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FORWARD BUILDING
NEW YORK, N.Y.

JEWISH DAILY FORWARD

World's Largest Jewish Daily

175 EAST BROADWAY

NEW YORK, N.Y.

4/10 '48

הרב מ' פונדק פנימה -

אין שבת, אף כי ביום הזה נחגג חנוכה, הרי סוללה' א' ב'ג'ד'ה'פ'
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FORWARD BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE GATEWAY TO THE JEWISH MARKET



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of a book which will thrill, delight and inform every reader—and especially everyone concerned with the labor movement.

"No service rendered in the field of labor was more remarkable than that of

LUCY ROBINS LANG"

wrote SAMUEL GOMEERS in his autobiography *"Seventy Years of Life and Labor"*



AND NOW—she tells her story—

a story packed with drama and excitement. From her childhood in the Ukraine through the past four decades of labor battles in the United States, she has never lost her zest for life and adventure. Coming to the United States at the age of ten, she found a job in a cigar factory, attended night school, and quickly became interested in social betterment.

This tremendous interest in humanity has characterized her whole life. In New York, San Francisco, Chicago and other cities she played an active role in labor circles. Her amazing experiences will hold you spell-bound as you follow her efforts to serve the interests of working men and women as told in her stirring book:

Tomorrow Is Beautiful

By **LUCY ROBINS LANG**

*From rat-infested basement to the White House to demand
justice from two Presidents—you follow*

LUCY ROBINS LANG

and you follow her through adventure after adventure—

She carried on the fight to free Eugene Debs and all the political prisoners following the end of World War I.

She managed and directed the fight for Tom Mooney's release from prison.

She was an intimate friend of Emma Goldman and was with her in all her unceasing struggles for freedom of speech.

She gave special and strategic aid in the tragic strike of the United Mine Workers in 1922.

She was active in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

She served as Executive Secretary of a committee created to protect the free, democratic labor movement in Germany when Nazism began its rise.

She never sought office or pay. But from her girlhood through all her colorful career, she worked unceasingly to promote the economic, social, and industrial welfare of the workers.

... Married by legal contract at the age of 15, she shocked the whole United States five years later when the contract expired.

... Drove across the United States in a fore-runner of modern trailer—going from one exciting experience to another.

... At one time she unwittingly harbored a Burn's spy—and then outwitted him.

... She worked indefatigably for Samuel Gompers who sought her advice and counsel.

... For William Green she made a study of European labor—traveling to Russia, Spain, France, Palestine, Austria, the Baltic countries.

... She knew all the outstanding labor leaders—extreme and conservative—and vividly portrays them all, giving insight into aims that guided them.

How this young immigrant girl dauntlessly pursued her course and became a powerful figure, is a story none should miss.

As WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labor, has said: "*Those who read her book will gain a new knowledge of the labor movement, a clearer conception of the struggles through which it has passed, and that its objective clears fully and squarely with the American way of life.*"

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PAUL J. CHITTENDEN, TREASURER

June 1, 1948.

Mrs. Lucy Robins Lang
44 Cleveland Drive
Croton-on-Hudson, New York

Dear Mrs. Lang:

May I tell you with what pleasure this Company has concluded a contract with you for the publication of your book, *TOMORROW IS BEAUTIFUL*.

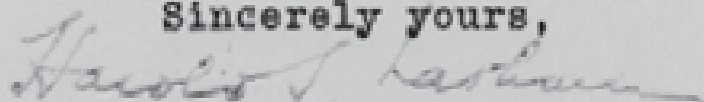
It was my good fortune to read this in manuscript form when it was under consideration by this firm. I had not spent more than fifteen minutes with *TOMORROW IS BEAUTIFUL* before I knew that we had a work here in which this Company was going to be considerably interested. I had not intended to read it at one sitting--I had thought I would sample it that first evening--but I did stay right with it for hours. It is an absorbing story.

More than that, I think it is a very important book. It has much to say on two points--on the Jewish question and on the labor question. Your experience, your broad sympathies, your understanding of the complicated aspects of both of these problems, make your narrative and your suggestions most significant. The book, it seems to me, is a contribution of importance to many of the vexed questions of the day. It is not often, in my experience, that a volume that has so much to say on vital issues says it so clearly and attractively.

But the work is not limited by any means to people who are concerned by anti-Semitism or labor difficulty. It will be found of equal value and interest by the average general reader, particularly the younger generation, who must, after all, solve some of these moot problems. They will find what you have had to say, I know, stimulating and provocative.

This letter has no point other than to tell you of the pleasure which I have had in this volume, and of my hope that we shall be able, through our combined efforts, to find for it the public it deserves.

Sincerely yours,



H. S. Latham
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
Vice President

HSL:KK



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June 5, 1948

TO THE OFFICERS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS,
STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR, CITY CENTRAL BODIES AND
DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Because I am so deeply and most favorably impressed by a book prepared by Lucy Robins Lang entitled "Tomorrow Is Beautiful", and which is being published by the MacMillan Company, I am addressing you this communication.

This book presents in a most dramatic and educational way the historic growth and development of the labor movement in the United States. It is my opinion that it ought to be read by all who are interested in the origin, growth and expansion of organized labor. Its dramatic feature is set forth in the story of the McNamara's and the tragic events which took place during the period when they lived and functioned.

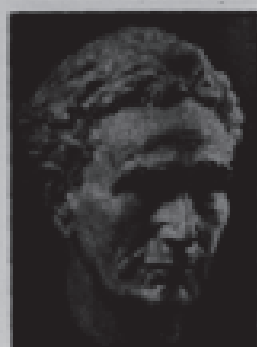
Pen portraits of two generations are presented in this most interesting book through the historic facts included in the book. Those who read it will learn anew of the noble humane influences which inspired workers to serve and sacrifice in the formation and establishment of trade unions. I can assure you it is a story which is fascinating and inspiring as well as educational and convincing.

If copies of this book could be ordered now in advance, in sufficient number, the selling price of the book could be maintained at \$3.50, the lowest possible minimum. For that reason, I respectfully urge that all of you order 100 or more copies of the book, for educational and historical purposes at least. In my opinion it will be money well spent. Please order them through the Library of the American Federation of Labor, with checks made payable to MacMillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Fraternally yours,

P. S. Anyone who wishes
can order from
1 to 5 copies.

President
American Federation of Labor



BRANDEIS YOUTH FOUNDATION, Inc.

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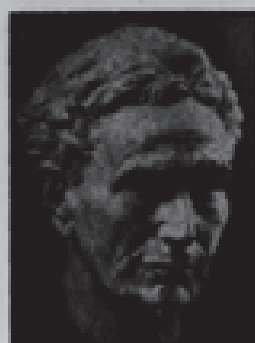
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STATISTICAL REPORT
of
BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTE

Summer, 1948

GROWTH OF BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTE





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GROWTH OF BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTE
FROM ITS INCEPTION TO THE PRESENT
1941 - 1948

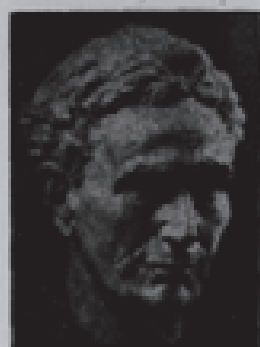
	<u>1941</u>	<u>1942</u>	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>
NUMBER OF CAMPERS	50	84	134	194	255	264	320	450
NUMBER OF CITIES	35	47	64	99	136	157	156	187*
NUMBER OF STATES	18	22	31	30	34	38	40	36

TOTAL OF BCI GRADUATES 1731

*The figure 187 represents the domicile of campers, who were sponsored by 170 communities.

COMPARATIVE REPORT OF COMMUNITIES
REPRESENTED AT BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTE





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COMPARATIVE REPORT OF COMMUNITIES REPRESENTED
AT BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTE
1946, 1947, 1948



SUMMARY CAPITULATION

	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>
NUMBER OF CAMPERS	244	320	450
NUMBER OF CITIES	132	161	179
NUMBER OF STATES	34*	36**	36**

* Plus Washington, D. C.

** Plus Washington, D. C. & Canada

KEY: FP - Fee Paying
NS - National Scholarship

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	REMARKS
<u>Alabama</u>				
Birmingham	4	3	1	
Montgomery			1	
Empire		1		
<u>Arizona</u>				
Phoenix		1	4*	*1 - FP
Tucson		1	3*	*1 - FP, 1 - NS
<u>California</u>				
Beverly Hills	1	5	6*	*3 - FP
Fresno			1	
Glendale			3*	*2 - FP
Hayward			1	
Long Beach			3	
Los Angeles	5	15	51	*4 - FP, 1 - NS
Monrovia			1	
Montalvo			1	
Oakland			2*	*1 - FP, 1 - NS candidate goes to school at Berkeley
Ontario			1*	*1 - FP
Oxnard		1	1	
Pasadena			2	
Sacramento		1		
San Diego		2	3	
San Francisco	1	3	13*	*1 - FP, 6 - partial FP & 4 of whom live & attend school at Berkeley.
San Gabriel			1	
Santa Monica			1	
Santa Paula		1	1	
Vallejo			1*	*1 - FP
Venice			1	
Ventura		1		
Altadena		1		
Berkeley		3		
Burbank		1		
<u>Colorado</u>				
Denver	3	4	7	
<u>Connecticut</u>				
East Norwalk			1	
Greenwich			1*	*Sent by Westchester Youth Comm.
Hartford	1	2	2	
Meriden	1			
New Britain	1	1	2	
New Haven	1	2	6*	*1 - Partial FP
Norwalk			1	
Norwich	2			
Putnam		1		

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	*REMARKS
<u>Connecticut cont'd</u>				
Stamford			2	
Waterbury		1	1	
West Hartford	1			
West Haven		1		
<u>District of Columbia</u>	3	4	5	
<u>Delaware</u>				
Wilmington	2	1		
<u>Florida</u>				
Jacksonville	3	5	5	
Miami		1	8	
Orlando	1			
Pensacola		1		
Miami Beach	4	5		
St. Petersburg	1		1	
Tallahassee			1*	*1/2 - NS
Tampa	2	4		
<u>Georgia</u>				
Atlanta	4	4	10*	*1 - FP, 1 - NS
Augusta	2	1	2*	*1 - FP
Columbus		1		
Savannah	1	3	3	
<u>Illinois</u>				
Chicago	6	3	7*	*1 - NS
Oak Park			1*	*1 - FP
Peoria			1*	*1/2 - NS
<u>Indiana</u>				
Bloomington		2	1*	*1 - NS
East Chicago	1	2		
East Miskawaka	1			
Gary		1	2*	*1 - FP
Indianapolis	1	2	3	
South Bend	1		1	
West Lafayette		1		
<u>Iowa</u>				
Cedar Rapids		1		
Council Bluffs		1		
Davenport	1			
Des Moines	1			
Dubuque			1	
Iowa City		2		
Sioux City	2	1	2	

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	REMARKS
<u>Kansas</u>				
Wichita	1	1	2+	*1/2 - FP
<u>Kentucky</u>				
Lexington	1	2	1	
Louisville		1	2	
<u>Louisiana</u>				
Alexandria	1	1		
New Orleans	2	2	3	
Shreveport	1		1	
<u>Maine</u>				
Lewiston			2*	*1 - FP
Portland			1	
<u>Maryland</u>				
Baltimore	4	4	6	
<u>Massachusetts</u>				
Boston		2	1*	*1 - NS
Brighton			1	
Brookline	1		1*	*1 - FP
Chelsea	1			
Dorchester	1	1	1	
Everett	1			
Fitchberg			1	
Lowell	1			
Malden			1*	*1-FP
Springfield	2	1	2*	*1 - FP
Worcester			1	
Whitman	1			
Brockton	1	1		
Fall River		1		
Haverhill		1		
Roxbury		1		
<u>Michigan</u>				
Bay City		1		
Detroit	3	4	8*	*1 - NS
Grand Rapids			2*	*1 - FP
<u>Minnesota</u>				
Minneapolis	4	4	6	
St. Paul	2	2	2	
Duluth	1	1		

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	*REMARKS
<u>Missouri</u>				
Kansas City	2	2	2	
Normandy	1			
St. Joseph	1	1		
St. Louis		5	5	
University City		2	3	
<u>Nebraska</u>				
Lincoln	1	1	1	
Omaha	3	3	4	
<u>New Hampshire</u>				
Dover			1	
<u>New Jersey</u>				
Arlington	1		1	
Atlantic City	3	1	1	
Bayonne	2	3	4	
Bridgeton	1			
Caldwell		1		
Camden	1	2		
Cliffside Park		1		
Englewood			1	
Harrison	1			
Highland Park	1			
Jersey City	3	2	3	
Linden		1		
Long Beach		1		
Morristown		1		
New Brunswick		3	2	
Newark	1	2	3*	*1 - NS
No. Arlington			1	
Orange			1	
Passaic	1	1		
Paterson	1	3	1*	* $\frac{1}{2}$ - FF, $\frac{1}{2}$ - NS
Perth Amboy		1	1	
Princeton		1		
Teaneck			1	
Trenton	2	2	1	
South Plainfield		1		
Ventnor			1	
Toms River		1		
Westwood		1	1*	*1 - FF
<u>New Mexico</u>				
Albuquerque		1		

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	*REMARKS
<u>New York</u>				
Albany	1	1	1	
Binghamton	1	1	1	
Bronx	5	7	16*	*1 - FP, 2 - NS
Brooklyn	15	20	15*	*2 - NS
Buffalo		2	3	
Ellenville		1		
Elmira	1		1	
Hamilton			1*	* $\frac{1}{2}$ - NS, $\frac{1}{2}$ - FP
Ithaca		1		
Long Island	11	10	15	
Mamaroneck		2		
Mount Vernon	4	1	4	
New Rochelle		1	1	
New York City	8	5	19*	*2 - FP, 7 - NS
Newburgh			1	
Orangeburg			1*	*1 - NS
Ossining		1	1	
Peekskill	1	1		
Port Chester			1	
Poughkeepsie	1			
Rochester	5	3	1	
Schnectady		1	1	
Syracuse	1	1	2	
Troy		1		
Utica	1	2	1	
Walden		1		
White Plains	1	1		
Yonkers		1		
<u>North Carolina</u>				
Asheville	1	1	1	
Chapel Hill	1			
Charlotte		1		
Durham	2		1	
Greensboro	1	1	1	
Hendersonville			1	
Winston-Salem		1	1*	*1 - FF
<u>Ohio</u>				
Akron	1	1	1	
Bellefontaine		1		
Canton	1	1	1	
Cincinnati	1	3	1	
Cleveland	2	2	2	
Cleveland Heights	1			
Columbus	1	1	2	
Elyria	1			
Lakewood	1			
Lorain		1	1	
Shaker Heights			1*	*1 - FF
Toledo	1	2		

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	REMARKS
<u>Ohio cont'd</u>				
Warren	1	1	1	
Youngstown	1	2		
Zanesville	1			
<u>Oklahoma</u>				
Shawnee	1		1	
Tulsa	1	2	2	
Norman		1		
Oklahoma City		2		
<u>Oregon</u>				
Portland	2		1	
<u>Pennsylvania</u>				
Allentown	1		1*	*1 - NS
Altoona	1		1	
Beaver Falls			1*	*1 - FP
Bethlehem		1		
Bloomsburg			1*	
Butler	1			
Duquesne		1		
Easton	1	1	1	
Erie	1	1		
Farrell			1*	*1 - NS Student at U of Wisconsin
Harrisburg	1		1	
Hazleton			1	
Johnston			1	
Kingston		1		
Lebanon			1	
McKeesport			1	
McKees Rocks	1			
Midland			1*	*1 - FP
Munhall			1	
New Kensington	1			
Philadelphia	10	8	13*	*1 - NS
Pittsburgh	2	4	1*	*1 - NS
Plymouth		1		
Pottsville			1	
Rochester			1*	*1 - FP
Seranton	1	2	1	
Uniontown		1	1	
Wilkes-Barre		4	5	
Williamsport			1	
York	1			
<u>Rhode Island</u>				
Providence	2	2	1	

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	*REMARKS
<u>South Carolina</u>				
Charleston	2	1	2	
Greenville			1	
Sumter	1			
<u>Tennessee</u>				
Knoxville		2	4	
Memphis	1	2	1	
Nashville	2	1		
Chattanooga	1			
<u>Texas</u>				
Austin	3	1	3*	* $\frac{1}{2}$ - FP
Beaumont		1		
Corsicana		1		
College Station	1		1*	*1 - NS
Corpus Christi		1	1	
Dallas	2	1	1	
Fort Worth		2	2	
Galveston			2	
Houston	1	3	4*	*1 - FP
San Antonio	1	1	2	
Tyler	1		1	
Waco	1	2	1	
<u>Utah</u>				
Salt Lake City		1	1*	*1 - NS
<u>Vermont</u>				
Burlington		3		
<u>Virginia</u>				
Arlington			1	
Newport News	1	1	4*	*1 - FP
Portsmouth	1		1	
Norfolk	2	2		
Richmond	1			
<u>Washington</u>				
Seattle	3	2	2	
Spokane	1			
<u>West Virginia</u>				
Charleston	1			

STATE & CITY	1946	1947	1948	*REMARKS
<u>Wisconsin</u>				
Madison	2	1	1*	*1 - NS
Milwaukee	1	4	5	
Kenosha	1			
<u>Canada</u>				
Halifax, N.S.			1	
Toronto, Ont.		1	1	
Winnipeg, Man.		1	1	
Vancouver, B.C.		1		

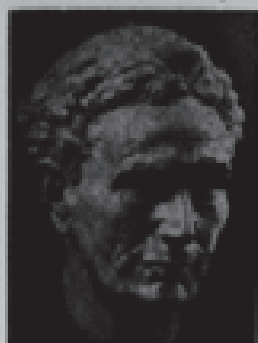


WRHS



COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

REPRESENTED AT BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTE



BRANDEIS YOUTH FOUNDATION, Inc.

National Headquarters for: BRANDEIS CAMP INSTITUTES *at*
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Office of
Executive Director:
DR. SHLOMO BARDIN

381 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

ORegon 9-4270

LIST OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
REPRESENTED AT BRANDEIS CAMP IN-
STITUTE IN 1947 AND 1948, INCLUD-
ING THE NUMBER OF CAMPERS PER
SCHOOL.

<u>SUMMARY CAPITULATION</u>			
	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>
COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES	73	91	121
CAMPERS	135	168	294
STATES	31	33	34

In 1946 Washington, D.C. was represented.
In 1947 and 1948 Washington, D.C. and Canada were
represented.

STATE & CITY

1947 1948

ALABAMA

University of Alabama

1	1
1	1

ARIZONA

Arizona State College

1

University of Arizona

3

Junior College of Phoenix

1	
1	1

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach City College

1

Los Angeles City College

2

5

Pomona State College

1

Pasadena Junior College

1

San Diego State College

1

3

San Francisco City College

2

San Francisco State College

2

San Jose State College

1

Stanford University

2

3

University of California - Berkeley

7

12

University of California - Los Angeles

10

3

University of Southern California

2

5

Ventura Jr. College

1

25	71
----	----

COLORADO

Deaver University

2	2
2	2

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut College for Women

1

Hillyer College

1

New Haven State Teachers College

1

Teachers College of Connecticut

1

1

University of Connecticut

2

2

Yale University

2

3	6
---	---

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

George Washington University

1	1
1	1

FLORIDA

Florida State College

1

STATE & CITY	1947	1948
University of Florida	2	3
University of Miami	3	6
	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>GEORGIA</u>		
Georgia School of Technology	1	2
University of Georgia	3	7
Jr. College of Augusta	1	
	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>ILLINOIS</u>		
Chicago Musical College		1
Northwestern University		3
Roosevelt College	1	1
University of Chicago	1	2
University of Illinois	1	2
Wright Branch Chicago City Jr. College		1
	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>INDIANA</u>		
Butler University		1
Indiana University	3	2
Purdue University		1
	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>IOWA</u>		
Morningside College		2
State University of Iowa	2	1
	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>KENTUCKY</u>		
University of Kentucky	1	1
University of Louisville		2
	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>LOUISIANA</u>		
Centenary College		1
Louisiana State University	1	2
Sophie Newcomb College	2	
Tulane University		2
	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>MAINE</u>		
Westbrook Junior College		1
		<u>1</u>
<u>MARYLAND</u>		
Goucher College	2	1
Johns Hopkins University		2
University of Maryland	1	3
	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>

STATE & CITY

1947 1948

MASSACHUSETTS

American International College
Boston University
Harvard University
Perry Kindergarden Normal Schoel
Worcester State Teachers College

	1
2	1
1	2
1	
	1
4	5

MICHIGAN

University of Michigan
Wayne University

1	3
3	5
4	8

MINNESOTA

University of Minnesota

4	6
4	6

MISSOURI

Harris Teachers - Jr. Division
Jr. College of Kansas City
St. Louis Institute of Music
University of Kansas City
University of Missouri
Washington University

	1
	1
	1
1	
	1
5	6
6	10

NEBRASKA

Creighton College
University of Nebraska
University of Omaha

1	1
1	1
3	2
5	4

NEW HAMPSHIRE

University of New Hampshire

	1
	1

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey College for Women
New Jersey State Teachers College
Princeton University
Rutgers University

4	3
2	2
1	
1	3
8	8

NEW MEXICO

University of New Mexico

1	
1	

STATE & CITY

1947

1948

NEW YORK

Adelphi College
 Barnard College - Columbia University
 Brooklyn College
 City College of New York
 Colgate University
 Columbia University
 Cornell University
 Hunter College
 Julliard School of Music
 Keuka College
 New York State Teachers College
 New York University
 Packer Colligate Institute
 Queen's College
 Russel Sage Institute
 St. John's University
 Syracuse University
 University of Buffalo
 University of Rochester
 William Smith College
 Yeshiva College

1	
1	2
3	6
3	6
	1
2	2
2	2
4	10
	1
	1
1	2
8	11
	1
2	6
1	
1	
1	1
1	2
1	
1	
	1
33	55

NORTH CAROLINA

Ashville Biltmore Jr. College
 Guilford College
 Salem College
 University of North Carolina
 University of North Carolina Women's College

	1
1	
1	
1	3
	2
3	6

OHIO

Akron University
 Antiech College
 Flora Stone Mather
 Hebrew Union College
 Kent State University
 Ohio State University
 University of Cincinnati
 Youngstown College

1	
2	
	1
1	
	1
	4
2	
1	
7	6

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma Business College
 University of Oklahoma

	1
1	1
1	2

PENNSYLVANIA

Bucknell
 College Misericordia

1	1
	1

STATE & CITY	1947	1948
McCans Business School		1
Moravia College for Women	1	
Pennsylvania State College		1
St. Josephs College		1
Temple University	2	4
University of Pennsylvania	2	2
University of Pittsburgh	2	1
Wilkes College		1
Wyoming Valley College - Bucknell University	2	
	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>		
Brown University	1	
Bryant College		1
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>		
Clemson A. & M. College		1
College of Charleston	1	1
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>TENNESSEE</u>		
Memphis State College		1
Vanderbilt University		1
University of Tennessee	3	
	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>TEXAS</u>		
Boylor University	1	
Corpus Christi Jr. College	1	
Rice Institute	2	1
San Antonio Jr. College	1	
Southern Methodist University		1
Texas A. & M. College		2
Texas Christian University		1
Texas State College for Women	1	
Trinity University		1
Tyler Jr. College		1
University of Houston		3
University of Texas	3	6
North Texas State College	1	
	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>UTAH</u>		
University of Utah	1	1
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>VERMONT</u>		
University of Vermont	1	
	<u>1</u>	
<u>VIRGINIA</u>		
Richmond Professional Institute		1
University of Virginia		1
		<u>2</u>

STATE & CITY	1947	1948
<u>WASHINGTON</u>		
University of Washington	3	1
	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>WISCONSIN</u>		
University of Wisconsin	2	4
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>CANADA</u>		
Dalhousie University		1
Queens University		1
University of Manitoba	1	1
University of British Columbia	1	
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>





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LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE NATIONAL 3870-1-2-3-4
CABLE ADDRESS AFEL

Washington 1, D. C. August 26, 1948

TO THE OFFICERS OF STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR
AND CITY CENTRAL BODIES.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I deem it advisable to send you this follow-up to the official communication I transmitted to you under date of June 5th calling your attention to a book of which Lucy Robins Lang is the author entitled "Tomorrow Is Beautiful". In the letter I sent you I advised you that I was most favorably impressed with the book. Permit me to emphasize the value of this book. I am more convinced than ever that it ought to be read by all members of organized labor. Your State Federation of Labor and City Central Body can order copies of the book either singularly or collectively. The price of the book is \$3.50. Perhaps the officers and members of local organizations affiliated with your State Federation of Labor and City Central Body would be interested in the book and wish to obtain copies of it. They can do so by placing orders for it with the Library of the American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington 1, D. C. with checks made payable to MacMillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

I repeat in conclusion that I consider this book "Tomorrow Is Beautiful" as a most interesting and valuable publication. It presents certain facts in a realistic way. It is fascinating, interesting, and inspiring and it is also educational because of its historic value. The officers and members of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies will make no mistake in the event you purchase as many copies of this book as your officers and members may wish and desire.

