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What shall a city do facing political corruption?, 1929.

"WHAT SHALL A CITY DO WHEN FACING
POLITICAL CORRUPTION?"

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,

MARCH 17, 1929, CLEVELAND, O.

WRHS




JOSEPH T. KRAUS
Shorthand
Reporter
CLEVELAND

Our city has been subjected recently to the humiliating spectacle of political corruption, first, in our election board, and now in our city council. In the one instance, men who were entrusted with the safeguarding of democracy's jot of liberty--the ballot, its one essential means of defense, betrayed their office, their trust, cheated, falsified election returns, permitted a lot of political scamps to play fast and loose with the votes of our citizens. In the second instance, men who were raised to the highest legislative office in our city, to positions of supreme importance, prostituted their office, debased themselves by the taking of bribes and by trafficking in the influence which their office bestowed upon them. We have been made aware the past few months of the little army of political sutlers and camp followers who have looted, swindled and despoiled.

Now all of this is not unusual in American political life; in fact, grafters in American democracy are as common as the locust in ancient Egypt. We have become so accustomed to their presence that we hardly bestir ourselves when a new exposé is made. The interesting thing about the present situation in Cleveland is that our people have bestirred themselves, have become aroused. Just what that is due to it is difficult to say. If we may surmise that this is due to a new, heretofore

unknown, alertness and civic responsibility on the part of our citizens, then it is very gratifying to witness it. It promises well for good government in the future. If, on the other hand, the present indignation is due to the persistent publicity given by our newspapers, and this publicity artificially stimulated this public indignation, then it is not so gratifying. I am inclined to think that both surmises are correct.

The newspapers have undoubtedly aroused public opinion. They ought to be commended for a magnificent piece of public service. Their united and aggressive campaign for a thoroughgoing investigation and for the prosecution of the malefactors has been a boon to our city, and has undoubtedly contributed to the sense of public resentment. But I think, too, that our people are aroused now more than usual, because somehow they did not expect these things to happen under the new form of government which they established some five years ago with such high hope and in such great promise.

Under the old form of government, under the mayor system of government, they expected graft and corruption, and, as a rule, they got it. They were very patient until things became so obnoxious that they arose in their wrath and smote that system hip and thigh. They abolished it. They abolished that old system which was built upon political partisanship, and which turned our government over to the control of the political machine,

and which fed upon the spoil system. They abolished that old system in which the fellow who could ring the most door bells and shake the most hands was elected to the mayoralty of the city; and they established what they thought was a good form of government, the most perfect which the experiences of American municipalities have so far evolved. They were happy about it, and, behold, five years later two of the councilmen under this new and perfect system of government are on the way to the penitentiary, a third one is indicted and awaiting trial, and goodness only knows how many more have their fingers crossed. The whole council-manager system, if not discredited, is sadly tarnished, its prestige greatly lowered; and I believe that this disillusionment is partly responsible for this popular resentment and indignation.

Now I am very strong for popular resentment and indignation. I like to see people aroused to the point of taking up arms in defence of their sacred institutions. If we would do more of that, and more continuously, we would have less occasion for it. But it would be a pity if the present storm of indignation would spend itself as futilely and as unavailingly as all the preceding ones; and it would be a pity if all that resulted from this popular demonstration would be the incarceration of two or three or four councilmen, and it certainly would be a political blunder of colossal proportions if the present undirected, or

misdirected popular dissatisfaction would vent itself upon the present form of government and disrupt it.

There are a few very simple but very hard and very salutary lessons which may be learned by intelligent people from the events which have transpired in the past few months. First, we ought to remember at all times that no system of government is rascal proof. The mind of man has not yet devised a form of government which will protect people absolutely from the despoiler and the marauder and the political corruptionist. In the last analysis the integrity of government depends upon the integrity of the people elected to administer that government. I am speaking now of course of democratic government. If citizens choose to elect to positions of critical importance only men of profound integrity, of high probity, of fine character, of ability, then their government will be run accordingly, and the chances of political lapses and iniquity will be reduced to a minimum. If, on the other hand, citizens choose to elect to such positions cheap ward heelers, shyster lawyers, and men who are distinguished for nothing but their perennial hankering after office, then their government will be run accordingly, and the doors will have been opened wide for all forms of political iniquity.

