is headed for a sort of semi-socialism, but not by the "let nature take its course method." The day of free opportunity for capitalism to make profits unchecked is over. Government regulation has set in and the time is coming in England when all public utilities, mines, railroads, etc., will be owned and operated by the state.

## Danger of Fascism

I feel confident that England will go in this direction without recourse to either revolution or Fascism, even though the danger from Fascism is real. It comes from this: In an old country like Great Britain, the need for new capital for the changing methods of production are not large. Therefore, the need for the expansion of domestic capital is limited. This situation will drive British capitalists to lower their economic activity at home, to find outside fields for investments and to try and depress wages. This will be resisted by powerful labor unions. In the meantime, to keep things going, the government will build roads, make other public improvements, and borrow money for these purposes. The rich will have to pay—a situation which is bound to create considerable tension. If things should get to this stage, the economic Royalists may swing over to Fascism. Mosley and his Fascist outfit is just a bell weather for the time being. He is nobody's fool. He is one of the best orators and snell birders in Europe. His slogan is "democracy is decadent. Communism is filthy. Let's seize control and prevent Socialism." It is ignored today, but who knows when it may be taken up as it was in Italy and Germany.

Of course, if economic conditions continue to improve and war is averted, one can trust Great Britain to muddle its way through under democracy.

## England's Foreign Policy

With reference to her foreign policy, I have already indicated that the fear of war has turned Britain from disarmament to re-armaments. I found many Britishers deeply humiliated by the failure of sanctions and collective security and by Mussolini's success in Ethiopia. As one Quaker gentleman who has become an ardent advocate of re-armament, said to me when I asked him "doesn't the Bible say that a good Christian must give the other cheek?"—"Yes, that is true, and I believe in the Bible. But the Bible does not say what one should do after one has been slapped on both cheeks." This characterizes the way most Britishers feel today.

The British leaders realize that they have a long "life line" to defend, and they mean to defend it. Yet Foreign Minister Eden has repeatedly given assurances that "the strengthening of our forces will not be used to accompany our diplomatic proposals with threats. That is not our method. Its usefulness will lie in this. Europe may be convinced that we are strong enough to play our part to keep peace, and violent courses can be met with firm resistance." I believe Britain can be trusted to act accordingly. The challenge to the British Navy today comes from the North Sea, where the German navy, which they foolishly allowed to be rebuilt as "a pocket navy," is really getting quite strong.

So far as London is concerned, Spain may choose the form of government that she prefers. Any government at heart would prefer Franco

to a "red regime," but the danger is that a victory for Franco would be a victory for Hitler and Mussolini, and endanger the existence of the British Empire.

With reference to Mussolini, no matter where his next expansion move is, whether in Egypt, Arabia, Central Africa, or East Mediterranean, he will find British garrisons an influence. Recently, the Italian papers have been harping on "British degeneracy," calling the British Empire "an over ripe fruit, which is decaying and is almost ready to drop into the lap of the young and the virile Fascist Italy." Italy's future is overseas, and the Mediterranean must become an Italian lake." It is true that Mussolini is now strong enough to powder Malt, and cut the British fleet at Gibraltar and destroy London from the air. The only difference is that the British people have not been made brutalitarian and so are not ready for such a thing.

The recent accord between London and Rome on the Mediterranean seems to me to indicate that Mussolini prefers to go with Britain, rather than with Hitler. Mussolini realizes that he and Hitler are claimants for the same colonial treasures. And a joint lion hunt by two dictators would not be a very favorable venture. In the meantime, Great Britain plays for time, hoping soon to be able to dictate the terms of European peace.

## England and the United States

Between England and the United States, there are some very striking similarities and contrasts. Both are facing similar problems with regard to readjusting their internal economy to post-war conditions. With respect to agriculture, England is in an anomalous condition, namely that the British farmers gain must be at the expense of the British manufacturing exporter and the farmers of the Dominion. Both the United States and England have the unemployment problem to solve. England is doing it with little waste and the creation of more jobs and social security. We are still doing it largely by the dole, and only with the barest beginnings of social security.

Like Great Britain, America has a two party system. But in this country, there is the added complication of a written constitution, which because of Federal versus state rights makes progressive social legislation difficult. In Britain, there is the maxim that "if the law ceases to confirm with the fact, so much the worse for the law." In an emergency, they can change the law there even by the Order in Council and without parliamentary consent. Social progress, therefore, is much more simply achieved in England.

In both countries, government interference is rife. Only in Great Britain, it is more acceptable to the economic royalists than it is over here.

In America, when problems arose in the past, they could always be solved by further expansion. Increasing population could go West; newly discovered resources, new processes of manufacturing took up the slack; but as one Englishman said of us, "now that you have come to the end of this kind of expansion, as we have in England, economic progress is dependent not upon further expansion, but upon better internal coordination. It reminds one of the points in biological evolution, when the better integrated organisms began to win out over the great clumsy and stupid beasts. The center of emphasis in American life is in England," he said, "is now shifting from the conquest of new areas to the better integration and coordination of that which you already have."



Feb. 19, 1937

# STRIKES

Address delivered over Station WGAR February 14, 1937

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

I am very glad to yield to the many requests, which have come to me during the week to express my views on strikes.

## The Settlement of the Striker

Happily, the strike at General Motors, which affected something in the neighborhood of four hundred thousand people, largely in this part of the country, has been settled. It has been done with a minimum of the violence that is usual in strikes and with no bloodshed. This strike has featured a new strike technique, known as "the sit-down."

The settlement represents many concessions made on both sides, yet on the whole, I believe there has been considerable progress. To be sure, thousands of workers had a six week vacation without pay, and the company has lost the production of 250,000 cars. It was also fortunate that a week earlier, the Seamen's strike, which tied up shipping on the Pacific Coast was also settled.

When all is said and done, strikes are unworthy of a civilized relations. It indicates immaturity when opposing sides refuse to sit down and talk over their differences, but must fight it out. There are no problems, either as between capital and labor or between countries, that cannot be settled more effectively through discussion and arbitration, by give and take, than by strike and wars. Strikes occur because the relation between capital and labor are under no law, excepting the law of the jungle. And yet, though recognized as legal, wars and strikes are ethically contrary to the spirit of law and order. Even when a strike is peaceably conducted, it is fundamentally a test of strength and endurance in which the workers seek to drive the employers to the verge of bankruptcy, so that they must capitulate; and the employers seek to drive the workers to destitution and to starve them into submission.

In almost all strikes, both sides avail themselves of terrorism, gangsterism, racketeering, espionage, boycott, blacklists, the corruption of public officials, and the violation of law and order. Strikes are industrial battles fought out in public. They settle very little that is fundamental. The settlement is usually only a truce until either side becomes strong enough to break out again. The recent automobile strike was really the continuation of the 1934 strikes.

Strikes come as a rule when a country or an industry is creeping out of the period of depression and starting

on the road to recovery. During the depths of a depression, there are hardly any strikes, because the workers are cowed, afraid to lose their jobs, willing to take anything they can get and work under any conditions. After the N. R. A. was invalidated by the "Nine Old Men" of the Supreme Court, people went back to work for low wages and long hours. This was especially true for women and children. On the other hand, in boom times, strikes are few, because the law of supply and demand force the employers to pay high wages and improve other conditions of labor.

At this particular juncture in American life, when we are passing into a period of recovery, which we hope is not phoney, but stable and secure, strikes are to be expected, because labor is feeling its strength and taking courage. It wants to recoup the losses it sustained during the six years of depression, and they can hardly be blamed for it. American labor today feels very much encouraged, because it has the sympathy and silent backing of the administration in Washington. Without it, the sit-down strikers could never have gotten away with their open flaunting of the eviction order. And yet Governor Murphy of Michigan is to be commended for his patience and refusal to see bloodshed, while negotiations were in process to end the strike.

## The Terms of the Settlement

Let us look into the terms of the final settlement reached in the General Motors Strike and see what they imply. In the first instance, the settlement recognizes the United Automobile Workers as the collective bargaining agency for its members. General Motors also agrees to conditional sole recognition of the Union in twenty plants. At first sight, it would seem that this is a decided loss for the Union, because they had demanded recognition as the agency for all corporation employees, and a victory for General Motors. But on the second thought, the victory is really that of the Union, because General Motors, which a few years ago was absolute adamant in its stand against unionism, is now compelled, if even partially, to recognize what is potentially the strongest form of unionism—the vertical union, and the one that is likely in the future to capture all the mass production industries. True, for the time being, the Union will bargain collectively only for its own members, but it is an entrance wedge

that has already been driven quite deep.

It has put a dent in the solid front of anti-unionism, which has long prevailed in the automobile industry. The year 1934, under the Wagner Labor Act, was the first time that any kind of labor organization had been permitted. Then the Company Union and such other supposedly voluntary associations of workers came into being. They were in reality under the control of the management, and did largely its bidding. They lacked independence and were only a front. Now, the United Automobile Workers Association has its first real chance to capture the field.

Another point in the agreement indicates that all striking or idle employees are to return to work when called without discrimination or prejudice, because of union affiliation, which means that those most active in the Union will have a chance to do their work of influencing the not yet affiliated workers. The Union will undoubtedly use the next few weeks to build up its membership. In France, after the sit-down strikes were victorious, the union members increased from a little less than a million to over five million. It is not at all improbable that in the next few years, the United Automobile Workers Union will become the largest and strongest in the automobile industry and come to be recognized as the sole agency for collective bargaining. It may prove the best thing for all concerned, for consider this fact. The industries, which have had the longest peace, where wages are highest and profits are good, and where all concerned are best protected, are those that are controlled by collective bargaining and which have the strongest unions. I call your attention to the railroads, which have been free from strikes for more than a decade. It operates under a closed shop, the wages are better than in most other trades, the workers are protected against old age, and their seniority rights are respected. The union is strong, intelligently led, and commands the respect of its membership and the railroad management.

A similar condition exists in the men's garment industry. I refer especially to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, of which Mr. Sidney Hillman is the head. It has just concluded a new national agreement that calls for a twelve percent increase in wages. In this industry, there have been a minimum of strikes in recent years. Production is stabilized. Standards are lived up to and the union leadership is the most intelligent. It is one of the unions that is identified with industrial unionism and that was expelled from the A. F. of L.

The typographical union is another instance in point. Therefore, far from being something for which the General Motors should be sorry, they will

in the long run find it to their advantage to have their employees properly organized under the right unions and the right union leaders.

## The Industrial vs. The Craft Union

At this point a word of explanation is necessary with reference to the industrial union versus the craft union. It is one of the sorriest spectacles that at a time such as this, when labor should be united, it is split wide open in a feud within the American Federation of Labor and the Committee on Industrial Organization. The United Mine Workers, which is under the C. I. O. has just expelled Mr. Wm. Green, the president of the A. F. of L. from membership, in a union which he has held for half a century. The mass production industries, such as steel, coal, automobiles, and rubber are no longer suited for craft unions. A few years ago, the American Federation of Labor half-heartedly resolved to unionize mass production industries, such as steel, coal, automobiles, and rubber are no longer suited for craft unions. A few years ago, the American Federation of Labor half-heartedly resolved to unionize mass production industries. But the leadership, which for several generations had been used and schooled in craft unionism, seemed unfitted for the new tasks and they were unsuccessful at it. Technological developments are doing away with the old skills that were required in the handicraft days and which were conducive to craft unions. Now almost anybody off the farm or the street, even if he has never seen a tool or a machine in his life, can in less than a week be trained to work in an automobile plant, where his job is to do one or two operations for eight hours a day at a certain speed. The work is such that it requires young people, because as the machine is speeded up, and the operations coordinated, the worker must have the ability to make a rapid coordination of brain, hand and foot. Men over forty-five, even if they have worked in an automobile plant at the machine for fifteen years, find it difficult to keep it up.

The vertical union finds a place for all of these hands—no longer craftsmen, but just hand, robots, tenders of the machine—and gives them voice, makes them men, represents their grievances, and gives them power by collective means, which they would not have as individuals or as small groups. Under the vertical unions, there is really no closed shop, because the management is permitted to hire anyone they want. The unions look only into the discharges, making sure that the rule of seniority has not been violated, and that the humane and decent thing has not been violated in dismissal.

Under the craft union arrangement, no union had more than a certain number of its men in any particular plant. The business agent had the opportunity, which many of them seized, to become little czars and dictators. The business agent of a certain craft didn't represent all the men on a job, because the different craftsmen were represented by their own business agents. For example, steam fitters, plumbers and carpenters may all be working on the same job, but they are represented by different business agents and business unions. Any arrangement with which the business agent entered with the management was law. The workers simply acquiesced. Under this arrangement, there is little democracy and too much temptation to abuse of power, for craft.

Under the vertical union, there is less opportunity for malpractice because labor's representatives in a plant employing say seven thousand men are right on the job with the men. Everything that they do can be observed and is in the open. They are directly responsible to all the workers, who may call them to task any minute. And when displeased, they can sit down on the job. Furthermore, the dues and the initiation are much lower than in the craft unions. I understand that it is \$2.00 for initiation, \$1.00 of which goes to the International; and the dues are \$1.00 a month—thirty-five cents of which goes to the International, and two and one-half cents for the educational fund. There are no dues if the worker is out of work.

## Dangers in Unionism

Of course, from employer's viewpoint, there are dangers in all unionism. Firstly, because it robs him of the privilege of being the sole manager of his business. The management dislikes to have the workers come in and tell them how to run things. Secondly, if all the mass production industries are organized in vertical unions under one leadership, it is a relatively simple matter for whoever is the leader to tie up the country's industry, and call a general strike. Thirdly, the organization of vertical unions may lead to a cartelization of the mass production industries, to price fixing by government, the control of product, and to a managed economics.

I must pass on to another important phase of the agreement, namely the one in which the union agrees to terminate strikes and evacuate strikers held plants. It is interesting that here too General Motors has made a concession, because during the strike, its president stated repeatedly and emphatically "that there would be no negotiations until the plants were evacuated on the ground that the workers were holding the plants illegally and as ransom; that the seizure of private property was piracy, lawlessness, unAmerican, etc."

There can be no question but that the General Motors Company stood on sound ground, when they argued that the sit-down strike was illegal and that the refusal of the workers to quit the plants after the Court ordered them to evacuate, was a flaunting of public law and order. But there is another side to the picture that should be considered. The sit-down strike, which was first extensively used in Italy, just before Mussolini and his Black Shirts at the behest of the owners, drove the Syndicalist sit-down strikers from the plants, has been widely used in the

France.

It is undoubtedly a very dangerous technique, because it is so very effective. A handful of men, who sit down, throw tens of thousands out of employment, whether or not they are sympathetic or unsympathetic with the cause that led to the sit-down. A classic example of this happened at Akron a few weeks ago, when thirty-one men in the compounding department of one of the rubber companies sat down and threw ten thousand men out of employment for two days until their grievance was settled.

Professor Leo Wolman, who served as chairman of President Roosevelt's Automobile Labor Board in 1934, and now of Columbia University, recently wrote a very scholarly article on the dangers of the sit-down strike. He points out in this article that because irresponsible minorities are able to make a success of the sit-down strike, there is the danger that the method is almost certain to get out of the control of any labor leader, who espouses it; and even out of the control of the men, who practice it. In the sit-down strikes in Flint, the reverse was the case. There was perfect discipline and the strikers exercised a sense of responsibility.

Dr. Wolman also points out that the sit-down strike incites to mob violence, because big majorities of workers cannot long be kept out of employment by a few sit-down strikers. This would be true, particularly, if the mass of workers are out of sympathy with the complaints and the demands of the sit-down strikers. And lastly, he points out that it disrupts all orderly procedure in labor-employer relations and that it promotes lawlessness on the part of all parties to the dispute.

## Labor's Answer

Now what is labor's answer. In the first place, the union workers have contended that the sit-down strike did not come about suddenly. It was provoked by what they call "the run-around," namely the refusal of management to deal promptly and generously with their grievances. When the strike broke out, the management said that the workers of each plant would have to carry on all their negotiations with the local managers. But as was the case in the Atlanta plants, when the unions came to the local manager, he told them that he would have to consult with Detroit. And Detroit said that they would have to consult with the local manager.

This strike revealed that General Motors is divided in its policy with reference to labor. Walter Lippmann is right when he writes that if they had had such a policy, they could have and would have averted this strike altogether, as did Chrysler and Ford. General Motors is really a holding company of three divisions that are as yet but inadequately harmonized. It consists firstly of Wall Street; secondly of Fisher Body; and thirdly of the independent motor companies that were merged under it.

For a full description of General Motors, read an article in "The Nation" of January 23, 1937 by Samuel Rommer, called "The Profile of General Motors."

How do the unions justify the sit-down strike, which the courts have held to be illegal. Their position is as follows. All things considered, they say sitdown strike is the most sane and bloodless way of striking and the reverse of sabotage—for the men, who sit down in the plants keep the machinery and the plants spin and span and ready to pull the lever, when the word of settlement has been given. They contend further that since strikes are regarded as legal, then the lock-in strike is preferable to the lock-out strike. In the lockout or general picketing strike, there is bound to be violence. It is contrary to human nature to expect workers to stand idly by while they see scabs and strike breakers smuggled into the plant through a rear door taking their jobs, and with them the bread out of their mouths. Therefore, in nearly every instance, where the lock-out or picket strike has been practiced, it has led to bloodshed. If strikes are to be recognized as a legal form of warfare, then the unions argue, the sit-down strike is safer and saner.