Very truly yours,

President
American Federation of Labor

mr

COPY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

New York, N.Y.

September 3, 1948

Mr. William Green
American Federation of Labor Building
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Green:

I have just seen a copy of the second letter which you have written to the officers of state federations of labor and others, relating to Mrs. Lang's book, TOMORROW IS BEAUTIFUL. I am writing you to express my personal appreciation of your commendation of this work.

I have recently had occasion to read Mrs. Lang's book again, this time in proofs, and I have been struck afresh with its importance and timeliness. It seems to me to be almost a tract especially written for these times. Here is the story of a young woman who embraces all sorts of radical experiments from contract marriage to anarchy, but who gradually throws off the undesirable and moves consistently forward toward a complete acceptance of the democratic ideal of life. It seems to me that the book is a patriotic and living testament of considerable significance and importance. I only hope that others will share my enthusiasm for it.

Sincerely yours,

s/ H.S. Latham

Vice President
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

ישראל
הממשלה הזמנית

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

OFFICE OF INFORMATION
RHINELANDER 4-4200

September 9, 1948

16 EAST 66TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

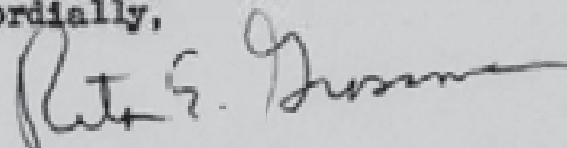
Dear Dr. Silver:

Jim Kilgallen of International News Service called me this morning and asked whether you would be in a position to write an article for I.N.S. on the impressions you gleaned from your trip to Israel. What I.N.S. would like is approximately 800 words for use as a by-line story to be circulated to all their member papers in America and overseas.

They would like to have the piece within a week.

I would appreciate your letting me know whether you want to go ahead with this.

Cordially,



Rita E. Grossman

P. S. I have just received a call from Gordon Frasier of the American Broadcasting Company. He wanted you to appear on tonight's 7:00 P.M. television newscast. When I told him you would not be back until next week, he expressed interest in having you appear when you return to New York.



Brooklyn League
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DOVID FOR PALESTINE

COLONEL DAVID MARCUS
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16 COURT STREET • BROOKLYN 2, NEW YORK

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Harold L. Cowin - Secretary

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Jewish Agency
16 East 66 Street
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Silver:

The Brooklyn League of the American Red Mogen Dovid is sponsoring a Memorial for the late Colonel David Marcus who lost his life leading the Israeli forces on the day truce was declared.

This Memorial will be in the form of a much needed blood plasma processing station and serum laboratory in Israel.

As Chairman of this worthy project I invite you to serve with a small group of other distinguished Americans as an Honorary Chairman.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Zeltner

Please address reply to:

Mr. Edward Zeltner
New York Mirror
540 Atlantic Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

The Municipal Court of Cleveland

LEWIS DRUCKER, ASSOCIATE JUDGE

September 23, 1948

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
East 105th and Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

My dear Rabbi:

The enclosed letter was sent to Samuel H. Friedman, A.M. Luntz, Leo Newmark, Howard M. Wise and Max Friedmann. It would be most helpful if you personally indicated to them your approval and your interest in this program and urged their cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,



Lewis Drucker

LD/jhw
Enc.

✓
September 22, 1948

Mr. Leo Newmark
Printz Biederman Company
1974 East 61st Street
Cleveland 3, Ohio

My dear Leo:

The Cleveland Histadrut Committee (National Palestine Labor Campaign) in obedience to a conference resolution and in response to the urgent appeal from the State of Israel, through the National office in New York has set a quota of \$250,000.00 for the Cleveland Area in money and materials. The organization of the campaign is now in process. The opening rally (dinner meeting) is temporarily set for the 17th or the 24th of October. Our experience indicates that the larger percent of quota must come from the larger contributions of our business people. We would like to avoid the necessity of a direct personal solicitation from our larger givers. We are cognizant of the value of having a few of our community leaders take the leadership and sponsor several meetings in their private homes or a dinner meeting to which your friends and good prospects could be invited. There can be no controversial discussion over the merits of the project. The Histadrut has been authorized by the State of Israel to assume responsibility for the employment, vocational training and necessary medical attention for 100,000 D.P.'s who are being brought to Israel. These provisions for employment and education begins at the point that the function of the U.J.A. ends. They have also been asked to assume the responsibility of building and providing necessary and essential

Mr. Leo Newmark

-2-

9/22/48

housing and these same people who will be given first, necessary medical attention, second, vocational and occupational training, third, employment in industries which will have to be stimulated and expanded. No other agency has been given that assignment so that you can be assured there will be no duplication. The National office will assume all the necessary expense of secretarial service, mailing, postage and dinner or refreshments (as deemed advisable). Will you agree, consent and yield to our earnest appeal to join with several others in an invitation either at your home, hotel or club as deemed best? these meetings could be set for the last week in October at your convenience and the National office will provide interesting and well informed speakers. Will you send me your willingness to cooperate and help?

Very sincerely yours,

LD/jhw

Lewis Drucker

cc: Henry Rucker

*The Board of Trustees
of
Congregation Emanu-El
requests the honour of your presence at
a special service
on Friday evening, September 24th 1948, at 8:15
at which*

*The Rev. Dr. Julius Mark
will be installed as
Senior Rabbi of the Congregation*

*This Service will be followed
by a Reception to Dr. and Mrs. Mark
in the Isaac M. Wise Hall*

DAY LETTER

SEPTEMBER 24, 1948

REV. DR. JULIUS MARK
CONGREGATION EMANU-EL
FIFTH AVE. AND 65TH ST.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE TEMPLE JOIN ME IN SENDING YOU
HEARTIEST FELICITATIONS ON OCCASION OF YOUR INSTALLATION AS
SENIOR RABBI OF CONGREGATION EMANU-EL. WE WISH YOU
DEEPEST SPIRITUAL SATISFACTION AND A FULL MEASURE OF SUCCESS
IN YOUR NEW FIELD OF SERVICE WHICH WILL BE A CONTINUATION OF
YOUR DISTINGUISHED CAREER IN WHICH YOU SERVED YOUR COUNTRY,
YOUR FAITH AND YOUR PEOPLE WITH EXEMPLARY DEVOTION.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
Fairmount Boulevard at Eaton Road
Cleveland, Ohio

MINISTERS

HAROLD COOKE PHILLIPS
FRANCIS CHASE WHEATON

September 25, 1948

Rabbi Abba H. Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road and E. 105th St.
Cleveland 3, Ohio

Dear Friend:

On Wednesday, October 6, The First Baptist Church will recognize twenty years of happy fellowship and significant ministry with our minister, Harold Cooke Phillips.

An Anniversary Book and Folder is to be presented, containing messages of congratulation and appreciation from his many friends. We should be happy to include any word you care to send.

Please address to Dr. Clarence C. Story in care of the church, or myself.

Very sincerely,

Francis C. Wheaton
Associate Minister.

For the Committee.

FCW:D

Arlington, Vermont
September 27, 1948

Dear Mrs. Lang:

Your proofs have come in, and although I have some difficulty with my elderly eyes these days, I have been reading it with the liveliest interest and fascinated attention. I am only about half way through, so I am writing now only to let you know that the proofs are safely here, and to ask if you would like to have me send them back to you, or may I pass them on to an old friend of mine, a great labor sympathizer and one who enjoys such a sound, lively, sincere, human document such as this book of yours is.

I'll write again later when I have read more.

Faithfully yours,

Signed Dorothy Canfield Fisher

DCF/v

Mrs. Lucy B. Lang
44 Cleveland Drive
Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.

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formerly NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION



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FRANK C. VAN CLEEF

1790 Broadway
(at Fifty-eighth Street)
New York 19, N. Y.
Telephone: Circle 5-8000

September 27, 1948

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The National Probation and Parole Association is deeply appreciative of your cooperation in sponsoring our last appeal letter in your community. As Vice President I am writing personally at this time to thank you for your help.

In response to this appeal our records show that 275 gifts were received, amounting to a total of \$2132. We are grateful for the significant part you took in securing these results.

Among the donors there were many new ones. This is encouraging because it indicates an increased interest in delinquency and its prevention. Besides the Association is enabled through its educational material to build a more enlightened public opinion, so urgently needed throughout the country in solving local and national problems.

In view of the increasing demands upon the National Probation and Parole Association for service, we shall be very grateful for your continued assistance.

Thanking you again for the very real help you have given us, I am

Sincerely yours,


Vice President

M.Z.Frank
ZOA
41 East 42 nd St
New York, 17

Memorandum to
Dr.A.H.Silver and Dr.Emanuel Neumann:

September 28, 1948

Yesterday, at the end of an interview with Dr. Israel Goldstein, I mentioned a personal matter. A friend of mine in the Kiryah, of a high standing in the government of Israel, asked my consent to try to ~~xxxx~~ secure for me some post there. At the same time, there seems to be a possibility for me to be connected with some periodical here branching out in Tel-Aviv, I should prefer the latter. In the meantime, I should like to ~~xxx~~ take another trip to Israel, if I could get an assignment in which I could be useful and which would square with my conscience.

I found on my last trip that I ~~could gain the confidence of~~ easily won the confidence of ordinary people, on the towns and in the ~~the~~ kibbutzim, who treated me as one of their own rather than as a journalist or a ~~an~~ official from America. My contacts with the Haoved Hatzioni were short--because they lack organization--but a good mutual feeling was ~~a~~ immediately established.

From the meager information I have about recent ~~developments~~ developments in Israel among the General Zionists, I should judge that I could be of use in bridging whatever gap there is, between the ZOA and Haoved Hatzioni. Goldstein

Dr. Goldstein thought it was a good idea and that he could think up other useful functions for me there, but that it was first necessary to get the consent of Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann.

If the views of Dr. Goldstein on General Zionist policy and tactics prevail, then I think I can be useful. If the views of Mr. Frisch prevail, then something of much graver nature is involved than my usefulness or my trip to Israel. It may mean ~~that~~ the publication of the monologue on ~~xxxx~~ Ibn Hayun much sooner than it is good for the cause of Zionism.

M. Z. Frank

[September 7, 1978]

The Board of Trustees
of
Congregation Emanu-El
of the City of New York
acknowledges with appreciation
the receipt of your message
on the occasion of the Installation of
Rev. Dr. Julius Mark
as Senior Rabbi of the Congregation

October 2, 1948

Dr. Clarence C. Story
First Baptist Church
Fairmount Blvd. at Eaton Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Story:

May I be permitted to join the many friends of Dr. Harold Cooke Phillips in extending to him my felicitations on the occasion of the celebration of 20 years of ministry in the fellowship of the First Baptist Church. Especially, I should like to congratulate the First Baptist Church in having been privileged to enjoy the distinguished spiritual leadership of this rare servant of God who faithfully and in the noblest traditions of his great calling has carried on his radiant service which has touched the lives of many far beyond the sphere of his own congregation.

All of us in Cleveland and many beyond the borders of our own city have felt the impact of Dr. Phillips' personality and his message. In integrity, devotion and kindness, he has moved among his fellowmen. I pray that many more years of blessed service may be granted to him and that we shall be privileged to turn to him always as beloved counselor and friend.

to a Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

October 7, 1948

Mr. M. Z. Frank
1652 Popham Avenue
Bronx 53, New York

My dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of October 6th. Although my days are very crowded, I shall be very pleased to read the manuscript of Mrs. Lang's book, and if I feel free to do so, I shall, of course, be most happy to comment on it — not for the sake of setting myself right with anyone.

With all good wishes for a very Happy New Year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Mr. J. Frank
1652 Popham ave
BRONX New York 53

Oct 6, 1948

Dear Dr. Silver:

The other day Harry Lang, editor of the Sunday Forward, consulted me on the advisability of securing an introduction or a commentary on his wife's book from the most eminent Jewish leader in this country today. You were elected.

This was followed up by the enclosed communication. Since I don't see you as often as people think I do, I am forwarding the communication to you.

Mr. Lang writes if you have the time and the inclination to read the ^{edited} proofs before deciding whether you care to comment, he will be happy to let them have ~~of~~ them. Naturally, there is no obligation involved on your part to comment after you have read the book or parts thereof.

Mr. Lang adds a note that in view of your reputation as an enemy of labor, you may find it especially intriguing to comment on a book dealing

with the Labor Movement in America.

To this I make bold to add two observations of my own.

One, The Jewish Daily Forward is a good thing to make friends with. This paper was friendly to you only during the short period of your controversy with Wise.

Two, while it is yet to be shown that you know how to handle the ~~Jewish~~ public in Israel, you need no advice on how to handle the American public.

There are several matters I should like to discuss with you in person, but I am using the mail in the meantime.

With best wishes for the New Year to yourself, Mrs Silver and the Boys

Cordially

My Frank

The book is to be published on November 15, the day of the opening of the A.F. & L. convention



BNAI ZION

The Fraternal Zionist Organization of America

220 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7950

October 11, 1948

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105th St. & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

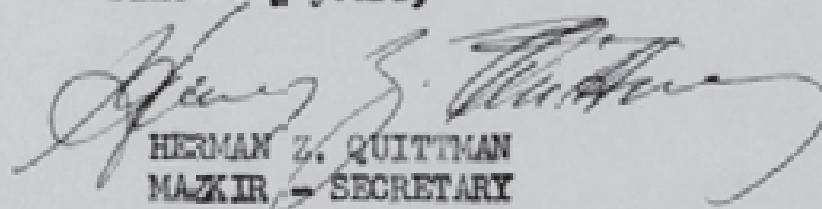
Enclosed herewith you will please find copy of a letter sent to you on July 30, 1948, which is self-explanatory. Since we are certain that your greeting will enhance the value of this tribute for Mr. Lipsky, may we suggest that you send us such greeting at the earliest possible time on your own stationery and over your signature.

We have delayed the presentation of this volume since several of Mr. Lipsky's friends and co-workers have only just returned from Israel.

Looking forward to your early attention in this matter, I am,

With best wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year,

Sincerely yours,


HERMAN Z. QUITTMAN
MAZKIR - SECRETARY

HZQ:WP
Encl. (1)

July 29, 1948

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105 St. and Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

At the recent convention of Bnai Zion, a resolution was unanimously adopted expressing appreciation to Mr. Louis Lipsky for his fifty years of distinguished service to our cause and our people and urging the presentation to him of a suitable token of our esteem.

We feel that Mr. Lipsky would most cherish a volume containing greetings and messages from those with whom he has worked in the various phases of his service to Jewry. Such a volume could not be complete without a message from you.

We would therefore greatly appreciate your sending in a greeting at your earliest convenience so that it may be included in the volume which we plan to present to him in September.

Sincerely yours,

HAP/HJK:vp

Harry A. Pine
Hast

Dr. Harris J. Levine, Chairman
Testimonial Committee

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

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PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
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B.CAA021-494 NL PD=CAMBRIDGE MASS 12=
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER THE TEMPLE CLEVE=.

WBHS



NO ACTION YET REPORTED ON VISA FOR DEAN OF CANTERBURY
STATE DEPARTMENT HAS THUS FAR IGNORED TELEGRAPH AND
TELEPHONE INQUIRIES FROM ME HOPE YOU AS MEMBER OF AD HOC
COMMITTEE WILL BE WILLING TO TELEGRAPH OR TELEPHONE
CHARLES E HULTEN OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE STRONGLY
REQUESTING PROMPT AND FAVORABLE RESPONSE TO COMMITTEE
LETTER OF SEPTEMBER SEVENTEENTH TO SECRETARY OF STATE ON
GROUNDS OF INTELLECTUAL HOSPITALITY AND FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

=RALPH BARTON PERRY:

ATIONS FROM ITS=AD HOC= NO ITS SERVICE

October 15, 1948

Mr. Saul Danaceau
18320 Kinsman Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Friend:

You may have seen the enclosed which appeared in the Cleveland News. Badaan is an Arab propagandist who has been very active against us in the public press and on the platform. I suggest that you write to the Council on World Affairs, requesting that the other side of the case be presented at an early meeting of that organization.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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BY THE SENDER OF THIS
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HH35CC MD NL PD

NEWYORK NY OCT 19 1948

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER

IVBN

JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE 16 EAST 66 ST NYK

HAVE HONOR INVITE YOUR PARTICIPATION AT DR ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN 30TH
ANNIVERSARY SABBATH ON EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR ISRAEL AT
CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN 88 STREET WEST OF BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY
SATURDAY OCTOBER 30TH 930AM PLEASE REPLY WIRE COLLECT

ISIDOR S SCHWEITZER PRESIDENT

1121P

THE COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS
Cleveland 14, Ohio

922 Society for Savings Building

October 21, 1948

Dear Mr. Danaceau:

Thank you for your recent letter in reference to Mr. John Badeau.

As you well know, the Council on World Affairs is an educational institution, and as such it takes no position on international matters. Although it is not always possible for us to present speakers with exactly opposing points of view, we always try to maintain the balance in the expression of opinions in matters of international importance. Before Mr. Badeau's visit, we had planned to present other speakers on the Palestine situation, although we did not anticipate that Mr. Badeau would discuss the Palestine situation. As a matter of fact, his reference to it constituted a minor part of his overall remarks.

You may be assured, therefore, that we are very much interested in your suggestion of a speaker whom we will present in the same way we presented Mr. Badeau. You realize, of course, that Mr. Badeau was not a principal lecturer for the Council. He spoke only to two of our discussion groups.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Shepherd L. Witman

Shepherd L. Witman

Mr. Saul S. Danaceau, President
Cleveland Zionist Emergency Council
County of Cuyahoga
Court House
1 Lakeside Avenue,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

Have sent
a copy to Hdqts.
in N.Y.

Saul

October 25, 1948

Mr. M. Z. Frank
1652 Popham Avenue
Bronx 53, New York

My dear Friend:

I have received and read the proof of the book, "Tomorrow is Beautiful", by Lucy Robins Lang. It is an exciting book, vivid and colorful. It is a fascinating story of the American Labor Movement in the last thirty years as reflected in the life of an eager and devoted spirit who participates actively in all of its struggles, disappointments, and triumphs. It is also the inspiring story of an immigrant girl who, swept along by the conditions of her early life and the associations and activities of extreme radicalism, soon discovered the strength and the promise of American democracy, and has remained its devotee and champion. It is a human document of great inspiration.

However, I am greatly worried about giving a blanket endorsement of the book which might be used in its publicity. The author is violently anti-Soviet. Her impressions of the Soviet Union do not go beyond 1933, but they are very bitter and unqualified. The state of the world being what it is, and the war fever between the East and the West being so actively whipped up by forces not all of whom are the friends of democracy and human freedom, I am wondering whether the publication of this book at this time will not add fuel to the flames, and whether my endorsement of it may not embarrass the movement of which I am a responsible representative and for which the author has the greatest sympathy. I should like your reactions.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

DAY LETTER

OCTOBER 26, 1948

MR. ISIDOR S. SCHWEITZER, PRESIDENT
B'NAI JESHURUN CONGREGATION
88 STREET WEST OF BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DEEPLY REGRET UNABLE TO ATTEND THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY SERVICE OF DR.
GOLDSTEIN AS I AM UNABLE TO LEAVE CLEVELAND ON THAT DAY. I SHOULD LIKE TO
CONVEY THROUGH YOU TO THE CONGREGATION MY HEARTIEST FELICITATIONS ON THE
PRIVILEGE WHICH HAS BEEN THEIRS TO ENJOY THE DISTINGUISHED MINISTRY OF
DR. GOLDSTEIN FOR THREE DECADES AND FOR HAVING MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION
TO THE CAUSE OF ISRAEL THROUGH HIS GIFTED AND DEVOTED SERVICE WHICH IS
CLIMAXED THIS YEAR BY HIS ACCEPTING OF THE HIGH AND RESPONSIBLE OFFICE
OF TREASURER OF THE JEWISH AGENCY. WE ARE ALL PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL TO
CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN FOR GRANTING DR. GOLDSTEIN A LEAVE OF ABSENCE
TO ENABLE HIM TO DO THIS IMPORTANT WORK DURING THIS CRITICAL YEAR. I SEND
YEM MY WARMEST GREETINGS TO DR. GOLDSTEIN AND ALL MY GOOD WISHES.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Oct 29, 1948

Dear Mr. Selver:

I had to take some time to think it over. I did not read the book. But from what I know of the sentiments of Harry Camp, they go far beyond even what a seasoned red-baiter like myself would consider reasonable.

I certainly agree that as a Zionist leader you cannot allow yourself to be identified either with an anti-Soviet position or, if you qualify your endorsement, with a pro-Soviet position. If you can see your way clear to publish a review in your congregational bulletin or to give an endorsement stressing merely the Jewish aspect, it may do. Whether ~~the~~ either of these two steps ~~are~~^{is} feasible, you know better.

Cordially

M. Z. Frank

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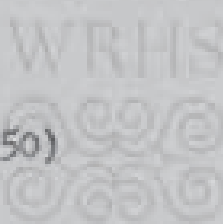
DAY LETTER

OCTOBER 29, 1948

TEMPLE MT. SINAI
EL PASO, TEXAS

THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE TEMPLE JOIN ME IN SENDING
WARMEST FELICITATIONS TO TEMPLE MT. SINAI ON THE OCCASION
OF ITS FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY AND TO ITS DISTINGUISHED RABBI
WENDELL A. PHILLIPS ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS MINISTRY
IN YOUR MIDST. MAY YOU GO FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH SERVING
THE CAUSE OF JUDAISM AND AMERICA.

(Charged to Ga. 0150)



ABRA HILLEL SILVER

The Officers and Board of Trustees

of

Temple Mt. Sinai

El Paso, Texas

cordially invite you to attend

the

Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration

Friday Evening, October 29th at 8 p.m. at the Temple

Honoring our Rabbi, Wendell A. Phillips

in Celebration of his Tenth Anniversary of Ministry to the Congregation

Anniversary Address

Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman

President,

Central Conference of American Rabbis

Saturday evening

October 30th

at 7:30 p.m.

Anniversary Dinner

El Paso Country Club

Guest Speaker

Colonel Julius Schreiber

Social Psychiatrist





Nachlath GALICIAN JEWS of America
ON THE LAND of the JEWISH NATIONAL FUND



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Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th St & Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

The enclosed letter should have been mailed to you some time ago, but because of our knowledge that you are pressed for time, working in behalf of our people, we held back mailing it to you.

However, the time for the Testimonial Dinner, which is scheduled for Wednesday evening, December 22nd, 1948, is so close, we cannot delay this matter any longer. We hope that you will give this your favorable attention.

Sincerely yours,

UNITED GALICIAN JEWS OF AMERICA.

Julius G. Feit
JULIUS G. FEIT,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

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SOLOMON KERSTEIN TESTIMONIAL DINNER

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JGF:JDL



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ON THE LAND of the JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

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Secretary

MORRIS KLUMENREICH
Chairman, Arrangements Committee

Nov. 3, 1948.

Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
E. 105th Street & Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

At the recent convention of the United Galician Jews of America, a resolution was enthusiastically adopted to redeem a tract of land through the Jewish National Fund, to be known as "Nachlath Yehuday Galicia".

Our organization already began to implement this project for Geulath Ha'Aretz for which we contemplate raising the sum of \$50,000. We designated Mr. Solomon Kerstein as Chairman of this project. The J.N.F. here have approved our plan and so informed the head office in Jerusalem.

We will help establish a settlement in memory of our Jewish Martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice as victims of oppression and brutality during the last war. It will also offer many of our surviving refugee brethren an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves and help build a Jewish National Home.