This leads us to the second simple, hard and salutary lesson which may be learned, namely, that no government can rise above the intelligence and the

morality of its citizens. What has transpired in Cleveland in the past few months is as much an indictment of the intelligence and the patriotism of the electorate as it is of the men who have been found guilty of mal-practice in office. Under the new system of government which our people voted in a little over five years ago, with its provision for proportional representation, our people were given the opportunity to elect to council men of the highest ability. The "best" people--who, as a rule, are in the minority everywhere,--were given under this new system a chance to be represented, a chance which they did not really have under the old system of majority or plurality election. So that a rare opportunity was given to the public spirited citizens of our city, to the men who are accustomed to function in great constructive enterprises in our community, to men who give so much of their time and thought and energy to all the commercial and educational and philanthropic boards in our city,--an opportunity was given to these men to step in and to serve a city of over a million souls; an opportunity was given to them to stand for election to a council which would be spending forty or fifty or sixty millions of dollars annually of the taxpayers' money, and which would have control of many of those agencies which most vitally affect the health and the well-being of a million people.

A new order was introduced; the old was scrapped. There was the opportunity and there was the

challenge to the citizens. Did they seize the opportunity? Not at all. At first a few men and women of real ability actually did sense the importance of standing for office, and they were elected, and for a time they gave us a measure of leadership, of civic vision in our council. But slowly they dropped out one by one. There were no new ones to take their place. The gusto of the reformation had evaporated; business men and professional men were too busy to think of holding office in a council, or too indifferent. They did not step in, but there were others who were quite ready to step in. You see, the political amateur, the political reformer, the so-called good citizen who works up an indignation every so often, he tires very readily and retires from the scene. The professional politician never tires; the political machine never retires. And as these people, the "good" people, stepped out, or did not step in, the others crowded in, and before very long, under this new system, we had the old faces.

So that today, five years after the introduction of the council-manager form of government, we are confronted by a council of amazing mediocrity, lacking initiative, lacking leadership, and possessing only in a small measure the confidence and the respect of the citizens of Cleveland.

We, the people of Cleveland, failed the new form of government in two essential respects. In the first

place, we did not realize, or, realizing, failed to take notice of it, that the **success** of the new system of government depended much more upon the quality of the council which we would elect than upon the quality of the manager which the council would appoint. We talked a great deal about the city manager, forgetting that the crux of the whole problem was the council and not the manager. Under the new system the council was made the all-powerful body. Except in matters of administration the council was entrusted with every power. There was not even a veto power left in the hands of anyone which could check the power of the council. Under the new system the council fixed the budgets; under the new system the council fixed the salaries; under the new system the council appointed the city manager; under the new system the council determined the civic policies and programs. The council was the keystone in the arch, and the whole success of the plan depended upon the quality of men whom we would send into the council.

Professor Johnson of Harvard, a close student for many years of the city manager form of government, makes this statement: "It is clear that a satisfactory manager and satisfactory work on his part cannot be hoped for without a high grade of council to appoint and direct him and back him up. Manifestly essential as the manager is, the council is an even more critical factor in the organization. Without a council reasonably approximating

the type of able, loyal men, men loyal to the general welfare, and in enjoyment of the vigorous confidence of the public, no city manager can be expected to save the day. Even in a city manager plan the city government cannot rise above the caliber and the character of the officials who the voters must, in any event, elect and put in charge. The council is therefore a feature of the city manager plan which should be at least as carefully considered as the manager idea itself."

But we neglected the council and we permitted the same smallish men to step in, with the result that not only the old corruption crept in, but that the city manager was compelled to assume that civic leadership and that advocacy of civic measures and policies which rightly should have come from the council but which could not come because of that great waste of mediocrity in that body. And this has undoubtedly hurt the whole problem, for the whole philosophy of the new system is based upon the complete and absolute separation of the policy-making organization from the management of the administration. As soon as a city manager is compelled to advocate policies, to pilot certain measures through the council, he at once is thrown into the arms of the politician. The minute he has to play with council to put through important civic measures, he is doomed to become entangled, and the whole idea of this new plan was to keep him from such entanglements.

And we failed in yet another respect, and our newspapers have wisely called our attention to the fact. The friends of the city manager idea---remember, now, I am not speaking of a city manager---I am speaking of the city manager idea,--the friends of the city manager idea failed to organize themselves, to organize their enthusiasm for persistent and consistent work through the years. They assumed that the charter once being adopted, the battle was won, the war was over; and that is the eternal fallacy which good citizens are prone to accept. The friends of the new form of government failed to organize themselves and failed to present themselves at successive elections, determined to put only such men into the council who are friendly to the new idea, and who especially represent the spirit of the new type of government.