## Legality of Strikes

As for the legality of any form of strike, they say that what is illegal today may be reared as legal tomorrow, because the law is bound to change with social and economic changes. There was a time when all picketing and striking were regarded as illegal, and when labor unions were held to be an illegal conspiracy. Today, both unionism and strikes are in the category of the legal.

With regard to being an illegal seizure of property, the unions answer by saying that today we must adopt a broader conception of what is involved in property rights and property values. There is a normal and a social viewpoint with reference to property that is not always reflected in the law, because public opinion changes faster than does the law. Private property is really a relatively late development. The Bible says, "all the earth is mine," meaning God's. It is only entrusted to our use so long as we use it aright and as the prophets said "not to add field to field, and to exploit one another." For a long time property was owned collectively. Primitive tribes did not practice private property. In the Catholic Church, large Orders still live collectively and renounce private property. We have private property in our present capitalistic order, but even under capitalism the use of property is regulated and restricted by the law. In other words, it is social need and public opinion as written into law that defines property value and its use.

In modern industry, property values are created not alone by those who own its share of stocks, but by that which the worker invests through his labor. Despite all the labor saving machinery that has come into use, the human hand and the human touch

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are not altogether dependent on the interest from their stocks.

The unions further contend that if the sit-down strikers would actually seize or confiscate the plant, or operate the machinery for their own benefit, then the charge about illegal seizure, etc., would be a just one. But since they do nothing of the kind—they sit down only to prevent its use by others and demand that the management meet with their representatives to talk things over and come to an agreement—under these conditions, they argue that it is not seizure of property.

#### Moral and Social Angel

The crux in the whole situation, it seems to me, is the moral and the social issue. The time must come when management will have to recognize that the workers' stake is in his job and therefore in the plant, and that though he does not have a legal right, he has a moral right, which is just as sacred as that of the absentee stockholder's is. Nothing is gained by befogging the issue with legal theories, as to the nature and value of property in a technological age such as this.

It has been contended that this strike was not over wages, but rather over union recognition. Mr. Sloane, the president of General Motors, has said that the company would continue to pay the highest justifiable wages, and was justly proud of its record in that respect. To this the unions' answer is that this was not a correct presentation of the facts and of the issues in the strike.

The unions do not quarrel over the hourly wage in General Motors. It is ever the annual wage that the unions take issue, maintaining that here there is considerable room for improvement, particularly in the light of what the government regards as sufficient to provide a decent minimum standard of living, the speed up, the stretch out and the company's profits.

#### The Facts

What are the facts? According to the figures of General Motors, the average annual wage of their workers was \$1150. in 1935, and will be \$1490. in 1936. It was so stated by Mr. Knudson in an address before the Industrial Executives Club in Lansing. This shows that the so-called highest justifiable wage ranges between \$22. and \$28. per week as an average for the year. Contrast this with the \$167,000,000. profit made by General Motors in 1935. The management made no specifications as to what proportions of auto workers receive less than these amounts due to less than full time employment. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in a study published in the March, 1936 issue of the Monthly Labor Review, revealed that in 1934, two-thirds of all automobile workers were employed less than full time, and one-third worked less than thirty weeks in the year; and even in 1935, which was a more stable year than 1934, for automobile employment, there were forty per cent less workers employed during the slack season than at the peak season.

According to the same report in 1934, ninety per cent of all the automobile workers received less than \$1500 a year, and fifty-seven per cent less than a \$1,000, and twenty-three per cent less than \$500.

Out of the net profit of \$167,000,000 earned by General Motors in 1935, they could have paid out of this sum to each of their 211,000 employees, who work in their shops, enough to bring their income for the year up to 2,000 and still have had \$72,000,000 left to distribute as dividends to the stockholders. For the year ending Dec. 30, 1936, General Motors "earned" a net profit of \$227,940,000. In 1932, their profit per employee was \$1.42. In 1926, it will be over a thousand dollars—an increase of one hundred thousand per cent of annual wages of General Motors' workers of about fifteen per cent over the same period. Since 1916, the company has never passed a dividend any year;

even when it lost money, the share holders got theirs.

It is not generally recognized that wages are only from ten to thirteen per cent of the cost of a finished automobile. Hence, the raise in wages, which now is five per cent, is not of much importance to the total cost of making a car; whereas to the worker, wage increase means that he is better able to take care of his family and his increased consumptive power makes for more work all around.

It is a very significant thing too, when one realizes that the DuPonts originally paid \$4.70 for the shares in General Motors, of which they own 10,000,000 and in 1936, these shares paid them \$4.50 in dividends for one year alone. A return of ninety-eight per cent of the original cost in one year.

The closing quotation on the stock exchange for this stock on January 29, 1937 was 68½, which meant for the DuPonts that their investment had increased in value 14½ times. In the face of this kind of economic royalism, what sense does the contention of the president of General Motors make, when he says "the real issue is will a labor organization run General Motors or will the owners continue to do so?"

#### The Real Problem

The real problem as I see it is how to bring about an intelligent and peaceful settlement of labor disputes. Everybody realizes that strikes, like war, are a hang over from our primitive times. As long as each side recognizes that they have hostiles and antagonistic interests, each trying to get the largest share of the income, then war and strikes are inevitable. But the time has come for a saner and more ethical view to prevail.

#### A R. A. Solution

A body of labor law and principles must be developed to govern industrial relations, even as a body of international law, which will outlaw war, will have to come into being before wars are abolished. This will not come overnight, nor by formula, but by patient give and take, as management and workers learn to sit down together and meditate their grievances. I do not agree with those who hold as does Mr. Walter Lippmann, that we must outlaw strikes and legalize compulsory arbitration. Neither labor nor management are quite ready for it as yet. It will take much more experience in voluntary arbitration to teach both sides in industrial relations that arbitration is the best way after all. To legislate compulsory arbitration now would be resisted by labor on the ground that it is enforcing "slave labor". Even in Russia, strikes are recognized. They are forbidden in Fascist countries or in places like Sweden and Australia, where

experience in labor arbitration has been over a longer period of time than in America.

What I advocate is that the law should set up not compulsory arbitration, but compulsory mediation boards. When there is a grievance, the sort that may lead to a strike, and that the ordinary arbitration committee of the plant cannot settle, this grievance should be brought before a committee, which will have from thirty to ninety days to study the grievances and to bring both parties together, and to clarify the issue to them and to try and prevail upon them to leave the issues to arbitration.

I like what Mr. Edward McGrady, the Assistant Secretary of Labor said, "such a strike" referring to the automobile strike, "can be avoided in the future, if industry, labor and government will apply themselves to a more civilized method of settling their differences. When a serious dispute arises, and industry and labor sit around the conference table, there should be 3 extra chairs, where reason, intelligence and common sense will be seated. Let government provide the table, and labor the chairs" . . . and I add, "if after they have

## STRIKES

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and to a degree human intelligence are still required. Hence, though legally speaking, the property belongs to those who own it; nevertheless its value is produced not by capital alone, which is invested in it, but by labor's investment. Furthermore, labor has a unique stake in plant and machinery today, because of the revolutionary changes brought about since the industrial revolution by technology.

A hundred years ago, eighty-five per cent of the people of this country owned some form of real or other property, and the chroniclers of that time expressed the hope that Americans would be independent and not have to work for others at a wage. Today, the reverse is true. Over eighty per cent of the people of this country do not own any property—real or otherwise, and they are completely dependent upon their job for a living. Surely, from a moral, social and humane viewpoint, these workers have as fundamental an interest at stake in the property as do the stockholders, whose livelihoods



# THE PRESIDENT AND THE NINE OLD MEN

Address delivered over Station WGAR February 28, 1937  
by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

In a new white marble temple in Washington sit nine old men weighted with years, dignity and responsibility for the ultimate interpretation of the nation's laws. Against the pillars of this temple, President Roosevelt a few weeks ago hurled shafts of stinging criticism, charging that senility was undermining his administration and proposing to reform the Court by a blood transfusion.

When the new temple of justice was dedicated a few years ago, the architect in handing over the key said that it would last "for all time." The New York Times commenting editorially on this statement wrote "to raise buildings for all times is to impose ourselves upon the future. It denies to our posterities the right to express themselves in their own way. It fails to take cognizance of the speed of modern civilization." Mr. Justice Brandies said when first shown the plans of the new court house by the late Chief Justice Taft, "future generations of justices will serve the country better, if they do not exalt themselves in physical magnificence. Justice is born in the mind. Yes, justice is born in the mind, where things are flexible and resilient, and where the prevailing rule is change, the sort of change that Mr. Roosevelt is convinced is being denied to the country by a group of old men, who sit in this Court and who he believes are completely out of touch with the changing economic and social conditions of our times."

This is not the first time that President Roosevelt has shown his displeasure with the Supreme Court. On May 30, 1935, three days after the nine old men had declared his N. I. R. A. unconstitutional, he made his now famous comment that "the Court had interpreted the Interstate Commerce clause of the Constitution in the light of the horse and buggy days of 1789. The implications of that decision," he asserted, "would deprive

the government of all control over economic and social conditions." Subsequent events proved that the President was justified in fearing what the Court would do to his program, a program of social and economic legislation, which he feels convinced is the only way to save capitalism and democracy, and one which he wants sincerely to help get on the way before he retires to private life.

Speaking, the other day, to Mr. Krock, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Roosevelt said, "when I retire to private life on Jan. 20, 1941, I don't want to leave the country in the condition Buchanan left it to Lincoln. If I cannot in the brief time given me to attack its deep and disturbing problems, solve those problems, I hope at least to move them well on the way to solution by my successor. It is absolutely essential that the process begin at once." In this determination of Mr. Roosevelt, certainly all good citizens concur.

The Supreme Court in a series of anti-New Deal decision invalidated the A. A. A. crop control system, the Rice Processing Tax Law, the Gulfey Coal Acts, the Municipal Bankruptcy Act; other decisions killed the Lemke-Frazier Farm Mortgage Act, which the President supported; they denied the President the right to remove a Federal Trade Commissioner. They curbed the powers of the Securities Exchange Commission, and they killed the New York State Minimum State law for women and children in a decision which led the President to say, "the Court has set up a no man's land in which neither the State or the Federal Government could function." All told, the Administration has won four decisions in the Supreme Court test, and lost ten in a period of four years. It is interesting at this point to remind ourselves that the number of acts, whether State or National, which the Supreme Court has dis-

allowed has increased enormously in recent years. Between 1789 and 1865, the Court pronounced void just two provisions and acts of Congress. Between 1920 and 1932 inclusive, it overturned twenty-two such provisions. While between 1934 and 1936 inclusive, it overturned thirteen such provisions. Among the acts of Congress, which the Court has set aside, those transgressing clear unmistakable words of the Constitution are few indeed. Rather Prof. Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton University, suggests "the basis of its decision has usually been some doctrine or theory, which has itself not without popular approval necessarily imported into the Constitution from the outside. Indeed New Deal legislation, which has perished at the Court's hands, has almost fallen before just such doctrines or theories." And in cases concerning the crucial issue of State versus national power, it is generally order that is properly brought before, even though it may not be arbitrarily exercised. It is arbitrary in the sense that in the last analysis the opinion of constitutional lawyers that the Court's decisions have rested on extremely vague grounds, which have been open to a variety of interpretation, and that they have been put on grounds concerning which the Court's own interpretation has varied from time to time.

With the Court setting itself up as a sort of third legislative body, it is quite understandable why the President should have become so impatient about their acts. The people will not long endure a frustration of their will as expressed in Congressional legislation on economic and social questions. "Ours may be a government under law, but apparently the law has become what the judges say it is." This statement is attributed to no less a person than Chief Justice Hughes. The overwhelming vote, which the President received and the following that he has in Congress, which is alas almost servile, he has interpreted as a mandate from the people to do something to reform or to curb the Supreme Court's veto power over acts of Congress.

Writing in 1932, Professor Thomas Reed Powell of Harvard summed up the position of the court in relation to the Constitution in these words:

"Nine men in Washington have a pretty arbitrary power to annul any statute or ordinance or administrative order. The power is an arbitrary one, it is exercised as five or more of the nine men think best."

"The Supreme Court can hardly be said to be controlled by the Constitution because so seldom does the Constitution clearly dictate a decision. It is not controlled by its own precedents, for it feels free to overrule them. It feels even more free to make distinctions that no sensible person would think of making except to avoid confession that a precedent is being disregarded. All this remains true even though in most of the cases it is also true that applicable precedents are either followed or are not there to be invoked. The Supreme Court does what it prefers to do when it prefers to do as possible what it has done before."

Certainly nothing has happened since 1932 to cast doubt on the soundness of this verdict.

## Alternatives

After the N. I. R. A. ruling was handed down, the New Deal advocates began to speculate on how to curb those nine old men from further upsetting New Deal legislation. A number of plans were developed. The first was to wait until a vacancy occurs, and to fill that vacancy with a liberal appointment.

In the meanwhile to patch up the legislation that the Court vetoes, Roosevelt has waited four years and no vacancy has offered itself. The President's luck was not working. One of his predecessors, the late Mr. Taft, had five vacancies to fill during his term.

A second proposal that was discussed had reference to the regulation by statute of the judicial function, so that in certain types of cases, if two or more justices declared themselves opposed to upsetting the legislation, that it was not to be declared invalid.

A third proposal advocated granting Congress the power to repass a law invalidated by the Supreme Court, if it could muster a two-thirds vote in a successive session, or else to submit the invalidated law to a plebiscite of the whole people.

A fourth proposal was to put through one or more constitutional amendments defining clearly the powers of Congress and the States over the regulation of commerce, agriculture, labor and finance, and in that way remove from the Supreme Court jurisdiction over such measures and place the policy forming function on economic and social matters, where it rightfully belongs in the hands of the people's directly elected representatives.

In fact, at the National Democratic Convention held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1936, when Roosevelt received the re-nomination, the Platform on which Mr. Roosevelt ran and on which he was re-elected and which he undoubtedly helped to write, promised the people that "we will continue to meet the problems through legislation within the Constitution. And if these problems cannot be solved effectively by such legislation "we shall seek a clarifying amendment," which would give Congress the power to do the things that the President has in mind for it to accomplish.

Mr. Roosevelt is now vulnerable because he has failed to abide by this platform pledge, and has instead substituted a proposal to curb the Court's veto power by what amounts to a virtual "packing" of the Court in the President's favor. For every one of the six judges now over 70, the President seeks power from Congress, a power which Congress has, to appoint six other justices until the total number of Justices reaches fifteen — one new Justice for each new member, who has not resigned within six months of his seventieth birthday. The President justifies this proposal on the ground that the "modern complexities call for a constant infusion of new blood in the Courts . . . a lowered mental or physical vigor leads men to avoid an examination of complicated and changed conditions. Little by little new facts become blurred through old biases, fitted as it were for needs of another generation. Older men, assuming that the scene is the same as it was in the past, cease to explore or inquire into the present or the future."

## Precedent

Those who now charge the President with surprising the country, should qualify it. The only element of surprise is that instead of choosing the way of a clarifying constitutional amendment, which his platform promised, he preferred the "adroit" way of "packing the Court" with a membership favorable to the New Deal.

Let it be said here and now that the proposal is constitutional. That it is speedy, avoiding such delay as might be involved in passing an amendment to the Constitution. That it has precedent. The Court has been packed before. As originally constituted, in 1789, it consisted of only six members. In 1801, the number was dropped to five. In 1807, it was raised to seven; in 1837 to nine. In 1863, during the Civil War, the number was raised to ten, because one of the members of the Court was a Confederate and could not serve; later it was reduced to seven, and increased again to nine under President Grant, who packed the Court with two new Justices, whom he knew would help him reverse decision that had been granted by a four-to-three vote on the legal tender issue.

The President undoubtedly chose the adroit plan of packing the Court, because he fears that certain influences, like that of the Liberty League, have been at work poisoning State Legislatures, and since it would take only thirteen states to defeat an amendment, and the Texas Legislature has already declared itself in the negative in a gratuitous vote, the President did not want to run the defeat by the way of the amendment.

Speculation is now rife that the President will have his way with this proposal, because a number of the Congressmen and Senators are afraid that the Administration will "crack down" on them and withhold patronage if they do not vote in the affirmative. Other Congressmen and Senators have soon to go back to their constituencies for re-election and are fearful of facing their people with the charge that they voted against the President. All of these factors

are unfortunately in the picture. Therefore, we are not having as open and as frank a discussion in Congress of this proposal as we should.

On the other hand it is also true that many a Senator and Congressman, who formerly stood loyally with the President, is speaking out against this proposal, not because he is out of sympathy with the basic and underlying need of curbing the Supreme Court's power but because he is opposed to the method of packing the Court that the President has adopted.

## Objections

The basic objections to the President's plan are as follows.