We are launching the Nachlah effort with a testimonial dinner to our dear mutual friend and colleague, Mr. Solomon Kerstein, Vice-President of Bloch Publishing Co., in recognition of his devotion to the cause of our people and our land. Mr. Kerstein has recently completed three decades of unselfish service on behalf of the Zionist cause and cultural activities on the American Jewish scene.

The testimonial dinner for Mr. Kerstein is scheduled for Wednesday evening, December 22, 1948, to be held at the Riverside Plaza, 73rd Street & Broadway, New York City. We would deem it a great honor



Nachlath GALICIAN JEWS of America

ON THE LAND of the JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

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Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver - 2-

if you would accept our cordial invitation to grace the Committee of Sponsors as its Honorary Chairman. Your inspiring influence, your reputation of life long service to the Zionist cause and wide range of your resultful achievements, would be of tremendous help in stimulating others to participate. We are already assured of a number of Jewish leaders and communal workers, who will readily accept membership on the Committee of Sponsors.

From a personal angle, we are aware of Mr. Kerstein's life long affection and admiration for you. We know he will be deeply grateful to learn of your acceptance as Honorary Chairman for his dinner. Of course, it will also be a great honor for our organization and assures the success of our project.

Assuring you of our gratitude and awaiting your favorable reply,

Very sincerely yours,

UNITED GALICIAN JEWS OF AMERICA.

Morris Rothberg
MORRIS ROTHENBERG, HONORARY CHAIRMAN,
NACHLATH COMMITTEE.

MR:JDL

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF SPONSORS SOLOMON KERSTEIN TESTIMONIAL DINNER

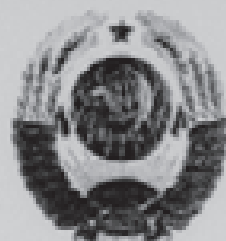
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M. MORTON RUBENSTEIN
Secretary

MORRIS ILUMENREICH
Chairman, Arrangements Committee



[November 4, 1948]

*In Celebration of the Thirty-first Anniversary
of the Great October Revolution*

*The Ambassador
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
requests the honor of your company
at a reception
on Sunday the seventh of November
from five until seven o'clock
at the Embassy*

R. S. V. P.

November 4, 1948

His Excellency, the Ambassador of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Soviet Embassy
Washington, D. C.

It is with deepest regret that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, because of his inability to leave the city, must decline your kind invitation for November 7th in celebration of the Thirty-First Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.



November 5, 1948

Judge Joseph H. Silbert
13803 Cornere Road
Cleveland 20, Ohio

My dear Joe:

I need not tell you how delighted I am with your elevation to the Common Pleas Court. It warmed my heart. I send you all my good wishes in which Mrs. Silver joins me heartily.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



November 8, 1948

Mr. Julius G. Feit
United Galician Jews of America
c/o Jewish National Fund
41 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

My dear Friend:

Permit me to acknowledge your kind letter of November 3rd with its enclosure from Judge Rothenberg.

I shall be very happy to serve as Honorary Chairman on the Committee of Sponsors for the testimonial dinner honoring Solomon Kerstein, who has served our cause so well. I am sure that you will understand that my present responsibilities make it impossible for me to participate actively on the committee.

With all good wishes for success, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

The Municipal Court of Cleveland

JOSEPH H. SILBERT, ASSOCIATE JUDGE

November 13, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel and East 105th Street
Cleveland 6, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you and Mrs. Silver for your sincere good wishes.
Both Mrs. Silbert and myself appreciate them very very much. Now
that the campaign is over I intend to get started on the more im-
portant business, to wit, renewal of memberships in the Society.

Best sincerely,

Joseph H. Silbert

JHS/jhw



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1300 WEST 78th STREET

CLEVELAND 2, OHIO

November 17, 1948



Rabbi Abba H. Silver
The Temple
Ansel Rd & E. 105 Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

As a member of the Board of Trustees of the Bureau of Jewish Education, you are undoubtedly interested in Jewish Education and we are herewith enclosing a copy of the general report of the Hebrew Academy of Cleveland which was submitted to the Bureau on November 10.



Please note particularly the curriculum of the Academy, its extensiveness and that it covers within its scope, a thorough Jewish education. The first-grade children are 6 yrs. of age, the second grade are 7 yrs. old, etc.

We will be pleased to answer any questions you may have, and we want to extend our invitation to visit our school to acquaint yourself with its activities.

Yours very truly,

Irving I. Stone
President- Hebrew Academy of Cleveland



IIS/M
Enc.



GENERAL REPORT
of the
HEBREW ACADEMY OF CLEVELAND
given to the Board of Trustees of the Bureau of
Jewish Education

November 10, 1948

STUDENT ENROLLMENT

There are 155 children enrolled in the Academy All-Day School.

SCHOOL GRADES AND CURRICULUM

The following grades are offered at the Academy:

NURSERY

A Nursery Class for Pre-school children from the age of four to five years old.

KINDERGARTEN

A full kindergarten for children from five years old which has its school sessions from 9 A.M., to 2:30 P.M.

In the kindergarten as in all the grades the first part of the day is devoted to the Hebrew subjects and the other to the secular studies.

GRADES

The Academy to date offers a full elementary school from the first through the Sixth grades. A Junior High class 7B has also been opened this year.

The child upon entering the first grade already has received primary Hebrew lessons in the kindergarten which includes the simple prayers, many Hebrew words pertaining to the school room, home, etc. Hebrew songs and also the Hebrew alphabet.

1st GRADE

In the first grade the students begin the Reishis Daos in the Aleph-Aleph class which is the first semester and study the Sifri I with the workbook "Imunim" in the Aleph-beis class which is the second semester. The Sifri and Imunim are completed at the end of the first year.

Reading in the Siddur also plays a prominent part in the curriculum of the first grade as well as a basic knowledge of at least 150 new Hebrew words.

2nd GRADE

The Chumash, in the original, is begun in the second grade. During the entire year the first three Sidrahs of Breishis Noach and Lech-Lecho are studied.

The Olami part II with the accompanying workbook is used as the Hebrew textbooks. Prayers, Laws and Customs, Jewish History both ancient and modern and Hebrew songs are part of the course of study in the second year.

3rd GRADE

Interpretation of the prayers, Chumash from the Sidra of Vayere, to Vayichi and the Olami and workbook part III are the main subjects in the 3rd grade.

Grammar, History and Laws and Customs are also taught in this grade.

4th GRADE

In the 4th grade, Nach, prophets, is begun, also the commentary of Eashi to the Chumash. The study of Chumash is continued from the Sidrah Shmos to Yisro.

An hour daily is devoted to Hebrew Language and grammar. History, Laws and Customs and singing is continued.

5th GRADE

Chumosh with Rashi, Nach, prayer interpretation is continued.

At the end of the fifth year the child completes the Chumosh Vayikro, one chapter of Rashi weekly and is at the end of the prophet Shmuel II.

The child in the fifth grade also has already an extensive knowledge of the Hebrew language, Hebrew conversation and Laws and Customs.

6th GRADE

In the sixth grade the children begin studying the Talmud, with a minimum of eighteen pages covered by the end of the year.

The Sefer Benidbor is completed during the sixth year, two chapters Rashi weekly and the two prophets of "Mlochin".

The "Anenu" is used in this class for Hebrew with a separate grammar book.

The Yiddish language is taught two periods a week.

Israel geography is also part of the curriculum of the Sixth year as well as History and Laws and Customs.

The Hebrew department curriculum is under the supervision of the Vaad Hachinuch of the Academy.

The Vaad Hachinuch has expressed great delight in the progress shown by the students in the Hebrew subjects.

The English curriculum follows the lines of the regular public school curriculum as set by the Board of Education of the State of Ohio.

The English department is under the direct supervision of the English principal, Miss White, who was formerly a principal at the Cleveland Public Schools.

A representative of the Department of Education of the State of Ohio also visits the school periodically to supervise the English Department

In this department too, the children are making excellent progress in all of their subjects.

TEACHERS STAFF

The teachers staff of the Hebrew Academy number 16; 8 Hebrew and 8 English. The teachers in the English Department are experienced licensed instructors in accordance with the requirements of the Cleveland Board of Education, while the Hebrew instructors were chosen for their religious standing as well as their superior teaching ability and all have had many years of experience in the Hebrew teaching field.

The Academy is indeed fortunate in having such a staff of teachers whose sincerity and devotion deserve the gratitude of all those that have Jewish Education at heart.

LUNCHES

A hot cooked meal is served daily to all the students.

The lunchroom is under the supervision of the Dept. of Agriculture of the U.S., who contribute .07 per meal per child and is under the direction of the lunchroom supervisor with the assistance of two cooks.

TRANSPORTATION

The Academy has two busses and one station wagon with which the students are transported to and from school.

The students of the Academy come from various neighborhoods in greater Cleveland such as Cedar-Central projects, Woodhill projects in Cleveland proper as well as from E. Cleveland, Shaker Heights, University Heights and Cleveland Heights.

Approximately 100-110 miles are driven by each vehicle daily.

ISRAEL

Great stress is placed on instruction about Israel in all grades.

An Israel Fund is also in existence, to which all the students contribute weekly.

ASSEMBLIES

Assemblies of the entire school are held every Rosh Chodesh as well as before every Holiday, at which time talks are delivered by the Principal as well as various guest speakers.

The elder children also participate by addressing the Assembly and sometimes movies are shown.

These assemblies prove to be a very fruitful project and is also very much enjoyed by the student body.

ART & MUSIC CLASSES

Weekly Art and Music classes are held at the Academy as extra curriculum subjects and its attendance is voluntary.

LIBRARY

The Library of the Academy, which number several hundred Hebrew and English books is extensively used by the students. A Hebrew lending library has also been opened for the benefit of the older children to get them accustomed to Hebrew Reading and Speaking.

P.T.A.

The Academy also has within its family fold a very active P.T.A. organization with a membership of 130.

The P.T.A. works very ardently and contributes greatly towards the ever overall improvement/of the Hebrew Academy program

AFTERNOON SCHOOL

The Academy also conducts an Afternoon School for children attending various public schools. The Afternoon School is in session from 4 to 6 and 7 P.M., and has 94 students with a teachers staff of 6.

Inasmuch as the children are picked up by the Academy busses; at the various public schools they receive a light lunch upon arrival at the Academy. Actual sessions begin at 4:15 P.M.

Transportation to the home is also provided by the Afternoon School at the end of the school sessions and serves the following neighborhoods; Cleveland and East Cleveland; Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights; Kinsman

BUDGET

The Budget of the Academy is \$70,000 annually and the budget of the Afternoon School is about \$11,000 annually.

The All-day school derives about \$27,000 annually from tuition and the Afternoon school about \$4000 annually.

The Academy has a great number of students who are unable to pay the full tuition rates and there are therefore many students who pay various reduced rates and some pay nothing at all as determined by the Tuition committee of the Academy.



BNAI ZION

The Fraternal Zionist Organization of America

ERETZ ISRAEL COMMITTEE

220 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK
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Irving Sloan
Jewish National Fund

November 18, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The 41st Annual Order Day Dinner, dedicated to the Jewish National Fund for land redemption in Israel, will be observed this year on Sunday, January 30, 1949 at the Hotel Commodore and will be tendered in honor of our Nassi, HARRY A. PINE, in recognition of his twenty-five years of service to the Zionist cause.

Knowing of your deep interest in the Jewish National Fund and the Bnai Zion, also of your personal esteem of our guest of honor, I should like to extend to you our invitation to serve as one of the honorary chairmen of the Dinner Committee.

Unless I hear from you by November 24th, I shall assume that you will be happy to grace our Committee.

With deep appreciation and fraternal Zionist greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

DR. HARRIS J. LEVINE
Chairman, Eretz Israel Committee

HJL:rs

PARK AVENUE SYNAGOGUE

30 EAST 87TH STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

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November 24th, 1948.

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver:

Mrs. Moshe Shertok, the wife of the Foreign Minister of Israel, before departing for her home in Tel Aviv, discussed with me a project which is very close to her heart. In a recent letter she wrote as follows:

"About five years ago a Lending Music Library in Tel Aviv was founded to facilitate the distribution of music material. The project is of course a non-profit venture, one that helps both youth and adults interested in music. The library needs books of all kinds dealing with music as well as music of every description. I know that it is not necessary for me to go into long expressions concerning the importance of enriching a library of this kind for the use of our people in Israel. Music for us in Israel is part and parcel of our culture and this library fills an ever growing need among our people."

My purpose in writing to you is to ask you for your kind permission to allow us to use your name for an honorary committee which is now being formed. We shall not solicit nor accept funds. We shall only write to music publishers, composers, schools, libraries, etc., and request them to contribute and send to us any music which we in turn will send to the Lending Music Library in Tel Aviv. It is my earnest and sincere hope that we may be privileged to receive your affirmative reply, which will make it possible for us to collect and ship this music to those in Israel who, in the midst of turmoil and strife, may find added inspiration through the medium of music.

Sincerely yours,

David Putterman

DAY LETTER

NOVEMBER 26, 1948

RABBI SAMUEL MAYERBERG
CONGREGATION B'NAI JEHUDA
3512 KENWOOD AVENUE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

I JOIN YOUR HOST OF FRIENDS IN EXTENDING YOU HEARTIEST
FELICITATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR TWENTIETH ANNI-
VERSARY AS RABBI OF TEMPLE B'NAI JEHUDA. I HOPE THAT THE
COMING YEARS WILL HOLD IN STORE FOR YOU MUCH HAPPINESS AND
EVEN GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE TO AMERICAN JUDAISM.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



GRINNELL COLLEGE

GRINNELL, IOWA

DIVISION OF
SOCIAL STUDIES

November 27, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Enclosed are two copies of "The Reviewing Stand."
Pages 9 and 10 will be of special interest to you.
I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to Mrs.
Shepard, the Director of the Club Program Service,
with my suggestions as to a monitoring system.

I saw you from a distance in the UJA meeting
on Saturday, November 6, in the Palmer House in
Chicago, but due to the tremendous crowd jamming the
ballroom and the corridors, I had no chance to say
Hello to you personally. I hope that this letter
will find you in good health. With kind regards, I
am,

Very sincerely yours,



Joseph Dunner, Chairman
Political Science Department

JL/vj

Mrs. Blanche J. Shepard
Director, Club Program Service
41 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Shepard:

Enclosed are two copies of The Reviewing Stand. You might be interested in pages 9 and 10 dealing with the Palestine situation. Captain Michael Fielding is a most articulate protagonist of the Arab cause. He deliberately dragged the Palestine issue into the discussion, apparently not knowing what my position would be.

I also would like to draw your attention to another observation which I made in connection with this broadcast on November 7. While a number of people with pro-Arab leanings sent letters to The Reviewing Stand (all participants received copies), not a single pro-Zionist letter appeared in the mail. Days and even weeks after, I was told by a number of people how much they enjoyed my stand in this discussion, but not one of them had taken the trouble to write to the station. From the point of view of public relations, some sort of listening post or monitoring system should be created covering at least national and important regional broadcasts and leading to some sort of a letter campaign to praise or criticize the stations, respectively the participants in the broadcasts.

Since it is ^{the} end of November, I should like to ask you whether you have made any decision regarding my suggestions for an institute on Middle-East affairs here at Grinnell College during the second part of June, 1949. It would be fine if you would secure for us at least three lecturers who would each discuss an important phase of Arab-Jewish relations in the Middle East. We here would drum up a substantial and sociologically-important audience from all over the Mid-West for a three days institute from Friday to Monday with special addresses given on Saturday night and Sunday noon. As it is time to start publicizing the institute--if we shall be able to have it--I should very much appreciate an early reply to this question.

Cordially yours,
P.

BONI & GAER, Inc.

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133 WEST 44th STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

AIRMAIL

November 30, 1948

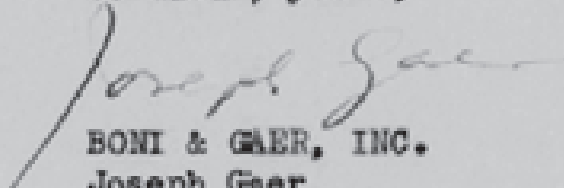
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

When I saw you last you stated that you would send me a comment on THIS IS ISRAEL. I have received no communication from you to date and it occurred to me that such a communication might not have reached me for one reason or another.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,


BONI & GAER, INC.
Joseph Gaer

JG:LL
uopwa-18

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THE MENORAH JOURNAL

63 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Editor

HENRY HURWITZ

Managing Editor

ALLEN LESSER



Cable Address "MENORAH"

November 30, 1948

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, 6, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

We send you herewith an offprint of Chancellor Hurwitz's article appearing in the current (Autumn) issue of The Menorah Journal--"Towards a Noble Community."

The author's proposal may be considered as both traditional and radical. It is his contention that in America the only legitimate basis for Jewish communal organization is religious, viewing religion in the comprehensive classic Jewish sense. He holds, accordingly, that no secular Jewish agency can properly represent the true interests and welfare of Jewry in our country. On the contrary, they endanger the status of American Jews.

In the field of "combating antisemitism," for example, the author argues that the present "defense agencies"--such as the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League--are doing more harm than good and should be abolished.

We would very much welcome your thought on Mr. Hurwitz's analysis and proposal, either for our own editorial eyes or for possible publication in a symposium planned for a forthcoming issue of The Menorah Journal.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Allen Lesser".

Managing Editor

AL:AC

December 1, 1948

Mr. David Putterman
Park Avenue Synagogue
50 East 87th Street
New York 28, New York

My dear Mr. Putterman:

In reply to your letter of November 24th, you have my permission to use my name as a member of the committee which you are organizing with the clear understanding that, to quote your words, "this committee will not solicit nor accept funds".

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

December 3, 1948

Mr. A. M. Luntz
Hanna Building
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Abe:

I am enclosing herewith copy of today's Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin which I thought would be of interest to you in view of our failure to obtain a modest loan in Cleveland for the U.P.A. You may wish to show it to some of the gentlemen who raised such a host of objections.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

December 6, 1948

Mr. Joseph Gaer
Boni & Gaer, Inc.
133 West 14th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Mr. Gaer:

It was a delight to read Mr. I. P. Stone's new book, "This is Israel". It is a distinct contribution to the literature on modern Israel. The fine illuminating account of the spirit, parties, institutions, and generally the whole dynamic life of modern Israel given by Mr. Stone, and the splendid photographs make the volume a most desirable addition to the library of everyone who has been captivated by the inspiring drama of the rebirth of Israel.

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

EMILE B. DESAUZÉ
ROOM 225, BOARD OF EDUCATION BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

December 7, 1948

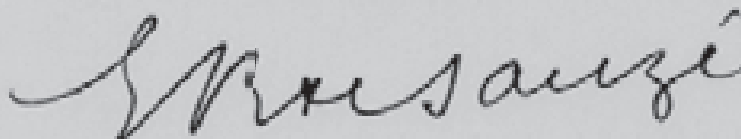
Rabbi and Mrs. Abba Hillel Silver
The Ansel Road Temple
East 105th Street
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Friends:

I was deeply touched by your kindness and
thoughtfulness in coming to my testimonial dinner.
I appreciate also the presence of Mrs. Silver.

I am grateful to you for the many courtesies
that you have extended to me in the past and I hope
you will permit me to continue to enjoy the pleasure
of your friendship.

Very cordially yours,



E. B. de Sauzé

deS/k

DAY LETTER

DECEMBER 12, 1948

MORRIS WEINBERG SPECIAL LUNCHEON
HOTEL NEW YORKER
34TH AND EIGHTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

I JOIN YOUR HOST OF FRIENDS IN SENDING YOU WARMEST FELICITATIONS
ON THE OCCASION WHEN THE ZIONIST LEADERSHIP OF THE NATION IS EXTENDING TO
YOU WELL-DESERVED TRIBUTE FOR THE MANY YEARS OF OUTSTANDING SERVICE
WHICH YOU RENDERED TO THE CAUSE OF OUR PEOPLE AND THE REESTABLISHMENT
OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL THROUGH THE EFFECTIVE MEDIUM OF A DISTINGUISHED
YIDDISH PRESS. IN EVERY GRAVE POLITICAL CRISIS YOU COULD BE DEPENDED
UPON TO SPEAK THE WORD OF WISDOM AND COURAGE AND TO AROUSE PUBLIC
OPINION IN DEFENSE OF OUR HISTORIC RIGHTS. I WISH YOU MANY MORE
YEARS OF EFFECTIVE AND SATISFYING LABOR.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

December 13, 1948

Judge Mary Grossman
Municipal Court
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Friend;

All I know about you is what I read in the papers. It seems that the community is paying you tribute - and a well-deserved tribute - on the occasion of your completion of a quarter century as Municipal Court Judge. Surely I should wish to be included among those who most heartily join in an expression of appreciation to you for these years of distinguished service which you have rendered to our community. It is not the years which have made you an established institution in Cleveland, but the quality of your devoted service and citizenship.

We are all happy with you.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

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NEW YORK 18, N. Y.


December 13, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Many many thanks for your excellent statement on THIS IS ISRAEL. It is indeed gratifying to find such universal acclaim of the book.

Cordially yours,



BONI & GAER, INC.
Joseph Gaer

JG:LL

Congregation Beth El
Woodward at Gladstone
Detroit 2, Michigan

IRVING I. KATZ
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

December 18, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 106th St. at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

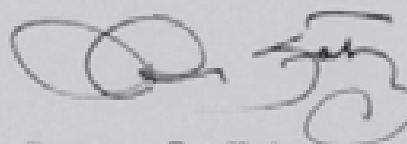
In the course of my investigations into the History of The Jews in Michigan, I recently came across an item in Leeser's "Occident", which may be of interest to you. It deals with the founding of your congregation and the election of your first Rabbi, Dr. Isidore Kalisch.

If you do not have original records going back to 1850, or if your records for that year are incomplete and you are interested in the material which I found, I shall be more than glad to forward same to you.

Rabbi Kalisch served also as the Rabbi of Temple Beth El and after diligent and persistent efforts, I was able to obtain a photograph of him. If you do not have a picture of Rabbi Kalisch and are interested in a duplicate of mine, I shall gladly send one to you.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,



Irving I. Katz

IIK:del
Encl.

P.S. I am enclosing herewith a reprint of my article which appeared in the current issue of Michigan History (September 1948).

Ezekiel Solomon: The First Jew in Michigan

Irving I. Katz

IN 1905 DAVID E. HEINEMAN OF DETROIT PRESENTED A PAPER before the American Jewish Historical Society in which brief reference was made to Ezekiel Solomon, the first recorded Jew in Michigan and one of the earliest English traders in the Northwest.¹ The purpose of this article is to give a fuller account of Solomon and his family in the light of further investigation made by the present writer.

Jews were among the early settlers in North America. In 1654, twenty-three Jews arrived in New Amsterdam and founded the first Jewish settlement in what is now the United States. The settlement of individual Jews, however, has been traced as early as 1621 in Virginia, 1634 in Maryland, and 1649 in Massachusetts. The first Jews in Pennsylvania are mentioned in 1656, Rhode Island in 1658, Connecticut in 1659, South Carolina in 1695, and Georgia in 1733. At the time of the Revolution, there were about two thousand five hundred Jews in the thirteen colonies, almost all of them merchants and traders, and for the most part living in the main seacoast towns.

The first Jewish trader in Michigan was Ezekiel Solomon (also spelled Solomons), who came from Canada in 1761. The Jewish settlement in Canada began in 1760, after the English had conquered that territory from the French. Ezekiel Solomon, a native of Berlin, Germany, was among the first Jewish arrivals in Montreal.² He was the brother of Esther Solomon, who married Moses Hart, a brother of Aaron Hart, the foremost Jewish settler in Canada at the time of the English occupation and the founder of the prominent Jewish-Canadian family by that name. He was also the cousin of Levi Solomons, one of the prominent Jewish pioneers of Canada.

The beginnings of Michigan are concerned with the explorer, the missionary, and the trader who followed the waterways of the Great Lakes and found them the readiest entrances to the new lands. Along

¹David E. Heineman, "Jewish Beginnings in Michigan before 1850," in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 13: 48-52 (Baltimore, 1905).