So that what has happened in our community? We have actually turned over this council to a group of people who are utterly out of sympathy with the new form of government, a group of people who represent the old form of government; the old points of view, the old attitudes, the old political machine; and the city manager feels, must feel, the absence of this organized sympathy back of him and back of the new form of government. So that he is thrown back upon the council, forced to win them over, or he can't carry on at all. This new type of government requires that the citizens shall give it

continued backing and support. The city manager requires a full measure of public confidence in order to give him a full measure of independence.

So that it is my belief, and it is the thought that I would like to leave with the citizens of Cleveland, that what has transpired is not evidence of the collapse of the council-manager type of government. It has not failed. A Chinese citizen once listened to an American missionary praise and extol the merits of Christianity, and he asked him, "Well, now, how does Christianity work out in practice?" "Well, friend," he said, "I really don't know; it has never been tried yet." This form of government has really never been tried yet. It may need a slight modification here and there. It may be that a smaller council elected at large would be more desirable; it may be that a sharper definition of the scope of the manager's activity would be desirable. But I question the wisdom, seriously doubt the wisdom, of making any radical changes at this time in this new system of government, which has really not yet had a chance in our community. It is not a dignified thing for a great city of a million people fitfully and sporadically to experiment with new basic laws every three or four or five years. Certainly, it would be a calamity to return to that older system, ~~that~~ discredited system which the citizens rightly relegated to the limbo five years ago.

After all is said and done, friends, the

council-manager system represents the best thought of American municipalities today,--the best and the most progressive thought. It has had twenty years of trial in communities and it has not been found wanting. It has been adopted by over 350 American cities. Its philosophy is sound, and it is bound to win out. It is grounded upon the thought that a great city should be run as a great business is run, by a man equipped for the task, professionally trained to administer the great business of the city. It is grounded upon the sound political experience of separating politics from management. It is based upon the thought of giving a city manager freedom to do his work without compelling him every year or two to go to the citizens for reelection, to make promises and commitments which later on thwart and frustrate him. It is based on the hope that this new form of government will bring into existence a whole group of professionally trained civic administrators. Managing a city is a profession just as medicine and law and engineering is a profession. And that office requires a man professionally, scientifically trained into the problems of city administration.

What has been wrong with that form of government in our community has been that the citizens, having adopted it, neglected it. You know that old platitude. It is a platitude; it is a truism but a truism which has dynamite in it; it has all the dynamics

of truth---that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We fell asleep. We must create in our community or re-awaken that spirit of five years ago, which will, on the one hand, inspire outstanding citizens of prestige and ability to stand for office. It is much more to be on a board which runs a city than to be on a board which runs a hospital. And, in the second place, to inspire our citizens to scrutinize applicants for office carefully, critically, and to vote for only those who have profound ability, and whose character is beyond reproach. Unless you do that you have no right to cavil to the failure of this man or that man, or this government or that government.

The task of improving a city, my friends, lies not with the officials but with ourselves. That brings me back to the thought which I repeat over and over again, and to the thought with which I will close my remarks this morning; the one great lesson in political thinking that all American people are slow in acquiring. The great Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce told his people not so long ago, when there was talk of the Kellogg treaty, the outlawry of war, prohibition and similar great measures for the welfare of mankind,--he said to them: "Politics will never try any ideal until the masses of the people ask for it. The state is a purely utilitarian institution made for worldly success, which uses morality only as it can help itself by so doing."

If we want a solution of the moral problems of mankind, we must not ask states to thrust themselves out of their purely economic nature, but we must do it ourselves. We must not expect from statesmen anything purely moral, merely because, for example, it would benefit the whole of mankind. The thing to do is to reform mankind first and then offer the new conditions as something to register in political action."

Apply that philosophy to our local problem and it holds true just the same. And government and government officials will, in the last analysis, reflect the moral tone and temper of the people. A people which takes politics morally seriously, which thinks of its city more than one day in the year, will have officials alert and on their guard; a citizenry which acts only when things become so corrupt that it must act, and which indifferently elevates to political office all kinds of people, will be repaid in terms of civic corruption and wastefulness and incompetence.