It does not go to the root of the problem, namely the need of curbing the Court's jurisdiction over economic policy, which in a democracy should be the function of Congress. The President's plan of reorganizing the Court only perpetuates the judicial oligarchy, it does not reform it. This power of vote over Congressional acts by the Court came into our Constitutional law with the famous Marshall decision in the Madison Marbury case early in our history. But it is only in recent years, as I have pointed out, that this veto power has been exercised to such a large extent and now primarily in matters affecting economic and social legislation, over which it is wrong for the Court to have jurisdiction, because the function of the Court is judicial and not economic. By repacking the court in his favor, the President for the time being may have his way, but it does not deal with the fundamental need, which is to curb the Court, rather than to purge it. A blood transfusion is not enough.

As one who sympathizes with the President, I plead with him to abandon this adroit way, and to adopt in its stead the amendment procedure, to which the American public is accustomed, and which he led them to expect he would follow. Difficult as it may be to phrase such amendments because in addition to accomplishing what the President wants accomplished, these amendments must retain the federation of states concept of our government and the independence of the Supreme Court, both of which are fundamental to our continuance as a democracy. This may be the longer, but in the end, it will prove the shorter way for the very purposes that the President has in mind.

What assurance has the President that after the number fifteen has been reached, and despite the law just passed permitting Justices to retire at the age of 70 with full and protected pay, that any of the conservative old men will resign. It is more likely that they will hang on in the hope that Roosevelt will be followed by a conservative and then resign, so that a "proper" successor may be appointed. In that way a semi-hereditary caste of conservative Justices will be created.

The plan of packing the Court can be used as effectively by a reactionary president as by a liberal. Ultimately, it may produce a benchful of younger reactionaries, just as blind and stubborn in their fifties as in their seventies. For if by legislative act, one President can oust two-thirds of his Supreme Court, or pack the Court until it does his bidding, there is nothing to prevent another President from doing the same thing. This successor might be swept into office by a tidal wave of reaction, such as is not uncommonly provoked when progressives over-reach themselves. His successor might feel called upon to oust the rump court, created by Roosevelt, and a new Court might very well find ways of abridging the Bill of Rights, as Roosevelt's Court would find ways of centralizing legislative authority.

Furthermore even a liberal President sometimes finds that there is many a slip between the nomination of a judge and his decisions. The conservative McReynolds was appointed by the liberal Wilson. And to counteract the consistently liberal Holmes and Brandeis, the conservative Harding appointed two reactionaries. From the names that the President is rumored to be considering it does not seem that he may choose more wisely than did his predecessors.

The method of packing the Court is out of line with the basic idea of the framers of the Constitution that the three branches of government, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary should be as far as possible kept independent of one another and act as a check and balance system. The President already has a subservient Congress. There is no Republican opposition to speak of. And opposition is an important thing in a republican government. In England, for example, they maintain a party in opposition, and the leader of opposition is a very important member of the House of Parliament. Furthermore, the President now has the people of this country pretty well in the palm of his hand. They have completely succumbed to his charming and intimate "my friends." Though I have no fear that the President is looking to make himself dictator, nevertheless, it is not wise that he should have a subservient Court added to all the other branches of government, then why has he not filled these a sense, the Court has acted as the only opposition that the President has. Truly, this is not its function; but neither is it the President's function to have a court that he can put into his vest pocket. When this happens in America, we may say goodbye to democracy.

## Senility

The President has contended that the Court is superannuated. And yet I make bold to state that this is a fictitious issue, that it would never have been raised if four of the other old men had voted consistently with the 80-year-old Brandeis, whom the President will now have to sacrifice. What a pity, for if all Brandeis did was to just write minority opinions, it would be worth retaining him. For Brandeis' minority opinions of yesterday and today will be the Supreme Court's majority opinions of tomorrow.

In a very real sense, the President has lowered the prestige of the Court by speaking of the Judges in the disparaging way in which he has. I am no believer of fetishes, and therefore, I do not believe in making a fetish of the Court and idols of the

(Continued on Page 7)





# THE PRESIDENT AND THE NINE OLD MEN

(Continued from Page 6)

Justices. We do not believe in an authoritarian Bible and therefore we ought not to have an iron clad Constitution. But I hold that in a country like ours, where State and Church are separated, the people need some form of anchorage, some link with the Invariant, and the Rock of Ages is as essential to political life as it is to religious life.

The American people have come on the whole to look upon the Supreme Court as the bulwark of Minority Rights and Civil Liberties, and justifiably so. The decisions of the Court in matters affecting these basic elements of democracy have been numerous. When we shake confidence in the Court, we are not helping to ground deeper those basic stays on which the whole structure of our liberty depends.

It has been contended an amendment would be a very slow and tedious process when time is so important a factor and as the President has said, "it is absolutely essential that we begin the process at once." The fact of the matter is that an amendment need not take twelve or fifteen years to pass. The average time that it has taken to put through the twenty-one amendments to the Constitution was a little over a year. The Prohibition Amendment took two years, the Women's Suffrage Amendment two years. Recently amendments have passed in much shorter time even than this. The amendment nullifying national prohibition took less than nine months, and the Lane Duck Amendment is another example of speedy action. The country is in a mood today to curb the powers of the Supreme Court to veto Congressional legislation on economic and social matters. I am confident that the President would have his way if clarifying amendments could be

formulated in accordance with the limitations that I have called attention to. He need not fear the opposition of the Liberty League and their ilk. Even if all the newspapers in the country were opposed to such amendments, as they are not, I believe he could still win, even as he did over eighty-five per cent of the newspaper opposition in his last campaign. But in sponsoring a truly clarifying amendment, he would be achieving a permanent reform, and in a way that Americans of this generation have been brought up to expect changes in the organic law of the country to be made. It would allow for full and free debate by the people and their representatives in their respective legislatures. In the event that such an amendment should not pass, then it would be an indication of where the people really stand and what they want. When all is said and done, that is democracy. No leader can force the people to accept that which they will not have.

In this connection it is well to call to mind a warning uttered by George Washington in his farewell address to his countrymen, "if in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional power be in any particular wrong let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates, but let there be no change by usurpation."

When the President insists on a Court of fifteen men on the ground that that number would expedite the business of the Court faster than the present, he is stating something with which his friend, Professor Felix Frankfurter does not agree. In the Encyclopedia of Social Science Frankfurter has stated "there is no magic in the number nine, but there are limits to an effective judicial action . . . Experience is conclusive that to enlarge the size of the Supreme Court would be self-defeating."

There are at present eight vacancies to fill in the lower Federal Courts, whose calendars are really crowded. If the shortage of man power has weighed heavily on the President's mind, then why has he not filled these vacancies, though they have existed for months.

With further reference to increasing the size of the Court Raymond Moley, Ex-New Dealer No. 1, made this keen observation: "Appointment to one of the new memberships will be a very doubtful honor under the circumstances. It will imply that the appointee is chosen not primarily as a statesman capable of wise and independent action, but because of a predetermined acquiescence with whatever the President in the future proposes to an obedient Congress."

## Dictatorships

A great many epithets and charges have been hurled at the President, such as "dictators, and destroyer of the Constitution, etc.) I am frank to say that though I oppose the President's proposal to pack the Court, I have very little sympathy with those who believe the country will go to the dogs, if the act passes, and that Mr. Roosevelt will head straight for a dictatorship as a result of it. There are many countries which are as democratic as ours, and which do not have any Supreme Court. (Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark.) There the will of the Legislature is the last word, and these countries are just as stably governed as is ours. Our real safeguard against dictatorships consists in providing such flexibility that intelligent and patriotic representatives of the people have the opportunity and power to bring about rapid adjustments when critical situations arrive, such as those that are now facing us today.

Dictatorships come in periods of economic depression, social discouragement, and governmental breakdown. Roosevelt's courage, I believe,

has averted social breakdown, and therefore has forestalled dictatorship. There is more danger that our present recovery may be phoney instead of real, and this in turn will bring about dictatorship. Our real safeguard is to ground our recovery in basic economic and social reforms, in moderation, and social sensitivity. I have the feeling that our security against dictatorship lies in the ethical character and the intellectual achievement of the American people. It is because I have faith in this character and achievement that I urge upon the President to desist from pushing through his adroit plan of packing the Court. It will be a hollow victory. But if he succeeds in the process he will lose the respect and good will of the business and more moderate elements in the population whose co-operation is essential.

## Lord Bryce

In conclusion, I believe that it will be very helpful to cite the prophetic remarks of Mr. James (Lord) Bryce, former Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, who lived here many years, loved America, and learned to know it better than a great many Americans. In his book, the American Commonwealth, which has become a classic, (Vol. I, pages 269 and 270) Bryce discussing the number of the Supreme Court Judges, had the following to say:

"This method, (referring to Grant's action in 1869 in the legal tender case in which Grant packed the Court) is plainly susceptible of further and dangerous application. Suppose a Congress and President bent on doing something which the Supreme Court deemed contrary to the Constitution, they pass a Statute. A case arises under it. The Court on hearing the case unanimously declares the Statute to be null, as being beyond the powers of Congress. Congress forthwith

passes and the President signs another statute more than doubling the number of Justices. The President appoints to the new justiceships men who are pledged to hold the former case Constitutional. The Senate confirms his appointments. Another case, raising the validity of the disputed Statute is brought up to the Court. The new Justices out-vote the old ones. The Statute is held valid. The security provided for the protection of the Constitution is gone like a morning mist.

What prevents such assaults on the fundamental law — assaults, which however immoral in substance, would be perfectly illegal in form. Not the mechanism of government, for all its checks have been evaded. Not the conscience of the Legislature and the President, for heated combatants seldom shrink from justifying the means by the end. Nothing but the fear of the people, whose broad good sense and attachment to the great principles of the Constitution, may generally be relied on to condemn such a perversion of its forms. Yet if excitement has risen high over the country, a majority of the people may acquiesce and then it matters little whether what is really a revolution be accomplished by openly violating or by merely distorting the forms of law. To the people we come sooner or later, it is upon their wisdom and self-restraint that the stability of the most cunningly devised scheme of government will in the last resort depend."

No man, excepting that he was clairvoyant, could have foreseen a century ago, to a detail, what is actually taking place today. It seems to me that the American people would be very wise, and so would the President to heed Bryce's warning.

The Court needs curbing, not purging. A blood transfusion is not enough.



# THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF ISRAEL

Address delivered over Station WGAR March 6, 1937

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

With Special Reference to Capital and Labor Relations.

At a time like this when the economic and social problems are the burning issues of the day, and our country is torn by industrial strife, I have chosen to speak to you on "The Social Message of Israel" with specific reference to capital and labor relations.

The function of religion is a two-fold one. It is to give solace to the individual in a world of travail and sorrow. But also and primarily, its function is to order the world after the Kingdom of the Almighty, that is to say to help shape the social order in which we live according to those ethical ideals and spiritual values, which are to us, believers in religion, the evidences of God's sovereignty.

I want to state right at the outset that in interpreting the Social Message of Israel, I am speaking as an individual rabbi, and not for the Rabbinate; as the spiritual leader of a great congregation and faith, and yet not for all my congregation and co-religionists. In Judaism, there is not only freedom of individual interpretation, but freedom of individual expression. I can only hope that with what I shall have to say tonight, many spiritual leaders and laymen, Jew and Christian, will agree. Much of it is based on the Social Pronouncements of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Social Justice Platform of the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly.

## Collective Bargaining

Modern Judaism takes the stand that the worker has an inviolable right in the industry in which he works, a right which is equal to that of the investors, that he has a right to organize in unions of his own choice, and to bargain collectively.

Because we believe that human freedom must not be curtailed, we recognize labor's right to strike. Yet while recognizing this right, we strongly prefer arbitration to open conflict, for strikes are wasteful and destructive. They are unworthy of a civilized community. They are to industrial relations what war is to international relations, an indication of our immaturity, of our failure to grow up.

In organized capital and organized labor, there is tremendous inherent power. This power, unless wisely used, has often led to oppression and injustice. Equally as we urge upon capital to recognize unions; to deal with labor openly and above board, and not through spy systems that seek to undermine labor's morale, as was revealed in the recent LaFollette Senate Investigation; and to acknowledge that labor deserves a share in management; so we urge upon organized labor to incorporate; to become legally responsible, as it is in England; to establish and uphold standards of corporate conduct, which will make impossible racketeering, sabotage, and the disregard for public law and order. The Jewish law holds that not only is labor entitled to its hire, but that the employer has a duty to provide for an honest day's

suggested, sit down together around a conference table, and I believe that there should be at this table, three extra chairs, where Reason, Intelligence and Common Sense may also find a place. Let the government provide the table, and management and labor the chairs. It is heartening to see what a fine example was set this week by the leaders of labor and capital in the nation's five billion dollar steel industry, when instead of tearing the country wide open in a strike, they sat down, conferred, recognized each other's rights to collective bargaining, and came to an amicable settlement. Hats off to such industrial statesmanship.

## Living Wage

Modern Judaism stands for the moral right of the worker to a living annual wage, I underscore the word annual, which it regards as the first charge upon industry. And by a living wage, we mean more than a sum sufficient to meet the bare necessities. A living wage implies sufficient to enable a worker to make full provision for the education of his children and to protect his family against his death, sickness and old age. The right relations between capital and labor can never be consummated until a just and equitable distribution is made of the national income. Even today, this income is large enough to insure to every individual and family a return sufficient to maintain a decent minimum standard of living. It is a well known fact that the great majority of workers' and farmers' families in this country live far below this decent minimum standard of living, as computed by the government. To effect a just and equitable distribution of the national income, it is imperative, that the minimum wage shall be high enough to be just, and this can never come about until the maximum income is low enough to make justice possible.

With regards to women, who have become a real factor in industry, we believe in equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day for them. Because we are unqualifiedly opposed to child labor, we favor the child labor amendment, which is now before the several states of the Union for ratification, and hope that those now fighting for its passage in New York may win. We believe in this amendment, because it is the God given right of children to be sheltered and educated, so that they may properly be fitted to take their place in society as self-sustaining and self-respecting men and women. Child labor is a blotch on our American civilization and a blight to our expanding social conscience. Removing children up to the age of eighteen from an overcrowded labor market will prevent them from competing with their own elders for the available jobs.

We hold that all ownership is a social trust and ought never to be administered without regard to the social results. We therefore call upon investors not to invest their money or derive profits from industries administered in ways out of harmony with the recognized principles of social

be cured by pitting class against class and creating a dictatorship of the proletariat, as Communists maintain. Rather we believe that a solution can be found in the application of sound humanitarian principles to capital and labor relations under conditions of Industrial Democracy and a socialized capitalism. We emphasize that political democracy is incomplete unless extended to include equal opportunity for all to acquire the means of material existence, and to participate in the spiritual values that have been accumulated since the beginning of civilization. Modern Judaism is, therefore, opposed to dictatorship of any class, be it that of capital or labor, of the Red, Black or Brown variety.

No problem in America is worrying us more than the problem of unemployment. We believe that the right to work is not only an economic necessity, but a spiritual necessity, that it is the duty of society to provide work for all those willing and able. Unemployment not only breeds poverty, it ravages the human soul. Our tragedy lies in the fact that we are moving into a period of recovery, if not of prosperity, whilst millions of people, who are young and able, cannot find jobs. What Lincoln once said about a nation not being able to exist half-slave and half-free, applies with even greater meaning to our problem of unemployment.

A hundred years ago, eighty per cent of the people in this country were independent owners of their own farms and worked in their own shops. They were not dependent upon wages for a living. As Jefferson envisaged the future of America, his vision was "of a society composed of men enjoying in ease and security, the fruits of their own handiwork." All of this has changed in the course of this century. Today, over eighty per cent of the people of this country depend upon a salary for a living. They do not possess any property, either real or otherwise. Their only stake in a livelihood is their job in a plant in which they are only hired hands. With the coming of technology and mass production, the middle man and white collared classes are being squeezed out and forced down into the already overcrowded army of wage workers and the unemployed. No wonder Mr. Justice Brandeis, who is the spiritual heir of Jefferson and Lincoln, calls for "the pulverization of Big Business," and a chance for the little man in America. But his voice may be a voice crying in the wilderness, unless as a nation, we take seriously the principles of social justice and religion, and apply them to the problems of capital and labor.

Unless private industry can by some sudden spurt take up the slack in unemployment, it will become necessary for the government to develop a permanent system of public works, because in addition to the large number already unemployed, labor saving machinery is constantly adding to their ranks. As I look into the future, it seems to me that the formula on which industry will have to operate, will be increased mass production, higher wages, fewer hours, and lower prices. This may curtail profits, but it will enable the masses of our people to buy back that which they produce and enjoy more of the world's goods. It will provide them with increased leisure for the constructive use of which they will have to be trained.

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# HOLDS NO PERSON NEED BE FAILURE

## Brickner Says "Learn Art of Co-Operation" to Attain Success

"No one needs to be a failure if he will learn the art of co-operation and will set the goal of his life within the compass of his attainments," said Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, discussing "Failures in Work, Love and Social Relations," at Euclid Avenue Temple yesterday morning.

"The talisman against failure is to act as if it were impossible to fail," Dr. Brickner said.

"The best brains and abilities do not always spring from those with apple cheeks and steel tempered spines.