²Benjamin G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada*, 1:52 (Montreal, 1945).

these waterways the traders soon established trading posts and thus contributed greatly to the settlement and growth of Michigan. An important early post on the Great Lakes was Fort Michilimackinac (Mackinac). Mackinac was located on the sandy beach on the south side of the straits at the northern tip of the lower peninsula of Michigan. It was the most important fort north of Detroit since it controlled the commerce on three lakes and served as a place of deposit for fur traders, and as a place of resort for the Chippewa and the nearby Ottawa Indians. The fort was occupied by the French until the fall of 1760, when it was abandoned by the French commandant, Captain Louis de Beaujeu, in violation of the terms of Canada's surrender to the English. Between the fall of 1760 and September 28, 1761, the date of the arrival of the English soldiers in Mackinac, the post was occupied by bush-ranging French traders, largely half-breeds.

Ezekiel Solomon became attracted to the Northwest fur trade shortly after his arrival in Montreal and in the summer of 1761 he and a few hardy traders arrived in Mackinac in advance of the English troops in order to pre-empt some of the rich northern trade. In order to win over the Chippewa Indians to their side, the English traders distributed presents to them and succeeded in winning their friendship. But no sooner had they become friendly with the Chippewa than a band of nearby Ottawas presented demands and threatened to destroy them. Fortunately, Captain Henry Balfour, Lieutenant William Leslye and a garrison of English soldiers arrived in Mackinac on September 28, 1761, and rescued Solomon and the other traders from the impending peril.³

Solomon continued his trading business in Mackinac. He was soon to experience the Indian massacre there which formed one of the most horrible incidents of the Conspiracy of Pontiac. According to Pontiac's plan, a simultaneous attack was to have been launched on all the forts in the possession of the English, and the garrisons annihilated at one stroke. At Mackinac, the scheme was to engage in a game of ball at the exciting stage of which the ball was to be tossed, presumably by accident, within the fort, whither the warriors were to rush after

³"Lieut Leslye writes me they arrived just in time to save the Traders from the Indians who threatened to destroy them." Donald Campbell to Henry Bouquet, October 12, 1761, "Bouquet Papers" in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 19:116 (Lansing, 1892); "The British Regime in Wisconsin" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 13:254-55 (Madison, 1908).

it only to seize the weapons which their squaws, by prearrangement, had taken into the fort hidden under their blankets. The plot was carried out successfully on June 2, 1763.⁴ Among the traders who witnessed the massacre of the English soldiers and traders was Ezekiel Solomon. This appears from his own affidavit, taken at Montreal for use before the military court of inquiry held later by Major Henry Gladwin at Detroit. It reads as follows:⁵

I Ezekiel Solomon, Resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprised by the Savages, declare that on the 2d day of June a Frenchman, Mons. Cote, entered my House several Times and carried from thence several Parcels of Goods, my Property. And also an Indian named Sanpear carried the Peltry from my House to the House of Aimable Deniviere in whose Garret I was then concealed. I owed Monsr Arick a sum of money, but at the time He demanded it the payment was not become due, and I refused to pay Him till the Time I contracted for; but he told me if I did not pay it he would take it by force; I told Him, the Commanding Officer would prevent that, & he replied that the Commanding Officer was nothing, and that he Himself was Commanding Officer. Sworn, &c., 14th Aug., 1763, before me.

DANL DISNEY, Town Major

Solomon was taken prisoner by the Indians and was one of the few Englishmen, military or civilian, to remain alive. According to Alexander Henry, he was taken to Montreal by the Ottawas and ransomed.⁶

In Montreal, July 23, 1769, Solomon was married at Christ Church to Louise Dubois, a French-Canadian girl, by the Rev. D. Chabrand Delisle, the only Protestant clergyman in Montreal at the time.⁷ The marriage registers of Montreal for this period show that marriages between Jews and Gentiles were common occurrences. In 1773 and 1774 he was among the residents of Montreal and Quebec who petitioned the king of England for a house of assembly for Canada.⁸ In 1780 he is listed as a landowner in Montreal.⁹ His name appears several times in the records of the Sephardic¹⁰ Congregation Shearith Israel, Canada's first Jewish congregation founded in Montreal in

⁴Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada*, chapters 9 and 10 (New York, 1809).

⁵"The Gladwin Manuscripts," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 27:667 (Lansing, 1897).

⁶Henry, *Travels*, 105.

⁷Letters to the writer from Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, chief archivist of Montreal, January 26, 1948; and from Benjamin G. Sack, January 26, 1948.

⁸Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada*, 65-66.

⁹Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada*, 55.

¹⁰Congregations following the rites of Spanish and Portuguese Jews.

1768, as one of its active members in the early period of its history. He was given a high religious honor during the services of the Last Day of the Feast of Tabernacles in 1778¹¹ and in the following year he served as one of the members of the congregation's *Junto* or *Mahamad* (Board of Directors in Sephardic congregations).¹²

Solomon's experiences with the Indians in 1761 and 1753 did not discourage him from resuming his trade connections in the Northwest and eventually he became a resident of Mackinac. In 1770 he was among the fourteen British traders who were granted licenses to exploit the fur trade in the territory now known as Wisconsin.¹³ In the same year and in 1771 he was trading in Mackinac.¹⁴ In 1777 he went up to Mackinac with a passport from the military authorities at Quebec, which, said the letter of transmissal, "was granted him in consideration of his creditors."¹⁵ In 1788 Solomon is mentioned in a permit from Quebec allowing him to trade in "fuzees, gunpowder, shot and ball" in "Michilimackinac and places beyond" as a member of the firm of Grant and Solomon. The two are put down in the invoice of goods for five canoes of ammunition destined, after arrival in Mackinac, to be shipped to Nipigon, on the north shore of Lake Superior.¹⁶ In 1778 the French Catholics living in Mackinac, addressed a petition to the governor in Canada, praying that a missionary be sent to the place as in the French days. The name of Solomon is not found in this petition, but on a later list of persons who volunteered contributions for the missionary's support, Solomon is listed for a donation of fifty livres.¹⁷

In 1779, Solomon was one of the founders of the general store at Mackinac in which the traders pooled their goods and activities "on

¹¹Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada*, 62.

¹²Clarence I. de Sola, *History of the Corporation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews "Shearith Israel" of Montreal*, 28 (Montreal, 1918).

¹³"Wisconsin" in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:532 (New York, 1943).

¹⁴"Ensign Johnstone sold Mr Solomon the Jew ninety gallons of common Rum June 1771. The year before he sold fifty bundles of dried venison to the said Solomon at 2s and 6d each for the benefit of Capt. Turnbull, commanding officer of this Fort." *The Daniel Morison Mackinac Journal, 1769-72*, 23, in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

¹⁵John Andrew Russell, *The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan*, 43 (Detroit, 1927).

¹⁶"The Haldimand Papers," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 9:650 (Lansing, 1886).

¹⁷"The Haldimand Papers," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 10:290 (Lansing, 1888).

account of the critical times," meaning, the War of the Revolution.¹⁸ In an undated account some thirty-two individuals and firms are listed as proprietors in this store, "the number of canoes each person has put in, their supposed value, and the present residence of each proprietor." Solomon is put down for one canoe, with goods valued at "15,00" (ostensibly French livres), and his residence is given as Montreal.¹⁹

In 1784 Solomon joined other traders in creating a committee of eight to regulate the trade of Mackinac and "dependencies," the first board of trade in Michigan formally organized of which there is any record.²⁰ The reason for the formation of this board of trade was the resumption of hostilities between the Chippewa of Lake Superior and the Fox and Nadouessioux in the Menominee Region. In war time the Indians were restricted in hunting and the supply of furs was reduced to the smallest proportion. The traders had therefore incentive enough to work in concert and promote peace. This was a year after the close of the Revolution, the treaty of peace having been signed in Paris, September 3, 1783. The English continued to hold possession of this region until 1796, in which year they evacuated Mackinac.

In 1786 Solomon's name appears among a list of "traders to the Upper Country, trading to the Grand Portage,"²¹ which was located at the northwest end of Lake Superior, about thirty miles west of the mouth of the Kaministiquia River. It was selected by the English as early as 1765 as an easy access to the Indians of the Northwest with whom a most profitable trade arose. Out of this early trade sprang the famous North West Company.

Clarence M. Burton lists Solomon as a resident of Detroit in 1789.²² That he was a resident of the city is rather doubtful. An examination of the Askin accounts,²³ the source Burton used, discloses several small

¹⁸"The Haldimand Papers," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 10:307.

¹⁹"The Haldimand Papers," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 9:658.

²⁰"Lewis Bond Papers," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37:427 (Lansing, 1909).

²¹"The Haldimand Papers," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 20:280 (Lansing, 1892).

²²Clarence M. Burton, *The City of Detroit*, 2:1342. (Chicago, 1922).

²³Askin Ledger, 1785, 98; Askin Ledger, 1787-89, 100; Askin Ledger, 1788-96, 209, in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

purchases by Solomon from John Askin, one of the most important merchants at that time. Askin was located at Mackinac prior to and during a part of the Revolution and Solomon was acquainted with him, and did some business with him.²⁴ When Askin moved to Detroit, Solomon continued his business contacts with him on a small scale and he may have even made a business trip to Detroit, but, judging from the few entries in the Askin accounts, it is highly improbable that Solomon was a resident of Detroit. In 1798, two years after the occupation of Mackinac by the Americans, Solomon is still listed as a resident of that place.²⁵

In the hearings on land claims in Michigan Territory, conducted in Detroit on April 13, 1808, there is a "claim to the widow and heirs of the late Ezekiel Solomon to a lot of ground at Michillmackinac which had been entered with the former commissioner of the land office at Detroit in volume 1, page 464, under date of December 24, 1805."²⁶ From this it would appear that Solomon died between 1805 and 1808.

Little is known about Louise Dubois, the wife of Ezekiel Solomon. Her name is frequently mentioned in the Mackinac register as a god-mother and witness at baptisms.²⁷ The following reference to a Mrs. Solomon, believed to be Mrs. Ezekiel Solomon, is found in a letter from Madeline Askin to her mother, dated June 23, 1813, at Mackinac: "I do not think that Mrs. Solomon will live long, she is very feeble and has kept her bed for some time now. She has nothing to eat except what people take in and you know how slow they are giving when one waits for another."²⁸

In the register of the Parish of Montreal for 1766-87 kept by the Rev. D. Chabrand Delisle,²⁹ the clergyman who had married Ezekiel Solomon and Louise Dubois, we find recorded the births and christenings of the following: Samuel Solomon, Joseph Solomon, Mary Solomon, Ezekiel Solomon, William Solomon, and Elizabeth Solomon.

²⁴"I received my shirts from Mr. Solomon who arrived here in 18 days," John Askin to Messrs. Todd and McGill at Montreal, dated June 22, 1778 at Michillmackinac. *The John Askin Papers*, edited by Milo M. Quaife, 1:142 (Detroit, 1928).

²⁵"The Mackinac Register" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:501.

²⁶*American State Papers*, 28:333 (Washington, 1832).

²⁷"The Mackinac Register" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* 19:101, 103, 106, 110, 112, 120, 122, 125, 127, 128; 113, 121 (Madison, 1910).

²⁸*The John Askin Papers*, 2:763.

²⁹*Report on Canadian Archives, 1885*, lxxxviii, lxxxix (Ottawa, 1886).

Samuel Solomon, the oldest son, was born on July 26, 1773. He married Marie, an Indian girl of the Sauteaux nation, and they were the parents of Alexis, born in Mackinac May 23, 1797.³⁰ In 1798 Samuel Solomon was a witness at a marriage ceremony in Mackinac.³¹

Joseph Solomon was born on July 1, 1774. There is no later reference to him in the sources consulted.

Mary Solomon was born on September 26, 1774. There is no later reference to her. She may not have been the daughter of Ezekiel and Louise Solomon, but of Myers Solomon, possibly a relative of Ezekiel Solomon, who married Sarah Combs in Montreal in November, 1773.³²

Ezekiel Solomon was born July 16, 1775. He is the Ezekiel Solomon, Jr., who appears as a witness at a marriage ceremony and as a godfather and witness at baptisms in the Mackinac register of marriages and baptisms.³³

William Solomon³⁴ was born May 28, 1777. He entered as a young man the service of the North West Company and drifted to the Sault and Mackinac. He became an expert in the use of the Indian tongue and was engaged by the British government as Indian interpreter, a position which he is said to have held for fifty-six years. He was interpreter at Mackinac during the War of 1812 when it was occupied by the British. When Mackinac was restored to the Americans in 1815 and the English withdrew to Drummond Island, William accompanied them. Here he was granted a building lot in 1816.³⁵ He was also stationed at St. Joseph Island. When the boundary was surveyed, Drummond Island was found to be in American territory, and

³⁰"The Mackinac Register" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:113.

³¹"The Mackinac Register" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:501.

³²*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1885, lxxxi.

³³"The Mackinac Register" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:113.

³⁴The supposition by A. C. Osborn in "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828" in the *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records*, 3:126 (Toronto, 1901) that William Solomon was born in the closing years of the eighteenth century and that he was of Jewish and Indian extraction is erroneous. William was born in 1777, and he was the son of Ezekiel Solomon and Louise Dubois.

³⁵"Subsequent Relations, 1816-1820," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 16:479 (Lansing, 1890). Heineman is mistaken when he states in "Jewish Beginnings in Michigan before 1850," in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 13: 52 that the lot was granted to Ezekiel Solomon. Ezekiel was no longer among the living in 1816.

the English moved in 1828 to Penetanguishene, Ontario, where William followed them. In the Mackinac register of baptisms³⁶ we find that William had the following children by Agibicocona, an Indian girl of the Sauteaux nation: Sophie, baptized July 28, 1796; Henri, born October 23, 1797; Mary Louise, born April 7, 1799; and Hubert, born December 5, 1800. There is also a Margueritte,³⁷ born December 26, 1802, who was probably their daughter. William later married Marguerite Johnson.³⁸ After her death, William married Josephine Legris.³⁹ William received his discharge as interpreter under Sir John C. Colborne, retiring on a pension of seventy-five cents a day. William and Marguerite Johnson died in Penetanguishene and both were buried in St. Ann Cemetery.

On the list of Drummond Island voyageurs to Penetanguishene, we find William Solomon, Marguerite Johnson, his wife, and the following Solomon family:⁴⁰ Sophie, whose descendants were living in Tiny, Ontario, in 1900; Henry, whose descendants still live in St. Joseph Island;⁴¹ Ezekiel;⁴² Samuel; Lisette; Rosette, whose descendants were living in Penetanguishene in 1900; Angelique; Marguerite; Jessie, whose descendants were living in St. Joseph Island in 1900; Thaise; and Lewis.

Lewis,⁴³ the youngest son of William Solomon, was born on Drum-

³⁶"The Mackinac Register," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:104, 105, 110, 120.

³⁷"The Mackinac Register," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:127.

³⁸Osborne, "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1823," in the Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, 3:156. Osborne also states in this article that William Solomon married a Miss Johnston who was one of the daughters of John Johnston of Sault Ste. Marie (footnote, page 126). Osborne is mistaken in this statement. John Johnston's daughters were: Jane, who married Henry R. Schenkcraft; Eliza, who remained single; Charlotte, who married the Rev. William McMurray; and Anna Maria, who married James L. Schoolcraft. See C. H. Chapman, "The Historic Johnston Family of the Soo" in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 32:307 (Lansing, 1903).

³⁹Osborne, "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828," in the Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, 161.

⁴⁰Osborne, "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1823," in the Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, 163-64.

⁴¹Marion Morse Davis, *Michilimackinac Notes*, part 2, page 168, in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

⁴²Son of William Solomon. Osborne also lists Ezekiel Solomon, father of William Solomon, among the Drummond Island voyageurs. This is incorrect since Ezekiel Solomon died between 1805 and 1808.

⁴³Osborne, "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828," in the Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, 127.

mond Island in 1821. The family wanted Lewis to succeed his father in the government service as Indian interpreter and to that end sent him to French and Indian schools and also for a term to the Detroit Academy. Lewis was looked upon by his townspeople as a man of education but he never entered the government service. He died in Victoria Harbour March 9, 1900, and was buried in Midland. He had a son in Tiny in 1900.

Elizabeth Solomon, daughter of Ezekiel and Louise Dubois, was born in Montreal on September 3, 1778. She appears in the Mackinac register as a godmother at a baptism.⁴⁴

In the Mackinac register of marriages there is recorded the following marriage of Sophia (or Sophie) Solomon, who was no doubt a daughter of Ezekiel Solomon and Louise Dubois:⁴⁵

July 23, 1798, I, the Undersigned, one of the justices of the Peace for this District, received the Mutual Marriage consent of Sieur Isidore Peltier and of Demoiselle Sophie Solomon, in the presence of the Undersigned Witnesses, in the House of Sieur Ezechiel Solomon, at Michilimackinac on the day and in the year Above written.

ADHEMAR ST. MARTIN J. P.

ISIDORE PELLATIER, + his mark; SOPHIA SOLOMON; EZECHIEL SOLOMON; GEORGE MELDRUM; IGNACE PETIT; CHARLES MORRISON; SAMUEL SOLOMON; WILLIAM SOLOMON; FRANÇOIS LANELAULT, + his mark; SOLOMON, JUNR; JAMES CLARE.

Isidore Peltier⁴⁶ and Sophia Solomon were the parents of Ezekiel Peltier, who was born May 26, 1799, and was a resident of Detroit in 1820. He married Veronique (or Monique) Elizabeth Le Duc, daughter of Louis Le Duc and Cecilia Labadie, on January 24, 1826. He moved to Monroe in 1846 and died there.⁴⁷

Under date of January 17, 1824,⁴⁸ a James Solomons of Drummond Island, who was probably related to Ezekiel Solomon, is mentioned as having given to Michael Dousman, a prominent merchant of Mackinac, a mortgage deed for two pieces of property in Mackinac as security on a note. James is also mentioned as a merchant who sold a house, in 1824, on Drummond Island to Isaac Blackburn, assist-

⁴⁴"The Mackinac Register," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:101.

⁴⁵"The Mackinac Register," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:501.

⁴⁶The name of Peltier or Pellatier was later changed to Peltier.

⁴⁷Burton, *The City of Detroit*, 2:1394.

⁴⁸Herschel Whitaker Papers in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

ant commissary general at that place.⁴⁹ This James Solomons is probably the "Mr. Solomon, a merchant" who applied in 1813 to Major Thomas Howard of Drummond Island to settle and cultivate land at St. Joseph Island, claiming the right to do so because "he paid a valuable consideration to Mr. Askin of the Indian Department at Amherstburg for a tract of land on that Island." Solomon's claim was refused.⁵⁰

In noting the arrival in Detroit of the steamer, *Walk In The Water*, the pioneer steamer on the Great Lakes, the name of J. Solomon (probably James Solomons) appears as one of the ten passengers, under date of June 17, 1820, who express in the columns of the *Gazette* their "satisfaction with arrangements and accommodation." Solomon and the others, principally Americans, were en route to Mackinac. James Solomons died between 1824 and 1829.⁵¹

The history of the development of the American West has always had to take cognizance of the activities of the fur traders as a group of pioneers who played a large part in the opening up of vast new lands to settlement. The Jewish fur traders and merchants of the Colonial period of our history, such as Ezekiel Solomon of Michigan, deserve an important place among these pioneers of trade and civilization.

⁴⁹"Relations with the United States," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 23:547 (Lansing, 1895).

⁵⁰"Subsequent Relations, 1816-1820," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 16:630.

⁵¹"Relations with the United States," in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 23:547.

December 20, 1948

Mr. Irving I. Katz
Congregation Beth El
Woodward at Gladstone
Detroit 2, Michigan

My dear Mr. Katz:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of December 18th. I should very much welcome the item on Rabbi Isidore Kalisch which you came across, and also a photograph of Rabbi Kalisch. Our congregation will celebrate its 100th anniversary in 1950 and in the preparation of the history of the congregation, the information which you came across may be of real value.

I thank you, too, for your thoughtfulness in sending me a reprint of your article on Ezekiel Solomon which I know I shall read with a great deal of pleasure.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

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276 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

Dec. 21, 1948.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
c/o The Temple,
E. 105th St. & Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver:

With the help of G-d, I expect to leave for Jerusalem on January 21, 1949. One of the reasons for going is to help reorganize the Harry Fischel Institute for Research in Talmud in Jerusalem.

Up to date we have printed part of the Seder Zeraim of the Mishna, with comparative readings of the manuscripts with Hebrew notes and English commentary. We have also published the work of Meiri on Moed Katan, and the Halacha Brurah of the late Chief Rabbi Kook of the Treatise Betza. This was printed together with the Treatise Betza on the margin of each page.

Since World War II, as well as the recent conflict in Palestine, little has been accomplished, other than the thought of creating a School of Dayanim, together with the State.

If this should come to pass, we still have a fair sum to be set aside by the Harry Fischel Foundation, for further research work in our institution.

I am writing you in the hope that you may be able to help us by giving me a suggestion, or suggestions, for such work as you think we should undertake, bearing in mind that our institution does not depend upon the public for funds (therefore limited).

I have received two suggestions, one - that a new school for higher learning be established, and two - that a small and limited number of young scholars be engaged for the purpose of presenting to the world, (Jewish and non-Jewish) the Jewish contributions to civilization, namely, what Judaism, up to the moment, has to offer as a solution to some of the world problems, economic, social and so forth.

May I have the privilege of hearing from you soon.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

HARRY FISCHEL FOUNDATION.

BY *Herbert S. Goldstein*
HERBERT S. GOLDSTEIN, Pres.

HSG:FL

1476 ANSEL ROAD
CLEVELAND

Dear Dr. Selig,

Please don't mind delay in acknowledging your kind letter on the occasion of my "silver anniversary". To be honest, I wrote to my more formal friends first.

But I do thank you sincerely



for your flattering remarks. The trouble is that now I must go out and try to acquire the virtues which I am alleged to possess. Honestly, it's a hard life.

Kindest regards, and a Happy Chanukah, to you and your dear ones.

Sincerely yours

Mary Grauman

Thursday
Dec 23 - 1948

December 29, 1948

Mr. Irving Katz
Congregation Beth El
Woodward & Gladstone
Detroit 2, Michigan

My dear Mr. Katz:

Permit me to acknowledge your recent letter containing the information concerning the incorporation of The Temple, as well as the photograph and biographic sketch of Dr. Kalisch. I am deeply grateful to you for it, and shall appreciate any additional information you may be able to secure in Cincinnati. We shall return the photograph to you shortly.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



HEBREW ACADEMY OF CLEVELAND

1860 SOUTH TAYLOR ROAD CLEVELAND 18, OHIO FAIRMOUNT 5838

December 29, 1948

RABBI N. W. DESSLER
EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

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B. E. SPERO
TREASURER

NAOMI B. HARMON
RECORDING SECRETARY

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Along with the enclosed general invitation to the Hebrew Academy Dedication Ceremony to take place next Sunday afternoon, I am writing you this note and extending my own personal invitation to be with us on this occasion.

Knowing of your deep interest in matters of Jewish education, I most sincerely hope you can arrange your calendar to attend. We are planning, and are sure this will be, a most impressive and long-to-be remembered milestone in the history of Cleveland Jewish education.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you on Sunday afternoon, I am

Most cordially yours,

Sam H. Bonchek

Sam H. Bonchek, Chairman
Hebrew Academy of Cleveland
Dedication Celebration

SHB/la

"What Sinai Means to Me"



Chicago Sinai Congregation, through its courageous avowal of good government, moral idealism and practical religion, has, for more than four score years served as a lighthouse to point the way to the good life. With its new building and greater facilities, I look forward to ever greater service from Sinai to our Commonwealth.

DWIGHT H. GREEN, Governor



As Mayor of Chicago, it is a privilege for me to pay tribute to the Sinai Congregation for the significant part it has played in the growth and development of Chicago during the past 87 years, and to Dr. Louis L. Mann for his many years of spiritual leadership in the community.

Sinai Congregation, consecrated to the good of all men, has been a tower of moral and religious strength in our city as well as the nation. May it continue to grow "from strength to strength."

MARTIN H. KENNELLY, Mayor

SINAI today represents a community of more than 6000 people. Its values are so diverse and far-reaching, its activities so varied, to each it represents different facets and significance.

To many, Sinai is a religious institution, replete with the traditions of 87 years. To some, it is a seat of education and culture. Others think of it as a social or civic center.