The lesson to be learned from the events of the past few months, then, my friends, is simply this: to begin with, an extensive campaign of political education of our people looking, first, towards the preservation of the present system, until it has been given a chance to show the strength that is in it; and, secondly, looking towards the election of men of ability, capable of leadership, of civic vision, to the council;

and, thirdly, to the establishment of an organization of the friends of the present form of government which will watch its progress, look after its interest, back it with their enthusiasm and their strength.

I want to say one word in praise of that splendid young prosecutor in our city, who, in a short term of office, has given evidence of such high courage and such fine ability. I have not had the privilege of meeting him, but I have observed his work. He too will fail, as your city manager form of government has partially failed, if you neglect him; if you do not give him from time to time, especially in great critical moments, the feeling that the great citizenship of Cleveland is back of him. He will be faced, as any man in office will be faced, with organized opposition--power. Great interests in this city will attempt to check and thwart him. If you do not give him at the necessary stages of his career a moral backing, clear and indubitable, vocal, he too will fail.

We have gotten to a point in our civic life where we are ready to clean house. We have lived in this city for a great number of years throttled by a vicious political machine, that corrupted and befouled the very springs of democratic government. Now we have managed to win certain critical positions in the battle for civic righteousness. Let us hold them and let us support our advance guard. We have only won a few skirmishes; we have

not won the battle.

Again I repeat the old truism: "Eternal
vigilance is the price of liberty."

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE ADDRESS
 "WHAT SHALL A CITY DO WHEN FACING POLITICAL
 CORRUPTION?" BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
 AT THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY, MARCH 17th, 1929

We have been made aware in recent months of the ^{existence of a} little army of ^{over} political sutlers and camp-followers who have swindled and plundered ^{the city} in a most rascally fashion. Our people are properly aroused and indignant. It would be a pity however, if this ^{storm} ~~form~~ of indignation would spend itself as futilely and as unavailingly as all previous ones. It would be a great pity if this public resentment would satisfy itself with the ~~imprisonment~~ of a few councilmen. Certainly it would be a political blunder of colossal proportions if the present indignation would vent itself blindly upon our new system of government and destroy it. ^{TP} The events of the past few weeks ought to teach us a few hard but salutary lessons.

In the first place no system of government is rascal-proof. The human mind has not yet devised a form of government which will absolutely protect a people from political marauders and corruptionists. In the last analysis, under a democracy, the integrity of any ^{form of} government depends upon the integrity of ^{the} people elected to administer ^{it.} ~~that government.~~ If the citizens ^{elect} ~~choose~~ men of probity, high character and proved ability ~~to run their government,~~ their government will be run accordingly and the chances ^{of} corruption ~~are~~ ^{will be} reduced to a minimum. If the citizens choose to elect ~~to office~~ cheap ward-he^lers, shyster lawyers and men who are distinguished by nothing else but their perennial seeking of office, the government will be run accordingly and the doors will ^{be} ~~have been~~ open wide to all kinds of political iniquity.

Again, no system of government is superior to the intelligence and morality of the electorate. What has transpired in our community is as much a reflection upon the intelligence of our citizens as it is an indictment of the men ^{trapped} ~~caught~~ in their evil-doing.

The new charter, with its provision for proportional representation gave the good people of Cleveland an opportunity to elect the highest type of officials to the city Council. Even if we ^{should} ~~were to~~ assume that the good people of Cleveland are in the minority, the new charter, which guarantees ^{every} substantial minority ^y representation ⁱⁿ the Council, made it possible for these good people to have their spokesmen in the Council.

Here, then, was an opportunity for ^{the} outstanding business and professional men ~~of~~ Cleveland to offer their services to this city of a million souls. Here was a challenge to big men who are accustomed to function in great constructive enterprises and are not averse to assuming office and giving of their time and energies to philanthropic commercial and educational organizations, to stand for election to the Council, which annually spends millions of the taxpayers money and which through its many agencies ~~effects~~ vitally the health and well-being of one of the world's great cities. Did they respond to the challenge? Did they seize the opportunity? No!