"President Roosevelt is the best example of how physical handicap can be a spur to outstanding work. It is possible that Mr. Roosevelt could never have reached the presidency had he not been stricken. For proof of this all one needs to do is to compare the easy-going, comparatively unambitious political figure of the president as a robust athlete and sportsman, which he was before 1921, with that of the dynamic fighting invalid who fought his way to the White House."

### Failure in Work

In dealing with failures in work, Rabbi Brickner recommended, "If you are convinced your job is too limited for you, then be brave enough to quit. It is not a sign of failure, particularly with young people, to flounder for a while before finding just the right job. If the job doesn't exist, you can sell it to someone to make it for you.

"The secrets of success in work are seeing the future possibilities of your job. Grow with it, advance with it, be appreciative of those with whom you work, and have a life outside the job, a hobby, a cause, a movement, friends, and the intimacy of great minds through books."

Discussing failures in love and marriage, Dr. Brickner asserted:

"The time has passed when a girl is a failure in love because she has not married. That is an old-fashioned idea. Sometimes a woman rejects love because she feels called upon to make a sacrifice for an aging or ailing parent or member of the family. Some women prefer their work and their career to marrying beneath them intellectually and professionally.

### Force Love Out of Contest

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productivity, the woman dancer or actress who in pregnancy would be put out of a job longer than she dare risk, the hopelessly narcissistic person who believes that an amour is enough and when it is over it should be torn up—all these force love out of its context, and by forgoing the development of love toward rational and human ends destroy the real meaning of love.

"The trouble is that such types of persons, once despised—and not wholly without reason—by the solid citizenry of our land, have now become the ideals and the objects of a mythologizing process.

"Success in marriage is much more than finding the right person. It is a matter of being the right person. Nagging, the absence of sympathy, the desire to make your partner over, futile heart-breaking criticism, financial difficulties, sexual maladjustments—these are the causes of failures in marriage. Many a wife or husband has dug his and her own marital grave with a series of little digs."



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# "WHICH WAY FOR THE JEW?"

Address Delivered on Message of Israel Program

by

DR. BARNETT R. BRICKNER,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple  
Cleveland, O.

Over coast to coast network of the National Broadcasting Company

Saturday evening, March 13, 1937

In the face of a growing anti-Semitism that is rapidly becoming world-wide in scope, what should the Jew's answer be? Some say the Jew should mute his life into comparative insignificance and anonymity, that he should not be conspicuous.

In my humble opinion, this hush hush policy is not practical nor sound. Firstly, four and one-half million Jews, distributed as we are in American life, cannot do such a thing, even if we wanted to. Secondly, it implies that we have lost faith in America in that we fear that what has happened in Germany can happen over here. I do not share that fear.

I have faith in America, because her soil is not soaked with the blood of racial and religious prejudice.

I have faith in America, because her people are made up of different racial and religious groups, who must learn to live together sympathetically, or else there will be no living at all.

I have faith in America, because America is still a land of economic abundance. In Europe, Fascism and anti-Semitism thrive, because of economic exhaustion.

In America, by the proper economic and social legislation, we can avert Fascism, and become again the land of expanding economic opportunity. Although anti-Semitism becomes virulent during depressions, it does not completely disappear when times are good. It is like a disease. But it is not our disease. We are only its victims, and the cure lies not with us, but with the entire non-Jewish

world. All we can do is to immunize ourselves against it, so that we are not overwhelmed by its sudden resurgence.

There are those who have sought to avert it by escape mechanisms, such as Communism and assimilation. I have been to Russia several times in recent years. I found anti-Semitism practically non-existent there. But I also found that Judaism is disappearing. Our people have lived in history for four thousand years. We have a great religious and cultural heritage. Should we liquidate simply for material ends and political emancipation? The price is too high. Communism is a solution to the Jewish problem in the economic sense only, but it spells dissolution for the Jew. Well, why not assimilate? The answer is to be found in what has happened in Germany. To which some may reply, but this happened under capitalism. I answer, but what assurance can anyone have that it may not recur under Communism.

## Chromosome Hunting

Mankind has a bad habit, especially in times of crisis, to revert to chromosome hunting. Witness the tragic lot of a million and a quarter Germans, who are being denied the right to call themselves either Christians or Aryans, because foresooth, they were so careless as to choose a great grandparent, who was Jewish. Now, that surviving speck is casting its shadow on their lives, and has made them Pariahs, outcasts.

I cannot resist telling you the story "The Last Jew," as Behrman tells it in his play, "Rain from Heaven." With the extermination of the Jews in Germany, the millenium has been promised the people. And with the efficiency of a well-organized machine, the purpose is all but accomplished. They are all dead—but one—the last Jew. He is about to commit suicide, when an excited deputation from the All-Highest comes to see him. Let this man die and their policy is bankrupt. They are left naked, without an issue without a program, without a scapegoat. The Jews gone and still no millenium? They are in a panic, till finally a committee is dispatched, and the last Jew is given a handsome subsidy to propagate.

## Jewish Education

The lesson of all this is clear. The Jew cannot and must not disappear. It is our destiny to remain Jews. Then let us, therefore, be the best kind of Jews. This does not mean going back to the ghetto. But it does mean learning what Judaism stands for, becoming possessed by its message, and living up to its high spiritual standard. The Jewishly uneducated Jew is self-defeating. He lacks that inner compensation, which only the knowledge of Judaism brings to him. Our forefathers were able to withstand any fate that befell them, because they possessed this inner spiritual strength.

The Jew of today must return to his faith. He must not only be a well informed Jew, but a believing Jew. The day is gone when it was smart for intelligent people to scoff at religion. Our greatest scientists, men like Whitehead, Carrel, Compton, Lewisohn, Sheila Kay Smith, T. V. Elliot, reflect in their researches and writings the bankruptcy of materialism. They point to the need for faith. Mankind can save itself only by a

## Palestine

In the face of what is happening to our people in Germany, Poland and Rumania, the Jews of America must charge themselves with relieving the distress of their brethren in these lands of persecution. I saw it with my own eyes last summer. Its horror is indescribable. Intimately linked up with this cause is the task of building Palestine as the Jewish homeland. It is typical of Jewish history that when darkness covers one part of our world, the light of hope dawns in another. When one Jewish center is destroyed, another horizon of hope comes into view. When we were expelled from Spain, America was discovered. Palestine, despite the recent difficulties with the Arabs, is today that horizon of hope. Ours is the sacred privilege of making that hope realizable. There is something Messianic about these times in which we are living. There is an old legend that tells of a great cup in heaven, into which all the tears shed by Jews on account of persecution, fall. When this cup is filled to overflowing, then redemption will come. One part of the legend is already fulfilled. The cup of Jewish trouble is overflowing and now must come redemption. We are the chosen generation to whose lot this sacred task has fallen, let us be worthy of it.

## Unity

There is one further thing that we Jews in this country must achieve. We must bring order and unity out of the chaos that exists in our internal affairs. Only as a unified community will we be able to cope with anti-Semitism, and make our contribution to American culture. We want to be more than a mathematical addition to America's population. We want to be a spiritual asset.

The present moment is dark, but not hopeless. Our history has brought us many trials, but it has also taught us to be patient, to judge our present tragic situation not in the light of the moment, but in the light of historical experiences. In Cairo, Egypt, there is still an inscription written 3850 years ago, which reveals, "we have uprooted Israel. Their seed is no more." Yet, we are here, and those, who indicated it, are covered by the sands of time.

## Hope

"We have seen regimes more brutal than National Socialism rise and fall, and we have lived through them. We have seen more formidable dictatorships than the present ones take birth and disintegrate. We have seen worse fanaticisms than those which demoralize the world today, break up. And the balance sheet of our tragic past proves to us that we and not they have survived.

"Out of the very ills of the present epoch, we may read the beginning of an improvement and a change for the better. Nature and history teach us that "it is always darkest before the dawn." It accords with the old Jewish proverb, "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall." Proverb No. 16. Malevolent forces are never more brutal than in periods, which immediately precede their collapse. A tyrant is never more despotic than before his end, an oppressing class never more arrogant than before its fall, and ideas never more fanatically aggressive than immediately before their disappearance.

"Today, we are witnessing the insane exaggeration of nationalism, with its false radicalism, militarism, paganism and intolerance. It is the last gasp before the end." In such a world in which the majority is deranged by passion and prejudice, our only salvation as a minority is adherence to the Jewish way of life. Our history teaches that if we are to come forth victorious from the rav-



# The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus

Address Delivered on Message of Israel Program  
by

DR. BARNETT R. BRICKNER,  
Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple  
Cleveland, O.

Over coast to coast network of the National Broadcasting Company  
Saturday Evening, March 20, 1937

Wherever religion builds her altars, there flames a burning bush, and he, who draws near to it, must do so in the proper spirit, mindful of the Biblical injunction, "Veil thy countenance, take off thy shoes from off thy feet for the ground upon which thou standest is holy ground." He, who has no religion of his own, may scoff at another's, but he, who cherishes his own faith, will enter upon a discussion of his neighbor's creed with reverence and with a sense of profound respect.

All during this week, our Christian friends and neighbors are observing Passion Week, the week that culminates in Good Friday and Easter Sunday. The central theme of this week is the tragic story of the Trial, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus. Were it not for the fact that the Jewish people figure in the story, I would not feel called upon to discuss a matter that touches the very heart of a daughter faith. But as everyone knows, the story in the New Testament absolves the Romans from guilt, and lays upon the Jews the entire responsibility for the crucifixion. The widespread acceptance throughout the ages of the New Testament, reaching even unto our own day, has led to what might be called the Christian Jewish Tragedy.

## A Christian Speaks

It is encouraging that in recent years, Christian scholars and theologians of note have been realizing that a terrible injustice has been done the Jew throughout the past 1900 years. They now confirm the fact that the Jews as a nation were far less guilty of the death of Jesus, than were the Greeks as a nation guilty of the death of Socrates. In this connection, I quote to you from what a Christian Divine, Professor Conrad Henry Moehlman of the Rochester, New York, Theological Seminary says in his recent book, "The Christian Jewish Tragedy." "The synoptic accounts of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus do not agree the one with the other. No one can bridge the chasm between the differing synoptic narratives on the one hand and the Johanne portrait on the other. All of the New Testament descriptions of the tragedy of Passion Week have undergone serious modification and expansion. Our Christian text books do not tell what happened in Jerusalem nineteen centuries ago. The Jews still possessed the right to try and execute persons transgressing their religious laws. The Jews did not crucify, they stoned or decapitated for blasphemy. The Roman procurator because of popular tumult and revolutionary tendencies among the followers of Jesus intervened and condemned Jesus on the charge of sedition. For decades after Calvary, Jerusalem Jew and Christian got along rather well together.

"If these things be true, the teaching of Jesus demand that modern Christians acknowledge them and make a confession of sin because of the thousands and thousands of un-

tive. Let us ask ourselves, did the Jewish countrymen of Jesus have any reason for wanting to destroy him? Was there anything in his teachings that disturbed them? And if so, who could have profited by his death?

The supposition that the religious teachings of Jesus clashed with the Judaism of the masses of the people in his time is untenable and false, for Jesus himself disclaims any intentions of founding a new religion. Jesus said that he did not come to destroy, but to fulfill the Torah. If during the Passion Week, Jesus were to come to life again, the only house of worship that he would recognize and feel at home in would be a synagogue. When Jesus taught that "the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," he was only paraphrasing a rabbinic maxim, "that the sabbath is given in your charge and not you in its charge." The Lord's Prayer, as recited by Jesus, is only a rewording of the Hebrew Kaddish. Jesus' Sermon on the Mount is but a collection of Pharasaic maxims taken from the jewel box of Jewish Rabbinic lore. The Golden Rule, which Jesus loved, was taught by Hillel, the Pharisee, an older contemporary of Jesus, eighty years before Jesus was born and when Jesus preached about the Kingdom Come, he was only emphasizing the Jewish teaching of Olem ha Ba, the world to come, and giving comfort to his people that God would redeem them from the Roman yoke of tyranny. When Jesus spoke of the resurrection, he had reference to the dead that had died in vain in the struggle against Roman oppression, and who would awake and rejoice in the new day of the regenerated Jewish state. To the Jews and to Jesus, the Messiah did not mean one who would come to redeem the world from its original sin, but the restorer of Jewish freedom. At the time when Jesus was born, Messianism was in the air. Every Jewish mother prayed that she might bear the Redeemer of Israel. All that Jesus taught was Jewish. The Jews, therefore, could have had no motive in executing him.

## A Rebel

Let us reconstruct the evidence with reference to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, as it can be pieced together from the most authentic Jewish sources. At the time Jesus came into the world, Judea was a vassal state of Rome. The Romans had been outraging the religious sensibilities of the Jews by carrying the effigies of the Roman emperors into the Jewish villages and towns. Their tax gatherers plied their oppressive vocations without pity, sucking dry, like vampires, the very life blood of the people. Nowhere were these indignities more resented than in the mountains of Galilee, where Jesus and his family lived. Remember that the mountains are proverbially the home of freedom. In those very mountains, Roman soldiers had crucified at the instance of Pontius Pilate hundreds of Jews as rebels. So much so that the Roman emperor reprimanded Pilate, saying that "a good shepherd tends his flock,

wrath of the influential family of Annas, whom the Talmud knows as Channan, which family was related to the High Priest Caiphas. Jesus denounced them in scathing terms, as had the Hebrew Prophets centuries before, when they told the people that what God wanted was justice to the widow and fatherless, a contrite heart, and not the blood of sacrifices.

## The Seder and the Last Supper

It is now generally agreed among Christian scholars that the last supper of Jesus was the Seder, the Jewish Passover meal, which commemorates the exodus from Egypt, and which Jews celebrate to this day. In probably the same way that Jesus did with his own disciples. It was out of the Seder that the Christian theology derived the belief in Jesus as the Pascal Lamb, who came to save the world by his blood — the Mass and the Eucharist. The matzos and the Kiddush wine of the Seder were transmuted into the blood of Jesus. At the conclusion of the meal, he retired to Gethsemane, there to prepare himself for his public appearance in Jerusalem. Early on the fifteenth day of Nissan, the day of the Jewish Passover, when there was a milling multitude of thousands of Jews in and near the Temple, who had come to Jerusalem on their annual pilgrimage, Jesus spoke to the oppressed multitudes about cleansing the Temple, the Kingdom Come, and of their salvation by the Messiah that God was sending them. He was immediately apprehended by the Romans, as a rebel, who was arousing the people to rebellion and wanted to make himself king of the Jews. This was high treason of the worst kind. He was quickly tried—sentenced by Pilate with the words "to the cross." He was executed by the Roman method of crucifixion with two thieves.

This is undoubtedly the historical version of what occurred. It was the Romans, who feared Jesus, and who would have none of him. It is unfortunate that the Gospels make the Jewish people the accuser, the court and the executioner.

Why do the Gospels accuse the Jews and not the Romans? Let a Christian Divine give the answer. I quote from "Christianity Past and Present" by Guignebert, "According to all appearances, the efforts of our evangelists to absolve the Roman from guilt, and lay upon the Jews the entire responsibility for the crime, are not inspired by a desire to be true to the facts, but by a desire to humor the Roman authorities, for they were writing it at a time when those in authority were the sole support of the Christians. . . ."

## The Gospels Versus Talmud

The whole trial of Jesus, as described in the Gospels, is contrary to Jewish jurisprudence. A few instances will suffice.

The Gospel of John says that the trial of Jesus took place on the fifteenth day of Nissan, the day of Passover. The other Gospels claim that it took place on the fourteenth, which was on the eve of the Sabbath. Both of these accounts are improbable. The Jewish law prescribes that no trial may be had on the eve of a Jewish holy day or the Sabbath, since two scribes have to be present to record the proceedings, and writing was forbidden on these days. Furthermore, criminal cases were never started a day before a holiday or the Sabbath because a criminal case had to last at least two days to give the court a chance to be polled twice on two separate days.

The Synoptic Gospels are unani-



# The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus

(Continued from Page 5)

tion. Jesus did confess that he was the son of God and the Messiah. But this, too, did not constitute a sin, for all the Jews regarded themselves as children of God.

## No Sanhedrin

There are two further convincing pieces of evidence that Jesus was never tried nor condemned to death by the Sanhedrin. Firstly, no Sanhedrin existed at this time. It had been abolished by King Herod forty years before the birth of Jesus, and was only re-established ten or twelve years after Jesus' death. In other words, it had not functioned for over eighty years. What Jewish courts did exist at that time were petty courts that were permitted to try small civil cases. Major cases such as this were tried by the Roman military court under martial law. Secondly, the proof that the Jews did not crucify Jesus is that crucifixion was not yet the Jewish method of inflicting capital punishment. The Jews executed people when they had such power only by stoning.

No matter from what angle we study the trial and the crucifixion of Jesus, the responsibility rests on the Romans, for the Jews had no motive either to try or to condemn him. He had done nothing and taught nothing, that was contrary to the Jewish faith.