The Sisterhood, Men's Club, Seniors, Juniors, P.T.A., the Forum—one of these affiliates may be the focal point of interest between Sinai and many hundreds of others.

In some way, Sinai thus offers its interests, its activities and its importance to each one of this community of 6000. In this folder a few members of our congregation and its affiliates have put into words the values that Sinai holds for them.

Sinai Temple means for me and my family a place of worship and learning.

Inspired by the religious influence of our beloved parents trained in the old tradition together with the teachings of Sinai's pulpit under Dr. Hirsch and Dr. Mann in the liberal thought of modern culture, we have been imbued with a love for our fellow man.

Sinai merits its place in the community through the character and devotion of the men and women who have given it leadership.

GOTTFRIED D. BERNSTEIN

To me Temple is a kind of super service station on the Road of Life; here there is replenishment for the motive power of knowledge and understanding that serve one's forward progress; here strength of conscience and of obligation to one's fellow-man are checked up and recharged; here the ignition of past tradition and the spark of future challenge are kept alive and energizing; here a map is provided, always with the right road marked for the journey ahead.

PHILIP BERNSTEIN

As President of the Jewish Charities of Chicago, I am mindful of the fact that the teachings of our faith form the very foundation on which our work of service to our fellow-men has been built. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch was one of the founders of our federation. This splendid cooperation has continued. Dr. Mann and many members of the Congregation are doing their full share in helping us to develop a better, healthier, and happier community.

JOSEPH L. BLOCK

Sinai means a great deal to me. For over forty years as a member of Sinai, twenty-eight of which I was privileged to serve on the Board of Trustees, I have sat at the feet of our great leaders, inspired by them to lead an upright life. To bring my children and grandchildren to Sinai has been a joy to me and to my wife.

WALTER S. BAER

As President of Sinai Juniors, I am urging all young people of Sinai to get behind this great, big drive. Our parents and grandparents who are doing so much for this Temple are really doing it for us. Why shouldn't we do our share? The Sinai tradition has made Jewish history. The younger generation will do its best to keep that tradition liberal and social minded.

STANLEY BLOCK



For twenty-five years Sinai has been the center of interest for my religious, intellectual, and social life; the motivating force which guided my thoughts and actions thruout periods of joy and sorrow. Now, my work as chairman of the Religious School Committee makes me fully appreciative of the great opportunities offered our children.

MRS. MAX BIESENTHAL

More than lovely family memories as we joined in services, and more than my profound admiration for its great teacher, Emil G. Hirsch, Sinai has been to me a symbol, and under its present leadership continues to be a symbol, of the moral and religious values that give life meaning.

JAMES H. BECKER



NEW BUILDING DRIVE FOR \$500,000

The new Sinai is now under construction. \$500,000 additional is necessary because of more than 80% increase in building costs. Every Sinai member should share in this great project.

The longer we live the more we realize the comfort derived from prayer, belief in God and faith in our fellow-man. Not only in times of sorrow or great joy do I turn to Sinai, but in my everyday life.

BELLE HERMAN WILLNER (MRS. LOUIS J.)

Are there words which can convey the sacred and happy memories of a congregation which from one's earliest childhood meant so much in the lives of one's beloved parents, to my husband and to me, to my children and grandchildren—four generations—and whose loyalty to it and its Rabbi was as the warp and woof of their lives? What a satisfaction it is indeed to hear each week (as I do) the ideals of liberal, prophetic Judaism preached and interpreted, and to be part of that great congregation which has meant so much in my life.

MRS. CLARENCE L. COLEMAN



When I enter the sanctuary of Sinai, I am impressed with the significance of the statement of the great Hebrew Prophet, Isaiah, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all nations." Because of the universality of its preaching, its emphasis on the spiritual essence of Judaism as distinguished from its forms and rituals, Sinai has kept burning brightly in a troubled world, the great message of Israel—peace, brotherhood, justice and mercy.

DAVID COPLAND

As a member of Chicago Sinai Congregation for years, I rejoice in the larger opportunity to be afforded by our new Temple. To me, Sinai has always been unique, combining liberalism in its purest form, with idealism of the highest quality, yet undegirt with social implications and overarched by a scientific approach to the problems of our day.

DR. MAX CUTLER

Sinai supplies not only spiritual inspiration but religious education and a knowledge of Jewish history.

Its treatment of Liberal Judaism enables our children to comprehend our religion and become a part of it.

Our Sunday services are dignified, uplifting, educational, and broaden one's mental viewpoint.

DAVID H. DASKAL

"What Sinai means to me"—It means all the finest things of life, in fact it means Life itself to me—inspiration, worship, communion, solace, fellowship and education. I have not missed attending a Sunday morning service in twenty-five years, unless I was out of the city! I consider it the greatest privilege to come under the influence of our gifted Rabbis.

SADIE S. FRIED

Whatever meager efforts any of us has put into assisting in the administration of the various arms of Sinai has paid rich dividends in terms of personal gratification and inspiration. Dr. Hirsch, Dr. Mann, Dr. Hertz, and Mr. Schwartz have all made us feel an undefinable warmth and pride in our Temple, and have helped to create a desire for us to join others in a combined effort to enable Sinai to pulsate, thrive, and thereby attain new heights.

LEE J. FUERN



Our Congregation serves each of its families. Our adults gain spiritual and religious guidance and essential assistance in imparting to our children an understanding of our people's heritage, glory and opportunity. The outstanding achievements of all of our congregation's affiliates reflect credit upon each of its earnest and enthusiastic members. Let each of us contribute to the building of a greater and nobler Sinai.

PAUL H. LEFTMANN



At Sinai, I have always felt myself an integral part of a liberal Jewish community, which continued to emphasize the Jewish social and intellectual heritage of our people.

As a member of the Sinai family, I find many opportunities to serve,—thereby obtaining a sense of security as a Jew in this uncertain world.

CLARENCE D. LOEB



Sinai has been a source of deep inspiration to me. Here I learned the true principles of a real and vital Judaism from two great and illustrious rabbis, Emil G. Hirsch and Louis L. Mann. My close association with Sinai has brought me many friendships and happy memories that will abide always.

ISAAC L. MARIENTHAL



Sinai has taught us the culture and traditions of the Jewish people—to gather strength through contacts with others of our heritage. While learning to accept and respect ourselves as Jews, Sinai yet teaches us to respect other peoples, to recognize the impulse behind efforts toward assimilation on the one hand, and self-imposed restriction on the other.

S. H. NERLOVE



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LINKING THE PAST WITH THE FUTURE

Let us bequeath to our children a heritage in keeping with the fine spirit, traditions, and accomplishments which we of the present generation have inherited and helped to establish.

Sinai has meant to me that to be a worthy Jew is never to forget that I owe an obligation to my fellow Jews and to the community as well, and to use whatever talent I may possess to help improve our lot.

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"The Rabbi shall be completely free—responsible only to his conscience and his God—for all his utterances." Sinai's by-laws thus emphasized the vision and liberal views of the congregation, and the desire that its Rabbis be free to re-interpret in view of constantly changing social and economic conditions, the obligations of man to man. This concept of a living religion—is the significance for me of Sinai, "the most liberal congregation in the world."

HARRY O. ROSENBERG



Sinai, throughout its entire history, has been the leader of Liberal Judaism in America. Liberal Judaism seeks to adjust itself to all problems which arise in a modern world. We strive to become a part of the life and culture of our community. Liberal Judaism offers our children the best chance for the good life.

JOSEPH ROSENBERG



What does Sinai mean to me? At first glance, the question would seem simple. To condense one's feeling toward Sinai, is indeed difficult. Sinai has ever symbolized for me, something basic—religion, and a way of life. Long may it endure, to help others on their way!

MRS. MAURICE L. ROTHSCHILD



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All this, coupled with Sinai's spirit of good fellowship and high ideals is a constant source of genuine satisfaction to me.

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S. D. SCHWARTZ



Sinai has always supported every charitable movement . . . the membership and leadership have always shouldered their responsibilities.

I want Sinai to continue to be an inspiration for public good and civic welfare in my community. I want the young and old alike to learn the needs of the underprivileged and less fortunate. I want Sinai to continue to teach the doctrine that "happiness and security is rightfully due every man."

MILTON D. GOLDBERG



I envision the new Sinai as a magnificent Temple of serene beauty, for prayer and worship, for study and meditation. Here we and our children and our children's children shall find enlightenment and inspiration. Here we shall find renewed strength of spirit and courage. Here we shall have a rebirth of faith, in our destiny and in the ultimate realization of our age-old dream of universal brotherhood and universal peace.

GABRIELSON GRAWOIG



Sinai has always been my symbol of Reform Judaism. The teachings of Dr. Hirsch were my introduction to religion and the guidance of Dr. Mann is a constant inspiration.

With a grandfather and father active in Sinai's birth and development, naturally, I feel a sentimental pride in its history and achievement.

EDGAR N. GREENEBAUM



As one who is experiencing the joy of having given up the commercial world to fight Public Enemy No. 1 and 2—cancer and heart disease—I know that the religious motivation of our fathers will bless us as it has blessed them. Sinai Congregation will continue to point the way for religious and social idealism.

MAURICE GOLDBLATT



"What Sinai Means to Me" would require volumes and still not express the influence nor the advantage of belonging to a membership whose leaders have ever achieved the religious, ethical, educational and spiritual uplift to benefit not alone the Jewish but the entire Chicago community.

ANTOINETTE HARRIS



Sinai means to me a Temple and Center which are a living symbol of spiritual enrichment; educational advantage; generating enjoyment in the deepest sense of that word;—emphasizing the unity of God with Judaism, and the Brotherhood of Man.

JEAN L. GERSTLEY (MRS. SAMUEL A.)

The name "Sinai" recalls the mountains where our people received and accepted the Ten Commandments. The new Sinai will glorify with its dispensation of love and learning, of righteousness and responsibility, the community in which it labors. It can invest this and later generations of dignified Jews with confidence born of their awareness as Jews, and proud of their privilege as American citizens and their discharge of the duties entailed.

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT



TO MEET YOUR CONVENIENCE

Contributions to the new building fund can be distributed over a three-year period and paid in installments—annually, semi-annually, quarterly, or even monthly. Make your contribution a liberal one.

Many people have asked me, How can Sinai survive these years of homelessness? How can the Congregation remain integrated without a Temple of its own? And I tell them: "The men and women of Sinai have loyalty—earnest and determined loyalty that transcends obstacles and pettiness. They have devotion—enthusiasm and tireless devotion on the part of officers and trustees who translate it into wholehearted service. They have spirit—intangible but conscious spirit that refuses to surrender before countless problems, but instead transfuses them with enthusiasm and zeal."

Loyalty, Devotion, Spirit—those qualities keep Sinai growing from strength to strength.

RICHARD C. HERTZ



Sinai is my spiritual home. Though I live North, I feel so keenly about Sinai traditions, and they are so much a part of my religious outlook, that distance does not make far what is so near to me. It has been the inspiration of my communal endeavors and a link in the chain of our family traditions. It was equally dear to my parents whose memory has always uplifted me.

FLORENCE HELLER (MRS. WALTER E.)



Sinai has been one of the most significant influences in my life for the past twenty-five years. Sinai Religious school, culminating with a deeply impressive Confirmation initiated my interest in the Temple. Because of my close affiliation with Dr. Mann and Mr. Schwartz, I have been completely absorbed by the Liberal Jewish movement, and am now devoting my full time to youth work for our Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

ROBERT E. HERZOG



Sinai is my Judaism. It is the spirit of my grandfather who from its pulpit proclaimed his faith in One, Eternal God. It is where I was confirmed and attended services with my grandmother. And now, through the Religious School, the Seniors, and membership in the Congregation, Sinai has become a guidepost toward a philosophy of life and symbol of inheritance of a great civilization which I may proudly pass on to my posterity.

EMIL G. HIRSCH II



Sinai represents the bridge between a material every day life and a spiritual refuge where problems take on new values and perspectives. As such, it gives vision, values and worth to what might otherwise be banal and commonplace.

HERMAN HIRSCH



From early religious school days, Sinai has meant an opportunity to embrace the teachings of God, through the unsurpassed inspiration and guidance of its gifted spiritual leaders.

Add to this the many outlets provided for fellowship and community service, and one may well say of Sinai—it truly is a "Tree of Life."



ROBERT A. HART

In a world of bigotry, prejudice and greed, the services of the synagogue or church are indispensable to sustain faith in the future of man. Faith in God through faith in man is synonymous with Judaism, and Sinai through the years has given confidence and courage to all who have been privileged to hear the inspirational message from its pulpit.

WILLIAM K. HOLLANDER

Like Mount Sinai, our Temple is the bulwark for the precepts, the faith, the hope and the progress of our Jewish Community.

And, like Moses, our inspired Rabbi Louis L. Mann is fearlessly spreading the word of God, with courage and dignity, and leading us to the higher and nobler aspirations of all mankind.

LEWIS F. JACOBSON

In a world that is changing rapidly in response to new and powerful forces, we feel desperately the need for deeper understanding and wider acceptance of our spiritual values. At no time in history has there been a greater need than now for the guidance of prophetic idealism. Our churches are the storehouses of these ideals, and a vital institution like Sinai is a powerful force for their dissemination. I deem it a privilege to be a part of it.

MEYER KESTENBAUM

I joined Sinai to give my children a religious education and pride in being Jews. Previously I had attended Services only on the Holy Days, or only when the title of the sermon appealed to me. Later, I began to attend regularly, finding comfort, information and inspiration in the Service. As a trustee and Officer for over 15 years, I have found that giving of one's self to the cause of the Synagogue brings very ample satisfaction in life.

EMIL B. KITZINGER

In addition to maintaining a family tradition and participating in Temple activities which enabled me to know hundreds of earnest, friendly co-workers, our Rabbis' teachings have inspired me to delve into the glorious history of our people. This has made me proud to stand and be counted a Jew.

LEO S. KOSITCHER



It would be redundant to attempt to evaluate the lifetime of service that SINAI has rendered its members and the Jewish Community. As an integral part of our everyday sound family life, its record of achievement is unparalleled and its efforts in the field of human endeavor have been most effective.



MARTIN D. LEVY

Writers of old spoke of "A Tree of Life." With its myriad activities and opportunities for service, religious, cultural, civic and social; its outstanding rabbinical leadership, Sinai means to me a way of living, and a group I am happy to cling to.



LEE J. LOVENTHAL II

180 BUSY MEN AND WOMEN

Workers from the Temple, the Sisterhood, the Men's Club and the Seniors are contributing their money, time, and effort. Please accord them your courteous attention when they call upon you.

Sinai means so much to me that is precious beyond words. Though I am over ninety years of age, I rarely miss a service at Sinai, and when I am compelled to do so, I feel a vacancy in my heart. Dr. and Mrs. Mann are real friends whom I shall always cherish.

MRS. JACOB MAYER

To me, Sinai is a treasure house of religious, cultural and educational values. But of equal importance are the privileges it offers for the formation of warm personal friendships through concerted service to the community; and the opportunities it provides for participation in the manifold activities of the Congregation and its affiliates, which adds significance and purpose to life.



MAURY J. LIEBER

I regard my membership in Sinai a privilege afforded me to share in a glorious heritage and to belong to a congregation that has magnificently served the cause of American Judaism.

IRA LOEWENSTEIN



Since my first association with Sinai in 1912, I have found in our Temple the serenity of worship and the necessary inspiration for daily living. Further, I have found many staunch friends who have shared my pleasures, and who have sought with me the solution to the common problems of the way of life of all Americans today. MARK LEVY



Sinai to me is the fulfillment of a dream. When I was a little boy in Kentucky, we constantly spoke of Emil G. Hirsch in our home. He had been the rabbi in Louisville before I was born. Before I was able to appreciate his writings fully, I followed his editorials week by week in the Reform Advocate. I, too, was to be a rabbi! My mother assured me that I would be Emil Hirsch's successor. She believed it implicitly; she had no doubt whatsoever. My father smiled beneficently. Strangely enough, my mother doubted it for the first time after the call came many years later. A mother's dream!



From the day Sinai came into being 87 years ago, to this latest hour, our Congregation has been and is the most liberal Congregation in the entire world—without a single exception. Sinai to me means the privilege of creating a link in a tradition consecrated by Felsenthal, Kohler and Hirsch; it is indeed a privilege but no less of a responsibility. That privilege lies in the endeavor to add another link in the chain of a tradition mingled with the wisdom of the sages, the prophetic passion for social justice, the vision of the seers and the principles of the philosophers. That responsibility—and it cannot be said too often—consists in standing today, not where these giants of intellect and spirit stood, great and glorious as was their position, but where they would have stood were they alive today. Sinai must go forward—ever forward.

Sinai to me means the opportunity to serve my fellow man according to the highest and best in Jewish tradition so that the arbitrary, artificial, man-made distinctions may not obliterate the God-made resemblances. Brotherhood—once a dream and once a vision, has now become a necessity—a dire necessity.

The Midrash contains the Aramaic words, "Sinai zeh sulom!" Sinai means scaling the heights! Aspiration! Horizons beyond horizons! What a privilege! A sacred privilege! What a responsibility! An exacting and eliciting responsibility!

"My lot has fallen in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."

LOUIS L. MANN

Our Congregation serves each of its families. Our adults gain spiritual and religious guidance and essential assistance in imparting to our children an understanding of our people's heritage, glory and opportunity. The outstanding achievements of all of our congregation's affiliates reflect credit upon each of its earnest and enthusiastic members. Let each of us contribute to the building of a greater and nobler Sinai.

PAUL H. LEFFMANN



At Sinai, I have always felt myself an integral part of a liberal Jewish community, which continued to emphasize the Jewish social and intellectual heritage of our people.

As a member of the Sinai family, I find many opportunities to serve,—thereby obtaining a sense of security as a Jew in this uncertain world.

CLARENCE D. LOEB



Sinai has been a source of deep inspiration to me. Here I learned the true principles of a real and vital Judaism from two great and illustrious rabbis, Emil G. Hirsch and Louis L. Mann. My close association with Sinai has brought me many friendships and happy memories that will abide always.

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S. D. SCHWARTZ



Our pride, as Sinaites, in our Temple, our school and our home, bespeaks the unity, strength and tradition of our historic Congregation. Throughout the years, our rabbis have brought to the pulpit and the community, wisdom, courage and liberalism, a challenge and an inspiration to all. The Segals proclaim "Our lot has fallen in pleasant places."

JEANNETTE S. SEGAL (MRS. PERRY)



Sinai means faith, pride, hope, strength. Strength to dare, to act, to fight for what you think is right, even though you are a minority. Joy in contacts, knowledge gained thru study, discussion and leadership. Sinai means workers, participating in everything for the good of all. This and more is the spirit of Sinai.

HATTIE M. SINGER



Sinai means dynamic, enlightened leadership in liberal, realistic religion, dedicated to wholesome personality development and guidance. This inspires faith, courage, and the determined quest for higher moral and social living.

It means basic teachings which are in harmony with the best modern trends in scientific psychology, psychiatry and education.

DR. MEYER SOLOMON



The need for spiritual guidance, particularly among our young adults, is greater than ever before, due to troubled post-war conditions. Sinai has always been in the forefront — giving leadership, spiritual security and faith.

DR. IRVING F. STERN



Although a suburban resident, I am devoted to the leadership of Sinai amongst Reform Congregations. It revives happy memories of my parents who were among its early and staunch supporters. Sinai in my younger days meant liberal religious views, Confirmation Day, and inspiration for the higher things in life. These things make life precious.

MELVIN L. STRAUS



Although pseudo-intellects and the intelligentsia may scoff, the Temple is still the only institution devoting itself to improving the relations of man to man, and for that reason, should have the support of every right thinking person. Sinai has made history. We dare not do less for those who follow us. Sinai will remain liberal in theology, socially minded in vision and progressive in thought.

GEORGE STROMBERG



Through providing an understanding of the ideals toward which Judaism has striven, and through association with those who in our own day, in our own city, work toward those goals, Sinai has given me pride in my religion and a sense of personal obligation to its tradition.

MAURICE S. WEIGLE

SINAI MUST SUCCEED IN THIS DRIVE

Sinai must not fail to pass on to those who succeed us a virile institution which has demonstrated its leadership in presenting to the world all that is best in Jewish character, integrity and citizenship.

Sinai has been our family tradition from its beginnings. While we have taken its growth and development somewhat for granted, we share the joy of its universal recognition among the great congregations of our faith and as the most liberal to be found anywhere. If civilization is to survive, it must be based upon liberalism. To this, Sinai has and will continue to contribute in no small manner.

FREDERICK W. STRAUS



Sinai means much to me indeed. Its very name spells God, Israel, and the ten commandments, which constitute the fundamental concepts of our morality and democracy. For me, Sinai symbolizes the eternal truths to which it is consecrated, and which it is pledged to carry on to generations yet unborn.

ARTHUR SCHOENSTADT



Sinai has always meant to my family and me a solid fortress in the Chicago community. This fortress, in the best of Jewish tradition, has been not only a haven for our personal spiritual aspirations, but also one of the powerful forces for liberalism in the community.

CHARLES K. SCHWARTZ



Rabbi Kaufman Kohler married Mr. Stein and me 70 years ago — my first introduction to Sinai. When we moved to Chicago, Sinai Temple became our spiritual home. Dr. Hirsch's sermons were inspirational. In joy and in sorrow, Dr. Mann has been a comfort to me. I hope I may see the new Temple. God speed that happy day.

MRS. MAXWELL S. SWIN



To me Sinai means "security" — the feeling that there is always present the understanding and friendship of our great spiritual leaders and the many good friends in our Sinai family. The traditions of our historic Congregation have always been a source of pride to my family and to me.

FLORENCE L. WEISS (MRS. MAX)



Sinai — a beacon — lighting the path to peace and happiness, by inspiring righteousness, love for family and country, devotion to friends, education, fellowship, and the fulfillment of communal and civic responsibilities, so that our children and grandchildren may take pride in their Jewish heritage and be worthy Americans.

LELAND J. WILHARTZ



CHICAGO SINAI CONGREGATION

5242 HYDE PARK BLVD.

CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

BUTTERFIELD 8-1600

DAY LETTER

JANUARY 2, 1949

HEBREW ACADEMY OF CLEVELAND
1860 SOUTH TAYLOR ROAD
CLEVELAND, OHIO

BECAUSE OF A FUNERAL SERVICE AT WHICH I MUST OFFICIATE I AM
UNABLE TO ATTEND THE DEDICATION CELEBRATION OF THE HEBREW
ACADEMY OF CLEVELAND. I REGRET THIS VERY MUCH. I WISH TO
SEND YOU MY BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS AND PROGRESS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



New Republic

40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

January 3, 1949

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. & Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am rushing to you an advance copy of the special section of our January 10 issue: State of the Union. It sums up our liberal program for 1949.

Would you please write to me and tell me what you think of this program? And would you tell me what the New Republic means to you, and to the liberal movement? We are most anxious to gather a few testimonials from our most valued readers and friends. Your support means a great deal to us.

Yours ever,

Michael Straight
Michael Straight
Editor

STATE of
the UNION



A PROGRAM
FOR LIBERAL AMERICA

the mandate

what does this mandate embrace?

NOW THAT the pre-election soothsayers and the post-election explainers have had their say, the time has come for the people's democratically elected representatives to carry out the people's will. Was this a victory for liberalism and a defeat of reaction? Perish the name calling. Let's be on our way to make America a finer example to all the world as a better place in which to live.



IN HIS MESSAGES to the 80th Congress, both in regular and special session, and in his campaign addresses, the President made the issues crystal-clear. The people gave him a vote of confidence on those issues. Among the vitally important legislative proposals on which action is demanded by the people are the following:

1. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.
2. Amend upwards the legal minimum wage.
3. Modernize the Social Security Act.
4. Adequate, realistic health legislation.
5. Adequate housing legislation.
6. Anti-inflation legislation.
7. Economic security for the American farmer and national security through conservation of natural resources and regional development.
8. Equitable tax legislation based on the principle of ability to pay, including excess profits tax.

LET US GO FORWARD in a new faith that democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people and make America a more impressive example of that which we recommend for other people.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, A. F. WHITNEY, *President*

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

STATE of the UNION

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A PROGRAM FOR LIBERAL AMERICA

AMERICANS HAVE DETERMINED that our democracy shall advance toward new goals. They have asserted that the prevention of poverty, disease and ignorance is as much a responsibility of representative government as the prevention of crime; that the nature of a man's beliefs is the concern of a man's own conscience; that the color of a man's skin shall be of no more significance than the color of his eyes.