In the first flush of the reformation ^{in the early days of} and the establishment of ~~the~~ new government a few men and women of ability ^{actually did} offer their services and were elected. ~~For~~ ^F for a time the Council enjoyed a measure of leadership and civic vision. But slowly one by one they dropped out and there were no others to take their places. The gusto of the reformation ^{was spent.} ~~had evaporated.~~ ~~Outstanding business and professional~~

~~men did not step forward.~~ Political amateurs and reformers quickly tire. ^{But} The professional politician never tires. When ~~these who were~~ ^{the outstanding business and} ~~and professional men who were counted upon~~ ^{expected} to come forward, failed to make their appearance, the professionals

And participate in government

They did as honorable as they could to serve the city as it is to serve the people as a whole.

The "old boys" are always so eager to help the good cause along....
to-day we are confronted with a Council which
rushed in. ~~So that after five years our Council~~, with very few
~~is comprised of~~ exceptions, ~~is an assembly of~~ amazing mediocrities, ~~who do not have~~ the
confidence ~~of the~~ respect, ~~of the community.~~

The friends of the new charter failed to realize that
the success of the new system depended more upon the quality of the
Council which the people elected than upon the quality of the manager
whom the Council appoints. Under the new system the Council was given
almost unbound ^{ed} power in all matters of policy and program, ~~with no one~~
~~could~~ veto its decisions. ^{It} was meant to be the ^{very} keystone of the entire
system. But we neglected ~~it~~. We submitted smallish people to come into
office, ^{again} men who reflected not the spirit of the new charter, ^{and its hopes} but the
sentiments and ~~the~~ attitudes of the old form of government, which our
citizens discarded. ^{Accordingly} ~~With result that~~ not only ^{have} the same old corruptions
~~crept~~ in but the city manager was compelled to assume that measure of
civic leadership and the advocacy of great municipal projects which rightly
should have come from the Council.

This has hurt the new government, ^{For} the whole philosophy
of the Council-Manager ~~at~~ system is based upon the complete separation
of legislative ~~power~~ from executive power. The minute a manager is
compelled to assume leadership and to pilot ~~municipal~~ projects through
the Council ^{he} ~~it~~ is thrown into the arms of the politicians. The minute ^{he}
~~the city manager~~ has to play with Council he is doomed to become en-
tangled. ~~And~~ the whole purpose of the new plan was to free him from
such entanglement.

The Council-Manager plan has not failed in Cleveland.
It has been neglected by the very people who enacted it. The plan may
require some modifications ^{in the future} ~~as experience will dictate~~. Perhaps a smaller
Council elected at large, ^{and not by wards} would insure a higher type of councilmen. This
is not at all certain. I seriously doubt the wisdom of making changes

totally without
leadership,
and the
recent
relations
have
depurated
the
last
measure
of public

It is the final authority in fixing the budget
and the salaries of city officials. It has the
sole authority ^{to} hiring ~~and~~ firing the
city manager.

WRHS



at the present time. Our charter is only five years old, ~~and~~ has not been given the backing which it ~~should~~ ^{must} have. Great cities should not

experiment with charters fitfully and frequently. It leads ~~nowhere~~ ^{in order to succeed} to chaos.

IP This, above all, ~~this is clear~~ ^{is clear} - ~~Certainly~~ a return to the old system of government

would be a calamity. We discarded it for good and sufficient reasons.

These Reasons ~~which~~ are as valid today as they were five years ago. The old system was based upon political partisanship, the political machine and the spoils system. The fellow who could ring the most doorbells or shake the most hands was elected mayor.

~~After all is said and done~~ The Council-Manager plan ^{still} ~~does~~ represent ^S the best and most progressive ^{political} thought of American municipalities.

The task of improving our city lies not ~~with~~ ^{with} our officials but ~~with~~ ^{with} ourselves. We ~~must~~ ^{must} have better men volunteer for office, ~~and we must~~ ^{The citizens} see to it that ~~these better men~~ ^{such men do present themselves} are elected. Our citizens should organize to insure that ^{year by year} ~~only~~ such ~~people~~ ^{candidates} are elected to the Council as are in sympathy with the new form of government and represent its ideals. We have permitted the new system to fall into the hands of ~~the friends of the old system~~ ^{its enemies}. They will destroy it.

Rabbi Silver praised Prosecutor Miller for his courageous and effective prosecution of corruption ^{city officials}. He warned the people that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Prosecutor~~ ^{Prosecutor} ~~would fail~~ ^{in the long pull} unless the citizens of Cleveland back him up continuously. Back of every honest official, Rabbi Silver stated, there must be the organized goodwill of a community ready to support ~~and~~ to help and to applaud.