Anatole France, in his story, "The Procurator of Judea," tells how once a shadow guest in an inimitable way, called on the aged Pontius Pilate, once procurator of Judea. He stayed to supper and asked his host a casual question, "did he recall a Gallilean by the name of Jesus? Jesus of Nazareth . . . crucified for some offense." The aged Pontius Pilate frowned, groped in his memory, put a vague hand to his head, and answered faintly, "Jesus, Jesus of Nazareth — I do not remember. I cannot call him to mind." Anatole France was right. To Pontius Pilate, the trial and crucifixion of Jesus was only an incident in a life filled with campaigns, victories and governorships over various parts of the Roman Empire. But to the Jews and the world for 1900 years, it has been the source of the Christian Jewish Tragedy.

Has not the time come for the Christian world to correct the error of the ages? I hope that Passion Week may become a time when the world will glorify not the dead Jesus, but exalt the living spirit of a Jewish teacher, who tried to bring mankind a message of love and peace. "Out of the recognition of a distressing situation should come healing and a new life."



they contribute to their own failure. As an illustration, take the young man, who marries young and is soon saddled with a family. He accepts the first job that comes to hand, even though that job is not one which he really likes. He takes it, saying to himself, "well, I'll study law or accounting at night." But the nine to five work is tiring and exacting. Then illness comes. The wife gets sick, or the baby is ill. These perplex the mind and drain one's energy and enthusiasm. Even if this be not the case, he finds that it takes super-human strength of character to go on striving when the rest of the world is playing. And so, he slips through life without doing the things he really wanted to do or ever discovering all that there was in him to do. He has lived without using a fraction of his real abilities. It is true that such a person may manage to get out of life "a little brief authority and some love." Later in life, when he looks back, he compensates by saying, "well, after all, I haven't done so badly by myself." He does not realize that he is simply rationalizing his failure. That is human nature. It would be very difficult to go on living with a sense of guilt that you could have done better. You would soon develop an inferiority complex that would weigh you down and paralyze you. That is why we rationalize our failures, saying "I could have done a lot of things if I had had the time. I started this and I started that, and if I had had the opportunity to go through with it, I certainly could have done it just as well as the next fellow." But by rationalizing constantly, you play directly into the hands of the will to fail, without feeling either humiliated or defeated. That is one psychological explanation for folding your hands and remaining a dilettante and failure.

To break the spell of inertia and frustration, the author suggests this formula, "act as if it were impossible for you to fail." This is the talisman, the command to right about face, which may turn you from failure to success. People act on this basis, she says, when they have nothing to lose and are obsessed by an idea. They then display the necessary daring and courage, which carries them to success. Desperation and crisis, however, are not the only incentives, which will cut away the possibility of failure. The cultivation of the imagination is an even better incentive. The imagination will give you a tremendous surge of vitality, because it creates a preview of success. This eliminates fear of failure. Once you have conquered fear, you discover capacities in yourself, which you never suspected you possessed. When you experience this mood and get into the frame of mind, it will be like reliving fresh working orders. Then instead of having to push yourself to do the work, the work will push you along. It will have you in its grip. And you will find that it won't let you go, until the job is done.

#### Success Mood

It is the success mood that brings success.

The author sets down twelve exercises or pipes for success, involving mental and physical self-discipline. I give them to you for what they are worth. I confess that I don't have very much faith in recipe psychology, because no two human beings are the same, and success doesn't come to people in the same way as it does in mixing a cake. Furthermore failure is as often due to a misplaced will to succeed as it is to our unconscious will to fail. We may allow ourselves to get all pepped up about the big chances that are in some other field, which has room only for a few exceptionally equipped people. We recover too late that we are not equal to those opportunities, that ambition should be made of sterner stuff.

It is one mistake, for example, to take a child, who is just beginning to learn how to play the violin or the piano to her Yehudi Menuhin or the eleven year old piano genius, Ruth Slenczynski because the standard that they set is so high, that even the most promising child finds it absolutely impossible to attain. This may lead to dropping of lessons, and the losing of interest altogether. In progressive schools, children are not made to compete against each other, but against the best in themselves. Children, who are specially gifted in mathematics, can without effort get a grade of a hundred, whereas other children, who have no gifts for mathematics, can work their heads off and barely get a passing mark. To put such children into competition with one another is to do nothing for the former who will succeed anyhow, and only gives the latter an inferiority complex, not only with reference to mathematics but to all other fields, which wouldn't be so bad, but with reference to their total personality. This can be very destructive. Wise teachers guard against such a thing. To save themselves from disappointment and disillusionment, it is better not to put our wagon to a star nor to set a goal too high. It is wiser to set a lower goal and then to pass this goal ever higher and higher. Thus one acquires courage and self-confidence. It creates the mood of success.

Now, let me give you these exercises for success.

#### Recipes

1

"Spend an hour every day without saying anything, except in answer to direct questions. This should be done in the midst of your usual group and without giving anyone the impression that you are sulky or suffering from a headache." Silence gives one the power of self-mastery and of using speech deliberately and purposefully, so that we know what we mean at our first attempt without fumbling for

the right word, etc. As one given to public speaking, I know how important silence and preparatory thinking is to clear and effective utterance. Nowadays, people are too busy to listen to circumlocution. They want a speaker to come directly to the point and to state what he has to say simply and without the old-fashioned bombast or "oratory." I recommend this exercise to all those, who wish to speak effectively.

2

"Learn to think for one-half hour a day exclusively on one subject." The author is right that "simple as this sounds, it is at first ludicrously hard to do." A good way to practice the exercise is to put your finger at random on a newspaper or a page in a book. Note the first idea suggested by the line your finger has touched, and then concentrate for a half hour on that subject. Mark a dot on a clean sheet of paper every time during this half hour that your attention slips. At the beginning, you will find that the sheet will be full of dots. Gradually, as the power of attention and concentration grows, the number of dots will diminish. If you master this rule, you will find it easy to learn a foreign language or any similar discipline. In competitive performance, you will discover that this training has helped you to arrive at the answer rapidly.

3

"Write a letter without once using the following words: I, me, my, or mine." I noticed the other day that somebody out on the West Coast has written a full length novel omitting words with the letter "e." This shows how many apparently impossible things are possible once you set yourself to doing them." The exercise in omitting the personal pronoun enables us to see ourselves in perspective. The author believes that if we can accomplish this feat without arousing the attention of the recipient of our letter, it will indicate that we are able to turn the mind outward, to become objective, and to give up, at least for a while, the obsession with our own affairs, thereby, enabling us to come back to our own lives refreshed.

4

"Talk for fifteen minutes a day without using I, me, my, or mine."

5

"Write a letter in a "successful" or placid tone," one which indicates that you are not discouraged and that you are in a positive and healthy frame of mind. A complete holiday from self-pity and depression is necessary for success.

6

"Pause on the threshold of any crowded room you are to enter, and consider for a moment your relation to those who are in it." The purpose is to give you training in keeping your life within as voluntary a control as possible.

7

"Keep a diary, not about yourself without allowing him to become conscious of what you are doing." This helps in broadening your own horizon and knowledge and teaches you how the world looks to another. Of course, the assumption here is that you will be clever and discerning enough to select an acquaintance, who has something worthwhile to talk about. This is not a common experience. If your acquaintance can't be brought out or drawn out, it is just as necessary for you to keep the conversation going.

8

"Talk exclusively about yourself and your interests without complaining, boasting or boring your companion." To do this, you will have to avoid talking about the trivial and the commonplace. If you have really had interesting experiences in your life or are in the midst of undertaking something new, you will find that your hearer will be interested in what you are saying.

9

"Break yourself of verbal mannerisms, such as "I mean," and "as a matter of fact" by asking a good friend to watch for them and to hold up his hand without interrupting the conversation whenever he hears you uttering them."

10

"Plan two hours a day and live according to the plan." The purpose is to teach you to use your time to the best advantage and to prevent dawdling and time wasting. Many people say that they have to wait for the mood before beginning on a creative project. It used to be said of poets that they can only write when the Muse is on them. Some excellent writers I know tell me that waiting for inspiration is all nonsense. The way to write successfully is to write. The inspiration comes while they are working. They induce it instead of waiting until it takes a notion to induce them. One prominent poet I know has an office in a downtown office building. He gets down each morning at nine o'clock and works until five. Writing poetry is his "business." The Muse seems to find him there quite often. What was it that Edison once said, "genius is ninety-five per cent perspiration and only five per cent inspiration." This exercise calls for putting yourself in a situation, where you are called upon to act in ways to which you are not accustomed. The purpose of it is to give you resiliency and the ability to meet new situations as they arise without getting flustered.

"Get up a series of distasteful tasks, put them in sealed envelopes and once a week pull one of them out, read it, and then live up to it."

12

This last exercise is an alternative to number eleven. "Allow yourself from time to time one day in which you say yes to every reasonable request."

On the whole, with the reservation

I have already indicated, the book is sane and sensible.

#### Victorious Living

The secret of victorious living is that nobody ever finds it ready made. It can't be gained at a leap. It can't be obtained by making one lucky killing. Success is an architectural process. It must be built up and like every great structure, its foundations are hidden deep down and laid securely where nobody can see them. The foundation of success must be in character. Success without character is frothy. Therefore, true success comes only after years of constant effort and working toward a goal. In the process, failures are mixed with some achievements. Every setback is turned into preparation, which gives momentum for the next leap. The truly successful man can never be pushed back nor kept down permanently. Out of every effort, failure or success, there comes to him some lesson of what and how to do next time.

I do not like the emphasis in this book, upon material achievement as the success criteria. There is not enough emphasis on the point that true success can only be measured in spiritual terms. Is it not true that oftentimes, those the world recognizes or hails as great successes, feel themselves in their own heart of hearts to be spiritual failures? We live in a cheap world that hails the glamorous movie actress as a success and forgets the patient research worker in the laboratory. The true successes in life are those, who have set for themselves a goal in life, that if achieved would be socially beneficial, who work away at it—never exploiting others, never rising excepting by their own efforts and believing always that life should be made happier for all.

As I see it, life presents itself to us in two ways. The things that give themselves to us and the things to which we can give ourselves, every successful not when we master many things, but when we are mastered—yes—overwhelmed by something to thing in ourselves, some great ideal, some cause to serve, something that will elicit from us the highest in our thinking, the deepest in our feeling and lead us to do our very best.

## WAKE UP AND LIVE

Address Delivered on Message of Israel Program

by

DR. BENNETT R. BRICKNER,

Rabbi of the Temple, Avenue Temple

44th St., N.Y.C.

Transmitted to coast network of the National Broadcasting Company

Saturday Evening, Sunday, April 4, 1937

People nowadays seem to be tremendously concerned with themselves. I find that when I speak over the air a some psychological subject, the radio mail requesting copies of the address is always much larger than is when my subject is non-personal in character. This is also the case with books. Publishers and bookellers say that books like Dorothea Brande's, "Wake Up and Live" with which I am going to deal tonight, and How to Win Friends and Influence People" by Dale Carnegie sell in hundreds of thousands, whereas other non-fiction books sell only a few thousand copies. The explanation may be that people subconsciously and intuitively are rebelling against the effects of regimentation and robotization, and seeking to save their personalities from being crushed.

One of the instinctive wants of human life is to be somebody. Nobody wants to be just another screw or bolt in a huge impersonal machine, whether the machine be the government or a large corporation. The trend toward centralization at Washington, the socialization of the professions, monopolization in industry are making nearly all of us employees of huge impersonal corporations. The major issue of modern times is human beings versus regimentation. The crushing of personality by the machine, which mankind devised for its liberation, has become a blight.

The time for a "show down" has come. The ultimate test of all business and industrial processes must be what they do to the manhood of a nation. The most important output of a mine must be the miner, not the coal. The most important products of the factory are not materials, but the men, who work in it. Any industrial order that makes money, but unmakes men, is a failure. Man was not made for any economic system. All economic systems are designed for man. The same ethical principle should hold true for the state, the family, the school, the Church. The dictatorial countries are exalting a nationalistic state into whose regimental control men are crammed and crowded. From the time they are little boys, they are all dressed up to look alike, drilled to act alike, taught to shout alike for hours on end—Duce—Fuehrer. In a word, the State is made the ultimate object of loyalty, and the individual must serve it at the peril of his life. The process of human regimentation and robotization is a throw back to an earlier and more primitive form of society. One can, therefore, hardly blame people when they resist this process, which is reducing human personality to zero. Before the age of machinery Scripture warned, "what profiteth a man that he win the world but lose his soul."

These thoughts are in my mind as

I approach a review of "Wake Up and Live," which is a book on practical psychology. Thousands of hungry soul starved and frightened individuals have turned to it in the hope that they might find a way to help make their lives significant and successful.

#### The Will to Fail

The author starts out by telling us that most people are not living up to their full capacity, or bringing out the best in themselves. This best "we can discover only by freeing ourselves completely from the will to fail." This key idea, she found in a book by F. W. H. Meyers entitled "Human Personality." By applying this principle to her life she turned herself from a hack writer and lecturer to a success—written in capital letters.

It is the author's opinion that most anybody can make a certain success if he will devote the time and energy to succeeding, that he now gives to making a failure, because it takes effort to fail. Most people act like the man in the silly fable, who had an appointment a hundred miles north of his home, which if he kept, was sure to bring him happiness and prosperity. He had just enough gas in his car and just enough time to get there. But instead of going straight to his destination, he drove twenty-five miles south before turning north. Naturally, he arrived too late. Nonsense, isn't it? But the author counters that when it comes to going straight to the appointment, most of us act very much like the hero of the fable. We fail where we might have succeeded, because we have poured energy and time into the wrong channel. The first step, in turning from failure to success is to recognize that there is this down dragging tendency of failure in our own natures.

The author cites numerous illustrations of how we fall victim to the will to fail. For example, there are the sleepers, who spend from two to six hours more a day in bed than is good for them. They do this, mindless of the maxim of Marcus Aurelius, "do not act as though you had a thousand years to live. It is later than you think." There is no habit so enslaving as the habit of spending too many hours in bed. To be sure, sleep is one of the restorers of energy. It is while we are asleep that the human battery is recharged. I remember once hearing Doctor Crile tell of an experiment that he conducted on rabbits. By prodding them so that they could not fall asleep, they became so exhausted that they died in less than ninety-six hours. Dr. Crile even recommended that very active people should take a short nap during the early afternoon. But most busy people, the sort that need such advice, are likely to be the very ones, who are too busy to take it. It is told of Edison that when he

worked on his experiments, he became so absorbed that he went for days without meals or sleep. This is the other extreme. The great majority are in the class, who sleep too long and sleep the day away.

Then there are the waking sleepers, who indulge in listless, time killing pursuits—the solitaire players, the endless crossword puzzles, the jigsaw puzzle contingent, the movie fans, who go from one show to another, the eternal embroiderers, and knitters, the aimless conversationalists, the nightly dancers. Apropos is the remark in the "Sayings of the Fathers Pirke Avoth," "Sleeping away the morning, carousing at noonday, childish babbling and the company of the vulgar waste a man's life."

There are still another kind of waking sleepers, the day-dreamers, who never check the flight of their fancies and who live in a world just as unreal as that of the dope fiend. Certainly, these are time killing processes that aid the will to fail.

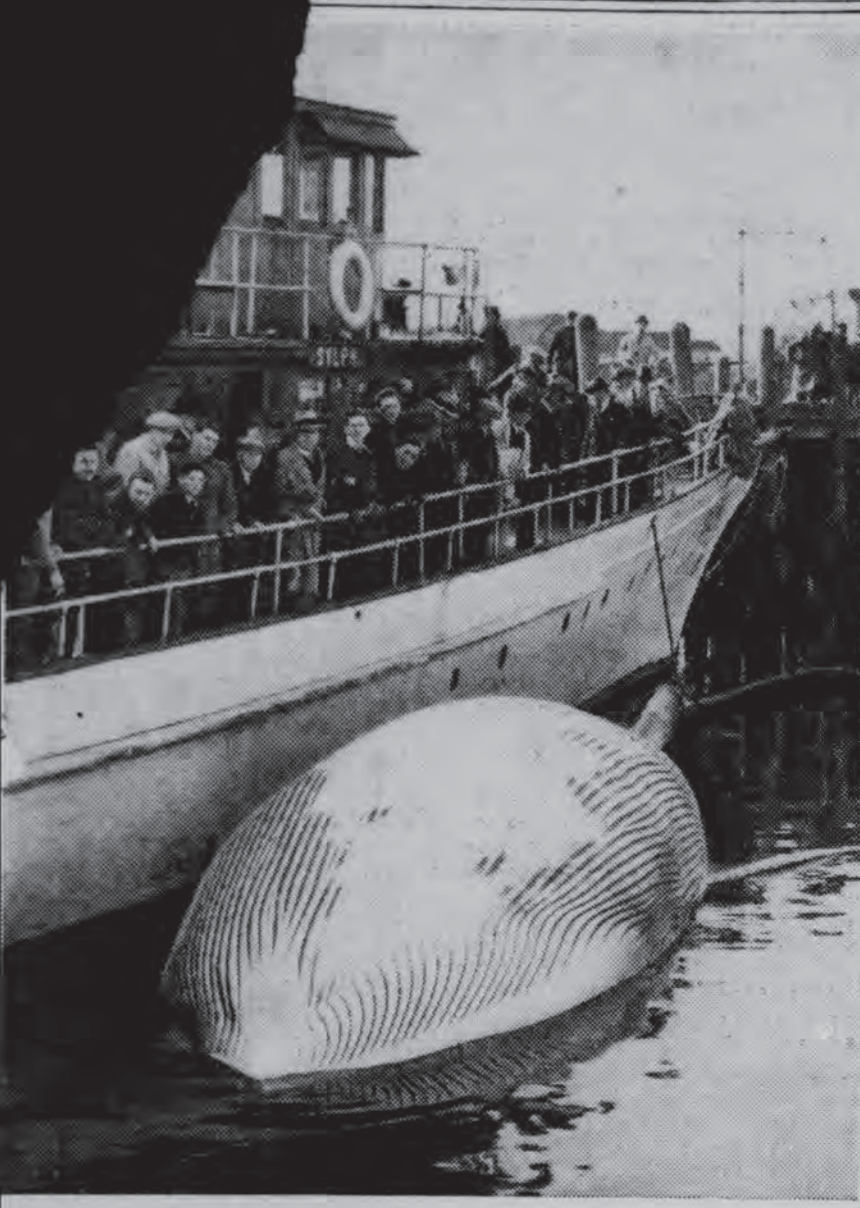
#### Self-Sacrificers

Miss Brande, in this connection, has strong words of reprimand for still another class that she calls the self-sacrificers, sons and mothers, who sacrifice themselves for others, but whose offering adds no richness to those for whom they sacrifice, since the latter are never prompted thereby to develop what was truly valuable in themselves. Why do for yourself what others will do for you? She objects to this kind of self-sacrifice, because she believes it to be a form of will to fail.