Americans have affirmed that in our new concept of democracy, economic well-being, social justice and political liberty contribute equally and inseparably to man's fulfillment. They have recognized that only this concept of democracy, as it applies to all citizens, can win the peoples of the world and so unite the world for peace.

Americans have confirmed these principles:

Every man has the right to equal opportunity.

Every man has the right to social security.

Every man has the right to a decent home.

Every man has the right to a proper education.

Every man has the right to good medical care.

Every man has the right to a job at fair pay.

Every man has the right to equal participation in government.

The 81st Congress was elected to give these rights the force of law. If it keeps its pledge to the voters, these rights, so long denied, will be won for all Americans this year, as part of their daily bread.

At the same time we have undertaken to help provide the daily bread of others. Our stake in world freedom and welfare makes continued full employment both a right for Americans and a commitment to the world.

For we are setting out on the greatest tasks ever faced by Americans in time of peace. We intend, simultaneously, to rearm Western Europe and ourselves; to provide the resources needed for world recovery; to build new hospitals, clinics, schools and dams for our own welfare; and to protect our consumers against the higher prices which shortages cause. We haven't

enough nails, or ingots, or doctors, or railway cars when all these demands are added up. If we let these needs compete blindly against each other, if we let our output go to the highest bidder, if we squander our scarce resources in unemployment, waste and non-essential production, if we fail to provide for rapidly expanding production, then we are lost.

No welfare measures alone can provide the increased production that we need, or the assurance of permanent full employment. Broad action by government is necessary, in public investment and support of purchasing power, if industry with its tremendous productivity is to be assured that its increased production will find ample and profitable markets. Our purpose is not to dig in for depression, but to obtain a continuing rise in production and living standards; to formulate our goals in national production; to work together as a nation to reach those goals; to attain them by whatever action is needed.

The objectives we have set for America are within our productive power. They require national planning to assure both full employment and the right kind of employment of our resources. Americans want welfare programs, not to ease future depression but to overcome present poverty. They want the housing industry diverted by compulsion to low-cost construction because, although the profit is less, the need is greater. In place of peak private investment one year and none in time of depression, they want a steady level of private investment that industry can sustain.

The shortages that challenge us are not the end of an era of reconversion but the beginning of an era of national planning. The controls by which we deal with them are not makeshifts but the proper instruments of public policy, since supplies of manpower and materials will always be less than the demands which we recognize for goods and services.

We need an integrated program now, in which the direction of our resources is considered together with

the demands upon them, and the expansion of our capacity to produce is as important an objective for Congress as social security and minimum wages.

The program outlined in this supplement is not an ideal program. It is the practical, immediate program voted by the majority, which they have the right to expect.

It is for the Administration to present some such program to Congress. It is for Congress to act. There is no necessary reason for congressional delay. There are separate committees of the Senate and House which are able to hold simultaneous hearings and to report out within weeks most of the measures proposed here.

The congressional bottlenecks are self-made barriers to legislation. As long as the sworn enemies of our

program hold key committee positions, as long as the majority party lacks the means of self-discipline, Congress is not free. Democracy does not mean the dictation of a minority in or out of Congress. It means majority rule, and the right of the minority, by due process, to become the majority. Before Congress can strengthen democracy it needs to democratize itself.

It is for the majority which elected Congress to hold it to its pledges, refusing to be diverted by witch-hunting, hysteria and fear. We are the majority; it is for us to think as the majority and act as the majority; to liberate ourselves from the conditioning of years of retreat; to spring out of the foxholes prepared for a long winter night; to press on toward the goal of a better America in a peaceful world.

★ A FREE AMERICA ★

THE LIBERAL VICTORY OF 1948 was won with the lives of some Americans.

In March, when the Democratic state primaries were imminent, the Ku Klux Klan marched through the streets of Georgia. Grand Dragon Green threatened that if Negroes sought to vote, "blood will flow."

In Montgomery County, Georgia, just one colored American, Isaiah Nixon, sought to vote. A group of men warned him to turn back. He voted. A few days later, as Nixon stood with his wife and six children beside him, two men killed him. "Nixon approached us as if he had a gun in his pocket," one of the men explained to an all-white jury. It acquitted them after a brief deliberation. Nixon's family fled in terror from their home.

In Columbia, South Carolina, where the white primary was invalidated by the Supreme Court, the Reverend Archie Ware, sixty-six years old, cast his vote. Two men clubbed him, stabbed him and left him for dead while two policemen looked on.

In Toombs County, Georgia, haunted by the Klan, Robert Mallard, a prosperous Negro among poor whites, bought a new car. Driving his new car home from church, with his wife and child, on the night of November 20, he was stooped, shot several times, and killed by a band of men in white robes. Sheriff Robert Gray called Mallard "a biggety nigger" and arrested Mallard's wife for his murder as she left the burial service. Belatedly, the state has acted.

"There are times," says the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "when the difference between what we preach about civil rights and what we practise is shockingly illustrated by individual outrages. There are times

when the whole structure of our ideology is made ridiculous by individual instances. And there are certain continuing, quiet, omnipresent practices which do irreparable damage to our beliefs."

Concerned over the "dry rot" caused by lack of democracy, the committee proposed a broad program to secure the civil rights of all Americans. The President sent the program to the 80th Congress. The 80th Congress buried it.

But the program lived to dominate the 1948 election.

Quick to place all the blame upon the Dixiecrats, the Republicans promised to press for immediate passage in the 81st Congress of legislation to abolish the poll tax, prohibit lynching and end discrimination in jobs and in the armed forces.

The Democratic Party, to whose platform all Democrats in Congress are committed, promised to guarantee by legislation of the 81st Congress:

The right of full and equal political participation—by abolition of the poll tax and all other barriers to voting.

The right to equal opportunity of employment—by passage of a federal FEPC.

The right of security of person—by passage of the anti-lynching bill and the strengthening of the civil-rights statutes.

The right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation—by the abolition of all discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

That program won the election. Now some "Democrats" maintain that it did not mean what it meant. President Truman says: "We were elected on specific pledges and those pledges will be carried out."

The Right of Full and Equal Political Participation

The President asked Congress first for legislation forbidding interference by public officers and private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in any election involving federal officers. This means so-called literacy tests, placing ballot boxes in private homes of white people, requiring a prospective registrant to have two persons "vouch" for him, and threats of violence and acts of violence such as the beating up of V. V. Carter by a mob in Montgomery County, Georgia, for driving Negroes to the polls in his automobile. Today, protection of Americans from these actions is beyond the power of the federal government, although the right to vote is basic in our democracy.

In seven states the poll tax remains the major barrier to a large vote. In the 1948 elections 59 percent of the voting population voted in the non-poll-tax states. An average of 32 percent voted in the four Southern states in which the poll tax has been repealed—Florida, 39 percent; Georgia, 22 percent; Louisiana, 28 percent; and North Carolina, 39 percent. An average of only 23 percent of the eligible voters cast ballots in the seven poll-tax states. The individual percentages in these states were: Alabama, 14 percent; Arkansas, 22; Mississippi, 17; South Carolina, 14; Tennessee, 30; Texas, 27; and Virginia, 24 percent.

The anti-poll-tax bill is short and simple. It prohibits the collection of any poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for any federal office. Those who live by small votes are talking of no legislation and hoping for nothing more than a constitutional amendment, requiring ratification by three-fourths of the states.

The Right to Equal Opportunity of Employment

The Committee on Civil Rights found widespread job discrimination throughout America. The President proposed legislation creating a Fair Employment Practices Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional groups, and government agencies and employment bureaus.

Four states—New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut—have proved that a Fair Employment Practices Commission with statutory powers can curb discrimination. Bills based on their experience were killed with barely a protest in the 80th Congress. The "moderates" are working to eliminate the FEPC alto-



gether as part of a bargain on a "minimum acceptable program." The FEPC faces the hardest fight of all civil-rights legislation.

The Right to Security of Person

The Committee on Civil Rights proposed first that the outworn statutes of the Criminal Code be strengthened to cover acts of violence committed by individuals as well as groups. It proposed that the seven-man Civil Rights section of the Department of Justice assigned to protect civil liberties, be given adequate staff and authority. These reforms are more than ever needed as threats of violence increase.

"Lynching," the Committee on Civil Rights continued, "is the ultimate threat by which his inferior status is driven home to the Negro. As a terrorist device it reinforces all the other disabilities placed upon him."

"The threat of lynching," the committee goes on, "always hangs over the head of the Southern Negro: the knowledge that a misinterpreted word or action can lead to death is a dreadful burden."

"The communities in which lynchings occur tend to condone the crime," the committee adds. "Punishment of lynchings is not accepted as the responsibility of the state or local governments in those communities."

Today the government is powerless either to prevent lynching or to enforce justice against lynchings. The power resides in the states, and they will not use their power. Legislation which attempts to force the states to act is useless. Lynching can be stopped only by legislation directed against the lynchings, making participation in an act of violence against citizens because of race or color a federal crime punishable by heavy sentence. This legislation derives its novel power of direct sanction against individuals from Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, and from the historic inability of the states alone to act.

Blind to recent outrages, a few maintain that legislation is unnecessary because the days of lynching are gone. Leslie Perry, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, concedes that the days of rope and faggot, frenzied mobs and bodies dragged

through the streets are over. "The technique has changed," he says. "Today the terrorists operate in small bands with secrecy and dispatch. Every year many Negroes simply disappear."

The Right to Equality in the Armed Forces

"Prejudice endangers world peace," the Army preaches to its recruits. "The armed forces in actual practice maintain many barriers to equal treatment for all their members," reported the Committee on Civil Rights. It recommended legislation, followed by executive order, to end *all* discrimination and segregation in *all* services.

The Selective Service Administration has complied with this recommendation. It sends recruits on to the services without any label of black or white; the Army and Air Force promptly pin on the label.

In wartime, naval policy permitted two Negroes among 8,000 naval officers. Now in the Navy recruits are processed without regard for race or color; they bunk together in the same shore installations and all ratings are open to all members of the Navy.

The Army directs its recruits for processing through camps marked black and white. It maintains segregation below the battalion level: the level where men meet. The Air Force is not much better.

In the National Guard and the reserves Negro veterans cannot serve unless they can form their own units. That is because Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall, of South Carolina, is insisting on a uniform national policy for all state units, cut to Southern cloth. Some Northern states none the less have formed non-

segregated forces. And they must be encouraged, either by a national policy based on the Constitution and the practices of the majority of the states, or on a state-by-state basis. This is for the President and Royall to settle, since Secretary of Defense Forrestal lacks the power. The added authority of congressional action is needed in amendments to the appropriation bills.

By huffing and puffing the Dixiecrats intend to prevent action on the civil-rights bills until the closing hours of Congress, when they will be bypassed in the rush to enact necessary appropriations and adjourn.

Their weapon in this hold-up is the filibuster, with which they have kept full democracy out of the South for thirty years.

Both parties have pledged the early democratization of Congress. Majority rule in the House means expanding the membership of key committees to make them representative of the nation's will; and at the same time curbing their power to obstruct. Majority rule in the Senate demands revision, by majority vote, of the rules to permit cloture on any matter before the Senate by a majority of those present.

Civil-rights legislation was first in the minds of many voters. It will be last on the congressional agenda if the Dixiecrats get their way. While the timing of civil-rights legislation in the first session of the 81st Congress should be subordinated to the interest of the entire program; these steps must be taken to prevent minority dictation:

A revision of the Senate rules at the opening of the 81st Congress.

A declaration now that the 81st Congress will be held in session until the full civil-rights program is made law.

★ A UNITED AMERICA ★

UNITY IN A DEMOCRACY requires the achievement, with the assistance of representative government, of those basic conditions and values which lead free citizens to live side by side in peace. For labor, this means observance of labor's right to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing.

In his State of the Union message two years ago the President said, "We must not, in order to punish a few labor leaders, pass vindictive laws which will restrict the proper rights of the rank and file of labor." Overriding his advice, Congress did exactly that.

It enacted the Taft-Hartley law which set up new regulations for collective bargaining. The regulations restricted labor but not management.

The hard-won equality which labor had achieved in the last twenty years vanished and labor was forced to sit down at the bargaining table as a suppliant rather than as an equal. Red tape tangled normal union operations. The closed shop was banned. Anti-labor injunctions came back from the limbo of pre-New Deal times. An attempt even was made to prevent labor organizations from expressing political opinions and participating in election campaigns.

Vindication, or total rejection of the Taft-Hartley Act, was the greatest single issue of the 1948 campaign. Its total rejection by the electorate furnished the year's greatest demonstration. Eighty Representatives who voted for the law were defeated. Not

one who opposed it failed to be reelected. The Democratic Party won because of its unequivocal pledge: "We advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act."

That pledge is one of the easiest a Democratic majority can redeem in the 81st Congress. Repeal is needed rather than amendment because T-H is based on the principle of tying labor's hands, hampering its normal operations and preventing its evolution as a political and economic entity within the democratic system. The Act was so badly drawn that even now, after 18 months of existence, its actual content is not fully understood by experts. Many clauses are subject to varied interpretations and labor rightfully fears some clauses would be even more dangerous in time of depression. The Act must be repealed before any of its principles or details become imbedded in law.

After repeal comes full restoration of the Wagner Act, often described as "Labor's Magna Carta." Much of the Wagner Act was nullified by passage of Taft-Hartley and therefore would be inoperative unless specifically restored by congressional action. Whether this is done as part of the repealer motion or in a separate vote does not matter as long as it is done quickly. Collective bargaining will then be kept in existence, with legal sanction, while labor, management and government discuss further reforms.

Though labor is adamant in rejecting T-H as it now stands, it is not opposed to *every* provision in the Act. Some provisions were basically sound and should be incorporated into new legislation after the Wagner Act is restored. One is the requirement that labor unions be financially accountable. This is to the advantage of labor itself as well as the public and industry. Financial accountability is bound to make for responsible behavior.

Secondary boycotts also should be controlled by law, but not by such an outright ban as was imposed by Taft-Hartley. The President already has made a clear distinction between good and bad secondary boycotts, those which are valid labor weapons and those which are an unwarranted imposition on the public. Broadly, if the purpose of a secondary boycott is to give further effectiveness to a valid strike over wages or working conditions, then it comes within labor's just rights. But if its purpose is to bring pressure to bear in a jurisdictional strike, then labor has no right to interfere with public business while threshing out its own troubles. The internal disputes of labor cannot be settled at public expense.

In disputes between labor and management the National Labor Relations Board remains the best in-



strument for settlement, though its procedures and administration have become unnecessarily tangled in red tape. Here, the Taft-Hartley Act made one change worthy of retention, the separation of the judicial and prosecuting functions of the NLRB. The independent status given the Board's General Counsel increased industry's confidence that disputes would not be prosecuted and judged by the same persons.

Unfortunately, this separation also has entailed some administrative practices which slow down NLRB operations and add considerable confusion. The findings of trial examiners, for instance, often vary in different parts of the country even though the same issues are being considered. Such cases are slow in reaching the NLRB for final adjudication, and in the interim both labor and management must abide by conflicting findings. Elimination of Taft-Hartley will correct some inconsistencies, but a general simplification and coordination of NLRB procedures are urgently needed for the sake of industrial peace.

On the matter of mandatory cool-off periods before strikes can be called, labor itself is not unanimous. The Railway Brotherhoods are inclined to retain some form of cool-off such as is required by the National Railway Labor Act. But most of the rest of labor finds that cool-off periods fail in their proclaimed aim of lessening strikes and giving mediators more time to seek a settlement.

A recent experience helped to convince most of labor that cool-offs do not work. When atomic-plant workers at Oak Ridge last summer ran into an obdurate management stand against wage increases, they started the cool-off procedure. The President was formally notified of the existence of the dispute. He appointed a fact-finding board and the Attorney General obtained a 60-day anti-strike injunction. Negotiations during that time continued to be fruitless. When the injunction expired, employees entered on a second, 15-day, period for voting on the employer's "final" wage offer. The offer was turned down. All that remained was for the President within five days to inform Congress what had occurred. Then the workers could strike. Management raised its offer. The workers

accepted and the strike was averted at the last moment. The cool-off had merely given management time to delay real bargaining.

Mandatory cool-offs presuppose that strikes are called by power-hungry union leaders without consulting their rank and file. Experience has shown otherwise. Strikes are a powerful labor weapon but they are also a dangerous one. Labor knows better than anyone else the suffering that strikes cause workers. Labor also knows the political dangers of offending public opinion, and therefore uses its weapon sparingly.

Such an artificial limitation of the strike weapon as delaying its use by the mandatory cool-off has also had some other unexpected results. Unions have been inclined to file notice of intention to strike even when they had no such intention. The filing merely became part of contract negotiations. Without filing, unions were powerless to strike, and employers, aware of this, could—and did—act tough. In order to regain use of their most potent economic weapon—the right to strike—unions were forced to resort to filing strike notices even when they did not want to.

A further evil of the cool-off is that it forces government into labor-management relations in the wrong

ways and at the wrong times. Healthy relations between labor and management entail a minimum of government involvement in specific disputes. Its best role is to help in the development of fair labor practices and in the continuous formulation, in a conference of labor, management and consumers, of the underlying principles and standards concerning fair distribution of the national income on which good contract negotiations are based.

To fulfil this role government needs an authoritative Department of Labor. To rebuild the Department from the ruins left by the 80th Congress is an important task of the 81st Congress.

The Conciliation and Mediation Service, turned into an independent agency by the 80th, should be returned to the Department; so should the United States Employment Service. The Department needs to be strengthened by restoring and expanding its facilities for collecting and disseminating economic information. It was not until the 80th Congress slashed those services that industry itself understood their value.

When this is done the Labor Department will be able to bring proper consideration to the problems of 35 million families in the councils of the government.

★ A HEALTHY AMERICA ★

IMPROVING NATIONAL HEALTH

EVERY MAN has the right to decent medical care. One in five Americans enjoys that right today.

Medical care is inadequate. Forty million Americans live today in communities without full-time health services. Forty percent of the counties of America, with 15 million citizens, have no hospitals at all. We have 30,000 fewer doctors than are needed for adequate care. We have just half the acceptable hospital beds that we need. As a result, 325,000 Americans die each year whom we have the knowledge and skill to save. One-third of our deaths from cancer, a fast-growing killer, could be prevented by prompt diagnosis and treatment.

Medical care is too costly. The days of the small black bag containing all prescriptions is over. The training of doctors is lengthened; the supplementary technical services they need are greater; the equipment required for diagnosis and therapy is elaborate. Lengthy and advanced treatments are known and needed as life savers; costs in a modern hospital may be \$20 a day, leading to bills of \$1,000 and more for illness or accident that no family can avoid or antici-

pate and that a fraction of American families can afford. For at the same time, 40 million Americans are without financial reserves of any kind today. Sixty-five million Americans, in families earning less than \$3,000 a year, cannot afford even routine medical care. Serious illness is a financial disaster from which many families may never fully recover.

Medical care is uneven. Today four percent of the pediatricians in America serve 60 percent of our children in rural areas. There are just one-third as many doctors per person in Mississippi as in New York. Americans may be born equal. Ninety-five in every hundred born in Massachusetts are born in hospitals attended by physicians; for Negroes in South Carolina, the proportion is one in ten.

If we believe that adequate medical care should be available equally to all Americans, then, given these conditions of over-all inadequacy of medical care, a widespread maldistribution and a general inability to pay, a national health program is urgent and must be based on these principles:

It must provide for a rapid increase of total medical services.

It must provide for maximum effectiveness by group

practice and the closest coordination of all services in the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness.

It must be financed principally by compulsory national health insurance.

It must be planned in long-range terms. A long-range program has been formulated by the government. It plans by 1960 to add 600,000 new hospital beds; to double the number of medical graduates each year; to expand federal research, psychiatric treatment and rehabilitation service. It contains every aspect of a needed program; its objectives can be adopted by enactment of the National Health Bill presented to Congress by Senators Wagner and Murray and Representative Dingell.

The bill serves substantially *all* Americans. Those who cannot be insured because of lack of savings receive the services offered by the program whenever their contributions are made by a public agency.

It provides *all* services necessary to prevent, diagnose and cure disease, including specialized treatments, eyeglasses, and dental care and home nursing wherever facilities are available.

It is financed by a contribution of 1.5 percent of earnings up to \$3,600; this sum is matched by the employer. The federal government makes up the difference between the cost of the services and the insurance premiums collected. Physicians are paid from the insurance fund, by methods which they choose and according to fees agreed upon with local authorities. Voluntary health-insurance plans are repaid for the services which they continue to provide.

The bill provides freedom of choice. Doctors are free to join or not to join the program. Patients are free to choose their family physician, hospital, dentist and nurse. Doctors are free to reject patients.

The program is administered by representative local committees, or by officers aided by advisory committees, these local, state and national committees include professional and lay members. Strictly medical matters are left to the physicians.

To defeat this program, one lobby alone, the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, spent \$353,990 in the first nine months of 1948. The American Medical Association is raising a \$3.5 million war chest to lobby against the bill. Charges of "dictatorship" and "bureaucracy" were made against every vital measure of the New Deal. Cries of "Socialism!" were raised by the National Association of Manufacturers against social security, now accepted as basic in American life. All these old cries are raised now against the health program.

Yet the only alternative offered to the program is the

extension of voluntary, non-profit insurance plans. These plans are good and are encouraged by the National Health Bill. They cannot possibly replace a national government-operated system. They are far too costly; they are limited in coverage; they meet only part of the cost of services; they make no real provision for preventive treatment. Yet even the extension of these programs is rejected by the AMA, which has blocked them by restrictions on cooperative enterprises in many states.

BUILDING BETTER HOMES

EVERY MAN has the right to a decent home. Ten million families that live in slums, shacks and fire-traps; the two million families that live doubled up; the ten million additional families in homes without minimum standards of decency lack this basic right of citizenship today.

To obtain that right for all Americans is the purpose of a long-range-housing program. One such program, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, Congress considered for three years. It was a compromise measure, drawn to win the support of the Republican majority. Its liberal features were inadequate. Its sections aiding mortgage companies and private builders were enacted by the 80th Congress in a lopsided and unsatisfactory form. Meanwhile the needs of Americans compounded, raising the objectives of adequate housing legislation.

For these reasons new, comprehensive housing legislation is needed today. The over-all purpose of realistic legislation is to provide, each year, for the next 10 years, 1.5 million units of the right kind of housing, at the right price, and in the right place.

New housing is falling 500,000 units short of this goal each year. It is beyond the reach of 80 percent of Americans; it is concentrated in a few urban areas; it is multiplying the worst aspects of cities, and the prevalence of slums; most of it is poorly designed and badly built.

It follows that the purposes of federal housing legislation are these:

To provide public housing for low-income groups.

To increase private construction of low-cost urban and rural housing.

To aid cities in slum clearance and modernization.

To build better homes.

Public housing, built by local agencies with federal assistance, was first authorized in 1937. It proved itself until building costs soared above the ceilings set for public construction and killed the program.

Public construction of emergency housing for veter-



ans was authorized after the war. Once again, inflated costs and material shortages caused by the demands of non-essential construction killed the program after controls were abolished.

A public housing program, providing for 500,000 units in four years, was included in the T-E-W bill and was the main reason why the lobbies induced Congress to kill this measure. Yet this program, restricted once more by renewed ceilings on costs, was already throttled by inflation. The bill placed a limit of \$1,250 a room on the cost of new housing in cities under 500,000; and ceilings of \$1,500 a room in larger cities. The unit costs of new construction in metropolitan areas was \$2,600 a room in late 1948. This widening gap led Senator Taft to abandon his own bill.

A further weakness in the bill is its insistence on a gap of at least 20 percent between the upper rental limits for proposed public housing and the lowest rentals offered by commercial housing units. This gap places government authority behind a guarantee that for millions of Americans neither public nor private housing will be available.

The public housing section of an adequate law would include these provisions:

Construction of a minimum of 800,000 urban units and 200,000 rural non-farm units over a four-year period; with powers granted to the President to accelerate both programs.

Elimination of all cost limitations, and the substitution of a simple requirement that the Public Housing Administrator ensure that approved costs are no higher than costs for comparable housing facilities in each community.

Abolition of all mandatory gaps between the rentals of public and commercial housing units.