5. We failed in 2 aspects.

(1) Success of new plan depended more upon Council elected > Manager appointed

(2) Council all powerful - Key-stone.

(3) Draft

(4) We neglected - smallest men.

(5) With the result not only old corruption
- but managers compelled

(6) This has undoubtedly hurt - whole
philosophy - Once a manager is con-
firmed - He must play with Council.

6. We failed in another aspect - What not opening
friends - do not enter lists - Managers feel
lack of sym. backing - Must turn to Council
confidence

7. C. W. not failed - Chinese -

~~Manager~~

Our C. M. plan never really been tried -
It may need one or two slight modifications, Perhaps
a smaller Council & elected at large, and a sharper
emphasis upon separation of legis. & executive
branches & on common gov. as needed. I seriously
doubt whether these needs are the wisdom of
making the change at this present time.
Our charter is only 5 yrs old. Cities should not
make & mend basic laws so frequently & fitfully.

① Certainly a return to Reed form would
be a calamity - waste - incalculable.

② The City Manager - 20 yrs - Mr. ³⁵⁰ ~~300~~ cities
- among these advantages -
① Competent & exp. admin. - like any large business
② Relies on us & paying pub. debts
③ Continuity in office
④ Trained executives - city manager. a life calling

3) Let us turn mind! Benedetto Croce
(Just)

① Better men - volunteer & Elect -
② Eternal vigilance - Citizens League
- Prof. Muller
③ The task of improving city lies not upon
officials but upon ourselves -

1. Our city - treated. In the one instance - safeguarding - betrayed - debased. Made aware of little army -
 - ① Not unusual - grafts as common - hardly better -
 - ② The interesting - If that is due - both surmises -
2. Under old Mayorality system public expected graft -
 - They endured - smote it - abolished - the fellow-handshake
 - A new charter - A good system - as perfect
 - ① And behold 5 years later - 2 Councilmen -
- system, if not discredited,
 - ② This way assured for removal and of Resentment and of
3. Now I am strong for resentment and of - I like to see - But it would be a pity
4. There are a few ~~small~~ hard but salutary
 - ① No system is fool-proof. In last analysis the integrity of any govt - ~~the~~
 - ② No system, govt is superior to - What has happened is as much a reflection
 - ③ The new charter with its P.R. gave our citizens the opportunity to elect highest type - Even best people - Here was great opportunity for public spirited - Did they seize? gusto - They kept out + old crowd still in -
 - ④ The Amateur tries - So that 5 years - mediocre assembly - lacking -

The task of improving ~~it~~ lies not upon officials - but
people, using officials as ~~spotlight~~ - we shift responsibility
for civic improvement to ourselves, ~~not~~ govt -

Benedetto
Croce

'Politics will never try any ideal until the
mass of the people ask for it' The state is a purely utilitarian
institution, made for worldly success, which uses morality
only if it can help itself by so doing. If we want a
solution of the moral problems of mankind we must
not ask states to twist themselves out, their purely
economic nature, but we must do it ourselves.
We must not expect from states men anything purely
moral merely because, for example, it would benefit the
whole of mankind. The thing to do is to reform mankind
first, and then for the new condition is something to
register in political action' - was, Protector -

Chunier asked him, questionary - 'How does Christianity work
in practice? I don't know, as the answer it has
never been found yet'

"We ought to do something about it" -

We have failed to look after ① Government -
② People -

Cambridge, Mass 1925
Charles " 1923

- ① Rehears Council of great bulk of admin. work
- ② All considerable groups of the electorate should be represented
- directly in Council - P.R. - Majority control & Minority
representation - fair - Popularity etc. -

Prof. Johnson of Harvard.

"It is clear that a satisfactory manager and satisfactory work on his part cannot be hoped for without a high-grade council to appoint and direct him and back him up. Manifestly essential as the manager is, the council is an even more critical factor in the organization..... Without a council reasonably approving this type of job, loyal to the general welfare and in enjoyment, the vigorous confidence of the public no city manager can be expected to last the day.... Even in a city manager plan, the city government cannot rise above the caliber and character of the officials whom the voters must in any event elect and put in charge. The council is therefore a feature of a city manager plan which should be at least as carefully considered as the manager idea itself."

No system is superior to the intelligence and morality of the voters. ~~the~~