I must take issue with her on this point, because I do not believe that the up and doers, the go-getters, and those who think only of themselves, are the successes of life. I have a feeling that sometimes those, who merely stand and serve, also make a contribution. Many a person is doing his best, if this is what we mean by success, when he is making a sacrifice of self in the interest of another. Shall we count it a failure when a single daughter, for example, decides that she will not marry in order to provide for an aging mother? Would she have been a success if she had married and reared a family and sacrificed her old mother? Her maternal instinct is finding expression in the care she is giving her mother. Take his case I know a very promising young man, who came out of high school with an offer of a scholarship to one of the big Eastern colleges. His teachers predicted a wonderful academic career for him. This boy sacrificed the scholarship and instead took a job, because the depression had caught his parents. They had lost everything and were both sick. He went to work to help support them, despite his parents' opposition. They contended that he should look after himself, that they had lived their lives. To gain one's life, one must sometimes lose it. Personally, I admire this kind of self-sacrifice.

The author is right when she claims that there are fritters of time, that there are people, who fill their lives with secondary and substitute activities, so that they have no time left to perform the best work that they are capable of doing. Thus, by substituting the lesser for the higher,





Times Wide World Photo.

## FISHING SCHOONER BRINGS IN A WHALE

The motorship Sylph lying at her pier in Sheepshead Bay yesterday with the seventy-ton monster she sighted off Sandy Hook and towed to port.

AUTO PLANT NOISES  
TO FUSE WITH MUSIC

Detroit Philharmonic to Play  
"Accompaniment" for Ham-  
mering, Welding, &c.

## FOUND FILMS THE MEDIUM

Best Will Be Made for Centen-  
nial Celebration of National  
Patent System.

## Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—Some-  
thing new in orchestral arrange-  
ment, one in which a leading phil-  
harmonic orchestra will play "the  
companion for the myriad of  
sounds that come from the Pro-  
duction of an American motor  
car," will be tried out here on Nov.  
14 in connection with the centen-  
nial celebration of the patent sys-  
tem of the United States.

Although no one will predict what  
the new arrangement will sound  
like, the Patent Office said today  
that an attempt would be made  
to fuse the medium of sound with  
the pictures to "link" the music  
of the Detroit Philharmonic Or-  
chestra and the sounds of the ham-  
mering, welding, stamping, fitting  
and finishing of automobile parts.  
If successful, the attempt  
will have a place on the program  
of the celebration.

The films included on the pro-  
gram will cover a detailed showing  
of the vaporization and explosion  
of a drop of gasoline in an auto-  
mobile engine cylinder; the opera-  
tion of a cooling system of an auto-  
mobile; simple methods and pre-  
cautions by which fire and highway  
accidents can be avoided; the "new  
intents" of the electrical indus-  
try and the making of steel.  
The Patent Office and others in-  
volved in the coming celebration  
pled that their labors have led  
only to interesting disclosures.  
One was the discovery amid the  
city records of the Library of  
Congress of a prediction made in  
1836 by one Oliver Evans of Phila-  
delphia that trains "with a com-  
pact covering over the whole line  
shield, the railroad passenger  
from the weather" would some day  
take the trip from New York to  
Washington in a single day.

## Roosevelt Hails Patent System

By The Associated Press.  
WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—Presi-  
dent Roosevelt said in a letter  
to the public today that the Ameri-  
can patent system, sometimes at-  
tacked as a "creature of monopoly,"  
had "contributed notably to  
higher standard of living."

His letter was addressed to Dr.  
F. Kettering, chairman of the  
National Committee for the Centen-  
nial Celebration of the Patent Sys-  
tem. In another letter to Secretary  
of Commerce, he expressed hope that  
the cent would call attention to mat-  
ter of progress made by the nation  
which are connected with our  
industrial advancement.  
"For myself," he added, "I am  
proud that the genius which has  
made the American patent system  
work and rewarded will prove  
valuable to the solutions of these so-  
cial and economic problems."  
If the celebration proves effec-  
tive in stimulating widespread  
study of the questions with which  
the progress has confronted us, it  
will have been at once a tribute to  
past success and assurance of fu-  
ture accomplishment.

## Dog Gets a Gold Tooth

CONNEERSVILLE, Ind., Nov. 13.—  
Zumbo, a big Doberman  
shepherd dog, has a new gold tooth.  
O. M. Clark, owner of the dog,  
covered that Zumbo had broken  
his long canine tooth on the left  
side of his upper jaw. A dentist  
replaced the broken tooth with a  
gold one and fitted on a gold crown.  
Zumbo, 3 years old, held a stick  
in his mouth during the proceed-  
ings and his owner said he took it  
like a man.

## Married in Trailer Home

LANCASTER, N. Y., Nov. 13 (P).—  
Married in a trailer, Edward  
J. 26, and his bride were ready  
for a motor South today for a Flori-  
dian honeymoon. With every shade  
of the coach glowing, the couple  
were the vows last night be-  
fore Judge Alexander Utter.  
"It wasn't a publicity  
wedding," said today. "It was  
wedding in our home."  
The bride was Edna M. Beatty of

TEACH REALITIES,  
DR. DEWEY URGES

Fate of Democracy Hinges on  
Drastic Overhauling of Edu-  
cation, He Declares.

## FINDS STUDY NOW STERILE

Educators Hear Eddy Score  
Fascism and Communism—  
Lerner Discounts Red Peril.

Democracy, to continue in this  
country, requires "a tremendous  
reorganization" of materials, in-  
struction and administration in the  
schools, Dr. John Dewey, Professor  
of Philosophy at Columbia Univer-  
sity, told the Eastern States re-  
gional meeting of the Progressive  
Education Association in the Hotel  
Pennsylvania last night.

Following the theme of the con-  
ference, "Democracy and Educa-  
tion," Dr. Dewey asserted that  
democracy "cannot go forward un-  
less the intelligence of the mass of  
the people is educated to under-  
stand the social realities of their  
own time and the readjustments  
that have to be made in society to  
keep democracy moving forward."

"In spite of the changes in the  
schools that have occurred in the  
last forty years," he said, "the sub-  
ject matter taught is still so iso-  
lated from the outside world in  
which students are to live, that it  
does not give them the grasp of so-  
cial conditions and social needs  
that will create genuinely demo-  
cratic intelligence and power of  
action."

"We cannot teach democracy as  
if it were a separate subject. We  
cannot teach it except in terms of  
all the forces, political, economic  
and cultural, that affect every  
movement in every detail of social  
life—which is a life of activities  
whether for good or for evil conse-  
quences. There is no use in ob-  
scuring and soft-pedaling the tre-  
mendous job of educational reor-  
ganization that has to be done if  
the schools are to meet the chal-  
enge of democracy."

The day sessions were devoted to  
discussions of fascism, communism,  
democracy and other political and  
social philosophies.

Sherwood Eddy, author, while ad-  
mitting "tremendous achievements"  
in Germany under Hitler, con-  
demned Nazism for its "false racial-  
ism, bigotry, dangerous militarism,  
imperialism and false paganism."  
He saw "slow, steady progress" in  
Russia in industry and agriculture,  
but denounced Soviet "denial of  
civil and political liberty, violence  
of a continual revolution and dog-  
matic atheism." He said he would  
choose neither fascism nor commu-  
nism, but "if forced" to choose  
would accept the latter.

Max Lerner, an editor of The Na-  
tion, said the choice in this  
country was not between fascism and  
communism but rather between  
fascism and democracy. He as-  
serted, however, that democracy  
here was "political democracy and  
not economic democracy" and ad-  
vocated a more socialized system.

The place of plastics in modern  
education was demonstrated by an  
exhibition at the conference of sev-  
enty pieces of sculpture and clay  
modeling by youths attending the  
free classes of the WPA Federal  
Art Project.

G. F. UPHAM ESTATE  
IS PUT AT \$202,680

3 Masonic Lodges Will Share  
More Than \$150,000—Charles  
L. Hoffman Left \$753,125.

Three Masonic lodges in Massa-  
chusetts will receive a total of more  
than \$150,000 from the estate of  
George F. Upham of Bronxville,  
who died Nov. 20, 1935, according to  
the transfer tax appraisal, filed yester-  
day. The estate was appraised at  
\$214,883 gross and \$202,680 net.

The three lodges, receiving \$51,712  
each, are the Spencer Lodge, Spen-  
cer, Mass.; Hayden Lodge, Brook-  
field, Mass.; and Meridian Sun  
Lodge, Rosindale, Mass. The in-  
come is to be for the relief of the  
poor, whether Masons or not.

Upham left two bequests of  
\$10,000 each to Edith W. Adams and  
Beatrice H. Almy, nieces, of West-  
chester, Mass., and set aside \$25,000  
for building an entrance and wall for  
the Evergreen Cemetery in East  
Brookfield, Mass.

## Hoffman Estate \$753,125

Four charitable organizations in  
New York eventually will receive  
more than \$36,000 from the estate of  
Charles L. Hoffman, retired law-  
yer, the transfer tax disclosed yester-  
day. Mr. Hoffman, who died  
March 18 this year, left an estate  
appraised at \$776,638 gross and  
\$753,125 net.

At the death of the widow, Mrs.  
Laura E. Hoffman, the Free Syn-  
agogue Social Service, Inc., will re-  
ceive a sum estimated at \$24,307;  
the Hospital for Joint Diseases and  
Deformities, \$3,942 and the United  
Hospital Fund and New York Light-  
house for the Blind \$4,269 each.  
The widow received the residue,  
half outright and half in trust.

Full list of wills filed and of estate  
appraisals will be found on Page 36.

## QUESTIONS in this week's news

What substitutes for NRA are being considered?  
Can Europe keep out of the Spanish war?  
How does Latin America view the coming conference?  
How is union labor facing its crisis?  
What form of aid does the corn belt want?  
How will the country enroll for social security?

ANSWERS—complete, accurate, concise  
—appear in the Review of the Week sec-  
tion of The New York Times tomorrow.

2 NEW PARKWAYS  
GO INTO USE TODAY

Long Island Links to Connect  
City Directly With Nassau  
and Bethpage Park.

## CEREMONIES SET FOR NOON

Improvement of Intersection of  
Laurelton and Sunrise High-  
ways Next on Program.

Two new highway and parkway  
projects of the Long Island State  
Park Commission, one giving New  
York City motorists a direct con-  
nection with Southern State Park-  
way in Nassau County and the  
other leading from Southern State  
Parkway to Bethpage State Park  
will be opened today by the State  
Park Commission.

The first of these links will con-  
nect Sunrise Highway and Laurel-  
ton Parkway at Laurelton, Queens,  
opening a new through route en-  
abling motorists traveling out of  
New York City by way of Sunrise  
Highway to proceed directly onto  
Laurelton Parkway, one of the new  
Queens arterial roads. Laurelton  
Parkway leads directly into South-  
ern State Parkway, which extends  
to Amityville in Suffolk County. In  
Southern State Parkway motorists  
have a direct connection with Jones  
Beach State Park by way of the  
Meadowbrook and Wantagh Cause-  
ways.

The section of Laurelton Parkway  
from Merrick Road to Southern  
State Parkway was opened to traf-  
fic last year.

## Another Link to Open Soon

Completion of the permanent con-  
struction work at the intersection  
of Laurelton Parkway with Sunrise  
Highway will be accomplished early  
in 1937, according to the Park Com-  
mission's plans. At that time the  
new bridge designed to carry Sun-  
rise Highway westbound traffic  
over Laurelton Parkway will be  
placed in service.

The opening of this bridge is ex-  
pected to make possible the smooth  
operation of traffic at this impor-  
tant intersection as well as to elimi-  
nate all grade crossings. Until  
that time a temporary traffic ar-  
rangement will prevail. Coordinated  
lights will control the temporary  
grade crossing at the intersection  
of the eastbound lane of Laurelton  
Parkway and the westbound lane  
of Sunrise Highway.

The opening of the Laurelton  
highway connection will constitute  
one more step in the Park Commis-  
sion's plans for an eventual up-to-  
date highway and parkway system  
to facilitate traffic between New  
York City and Nassau and Suffolk  
Counties. The north service road  
of Sunrise Highway already is un-  
der construction.

## Would Improve Sunrise Road

It is hoped eventually to trans-  
form the existing Sunrise Highway,  
a source of delay, inconvenience  
and danger to impatient motorists,  
into a highway similar to all of the  
other recently constructed through  
roads that make up the network of  
Queens parkways. The recon-  
structed Sunrise Highway would be  
known as Southern Parkway.

The other new road to be opened  
today will be the new three-mile  
Bethpage Parkway connecting  
Southern State Parkway at Massa-  
pequa with Bethpage State Park at  
Farmingdale. Ceremonies for this  
opening will be held at noon at the  
grade separation on Southern State  
Parkway about one mile west of  
the Nassau-Suffolk County line.  
Following the exercises an informal  
luncheon will be held by the Beth-  
page Park Authority in the club  
house at Bethpage State Park.

## DR. JOHN T. FARIS RETIRES

Ends 29 Years on Presbyterian  
Education Board.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 13.—The  
Rev. Dr. John T. Faris, general di-  
rector of the Editorial Department  
of the Presbyterian Board of  
Christian Education since 1914, an-  
nounced his retirement today. After  
almost twenty-nine years in the  
editorial department, he had reached  
the optional retirement age last  
January.

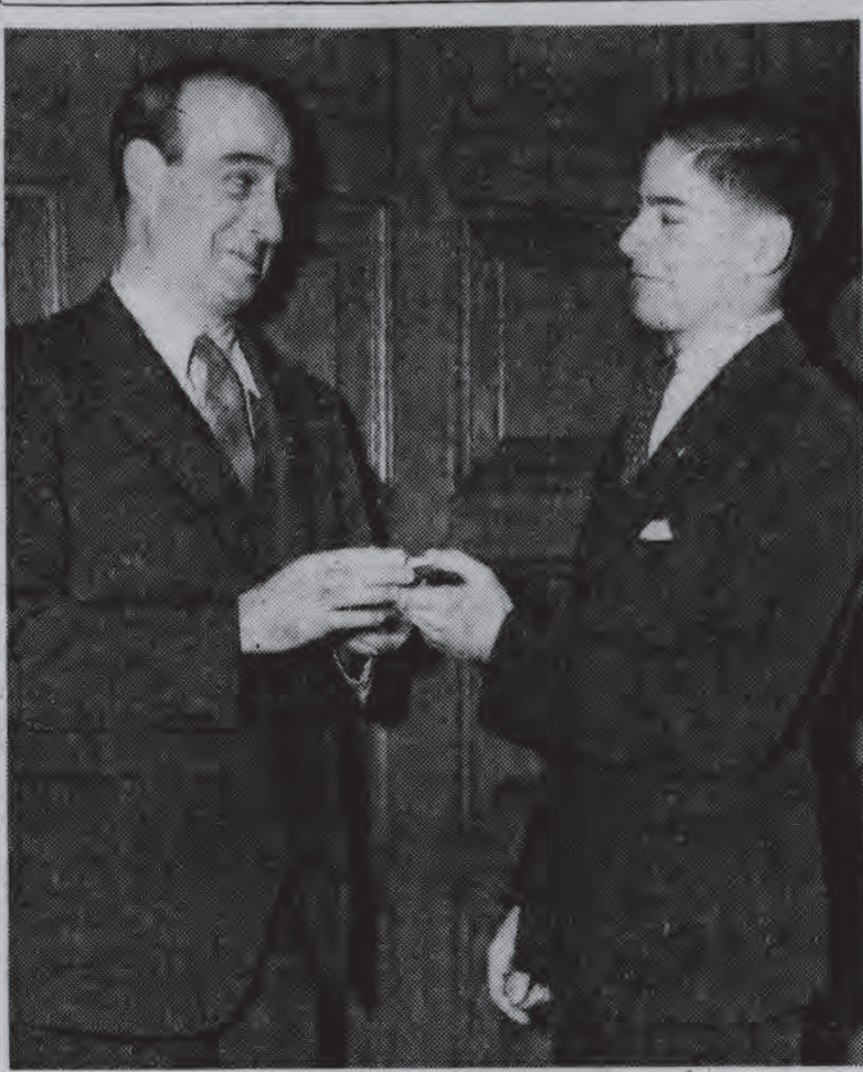
The Rev. Dr. Park Hays Miller,  
assistant editor and associate gen-  
eral director since 1914, will be  
nominated by the administrative  
committee as Dr. Faris's successor,  
effective Dec. 1.