Low-cost urban housing, built by private contractors, has been assisted by federal government financing for 14 years. In the absence of direct controls this assistance has been inadequate to divert housing from high-cost luxury projects to low-cost rental housing.

The T-E-W bill proposed to increase this government assistance by liberalizing government-insured first mortgages; underwriting the secondary-mortgage market; and guaranteeing an adequate return on direct

investments by large concerns in low-cost rental housing projects for families with moderate incomes.

Most of these proposals were enacted by the 80th Congress. As incentives to voluntary action they are still inadequate.

Further to increase the effectiveness of existing government aids requires radical amendments to the regulations of the principal government mortgage agencies. These amendments would bring about longer amortization and lower interest rates on government and government-insured mortgages; they would raise the ceilings on the costs of builder-financed homes which the government can underwrite; they would give the government authority to engage in direct purchase of secondary mortgages and increase its power to reduce inflated capital costs on the homes it underwrites.

Yet the effect of these amendments would be no more than to offset the pressure for increased interest rates and shorter amortization periods which inflation brought about.

There are millions of American families who cannot qualify for public housing and who cannot afford FHA housing at its present average rental of \$80 a month. These families remain doubled up, or in slums, or dangerously overextended with high mortgages that their incomes cannot sustain. They temporarily achieve minimum standards of shelter at the expense of minimum standards of food and other essentials.

For these families a new type of government financing is necessary; long-term, low-interest loans, made directly by a special federal agency to local authorities, coöperatives, limited-dividend corporations and other groups or individuals, for low-cost housing built under fixed rental and sale regulations. In this way, rents or carrying charges on new construction can be cut by 20 percent and more.

Low-cost rural housing was well provided for in the T-E-W bill, which authorized 33-year loans to farm families at interest of not more than four percent, and also limited subsidies. These provisions belong in any new legislation.

Urban redevelopment was well provided for in T-E-W by federal aid to local authorities for slum clearance. New legislation needs the same provisions.

But large-scale demolition of slums follows the solution of the present acute shortage of housing. The immediate problem is to avoid building future slums, in "fringe" developments that further strangle the cities, ruin fine country, are barren of essential services and are so poorly built that they cost more in repair bills than interest payments before a fraction of their mort-

gages are paid. Authorization for full-scale nationwide planning of community development by local and federal authorities, voluntary groups and defense experts, and federal assistance for this type of development are needed in new legislation.

Better housing means adequate research by government, advice and guidance for local authorities, and active support by government for pioneers in new types of construction.

Provision for research and guidance in new legislation is largely a matter of obtaining adequate appropriations and of broadening the accepted concept of research to the unexplored social aspects of housing. Support for architects and builders engaged in pioneer work means the authorization of development contracts to provide government financing, where necessary, of experimental work.

The incentives to the low-cost housing proposed here are substantial. The assistance is still voluntary, and short of a collapse in the luxury-housing field, it would be inadequate to redirect the housing industry into the low-cost field where the need is greatest and the profits least. We cannot stake the future of American families on the collapse of the present industry. This program requires the reimposition of allocations and priorities over scarce housing materials.

With these powers, the right of Americans to decent shelter, if it is established this year, can be made a reality within ten years for all citizens. Meanwhile, as long as acute shortages continue, rent controls will be necessary. The extension of rent controls is needed, with additional authority given to the Housing Expediter to increase civil penalties for rent overcharges; to reimpose criminal penalties for rent violations; to recontrol forsaken areas and hotels; and to gain control to prevent evictions, which today come entirely under state and local jurisdiction.

EXTENDING SOCIAL SECURITY

EVERY MAN has the right to social security—to the assurance, that is, of protection against the economic hazards of old age, death and disaster by the provision of a decent income from a contributory social-insurance system.

That right is not assured by the federal government today—in coverage, in benefits, in eligibility, in financing, our present social-security system is inadequate.

A strengthened social-security program is a major objective of the 81st Congress.

Universal coverage for all who work is the first aim. Today, 40 million Americans are covered by the pro-

gram; 30 million are unprotected. They include six million self-employed citizens in towns and cities; five million farmers; three and a half million farm workers; two and a half million domestic workers; a million nurses, janitors, teachers and others in non-profit institutions; all soldiers and sailors; four million workers in state and local governments, federal civil servants, and railroad workers with their own pension plans.

These groups were excluded from the program because of administrative problems of collection, or existing pension plans, or barriers to federal taxation of state and local governments and non-profit institutions. Consequently, some workers moving from job to job have paid contributions and received no benefits; others have benefited without contributing; some states have carried disproportionate burdens while others have gained disproportionately; protected industries have gained at the expense of non-covered industries, which have lost needed manpower and have fallen behind in production.

The Senate Advisory Council on Social Security declares that "there are no immediate obstacles to the extension of coverage" of the groups listed above; it recommends the prompt extension of the program to these groups, with the exception of the railroad workers and federal civil servants, whose separate plans it proposes to merge, without loss of benefit, in the general scheme.

Adequate benefits is the second aim of social-security legislation. The present scale of benefits, fixed in 1939, provides average old-age-insurance payments of \$39.90 a month to elderly couples. The 75-percent increase in the cost of living since 1939 has made these benefits inadequate for food bills alone. The proposed increase of 50 percent does not even restore the standards of 1937. A 100-percent increase seems clearly called for.

Inflation has further made the wage base of the social-security program obsolete. To restore the 1938 base in terms of purchasing power would require raising the highest income bracket that is subject to contributions and credited for benefits—\$3,000—to more than \$4,200.

A third weakness is the cumulative formula used for the payment of benefits. The present system discriminates against the middle-aged and elderly by holding present benefits 30 percent below those to be paid in 1980. The Advisory Council proposes to place benefits in closer relation to earnings and to pay the full rate of benefits today.

Adequate eligibility is the third objective of new legislation. Because of excessive restrictions based on "sound insurance principles," 11 years after the pro-

gram's inauguration only one in five Americans over 65 is insured or receives its benefits. Men and women who today are 65 must work in steady employment for six more years before they can qualify for social security. The Advisory Council recommends giving those who are 62 this year the same opportunity that Americans of the same age had in 1937; they could qualify after six quarter-years of coverage. It recommends further that women should qualify for payments at 60.

Adequate financing is the fourth objective of new legislation. The present tax of one percent of payrolls paid in contributions from workers and employers has been unchanged for 10 years. It compares to costs of at least three percent of payrolls, for the expanded system within six years. As benefits increase, and the numbers of Americans over 65 doubles, even a doubled contribution from workers and employers will be insufficient. To provide adequate benefits, and to give the social-security system a stabilizing effect on the economy, contributions of 1.5 percent from workers, employers and government are needed today. A government contribution to adequate social insurance is cheaper and wiser than government contributions to public assistance for helpless and humiliated citizens.

ADING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

THE PROPER development and application of scientific research are major objectives of public policy.

Legislation to establish a National Science Foundation has been laid before every session of Congress since 1944. Each new bill has been less satisfactory than the one preceding. The Smith bill, passed by both Houses in 1947, proposed a science agency which would, in effect, have been privately controlled though publicly financed. It was justly vetoed by Truman.

Whether or not a National Science Foundation is set up, research must be assured of adequate, uninterrupted financial support, the major portion of which must be supplied by the government in the form of grants to federal agencies, universities and industry.

The present pattern of expenditures for scientific research and development is dangerously out of balance. It is inevitable that military research should continue, but since scientific applications in every field, military and non-military, rest upon foundations of fundamental knowledge, these must be systematically broadened and strengthened. Already defense efforts in aerodynamics, among others, are seriously hampered because of inadequate basic data. Fundamental research is best conducted in the universities. Yet today, the national research and development budget having in-

creased 335 percent (since 1940) while the supply of trained manpower has expanded only 35 percent, at least 15,000 university instructors are needed merely to restore the prewar student-teacher ratio, which even at that time was considered wholly unsatisfactory.

A number of steps must be taken to reduce the manpower drag on the expansion of scientific programs in all areas. The federal government, through direct subventions to educational institutions, creation of new facilities and equipment, establishment of training and aid programs for graduate and undergraduate students, enlightened Selective Service policies, extension of veterans' programs, and similar help, must overcome this deficiency.

In medical research the national effort, federal and non-federal, is completely inadequate. Judging by expenditures, the health of the nation is a matter of less concern to its government than guided missiles or submarines. A substantial increase in national expenditures on medical research from \$100 million to \$300 million is recommended by the Steelman Report.

Unorganized science is disorganized science. Planning and coordination of research are indispensable to scientific advance. Neither is incompatible with scientific freedom. An integral part of the coordinating function is the frequent examination of all federal research programs, military and non-military.

Secrecy, compartmentalization, purges and persecutions in the name of security continue to hamper the national science effort. There is no justification for secrecy in basic research. All existing information controls require reexamination and drastic revision. And not the smallest benefit from revoking the unworkable loyalty order would be that accruing to science.

PROVIDING BETTER SCHOOLS

EVERY MAN has the right to a decent education.

Instead: "Public school education in America has become a lottery," according to Oscar R. Ewing, the Federal Security Administrator. He adds: "If your child is lucky, you live in a community in which qualified teachers develop his aptitudes and talents and equip him to become a good provider and a good citizen. If he is unlucky he attends a school manned by incompetents, enters the world shabbily equipped, and, through no fault of his own, has less chance to make the most of himself."

Education is inadequate. Six million boys and girls under 19, who should be in school today, are not in school. This year, 1.5 million children will be deprived of education because of the teacher shortage;



and an additional 500,000 will have only part-time schooling because of the shortage of classrooms. Most children are subjected to assembly-line education, with 40 to 60 pupils in each class. These inadequacies are accumulating. The total enrollment in 1956 is expected to be four million greater than it was in 1948. But we are training only 20,000 teachers each year, instead of the 90,000 needed to keep pace with new enrollments.

Education is uneven. The best-financed public-school systems spend more than \$6,000 a year per classroom unit; the worst, less than \$100. Only thirty percent of white children but no more than seven percent of Negro children finish high school.

Education is unsatisfactory. School buildings are aging and unsanitary, with fewer than four percent constructed in the last ten years.

Teachers' salaries fell 20 percent in terms of purchasing power between 1939 and 1946; they declined from 10 percent above the average earnings of all employed persons in 1939 to nine percent less than the average in 1948. Last year, just 11,142 four-year college graduates—the only group which educational associations consider qualified—fulfilled the requirements for elementary teaching certificates. If present policies continue, then, according to Dr. Harold Clark of Teachers College, "disastrous educational and social conditions will prevail in a few years."

For this urgent problem there is no state by state solution. If Mississippi, lowest of all states in expenditures per child, abolished every function of government and devoted all its revenues to education, its public schools would still fall short of average standards.

For twenty years educators have insisted that the only solution is federal aid to education. It is not a new principle. It began with the Northwest Ordinance of 1785 and continued in the land grants and the appropriations to experiment stations and vocational-guidance centers. The present program of the Educational Finance Act, which passed the Senate only last year, distributes \$300 million in federal funds to the states according to school population and total income. It guarantees continued state control of schools. It forbids states to use federal funds to reduce state appropriations. It places a floor of \$50 under expenditures

per child per year, and raises the average expenditure to \$140.

No action was taken on this legislation. Since then costs have risen further, shortages have increased, and America has led in the adoption by the UN of a World Bill of Rights.

This year, a minimum program for federal aid to education would include these major provisions:

Federal aid of \$50 million a year for increased medical-education facilities to help overcome the worst threat of all in higher education—an impending shortage of 50,000 doctors by 1960.

Federal aid of \$500 million, to be advanced equally in grants and loans, and matched by equal state funds, for the construction of new schools.

Federal aid of \$500 million for teachers' salaries and classroom expenditures, to be given to public elementary and secondary schools. It may be necessary this year to give these funds to states practising segregation. Discrimination should be forbidden. The legislation should create a watchdog committee with power to cut off aid to states using federal funds to advance discrimination. And there should be no question of compromising the fundamental principle of separation of Church and State by federal aid to parochial schools.

RAISING MINIMUM WAGES

EVERY MAN has the right to a decent living. For American workers, this means the establishment of fair labor standards, and the protection of these standards by an effective floor on wages which limits the threat of wage slashing in times of unemployment, and of the unfair competition of sweatshops at all times.

To enforce this right, Congress in 1938 placed a floor of 40 cents an hour under wages of workers in interstate commerce. It recognized that, to be effective, the minimum wage had to be kept in relation to the average wage rate. It proposed that the minimum wage be raised as average wages and productivity increased.

Average wages rose from 61 cents to \$1.29 in the ten years after 1938. Seventy cents an hour was recognized as the effective minimum wage in wartime by the Wage Stabilization Board. Yet the minimum wage of 40 cents, which originated in the NRA codes of 1933 and barely covered the WPA emergency minimum budget in 1938, has been held unchanged. In terms of 1948 prices, it represents 20 cents an hour; \$8 a week; \$416 a year.

This onetime floor has sunk beneath the basement. The Wage and Hour Administration applied it to the lowest-paid industries in 1944. The Bureau of Labor

Statistics no longer record the few workers who slave for less than 40 cents an hour.

The Board does record that 1.8 million Americans earn less than 75 cents an hour. These workers, scattered across America, are largely in the lumber, tobacco, leather and textile industries. Their wages compare with the 87-cent minimum wage won by organized labor in Southern cotton and rayon plants; the \$1.23 of the automobile industry; the \$1.43 minimum of the West Coast wood and lumber workers; the \$1.86 found to be necessary to maintain a "healthful and reasonable living" for a family of four, by the Heller Committee of the University of California.

These 1.8 million Americans are the most expensive workers in America. Their weakened bodies tax overburdened hospitals and community facilities. Their substandard wages are a constant incentive to inefficient, runaway employers to leave established communities stranded in search of sweatshop conditions.

Legislation to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act is a major objective of the 81st Congress. As intro-

duced by Senator Elbert Thomas (D, Utah) and Representative John McCormack (D, Mass.), it has four purposes:

First, it raises the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour this year; and applies the procedure established by the original act which permits the Wage and Hour Administrator to raise the minimum to \$1 an hour for industries where this is found to be feasible by committees representing employees, labor and the public.

Second, it broadens the coverage of the act to those among the 22 million workers now unprotected whose work affects interstate or foreign commerce.

Third, it abolishes the exploitation of child labor in industry and on farms with more than eight employees.

Fourth, it excludes from minimum wages the costs of food and lodging that serve to lower the wages of seamen, dining-car waiters and other workers.

The 75-cent minimum is not real progress. It simply restores the standards of 1938. Real protection of fair labor standards requires the early enactment of a \$1-an-hour minimum wage.

★ A DYNAMIC AMERICA ★

EVERY MAN has the right to a job. That right was recognized by Congress in the Full Employment Act. It directs the government "to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions and resources" to bring about and maintain maximum production and employment.

None of the measures proposed so far assures full employment for Americans.

Yet full acceptance or rejection of the concept that the maintenance of full employment at all times is the central objective of government policy is basic in every decision that faces Congress.

Denial of this responsibility in government logically means rejection of renewed price controls and allocations as temporary accommodations of a passing phase of postwar reconversion. It means continuing present regressive tax programs, so that industry is free to pour record profits into boom investments until the entire profit and investment structure collapses in depression. It means looking on the construction of hospitals, clinics, schools, public housing and hydroelectric dams as methods of alleviating depressions, and therefore delaying these projects until the depression strikes.

Acceptance of government responsibility for full employment means insistence on allocations and controls as the continuing means of implementing public policy in an economy in which available supplies of men and materials are always less than the recognized demand for goods and services. It means increased

taxes on excess profits to replace the violent fluctuations of private investment which cause booms and depressions with a steady rate of private investment that industry can profitably sustain. It means prompt action to increase industrial capacity in order that there will be enough materials and factories to employ a working force that is increasing in size and productivity. It means immediate construction of river-valley developments and steel and light-metal plants.

To transform our fully employed economy into a full-employment economy means carrying out the intent of the Full Employment Act. It means that America will state her national production goals. It means that we determine, in a continuously developing program, the kind of balance between investment and consumption, and among wages, farm prices and profits, that is needed to attain our goals. It means, to the extent that is necessary to reach these goals, the supplementing of private investment by government action, in support of purchasing power and in public enterprise.

In a static America whose national income is allowed to fall \$75 billion below present levels, debts become intolerable, and unemployment insurance and public-assistance projects become major objectives of policy. Such a democracy is without inspiration to its own citizens, or to other peoples.

In a dynamic America whose national income rises

steadily, development is stressed rather than security, maximum targets and not minimum standards are emphasized, reliance is placed on high standards of living and productivity. That is the kind of inspired democracy that Americans voted for. It demands the type of additional programs outlined here.

CONTROLLING INFLATION

INFLATION was the underlying issue of the 1948 campaign. It is still the most urgent issue of public policy for all Americans.

Grain prices are falling today, but the price of bread is unchanged. The housing boom is slowing down as the luxury market is glutted—but low-cost construction is not increasing. Every deflationary pressure in our national economy is more than balanced by new and more powerful inflationary pressures.

Freight rates have risen substantially. Steel prices are up 11 percent, an average of \$9 a ton. These increases have not yet been passed on in higher prices, from steel users to consumers.

The Veterans' Administration is preparing to add \$2 billion to purchasing power this summer, in payments on GI life-insurance policies. Further increases in purchasing power will follow wage increases and tax reductions already granted.

The \$5 billion appropriated for military equipment last year and the \$4.6 billion appropriated for ECA purchases have taken months to pass through preliminary stages of planning, authorization and letting of contracts; their impact on scarce labor materials and factories is just beginning to be felt.

Today one in four American families has exhausted its last savings and gone into debt; the real wages of millions of Americans are still falling; bankruptcies are increasing; the European Recovery Program is undermined by rising costs. At today's prices the government estimates that \$3,100 a year will barely provide minimum necessities for an urban family of four: close to a third of American families earn less than \$2,000.

To combat inflation, President Truman has called repeatedly for an excess-profits tax; controls on bank credit and consumer credit; the regulation of speculation; strengthened rent controls; and authority to institute allocations, rationing and price controls on key commodities.

Most of this program is still urgently needed.

Shortages of key materials are the most pressing problem. Layoffs are increasing in light industry: 40,000 workers are idle in the Pittsburgh area. Steel shortages are the principal reason: they have held down

production of farm machinery and freight cars, oil-drilling machinery, automobiles, ore and oil-carrying boats and pipeline equipment. The reports of the Senate Small Business Committee are filled with stories of businessmen "being forced to the wall, exhausting liquid resources, closing plants—all for the lack of steel."

In aluminum, the unsatisfied demand was estimated by the government to be 30 to 40 percent greater than the available supply, even before authorization of the 70-group Air Force multiplied requirements.

Copper shortages, despite heavy imports, are estimated at at least 10 percent of available supplies. Lead shortages are even greater. In other strategic materials, because of inadequate stockpiling, we are worse off.

At present we are stumbling along on a voluntary allocations program offered by Senator Taft and Representative Wolcott as a substitute for government allocations. Under it, about 10 percent of steel supplies are offered by the industry to claimants under preferred programs. Steel users have been greatly dissatisfied with the voluntary-allocations system. European nations have been caught short. The government itself is in rebellion, with the Director of the Office of Defense Transportation accusing the Commerce Department of sabotaging needed freight-car requirements. Robert R. Young of the Chesapeake and Ohio has pointed out that 28,000 freight cars, needed to transport grain and fruit, have not been built because the steel industry favored automobile and truck production.

Authorizations and appropriations for programs which cannot be carried out are worse than useless. The low-cost-housing program has no chance of success unless allocations of scarce materials are enacted.

Steel and steel products, tin and tin products, non-ferrous metals (including aluminum) and all building materials are the key commodities that must be subject to allocation by government and subject also to price control, since available materials at impossible prices are obviously not available. For other scarce items, as long as the ceiling on military expenditures is held, standby powers for price control, authorized by Congress, are sufficient.

EXPANDING PLANT CAPACITY

WE HAVE SET OUT to rearm this country and Europe; to underwrite world recovery; to enact a major welfare program for Americans and to provide a constant increase in our standard of living. These tasks are within our power if Americans are fully employed and if our capacity to produce is constantly increased. They are entirely beyond our power if our monopolistic basic

industries prevent needed plant expansion and so bring about increasing shortages, growing unemployment and, finally, depression.

Key shortages have held down our national income by \$30 billion a year since the war. High costs and lack of materials caused by inadequate capacity in basic industry are leading to widespread layoffs today. Power shortages are cutting fertilizer supplies to farmers to two-thirds of needed levels.

To break the key bottlenecks in industry this year requires different action in each case. More housing requires research into new materials and subsidies to increase output of scarce items such as nails and drainage pipes. More power and light metals mean hydro-electric development. Increased mineral production, according to Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, means "greatly expanded exploration for new deposits . . . better geologic mapping . . . more metallurgical research, experimentation, testing and pilot-plant operation in order to make usable sub-marginal and unused raw materials."

Above all, greater industrial production means more steel. The steel industry has worked out a new process in continuous casting that can yield more and cheaper steel from present capacity. And yet to avoid technological unemployment within the next 10 years, capacity must be raised by 30 million tons a year—more than double Britain's steel output.

Three years of inaction have demonstrated once and for all that in the steel industry record prices and unparalleled profits do not mean greater capacity. Fear of carrying charges of \$15 a ton on unused capacity dominates the thinking of steel producers concerning the future.

It took government action to raise steel capacity 15 million tons in wartime. Today, by refusing to expand, in anticipation of depression, the industry is making depression unavoidable. Government action is again needed.

When goals of national output are determined, the steel-production target can be set and achieved. According to one proposal:

First the companies are asked how much basic steel capacity they will build within a two-year period.



DRAWING BY ARTHUR GOTT

Then these companies, and others, are asked how much basic capacity they will construct, given RFC loans at three percent for 90 percent of the total cost, with the provision that payments on these loans may be suspended if severe recessions occur.

Then the government will construct for lease, or government operation, pilot plants to provide the remaining capacity. The tax increment on increased national income alone makes pilot-plant operation by government well worth while.

CURBING MONOPOLIES

THE CONCENTRATION of economic power, which threatens freedom, has advanced more rapidly in the last three years than at any time since 1930. "If nothing is done to check the growth in concentration," the Federal Trade Commission recently declared, "the giant corporations will ultimately take over the country, or the government will be compelled to impose some form of direct regulation in the public interest . . . the theory of competition will have been relegated to the limbo of ineffective ideals."

This Administration is pledged to strengthen competitive enterprise by "an intensive enforcement of the anti-trust laws with adequate appropriations." Lack of funds, rather than lack of power, is certainly the cause of governmental inaction in the face of the greatest merger movement since the depression.

For three years, President Truman has urged adequate appropriations for enforcement of the anti-trust laws. His failure to obtain funds is due as much to his own Bureau of the Budget, which takes pride in reducing the budgets of programs voted by the electorate, as to the Republican Congress. The pittance requested by the Bureau was actually increased by Congress.

It remains pitifully low. The two enforcement agencies, the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, have been given skeleton staffs for anti-trust work. Neither agency has been able to maintain continuing studies of the national economy. Both staffs are spread thinly over current litigation and have little time to observe old court decrees or to protect the public from new conspiracies.

The enforcement program urgently needs a permanent organization devoting its time to study and investigation of the means of encouraging competition. But for lack of appropriations Section 6 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, providing for economic investigations, has become a dead letter.

By starvation, the anti-trust statutes are becoming token laws, and the decisive national policy of preserv-

ing competition, reiterated by the major parties since the Sherman law was enacted in 1890, has never been achieved.

The minimum appropriation for anti-trust work should be at least three times this year's appropriation of \$3,411,700.

Strengthening of the anti-trust laws is also needed.

Three major laws, the Webb-Pomerene Act, the Tydings-Miller Amendment and the Reed-Bulwinkle Act, promote the concentration of economic power. These laws, setting aside the protection of the Sherman Act, bestow the cloak of legality on price-fixing, allocation of markets and other monopolistic practices.

The Webb-Pomerene Act was intended to permit small concerns to join together for export trade operations, in order to match the power of European cartels. In practice, the Senate Small Business Committee found, it has encouraged worldwide cartellization, the growth of monopoly controls and the elimination of small concerns. The committee and the Department of Justice recommend repeal of the Act.