Dr. Faris, who has written more  
than fifty books, was a Presby-  
terian pastor at Mount Carmel, Ill.,  
and at the Markham Memorial  
Presbyterian Church in St. Louis  
for nine years before joining the  
board's staff. He is a director of  
the John Milton Foundation, New  
York.

Before joining the Presbyterian  
board, Dr. Miller was pastor of  
Compton Hill Presbyterian Church  
in Philadelphia and of the Presby-  
terian Church of the Evangel in Phila-  
delphia.

## City Light Plant Debt-Free

CHICOPPE, Mass., Nov. 13 (P).—  
The municipal electric light depart-  
ment, which claims the lowest light  
and power rates among municipal  
plants in this State, became debt-  
free this week with a final payment  
of \$8,250 on outstanding bonds. In  
addition, the department has a cash  
reserve for plant extensions amount-  
ing to \$250,000.



Times Wide World Photo.

## THE PARK COMMISSIONER HONORED BY STUDENTS

Robert Moses receiving from Vincent Coen, president of the student organization, a medal voted him by the Richmond Hill High School as an outstanding citizen.

Aalands Acclaim Woman  
Whose Novel Won Prize

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
HELSINGFORS, Finland, Nov.  
13.—Miss Sally Salminen, New  
York domestic servant whose  
novel won first prize in a Swedish  
literary contest last month, found  
herself a heroine when she re-  
turned to her native island in the  
Aaland archipelago in the small  
hours of this morning.

Despite a bitterly cold night,  
cheering crowds, headed by sing-  
ers, met her at the pier, and an  
enthusiastic deputation acclaimed  
her as the Aalands' most famous  
woman.

Today she continued her tri-  
umphal progress amid her peo-  
ple, the ceremonies culminating  
in a civic reception.

ROOSEVELT ASKS  
GIVING OF THANKS

Proclamation Indicates His  
Belief the Depression Is  
Over for the Nation.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—Presi-  
dent Roosevelt today proclaimed  
Nov. 26 as Thanksgiving Day with  
a message to the public in which he  
relegated the depression to the past.

"Having safely passed through  
troubled waters," he wrote, "it is  
our right to express our gratitude  
that Divine Providence has vouch-  
safed us wisdom and courage to  
overcome adversity."

He also said that "our free in-  
stitutions have been maintained with  
no abatement of our faith in them."  
The text of the proclamation fol-  
lows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## A Proclamation

I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United  
States of America, hereby design-  
ate Thursday, the twenty-sixth  
day of November, 1936, as a day  
of national thanksgiving.

The observance of a day of gen-  
eral thanksgiving by all the peo-  
ple is a practice peculiarly our  
own, hallowed by usage in the  
days before we were a nation and  
sanctioned through succeeding  
years.

Having safely passed through  
troubled waters, it is our right  
to express our gratitude that Divine  
Providence has vouchsafed us  
wisdom and courage to overcome  
adversity. Our free institutions  
have been maintained with no  
abatement of our faith in them.

In our relations with other peo-  
ples we stand out aloof, but make  
resolute effort to promote inter-  
national friendship and, by the  
avoidance of discord, to further  
world peace, prosperity and hap-  
piness.

Coupled with our grateful ac-  
knowledgment of the blessings it  
has been our high privilege to  
enjoy, we have a deepening sense  
of our solemn responsibility to  
assure for ourselves and our de-  
scendants a future more abun-  
dant in faith and in security.

Let us, therefore, on the day  
appointed, each in his own way,  
but together as a whole people,  
make due expression of our  
thanksgiving and humbly endeavor  
to follow in the footsteps of  
Almighty God.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I  
have hereunto set my hand and  
caused the seal of the United  
States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washing-  
ton this twelfth day of Novem-  
ber, in the Year of Our Lord  
Nineteen Hundred and  
Thirty-six, and of the  
Independence of the  
[SEAL] United States of America  
the one hundred and sixty-  
first.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President:  
R. WALTON MOORE,  
Acting Secretary of State.

## New Income Tax Rules Ready

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—Gen-  
eral income tax regulations applica-  
ble to the Revenue Act of 1936  
have been prepared for printing by  
Guy T. Helvering, Commissioner of  
Internal Revenue, and will be dis-  
tributed to taxpayers as rapidly as  
possible, the Treasury announced  
today. Most of the principal  
changes in the Revenue Act of  
1936, including the provisions re-  
lating to the surtax on undistrib-  
uted profits, heretofore have been  
made the subject of Treasury de-  
cisions.

CITY TO LEASE PLANT  
TO AID MILK SUPPLY

Mayor Plans to Pasteurize  
10,000 Quarts a Day if  
Emergency Occurs.

## DIRECT TRADE FORBIDDEN

Output of Private Concern  
Would Be Taken for Use  
of Institutions Here.

An emergency milk pasteurization  
plant which could handle up to  
10,000 quarts a day in the event of  
a milk shortage is established in  
the Bronx Terminal Market under  
the terms of a lease submitted by  
Mayor La Guardia to the Board of  
Estimate yesterday.

Since the city is prevented by law  
from engaging in the milk business,  
it was compelled to lease the space  
formerly occupied by the retail di-  
vision of the Bronx Terminal Mar-  
ket to Sunshine Farms, Inc., a pri-  
vate firm. The retail division,  
started as an experiment, was closed  
on Oct. 31 after it had failed to at-  
tract retail trade. The space and  
fixtures are easily convertible to the  
new use.

In former emergencies which  
threatened to interfere with the de-  
livery of an adequate milk supply,  
Health Commissioner John L. Rice  
and the Mayor found that the city  
could not go into the milk business.  
The new plant represents an emer-  
gency establishment which could be  
used by the city only after the  
Health Department had declared  
the existence of a public emergency.

## Full Use of Plant

"Commissioner of Health Rice  
and myself learned by previous ex-  
perience when milk emergencies  
were imminent that under the law  
and because of any other presently  
existing factors and conditions the  
city cannot directly go into the  
business of pasteurizing milk," the  
Mayor said. "However, in case of  
an emergency the Commissioner of  
Health has private powers. Before  
presenting this form of lease to the  
Board of Estimate, I instructed the  
Commissioner of Markets to have  
the lease so drawn as to make it  
possible for the city to have com-  
plete use of the plant's output, or  
in the event that the lease could  
not operate, to have complete con-  
trol over the plant, so that the city  
itself could pasteurize milk and dis-  
tribute it to city institutions, the  
sick and the needy in grave emer-  
gencies."

The lessee agrees to sell to the  
city any quantity of milk to be  
designated by the Purchasing Commis-  
sioner, Robert Moses, in advance  
for periods of six months, up to  
10,000 quarts a day. The price is to  
be agreed on after taking into ac-  
count the price paid the farmer,  
the distributor and producer of the  
milk, the actual cost of transporta-  
tion to the plant and a fair amount  
for overhead.

The section of the lease giving  
the city control over the plant's full  
output during emergencies reads:

## Terms of the Lease

"And the lessee further agrees  
that in the event of an emergency  
in the delivery and distribution of  
milk within the City of New York,  
the existence of which emergency  
shall consist in a declaration by the  
Commissioner of Health that milk  
is available for distribution outside  
of the city shall have the right to take  
the entire production of the lessee for  
distribution by it to such institu-  
tions, places and city purposes as  
it shall be obligated to care for,  
and in addition for the distribution  
to the sick and children outside of  
any city institutions. It is under-  
stood, however, by the lessee that  
if such emergency is created over  
which the said lessee has no con-  
trol, and as a result is unable to  
turn over all of its production of  
milk to the city, then it is relieved  
of obligation as to the city outside  
of the right to obtain for itself such  
milk and to have the complete use  
and control of the pasteurization  
plant of the lessee, so that it may  
deliver and distribute the milk dur-  
ing such emergency. The price to be  
paid by the city for the milk shall  
be the ultimate actual cost to the  
lessee."

In an emergency Mayor La Guardia  
plans to use milk from the  
plant for patients in city hospitals  
and penal institutions. The 10,000-  
quart daily capacity of the plant  
represents only a small fraction of  
the city's normal milk consumption.

## ONIONS ON PARADE TODAY

60,000 Bushels to Be Presented to  
City in Demonstration.

An onion parade, with an onion  
queen from Canastota, N. Y., will  
go up Broadway from Murray  
Street to 145th Street today. A stop  
will be made at City Hall where  
Mayor La Guardia will accept a gift  
of 60,000 pounds of onions, the  
equivalent of three carloads, for the  
city.

The parade has been arranged by  
Benjamin Balish of 98 Murray  
Street, whose company is one of  
the largest growers of onions in  
the country, as a part of a cam-  
paign to sell a surplus crop.

Miss Molly Vecchio of Canastota  
will be the queen and she will be  
attended by the following "farm-  
ettes," all from Canastota: The  
Misses Gloria Gatto, Rose Pon-  
della, Jesse Grilli, Molly Serio and  
Donna Waldo.

The onions to be given to the city  
will be used in school lunches, mu-  
nicipal lodging houses and other  
charities.

## Opposes Journalists' Union

DALLAS, Nov. 13 (P).—Carl P.  
Miller, president, told Sigma Delta  
Chi, national journalistic fraternity,  
in convention today that he did not  
approve of unionization of news-  
paper editorial employees. "Sigma  
Delta Chi should and is forming  
principles governing employment  
conditions of journalists, but we  
should not seek to choke these prin-  
ciples down any one's throat,"  
Miller said. "Sigma Delta Chi re-  
presents all branches of the profes-  
sion. It should act as a common  
meeting ground for employer and  
employee, by adopting a standard,  
but it should never become involved  
in direct negotiations between any  
given employer and employees."

PUPILS CITE MOSES  
AS 'IDEAL LEADER'

Medal for Civic Work Given to  
Him by Honor Society of  
Richmond Hill School.

## SEES 'GREAT COMPLIMENT'

Commissioner Finds Sincerity in  
Award From Youth Group  
'Unclouded' by Politics.

Park Commissioner Robert Moses  
received a gold medal yesterday  
morning as "the ideal civic leader"  
at a special assembly in Richmond  
Hill High School, Eighty-ninth Ave-  
nue and 114th Street, Richmond  
Hill, Queens. Mr. Moses was  
chosen by vote of the membership  
of Arista, the honor society of the  
school. The presentation was made  
by Vincent Coen.

In accepting the medal, Mr. Moses  
said: "It is a great compliment for  
any one in public service to be  
recognized by young people, whose  
vision is unclouded by political or  
selfish considerations and who  
have not yet been subjected to the  
wearing and grinding processes  
which, as people grow older, seem  
to leave many of them disillusioned  
as to the conduct of public affairs."

The commissioner then discussed  
the ever-increasing recreational  
facilities being provided the city,  
and said that there was much com-  
ment when his department's budget  
was presented because it was nearly  
double last year's, but he pointed  
out that relief labor could not be  
continually used in the parks and  
that the greatly increased facilities  
in the five boroughs required in-  
creased staffs, equipment and sup-  
plies.

Accompanying Mr. Moses were  
Mrs. Moses, his daughter, Jane,  
and several Park Department offi-  
cials, including Queens Borough  
Director Phillip Cruise.

In making the presentation, Coen  
said that the members of the  
school society had found the follow-  
ing qualities in Commissioner Moses  
in reaching their decision: Intelli-  
gence, efficiency, courage of con-  
victions, personality, culture, in-  
corruptibility, sense of humor, per-  
severance, foresight, tolerance,  
knowledge, unselfishness, idealism  
and modesty.

## \$50,000 FIRE ROUTS 100

Children in Near-by School March  
Out to Avoid Smoke.

One hundred employees of manu-  
facturing concerns in a four-story  
building at 80-82 Manhattan Avenue,  
at the corner of McKibbin Street,  
Brooklyn, were driven to the street  
at 11 A. M. yesterday by a fire  
which destroyed the interior. Three  
alarms were turned in. Damage was  
estimated at \$50,000.

The fire apparently was started  
by a short circuit in a switch on the  
second floor, occupied on the Mc-  
Kibbin Street side by the Nathan  
H. Morrell Ladies Coat Manufac-  
turing Company and on the Man-  
hattan Avenue side by the Lieber-  
man Ladies Underwear Company.

At the height of the fire, smoke  
seeped into the annex of the East-  
ern District High School, a block  
away on 25,000 feet was attained.  
When the weather is suitable an  
altitude of 30,000 feet will be at-  
tempted.

Stratosphere Craft Will Attempt to  
Rise 30,000 Feet.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
PARIS, Nov. 13.—The Farman  
airplane works is conducting a  
series of experiments with a strato-  
sphere airplane at Villacoublay.

Weather conditions interrupted  
the experiments when they were  
three-quarters through but an alti-  
tude of 25,000 feet was attained.  
When the weather is suitable an  
altitude of 30,000 feet will be at-  
tempted.

## Dr. John Homans in Yale Post

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
NEW HAVEN, Conn., Nov. 13.—  
Dr. John Homans, Clinical Profes-  
sor of Surgery in the Harvard  
Medical School and surgeon to the  
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Bos-  
ton, has been appointed Visiting  
Professor of Surgery in the Yale  
University School of Medicine and  
surgeon-in-chief of the New Haven  
Hospital during the leave of ab-  
sence period from Nov. 1 to June  
30 next.



## Vallee and Lyman Bands Arrive—New Shows at the Hollywood and Rainbow Room—Other News.



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**RUPPERT!** Wherever you see it, superb flavor and extra satisfaction are at your call—so be specific. Order by name. Join millions of other critical beer lovers in saying, "Make mine Ruppert!"

You will get the most delightful balance of refreshing tang and full-bodied, malty richness you have ever tasted—mellowed to perfection by long and careful ageing in glass-lined tanks. It's "America's favorite"—and no wonder!



# THE PRESIDENT AND THE NINE OLD MEN

Address delivered over Station WGAR February 28, 1937

by Dr. Barnett R. Brickner,

Rabbi of the Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

In a new white marble temple in Washington sit nine old men weighted with years, dignity and responsibility for the ultimate interpretation of the nation's laws. Against the pillars of this temple, President Roosevelt a few weeks ago hurled shafts of stinging criticism, charging that senility was undermining his administration and proposing to reform the Court by a blood transfusion.

When the new temple of justice was dedicated a few years ago, the architect in handing over the key said that it would last "for all time." The New York Times commenting editorially on this statement wrote "to raise buildings for all times is to impose ourselves upon the future. It denies to our posterities the right to express themselves in their own way. It fails to take cognizance of the speed of modern civilization." Mr. Justice Brandies said when first shown the plans of the new court house by the late Chief Justice Taft, "future generations of justices will serve the country better, if they do not exalt themselves in physical magnificence. Justice is born in the mind." Yes, justice is born in the mind, where things are flexible and resilient, and where the prevailing rule is change, the sort of change that Mr. Roosevelt is convinced is being denied to the country by a group of old men, who sit in this Court and who he believes are completely out of touch with the changing economic and social conditions of our times.

This is not the first time that President Roosevelt has shown his displeasure with the Supreme Court. On May 30, 1935, three days after the nine old men had declared his N. I. R. A. unconstitutional, he made his now famous comment that "the Court had interpreted the Interstate Commerce clause of the Constitution in the light of the horse and buggy days of 1789. The implications of that decision," he asserted, "would deprive

the government of all control over economic and social conditions." Subsequent events proved that the President was justified in fearing what the Court would do to his program, a program of social and economic legislation, which he feels convinced is the only way to save capitalism and democracy, and one which he wants sincerely to help get on the way before he retires to private life.

Speaking, the other day, to Mr. Krock, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Roosevelt said, "when I retire to private life on Jan. 20, 1941, I don't want to leave the country in the condition Buchanan left it to Lincoln. If I cannot in the brief time given me to attack its deep and disturbing problems, solve those problems, I hope at least to move them well on the way to solution by my successor. It is absolutely essential that the process begin at once." In this determination of Mr. Roosevelt, certainly all good citizens concur.

The Supreme Court in a series of anti-New Deal decision invalidated the A. A. A. crop control system, the Rice Processing Tax Law, the Guffey Coal Acts, the Municipal Bankruptcy Act; other decisions killed the Lemke-Frazier Farm Mortgage Act, which the President supported; they denied the President the right to remove a Federal Trade Commissioner. They curbed the powers of the Securities Exchange Commission, and they killed the New York State Minimum State law for women and children in a decision which led the President to say, "the Court has set up a no man's land in which neither the State or the Federal Government could function." All told, the Administration has won four decisions in the Supreme Court test, and lost ten in a period of four years. It is interesting at this point to remind ourselves that the number of acts, whether State or National, which the Supreme Court has dis-

allowed has increased enormously in recent years. Between 1789 and 1865, the Court pronounced void just two provisions and acts of Congress. Between 1920 and 1932 conclusive, it overturned twenty-two such provisions. While between 1934 and 1936 inclusive, it overturned thirteen such provisions. Among the acts of Congress, which the Court has set aside, those transgressing clear unmistakable words of the Constitution are few indeed. Rather Prof. Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton University, suggests "the basis of its decision has usually been some doctrine or theory, which has itself not without popular approval necessarily imported into the Constitution from the outside. Indeed New Deal legislation, which has almost fallen before just such doctrines or theories." And in cases concerning the crucial issue of State versus national power, it is generally order that is properly brought before, even though it may not be arbitrarily exercised. It is arbitrary in the sense that in the last analysis the opinion of constitutional lawyers that the Court's decisions have rested on extremely vague grounds, which have been open to a variety of interpretation, and that they have been put on grounds concerning which the Court's own interpretation has varied from time to time.

With the Court setting itself up as a sort of third legislative body, it is quite understandable why the President should have become so impatient about their acts. The people will not long endure a frustration of their will as expressed in Congressional legislation on economic and social questions. "Ours may be a government under law, but apparently the law has become what the judges say it is." This statement is attributed to no less a person than Chief Justice Hughes. The overwhelming vote, which the President received and the following that he has in Congress, which is alas almost servile, he has interpreted as a mandate from the people to do something to reform or to curb the Supreme Court's veto power over acts of Congress.

Writing in 1932, Professor Thomas Reed Powell of Harvard summed up the position of the court in relation to the Constitution in these words:

"Nine men in Washington have a pretty arbitrary power to annul any statute or ordinance or administrative fore them. The power is an arbitrary it is exercised as five or more of the nine men think best.

"The Supreme Court can hardly be said to be controlled by the Constitution because so seldom does the Constitution clearly dictate a decision. It is not controlled by its own precedents, for it feels free to overrule them. It feels even more free to make distinctions that no sensible person would think of making except to avoid confession that a precedent is being disregarded. All this remains true even though in most of the cases it is also true that applicable precedents are either followed or are not there to be invoked. The Supreme Court does what it prefers to do when it prefers to do as possible what it has done before."

Certainly nothing has happened since 1932 to cast doubt on the soundness of this verdict.

## Alternatives

After the N. I. R. A. ruling was handed down, the New Deal advocates began to speculate on how to curb those nine old men from further upsetting New Deal legislation. A number of plans were developed. The first was to wait until a vacancy occurs, and to fill that vacancy with a liberal appointment.

In the meanwhile to patch up the legislation that the Court vetoes, Roosevelt has waited four years and no vacancy has offered itself. The President's luck was not working. One of his predecessors, the late Mr. Taft, had five vacancies to fill during his term.

A second proposal that was discussed had reference to the regulation by statute of the judicial function, so that in certain types of cases, if two or more justices declared themselves opposed to upsetting the legislation, that it was not to be declared invalid.

A third proposal advocated granting Congress the power to repass a law invalidated by the Supreme Court, if it could muster a two-thirds vote in a successive session, or else to submit the invalidated law to a plebiscite of the whole people.

A fourth proposal was to put through one or more constitutional amendments defining clearly the powers of Congress and the States over the regulation of commerce, agriculture, labor and finance, and in that way remove from the Supreme Court jurisdiction over such measures and place the policy forming function on economic and social matters, where it rightfully belongs in the hands of the people's directly elected representatives.

In fact, at the National Democratic Convention held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1936, when Roosevelt received the re-nomination, the Platform on which Mr. Roosevelt ran and on which he was re-elected and which he undoubtedly helped to write, promised the people that "we will continue to meet the problems through legislation within the Constitution. And if these problems cannot be solved effectively by such legislation "we shall seek a clarifying amendment," which would give Congress the power to do the things that the President has in mind for it to accomplish.

Mr. Roosevelt is now vulnerable because he has failed to abide by this platform pledge, and has instead submitted a proposal to curb the Court by what amounts to a "packing" of the Court in the President's favor. For every one of the six judges now over 70, the President seeks power from Congress, a power which Congress has, to appoint six other justices until the total number of Justices reaches fifteen—one new Justice for each new member, who has not resigned within six months of his seventieth birthday. The President justifies this proposal on the ground that the "modern complexities call for a constant infusion of new blood in the Courts . . . a lowered mental or physical vigor leads men to avoid an examination of complicated and changed conditions. Little by little new facts become blurred through old glasses, fitted as it were for needs of another generation. Older men, assuming that the scene is the same as it was in the past, cease to explore or inquire into the present or the future."

## Precedent

Those who now charge the President with surprising the country, should qualify it. The only element of surprise is that instead of choosing the way of a clarifying constitutional amendment, which his platform promised, he preferred the "adroit" way of "packing the Court" with a membership favorable to the New Deal.

Let it be said here and now that the proposal is constitutional. That it is speedy, avoiding such delay as might be involved in passing an amendment to the Constitution. That it has precedent. The Court has been packed before. As originally constituted, in 1789, it consisted of only six members. In 1801, the number was dropped to five. In 1807, it was raised to seven; in 1837 to nine. In 1863, during the Civil War, the number was raised to ten, because one of the members of the Court was a Confederate and could not serve; later it was reduced to seven, and increased again to nine under President Grant, who packed the Court with two new Justices, whom he knew would help him reverse decision that had been granted by a four-to-three vote on the legal tender issue.

The President undoubtedly chose the adroit plan of packing the Court, because he fears that certain influences, like that of the Liberty League, have been at work poisoning State Legislatures, and since it would take only thirteen states to defeat an amendment and the Texas Legislature has already declared itself in the negative in a gratuitous vote, the President did not want to run the defeat by the way of the amendment.

Speculation is now rife that the President will have his way with this proposal, because a number of the Congressmen and Senators are afraid that the Administration will "crack down" on them and withhold patronage if they do not vote in the affirmative. Other Congressmen and Senators have soon to go back to their constituencies for re-election and are fearful of facing their people with the charge that they voted against the President. All of these factors

are unfortunately in the picture. Therefore, we are not having as open and as frank a discussion in Congress of this proposal as we should.

On the other hand it is also true that many a Senator and Congressman, who formerly stood loyally with the President, is speaking out against this proposal, not because he is out of sympathy with the basic and underlying need of curbing the Supreme Court's power but because he is opposed to the method of packing the Court that the President has adopted.

## Objections

The basic objections to the President's plan are as follows.

It does not go to the root of the problem, namely the need of curbing the Court's jurisdiction over economic policy, which in a democracy should be the function of Congress. The President's plan of reorganizing the Court only perpetuates the judicial oligarchy, it does not reform it. This power of vote over Congressional acts by the Court came into our Constitutional law with the famous Marshall decision in the Madison Marbury case early in our history. But it is only in recent years, as I have pointed out, that this veto power has been exercised to such a large extent and now primarily in matters affecting economic and social legislation, over which it is wrong for the Court to have jurisdiction, because the function of the Court is judicial and not economic. By repacking the court in his favor, the President for the time being may have his way, but it does not deal with the fundamental need, which is to curb the Court, rather than to purge it. A blood transfusion is not enough.

As one who sympathizes with the President, I plead with him to abandon this adroit way, and to adopt in its stead the amendment procedure, to which the American public is accustomed, and which he led them to expect he would follow. Difficult as it may be to phrase such amendments because in addition to accomplishing what the President wants accomplished, these amendments must retain the federation of states concept of our government and the independence of the Supreme Court, both of which are fundamental to our continuance as a democracy. This may be the longer, but in the end, it will prove the shorter way for the very purposes that the President has in mind.

What assurance has the President that after the number fifteen has been reached, and despite the law just passed permitting Justices to retire at the age of 70 with full and protected pay, that any of the conservative old men will resign. It is more likely that they will hang on in the hope that Roosevelt will be followed by a conservative and then resign, so that a "proper" successor may be appointed. In that way a semi-hereditary caste of conservative Justices will be created.

The plan of packing the Court can be used as effectively by a reactionary president as by a liberal. Ultimately, it may produce a benchful of younger reactionaries, just as blind and stubborn in their fifties as in their seventies. For if by legislative act, one President can oust two-thirds of his Supreme Court, or pack the Court until it does his bidding, there is nothing to prevent another President from doing the same thing. This successor might be swept into office by a tidal wave of reaction, such as is not uncommonly provoked when progressives over-reach themselves. His successor might feel called upon to oust the rump court, created by Roosevelt, and a new Court might very well find ways of abridging the Bill of Rights, as Roosevelt's Court would find ways of centralizing legislative authority.

Furthermore even a liberal President sometimes finds that there is many a slip between the nomination of a judge and his decisions. The conservative McReynolds was appointed by the liberal Wilson. And to counteract the consistently liberal Holmes and Brandeis, the conservative Harding appointed two reactionaries. From the names that the President is rumored to be considering it does not seem that he may choose more wisely than did his predecessors.

The method of packing the Court is out of line with the basic idea of the framers of the Constitution that the three branches of government, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary should be as far as possible kept independent of one another and act as a check and balance system. The President already has a subservient Congress. There is no Republican opposition to speak of. And opposition is an important thing in a republican government. In England, for example, they maintain a party in opposition, and the leader of opposition is a very important member of the House of Parliament. Furthermore, the President now has the people of this country pretty well in the palm of his hand. They have completely succumbed to his charming and intimate "my friends." Though I have no fear that the President is looking to make himself dictator, nevertheless, it is not wise that he should have a subservient Court added to all the other branches of government, then why has he not filled these a sense, the Court has acted as the only opposition that the President has. Truly, this is not its function; but neither is it the President's function to have a court that he can put into his vest pocket. When this happens in America, we may say goodbye to democracy.

## Senility

The President has contended that the Court is superannuated. And yet I make bold to state that this is a fictitious issue, that it would never have been raised if four of the other old men had voted consistently with the 80-year-old Brandeis, whom the President will now have to sacrifice. What a pity, for if all Brandeis did was to just write minority opinions, it would be worth retaining him. For Brandeis' minority opinions of yesterday and today will be the Supreme Court's majority opinions of tomorrow.

In a very real sense, the President has lowered the prestige of the Court by speaking of the Judges in the disparaging way in which he has. I am no believer of fetishes, and therefore, I do not believe in making a fetish of the Court and idols of the

(Continued on Page 7)





# THE PRESIDENT AND THE NINE OLD MEN

(Continued from Page 6)

Justices. We do not believe in an authoritarian Bible and therefore we ought not to have an iron clad Constitution. But I hold that in a country like ours, where State and Church are separated, the people need some form of anchorage, some link with the Invariant, and the Rock of Ages is as essential to political life as it is to religious life.

The American people have come on the whole to look upon the Supreme Court as the bulwark of Minority Rights and Civil Liberties, and justifiably so. The decisions of the Court in matters affecting these basic elements of democracy have been numerous. When we shake confidence in the Court, we are not helping to ground deeper those basic stays on which the whole structure of our liberty depends.

It has been contended an amendment would be a very slow and tedious process when time is so important a factor and as the President has said, "it is absolutely essential that we begin the process at once." The fact of the matter is that an amendment need not take twelve or fifteen years to pass. The average time that it has taken to put through the twenty-one amendments to the Constitution was a little over a year. The Prohibition Amendment took two years, the Women's Suffrage Amendment two years. Recently amendments have passed in much shorter time even than this. The amendment nullifying national prohibition took less than nine months, and the Lame Duck Amendment is another example of speedy action. The country is in a mood today to curb the powers of the Supreme Court to veto Congressional legislation on economic and social matters. I am confident that the President would have his way if truly clarifying amendments could be

formulated in accordance with the limitations that I have called attention to. He need not fear the opposition of the Liberty League and their ilk. Even if all the newspapers in the country were opposed to such amendments, as they are not, I believe he could still win, even as he did over eighty-five per cent of the newspaper opposition in his last campaign. But in sponsoring a truly clarifying amendment, he would be achieving a permanent reform, and in a way that Americans of this generation have been brought up to expect changes in the organic law of the country to be made. It would allow for full and free debate by the people and their representatives in their respective legislatures. In the event that such an amendment should not pass, then it would be an indication of where the people really stand and what they want. When all is said and done, that is democracy. No leader can force the people to accept that which they will not have.

In this connection it is well to call to mind a warning uttered by George Washington in his farewell address to his countrymen, "if in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional power be in any particular wrong let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates, but let there be no change by usurpation."

When the President insists on a Court of fifteen men on the ground that that number would expedite the business of the Court faster than the present, he is stating something with which his friend, Professor Felix Frankfurter does not agree. In the Encyclopedia of Social Science Frankfurter has stated "there is no magic in the number nine, but there are limits to an effective judicial action . . . Experience is conclusive that to enlarge the size of the Supreme Court would be self-defeating."

There are at present eight vacancies to fill in the lower Federal Courts, whose calendars are really crowded. If the shortage of man power has weighed heavily on the President's mind, then why has he not filled these vacancies, though they have existed for months.

With further reference to increasing the size of the Court Raymond Moley, Ex-New Dealer No. 1, made this keen observation: "Appointment to one of the new memberships will be a very doubtful honor under the circumstances. It will imply that the appointee is chosen not primarily as a statesman capable of wise and independent action, but because of a predetermined acquiescence with whatever the President in the future proposes to an obedient Congress."

## Dictatorships

A great many epithets and charges have been hurled at the President, such as "dictators, and destroyer of the Constitution, etc." I am frank to say that though I oppose the President's proposal to pack the Court, I have very little sympathy with those who believe the country will go to the dogs, if the act passes, and that Mr. Roosevelt will head straight for a dictatorship as a result of it. There are many countries which are as democratic as ours, and which do not have any Supreme Court. (Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark.) There the will of the Legislature is the last word, and these countries are just as stably governed as is ours. Our real safeguard against dictatorships consists in providing such flexibility that intelligent and patriotic representatives of the people have the opportunity and power to bring about rapid adjustments when critical situations arrive, such as those that are now facing us today.

Dictatorships come in periods of economic depression, social discouragement, and governmental breakdown. Roosevelt's courage, I believe,

has averted social breakdown, and therefore has forestalled dictatorship. There is more danger that our present recovery may be phoney instead of real, and this in turn will bring about dictatorship. Our real safeguard is to ground our recovery in basic economic and social reforms, in moderation, and social sensitivity. I have the feeling that our security against dictatorship lies in the ethical character and the intellectual achievement of the American people. It is because I have faith in this character and achievement that I urge upon the President to desist from pushing through his adroit plan of packing the Court. It will be a hollow victory. But if he succeeds in the process he will lose the respect and good will of the business and more moderate elements in the population whose co-operation is essential.

## Lord Bryce

In conclusion, I believe that it will be very helpful to cite the prophetic remarks of Mr. James (Lord) Bryce, former Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, who lived here many years, loved America, and learned to know it better than a great many Americans. In his book, the American Commonwealth, which has become a classic, (Vol. I, pages 269 and 270) Bryce discussing the number of the Supreme Court Judges, had the following to say:

"This method, (referring to Grant's action in 1869 in the legal tender case in which Grant packed the Court) is plainly susceptible of further and dangerous application. Suppose a Congress and President bent on doing something which the Supreme Court deemed contrary to the Constitution, they pass a Statute. A case arises under it. The Court on hearing the case unanimously declares the Statute to be null, as being beyond the powers of Congress. Congress forthwith

passes and the President signs another statute more than doubling the number of Justices. The President appoints to the new justiceships men who are pledged to hold the former case Constitutional. The Senate confirms his appointments. Another case, raising the validity of the disputed Statute is brought up to the Court. The new Justices out-vote the old ones. The Statute is held valid. The security provided for the protection of the Constitution is gone like a morning mist.

What prevents such assaults on the fundamental law — assaults, which however immoral in substance, would be perfectly illegal in form. Not the mechanism of government, for all its checks have been evaded. Not the conscience of the Legislature and the President, for heated combatants seldom shrink from justifying the means by the end. Nothing but the fear of the people, whose broad good sense and attachment to the great principles of the Constitution, may generally be relied on to condemn such a perversion of its forms. Yet if excitement has risen high over the country, a majority of the people may acquiesce and then it matters little whether what is really a revolution be accomplished by openly violating or by merely distorting the forms of law. To the people we come sooner or later, it is upon their wisdom and self-restraint that the stability of the most cunningly devised scheme of government will in the last resort depend."

No man, excepting that he was clairvoyant, could have foreseen a century ago, to a detail, what is actually taking place today. It seems to me that the American people would be very wise, and so would the President to heed Bryce's warning.

The Court needs curbing, not purging. A blood transfusion is not enough.

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FRIDAY, Matinee, April 16—LOHENGRIN

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FRIDAY, Evening, April 16—MIGNON

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SATURDAY, Matinee, April 17—CARMEN

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