The Tydings-Miller Amendment to the Sherman Act legalizes resale price-maintenance laws on commodities sold in interstate commerce. It was sneaked through Congress in 1937 as a rider to a District of Columbia appropriations bill. It legalizes at wholesale and retail levels price-fixing practices which cost consumers millions of dollars each year in food and drug costs. It was denounced by President Roosevelt. Its repeal is urged by the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice.

The Reed-Bulwinkle bill was the greatest steal made legal by the 80th Congress.

"Transportation rates," as President Truman told Congress, "affect the cost of goods as they move through each phase of production—from raw materials, through finished products, to the consumers. Power to control transportation rates is the power to influence the competitive success or failure of other businesses."

This illegal power has always been sought after by the investment bankers who control the railroads. Their front has been the Association of American Railroads. When it placed final authority for the filing of Western rates with the Interstate Commerce Commission in a "committee of directors" meeting at 40 Wall Street, its working control was complete.

Its legality, however, was challenged by two suits filed in federal courts charging the Association and its affiliates with violating the Sherman Act. The state of Georgia charged the Association with freight discrimi-

nation against the South. The Department of Justice accused J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn Loeb and Company, and the Association with a monopolistic conspiracy to determine freight rates and to prevent the development of states west of the Mississippi.

When the Supreme Court gave support to these prosecutions by ruling that rate-fixing destroyed the "freedom of action" envisaged in the Interstate Commerce Act, the Association ran to Congress for protection. The Association prepared, and Congress passed, the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, designed to deprive the federal courts of their jurisdiction. The President vetoed the bill; Congress enacted it over his veto. It legalizes the elimination of competition from the vital transportation industry; it gives the power to set prices and to control the introduction of new equipment to a tight and reactionary monopoly.

Repeal of the Reed-Bulwinkle Act before its pattern of legalized monopoly is fastened on America is an urgent issue for the 81st Congress.

Positive action, pledged by this Administration, is also necessary to strengthen competition.

Penalties in civil proceedings are necessary to provide substantial fines for violation of the anti-trust laws and thus make violations a costly risk instead of a worthwhile gamble. This proposal, recommended by the Temporary National Economic Committee and the Senate Small Business Committee, has been strongly backed by Senator O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.).

Revision of the patent system is further urged by the Small Business Committee. It reports that patent privileges, enacted to "promote the progress of science and the useful arts," are now used to destroy competition, curb output, raise prices and discourage and suppress new inventions. The revisions proposed by the committee maintain incentives and eliminate the possibility of undue restrictive practices under sanction of law.

Discouragement of mergers by the purchase of assets by one corporation of a competing corporation, where the purpose is to lessen competition, is a third reform which has been pressed without success by the Federal Trade Commission for twenty years. It has been the loophole for mergers since the Clayton Act in 1914 prohibited the purchase by a corporation of a competing corporation's stock. Hearings have already been completed on this amendment to the Act.

In the continuing endeavor to protect small business, Congress has its own role. A Senate committee, created to investigate the causes of economic concentration, was diverted by Senator Capehart (R, Ind.) to an effort to restore the monopolistic basing-point system,

ruled illegal by the Supreme Court. The task before Congress is to redirect the committee to its original purpose and determine the extent to which our great monopolies will require direct regulation in the future.

DEVELOPING OUR RESOURCES

MORE PRODUCTION in America means more power, more fertilizer, more irrigation of dry land, waterways to ease the load on overburdened roads and railways, more flood control and prevention of loss by erosion. All these mean rapid, unified development of our major river valleys.

One project, in the Central Valley of California, does not call for prompt action by the federal government; four others require congressional action.

TVA. Twelve years of TVA operation have carried Tennessee Valley production far beyond the national rate of increase. The valley's gain in the use of electricity has been three times that for the nation as a whole.

The TVA asked the 80th Congress for appropriations of \$4 million to start construction of a steam-power plant at New Johnsonville, on the lower Tennessee River. Under pressure of the utility lobby, Congress refused the request. The plant, whose total cost, including transmission lines, is \$54 million, is urgently needed to stabilize the seasonal hydroelectric power provided by the Pickwick and Kentucky Dams, whose potential output is one-sixth of the TVA's power production. Without the steam plant, TVA engineers anticipate that the increased demand for electricity—50 percent in the next three years—will cause a power shortage in the valley. The steam plant, which takes three years to build, should be authorized promptly.

CVA. The Columbia Valley Authority will bring unified and effective planning to the inadequate conservation and resources development of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. Its need is urgent.

Of the first-grade timber of the Northwest, 20 percent remains. One acre in ten is lost for productive use each year. The CVA will provide proper reclamation and flood control; it will nearly triple the acreage of irrigated land in Oregon and Washington, making possible the settlement of 28,000 hundred-acre farms. And the CVA will fully develop a region with more than 40 percent of America's potential hydroelectric power, providing vital light-metals production and good living for three times the present population of the region. Two of its major component dams, Grand Coulee and Bonneville, are built. The integration and

further development of the system requires congressional creation of the CVA.

MVA. For four years Congress has delayed the creation of the Missouri Valley Authority. In one of these years—1947—the regional conservator for Milwaukee estimated that in his region \$500 million damage was caused by one flood. The same flood carried away topsoil from 25 percent of the farmland of Iowa and washed over 1.5 million acres in Missouri.

A totally inadequate program, the Pick-Sloan Plan, was rushed through by Army engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to forestall the creation of the MVA. Its navigation, flood-control and power projects were piecemeal, costly and minor in comparison with the potential benefits of unified development.

The MVA bill creates a representative public corporation to "establish and maintain a broad program of unified water control and resources development" covering the 10 states of the Missouri Basin. It instructs the corporation to submit a detailed plan for irrigation, navigation, flood control, power production, soil conservation, wild-life protection and low-cost fertilizer production within two years.

Passage of the bill is required to initiate planning rather than construction. It is estimated that the MVA can develop five million kilowatts of cheap power, supply water to perhaps six million acres for irrigation, and construct the greatest deep inland waterway in America.

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. This is the oldest and longest delayed of all regional-development proposals. It creates under joint control of the United States and Canada a series of locks and dams along a stretch of 119 miles of the St. Lawrence River. It creates a waterway enabling ocean-going ships with drafts up to 27 feet to carry cargoes as far as Duluth—2,319 miles from the ocean. Thus it opens up the landlocked Middle West, benefiting all the states around the Great Lakes and greatly lowering shipping costs. Far larger than the TVA, it provides 2.2 million horsepower—cheap electricity for the high-cost, power-starved areas of New York and New England. Its total cost to America is \$490 million; its savings to consumers, in electricity costs alone, are \$26 million a year.

Every President for 25 years has demanded enactment of this project. Non-partisan support for it has developed from all regions. Vested interests of labor, industry and some states bordering on the Mississippi each time have killed it. Since it would so greatly increase our industrial capacity, its enactment this year would be a vital defense measure.

CONSERVING OUR RESOURCES

THE CONSERVATION of America's incomparable but fast diminishing resources of wild life, minerals, water, land and forest has become a major objective of public policy. In particular, the tasks of national production which we have set require prompt and drastic action to save our land and timber.

There are 460 million acres of good crop land in America. Each year 500,000 acres are lost to us. Our rate of soil and fertility loss is greater than that of any region save South Africa. Erosion by wind and water takes 21 times as much plant food from the soil as is removed by crops.

At a time when an increasing population is pressing America below the safe minimum of three acres for each citizen, 50 million acres of our soil have been ruined; another 50 million seriously damaged; another 100 million robbed of critical topsoil. Indifference to conservation, and overexploitation by large, profit-hungry concerns have left eight million acres in the Dust Bowl "ready to blow."

Since the Soil Conservation Act was passed in 1935, three-fourths of our farms and two-thirds of our farmland have been brought within state and federal conservation programs. Inadequate funds have meant that in no more than 10 percent of our 2,000 conservation districts are conservation measures fully carried out. Two hundred thousand applications from farmers for planning aid are filed unserved in overburdened district offices. Five hundred thousand farmers have delayed making formal requests for aid at the request of district supervisors.

Only \$42 million was appropriated for basic technical work last year. This year's appropriation is \$46 million. Properly to map the soil, to provide adequate planning service and support for conservation practices, Hugh Bennett, head of the Soil Conservation Service, estimates that a 20-year program is needed, with appropriations of \$250 million for the first five years, \$400 million for the next five, and \$375 million thereafter.

Our water supplies are also diminishing. The Department of Agriculture reports that instances of depleted supplies are increasing across America. Water levels in the earth are lowering from the Pacific Northwest to California, throughout the Southwest, on the Great Plains and eastward into the Allegheny and Blue Ridge flood areas. Salt water is seeping increasingly into municipal supplies in Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf Coast cities. At the same time vast water resources are wasted and terrible damage is caused each year by

floods, making more urgent the regional development of major river barriers and adequate appropriations for flood control.

The grab for private exploitation of our mineral resources centers in the efforts of two of the most powerful lobbies in Washington to wrest from the government supervision of natural-gas consumption and ownership and control of the rich prize of 100 billion barrels of tidelands oil. Eighteen states, and hundreds of thousands of dollars in lobby expense accounts, are lined up behind the tidelands-oil grab. If by any chance these measures should pass Congress, a presidential veto must protect the public interest.

Our forests are in as great danger of depletion as our lands. At a time when housing is desperately short, we are allowing our timber supplies to be destroyed.

Only the national forests, established 50 years ago, are protected at all today. In these preserves, which range from the last stands of Douglas fir in the Pacific Northwest to the piney woods of the deep South, careful reseeding has overcome the worst depredations of fire and destructive cutting and grazing. By maintaining a policy of sustained yield on cutting permits, the timber cut of the national forests has been trebled in the last 10 years without damage. The contrast in privately owned forest lands is tragic. The Forest Service estimates that only eight percent of all timber cutting on private lands is satisfactory on a sustained-yield basis; 28 percent is fair; 64 percent is poor or destructive. Private forest lands as a whole are being rapidly destroyed. The national forests, which are only 16 percent of America's forest land, now contain 30 percent of our standing saw timber.

The pressure on the national forests has been intense. Timber merchants have pressed for greater cutting quotas. Stockmen have attempted to force unlimited grazing, although their blindness has so stripped the forests that areas which formerly sustained ten head of cattle or more now barely provide for a single cow. Under these pressures the 80th Congress sought to abandon the Olympic Peninsula and the Jackson Hole country. It cut off all funds for the protection of wild life. Today more than half of the range land in the forests and national parks is still deteriorating under excessive grazing. The authority of the federal government over its lands is far from complete.

Over private forest lands, the government has no authority. Its suggestions for sustained yield, reseeding and fire protection are largely ignored by loggers, pulp and paper companies and other get-rich-quick owners. It is powerless to force delinquent state authorities to



take action. Its coöperative tree-distribution program, carried out with farmers and state and local authorities to provide wind and water breaks, is promising but very inadequate.

Adequate appropriations are the first great need. The pocketful of pennies doled out for the care of irreplaceable forest resources is without rhyme or reason. The sum of \$4,670,839 is allotted for all research in diseases, new strains, reforestation and watershed control. Less than a million dollars is provided for flood control on public lands or to acquire new forest lands.

Vanport, Oregon, was overwhelmed by disaster last year when upland valleys, stripped of timber, washed down a flood that took 60 lives and left 60,000 homeless. The cost—\$200 million in property damage in this small city—was three times the total net expenditures of the national Forest Service.

Greatly increased appropriations are needed for a rapidly accelerated program of purchase of forest land. Key watersheds and vital and irreplaceable timber stands cannot be left unprotected any longer. Federal legislation is further needed to give the Forest Service authority to enforce adequate fire protection, reseeding and sustained-yield cutting on private forest lands.

MAINTAINING FARM PROSPERITY

THE ADMINISTRATION's agricultural policy has helped to raise farm income to record heights. Farmers voted in 1948 to continue this policy in all essentials, including the program of flexible-price supports.

Price-support policy, intended to correct an imbalance and to protect farmers from violent fluctuations in income during trade cycles, is still necessary. Yet it has doubtful value in the full-employment economy toward which we are progressing. At a time when great grain-producing areas are recovering from war and re-entering world markets, emphasis on price supports can delay the redirection of American agriculture and result in restrictions on production, subsidies to exports, barriers to imports, and the continued impoverishment of consumers by high food prices, instead of the integration of our agriculture into a permanent full-production effort and a world agricultural system.

Economic security for farmers is certainly the first objective of an agricultural policy which seeks to maximize food production. And until permanent full employment is assured by government action, farmers will insist on price supports. More flexible, longer-range supports for farm prices will certainly form an important part of farm policy this year, and will be supplemented by the restoration of the storage facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation, so that farmers are not compelled to sell their produce at less than parity prices for lack of storage space.

At the same time, long-range farm policy should shift the emphasis from support of prices to assurance of farm income. Just as expansion of industrial capacity requires the formulation of industrial production goals and their achievement, if necessary, by government support to purchasing power, so farm-production goals should be set well ahead, and farm income assured by government action, by direct payments, or by support of consumption, rather than by price support. These methods will permit greater flexibility in food production in response to changing market requirements.

Balanced farm production is a second objective of farm policy. It requires world planning on the international wheat, sugar and wool agreements to determine the long-range export demand for American farm products. It calls also for the development of major programs to improve the diet of Americans. The extension of the school-lunch program from one in four children to all children in public schools is the first method; a second is the revival of the food-allotment program to provide a minimum diet for low-income groups.

Efficient food distribution is a third method of raising farm income. It means new authority to prevent price fluctuations and excessive distributing costs caused by speculation on the commodity exchanges. It means also direct assistance by the government in the research and development of more efficient marketing and distribution systems.

Lower farm overheads is a further means of raising farm income without increasing food prices.

One way is to maintain cheap credit, through the extension of the coöperative farm-credit system, as protection for farmers against a return of high interest rates, and the provision of adequate governmental credit for farmers who cannot obtain satisfactory terms from private sources.

A second way is to accelerate the rural-electrification program. More than one farm in every three is still without electric power.

A third way is to protect the tax statutes of farm and consumer co-ops and to encourage coöperative credit systems by federal charters freeing them from restrictive state laws.

Support of family-sized farms, in addition to rural electrification, cheap credit and encouragement to co-operatives, requires an expanded farm-security program to promote loans and technical assistance to small farmers to improve their land. It requires encouragement by the government of the spread of small industries in rural areas and the extension of service industries for farmers, to prevent the headlong flight to overpopu-

lated cities by families who want to leave submarginal land.

A fuller farm life means far more than the advance of economic well-being for farmers. Most farm families live in old houses, on unimproved roads, far from the hospitals, clinics and libraries that are public services for city dwellers. Two in every three farm children go to inadequate schools. Two in every three farm homes lack telephones. This year, government-supported programs for social security, better housing, medical care and education are the principal means of winning "parity of living standards" for farmers.

★ A SECURE AMERICA ★

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY to win security for Americans, according to the President's Air Policy Commission: the elimination of war from all the world.

To formulate a world policy for the elimination of war is the task of the Administration. We have no central policy today. We are promoting democracy in some regions, sponsoring dictatorship in others. We have declared political warfare on one country and its doctrine. Yet in our major enterprise, the Marshall Plan, "our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine," in Marshall's words, "but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos."

The time has come for joint action of the Administration and Congress for a unified program of world leadership.

Economic leadership. Here the principal task is to fill our commitment to ECA. Congress appropriated \$5.3 billion for ECA, for the 12 months from April 1, 1948, to April 1, 1949. It must appropriate \$1.25 billion for the last quarter, from April to June, and perhaps \$4.6 billion for the following 12 months.

There are weaknesses in the ECA program, but they are not legislative weaknesses. In the light of the uncertain conditions of Europe, the Act was consciously drawn so as to give the broadest possible discretionary powers to the Administrator. It has worked well. In some cases the Administrator has applied his discretion in the wrong ways. One danger has been the halting of the dismantling of German factories. Another has been the insistence on the upper limit of loans extracted from Allied nations in place of grants to them, even though the loans cannot be accepted in good faith or ever repaid. But these are matters for the congressional watchdog committee and not for amendments in the ECA legislation. Once the legislation is open to amendment, months may be lost, and the most dangerous pressures successfully applied, as in the case of

Franco's powerful supporters and the shipping lobby.

The legislation should be simply reenacted, with no more than the single clause on its effective date of operation extended by amendment. For the program is desperately needed still. It represents 40 percent of Italy's needed imports. It represents the difference between subsistence and starvation in Britain. It represents 70 percent of the cotton supplies for France's textile industry. An interruption in ECA would lower the French bread ration to 100 grams a day.

The 16 nations have just begun joint long-range planning for Western Europe. If the program continues well, the next three years will witness the emergence of combined economic planning, leading to a political federation of Europe which can be a major contribution to peace.

Three further measures are required in economic leadership. The first is the extension for the usual three-year period of the reciprocal-trade program, which Congress limited to one year in the expectation of reversing our entire liberal trade policy in 1949. A second measure is ratification of the International Trade Organization, created under a United Nations resolution and established after exhaustive negotiations, to promote world trade by stabilizing international payments, protecting labor standards and coördinating efforts to maintain full employment. A third measure is enactment of the international wheat agreement which assured America's farmers of a stable price for



185 million bushels of wheat a year for five years.

Military leadership. Just as American economic supplies are needed to underwrite the economic self-help of the European democracies, military supplies and guarantees are needed to underwrite their program of joint defense. The Brussels pact which joined Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg "to preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom and political liberty" has led to combined military planning for defense, and is leading to unified armed forces of these nations. The United States, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Greenland, Iceland, Newfoundland and Portugal are now asked to join with them in an alliance of mutual protection. It cannot have aggressive purposes: the notion of aggressive war, waged by the devastated nations of Europe, is inconceivable. America's contribution to the alliance is a commitment for joint defense and the advance of perhaps \$2 billion of surplus Army equipment.

Moral leadership requires that Congress repeal the "anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic" displaced-persons bill and enact a new bill. It would include:

Revision of the cut-off date, which in the present law defines a DP as a person who was in a camp before December 22, 1943. This date eliminates most Jewish DP's and many Poles, Czechs and others. The suggested date is April 21, 1947, when the camps in Germany were closed.

Elimination of these further clauses:

The clause which allots 40 percent of all quotas to refugees from the Baltic states.

The clause which requires that 30 percent of all visas be issued to DP's with farm backgrounds.

The clause which reclassifies non-Germans of Germanic origin as *Volksdeutsch*.

The clause which requires each DP to have an assured home and a job.

The clause which mortgages up to 50 percent of a nation's future immigration quotas against the DP's.

A proper bill, free of these discriminations, will admit 400,000 DP's in four years, in place of the 205,000 in two years permitted under the present law.

Political leadership is needed in a new declaration of America's world policy which will give to all our actions a central and noble purpose.

The concept of One World is for the present discarded. But clinging to its memory, we have been reluctant to advance the new, more positive concept of World Democracy. To affirm that democracy is the only basis of world unity, to strive for world unity by promoting democracy—and only democracy—everywhere, is the way to create the foundation on which one world society can be built.

In a joint declaration with the executive, Congress should commit America to these principles:

The determination that America and Russia can and must resolve their conflicts without war.

The determination that the active promotion of democracy, the world over, is the way to resolve present conflicts.

The determination that until the United Nations can be strengthened by unanimous consent, the unification of the democracies shall be pressed forward.

The determination that the United Nations shall be strengthened until it possesses under law the power to prohibit war.

★ A SOLVENT AMERICA ★

THE PURPOSE of fiscal policy is to maintain national solvency at levels of full employment. It means maintaining purchasing power in the hands of consumers while paying the bills of government.

For the present fiscal year, the President originally proposed to budget for \$39.6 billion in federal expenditures and to raise \$44.4 billion in income. In the course of 1948, expenditures were increased \$2.6 billion, while Congress deprived the government of \$4 billion, transforming a large surplus into a deficit.

For the next fiscal year, expenditures are certain to rise. The minimum proposed military budget is \$4 billion above the revised budget of fiscal 1949. The \$2 billion projected for military lend-lease may increase our net foreign commitments. Appropriations

for national resources, and particularly for atomic energy, will rise. Price supports for agriculture will be greater. Service on the national debt will increase. The minimum welfare program now considered by the government will increase net expenditures by \$500 million, with \$300 million spent on aid to education, \$150 million for the health program and \$50 million from the national budget for subsidies on low-cost housing. These increases raise expenditures to \$45 billion.

The minimum program which to us seems necessary raises federal expenditures considerably above this sum.

In times such as these a federal surplus is desirable to ease inflationary pressures. A federal deficit would be an act of delinquency. To raise projected federal income to the \$45 billion level now foreseen by the gov-

ernment is clearly insufficient. It would mean placing an adequate welfare program second to high profits and the wealth of a fraction of Americans. It would mean leaving no reserves for unforeseen expenditures despite the famine that still threatens the world, the political instability in all countries and the military conflicts that are raging or are threatened. Only blindness or good luck may prevent supplementary appropriations in the next 12 months greater than the \$3 billion added in 1948.

Fifty billion dollars seems to us to be the minimum federal income needed for safety. It can well be done.

Obviously the main source of increased income is corporate taxation. Higher corporate taxes are needed simply to restore the present imbalance in our economy. For when government expenditures were halved after the war, wartime tax rates on incomes and on small businesses were retained while large corporations, whose capital reserves had trebled in wartime, were given immediate aid in tax reduction. As a result, with profits at an all-time peak, corporations are contributing proportionately less than in any year since 1940.

In the interest of a stable economy, net corporate profits should be reduced from present levels of \$20 billion a year to the \$13 billion earned in the very prosperous year of 1940.

One method is to increase the corporate tax rate. It applies equally to corporations with high or low profits and serves no purpose other than revenue.

A second method is reenactment of a tax on undistributed profits. This tax serves to make available more liquid capital to small enterprise and places a brake on the concentration of economic power by the expansion of a few highly profitable corporations.

A third method is reenactment of the excess-profits tax. It has a moral justification. It discourages new price increases and so is a major aid in combating inflation. Revenue can be earned by a high rate on a high profit base, or a lower rate on a lower base of normal profits. The second method seems to us more equitable. Since there is no "normal year" in recent experience, the best way is to tax one-half of excess profits over 130 percent of the 1936-39 base. The resulting yield would be more than \$4 billion.

Beyond this, the worst abuses of the present tax program can be eliminated by these reforms:

Mandatory joint returns. The community-property provisions of the present bill permit wealthier couples to enter lower-income brackets by dividing their income. Its stated intention was to comply with the practices of certain states. Its real purpose was to set a ceiling on income taxes on higher brackets, by making fur-



ther increases confiscatory for wealthy bachelors. Repeal of this provision may be difficult in this session, but such action would bring in about \$500 million.

Integration of estate and gift taxes. The present system provides dual exemptions, with lower rates on gifts. So it incites evasion of estate taxes by gifts made in contemplation of death.

Lowered exemptions on estate and gift taxes. One in every hundred Americans files estate taxes. One in every ten British citizens pays these taxes. Present exemptions make it possible to pass on large estates, and unlimited gifts of up to \$3,000, without payment of taxes. Lowered exemptions and the limitation of tax-exempt gifts to family members and dependents are obvious reforms.

The benefit of all these measures will be about \$1 billion each year.

Elimination of tax-exempt securities. This is a long overdue reform, delayed in wartime, which will yield about \$150 million a year. *Increased capital-gains taxes* can provide the same yield.

These reforms will more than meet the \$50 billion that we need. If tax relief is possible, it must go to low-income groups. Families with incomes of less than \$5,000, which form the solid base of purchasing power, paid one-tenth of individual income taxes in 1939. This year they are paying one-half—100 times more money. The purpose of exemptions—to protect minimum standards of living—has been undermined by pressing the lower limit of individual exemptions for families of four \$1,500 below the income estimated as a required minimum by the Heller Committee. Excise taxes, levied on "luxuries" in wartime, are still continued, although one-quarter of their revenue is drawn from increased prices on cigarettes, telephones, gasoline, cosmetics and movies.

To abolish these taxes and to free 20 million families with earnings of less than \$5,000 from income tax would cost America \$7.8 billion today. It would increase our economic stability. It remains an urgent objective in a peaceful world. In such a world, the combination of great self-liquidating government projects and the necessary expenditures financed by progressive taxes can keep America solvent and Americans employed.

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