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The steel strike, 1959.

The prolonged, costly and embittered steel strike has caused many of our people to do some basic thinking on labor-management relationship in our country.

At the moment, steel-workers are returning to their jobs under a federal injunction. They are doing so reluctantly, under protest. / The issues have not been settled and no employment contracts have been signed. If negotiations fail during the period of the injunction, and if after sixty days no agreement is reached, and if in a secret ballot conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, the steel-workers turn down the last offer which will be made by the companies, the injunction which lasted one hundred and sixteen days - the longest steel strike on record - and which was preceded by five months of fruitless negotiation - will be resumed, the mills will be shut down again, and the disastrous cycle of widening unemployment and spreading industrial paralysis, will ~~resume~~ ^{start all over} again. stop

The long drawn-out steel strike has ^{strong} aroused partisan passions. In the heat of any major conflict things are said which, upon reflection, had better been left unsaid.

A strike is a form of warfare and in war, many restraints and decencies are abandoned. Propaganda takes over, and reason and fairness are, for the duration, almost suspect.

Thus spokesmen for the industry have branded the spokesmen for the steel-workers as union bosses, who are concerned not with the real welfare of the members of their union, but with their own power and prestige. They have charged that the ~~the~~ demands of labor would undermine the economy of the United States by contributing to an inflationary spiral. "The steel union is on strike for more inflation" reads a full-page advertisement of the steel companies coordinating committee. To accept the union demands would simply price the steel industry out of competition with foreign markets.

Some union spokesmen retorted that the companies, by refusing to accede to their demands, and by their counter-proposals, were trying to impose an industrial tyranny upon the workers, were engaging in a public-be-damned jungle warfare and were applying the black snake whip on the backs

of the workers.

The average citizen, I suspect, has not been greatly impressed by these heated arguments. / The steel industry was never particularly noted for its disinterested patriotism, its spontaneous altruism and its readiness to curb its ^{own} appetite for profits out of any concern for inflation. / The profits of the industry in recent years, after making due allowance for taxes, depreciation and replacement, have been enormous. No one be-
grudges the steel industry its profits, and our system of private enterprise cannot operate without profits. But at no time during the recent inflationary trend has the steel industry offered to cut the cost of steel per ton as a token contribution to a lowering of prices and a levelling off in inflation.

Of course, the problem of inflation exists and is our nation's most serious and urgent economic problem. It affects us all. The increased cost of all things and the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar is impoverishing millions of our people who live on fixed incomes. The trend may assume, before long, cataclysmic proportions. / This problem is nation-wide in scope and can only be met by national action in which our

federal government working in concert with industry, labor, farmer and banker, will launch a comprehensive program to check inflation. It is not the task of ^{any} one single industry to attempt to enforce a solution unilaterally, and that at the expense of its workers exclusively. ~~stop~~

In the most recent issue of the Harvard Business Review, I read a very interesting article written by Professor Lawrence G. Lavengood on "American Business and the Piety of Profits". In it he makes some very interesting observations:

"A business firm, even if it owns the town, is only one element within the community.The assumption of complete identity of interest may lead businessmen stealthily to the view that no one knows better than they what the community interest is, even though their vantage point is surely as much off to one angle as that of any other interested group.

"Immodest claims by businessmen to guardianship of the public welfare can excite in the public an unfortunate belief ~~that~~ businessmen have the knowledge and the power, by themselves, to solve the problems

caused by and affecting society at large. When social problems, which be it remembered are defined finally by society and not by businessmen alone, cannot be remedied satisfactorily by business decisions, then, at the end, the public is inclined to give businessmen an immoderate share of the blame for the fact that the problems exist at all....

"If inflation does exist, most industries probably have an interest in seeing it tamed, but it is fanciful to suppose that one or another industry can do an appreciable amount of taming by itself." stop

It is true, of course, that American industry is today encountering serious competition from abroad - in many ~~products~~ fields, not only in steel. / Foreign countries whose economic recovery was accelerated by American grants, subsidies and loans, have now recovered to a point where they can compete with us successfully in foreign markets and in our own. They are helped in their competition by the wages which they pay their workers. These wages are considerably lower than ours, ~~but~~ ^{and} so is the standard of living of the ⁱⁿ workers. They haven't the homes, the

cars, the refrigerators, the washing-machines, nor the food that many of our workers have. What then? Is it suggested that in order to meet competition from abroad the wages of our workers should be cut down to their level? What then will become of our industries which are producing these very consumer's goods which our workers will then not be able to buy? The solution for this problem, too, ~~that~~ of competition from abroad, ~~cannot~~ be placed at the door-steps of the American workers exclusively. / Industry, through more efficient methods of production, through modernization and new inventions, aided wherever necessary by government, should face this problem in the future as in the past. / In this regard, it should be noted that the steel industry has not suffered in recent years because of the high wages which it has paid. Its sales increased, its profits increased, the number of workers employed remained constant or actually decreased, and the out-put per man per hour increased. Steel wages and profits are ahead of those in industry generally in our country.

stop

Has the steel industry then no case at all in the present dispute? It has! / Not so much in the area of wage increases as in the area of work-rules and practices. The government's fact-find board reported that the two sides were only one cent apart in wages and only a few cents apart on the total. Management has asked for a revision in certain work-rules, which it claims, make for waste and inefficiency. They would like to eliminate what they call feather-bedding - make-work practices - keeping men on the pay-roll who are not needed. / They have made other proposals. The union has rejected these demands out-of-hand - as a backward step designed to break the union. It sees nothing amiss in the present work-practices in the mills. It is afraid that changing the rules would open the way to reducing crew sizes for the same work-load, introducing harmful speed-ups and other undesirable later practices. / It is prepared to refer the whole matter for further study to a joint committee. Industry, however, would like to have its proposals submitted at once to a three-man board of arbitration, with one member from management, one from

the union and one selected by management and the union. This arbitration board would consider what changes "if any" were to be made in the rules to improve efficiency with "due regard for the welfare of the employees". *stop*

Fair-minded people, who have no ax to grind, are of the opinion that there is some merit in the steel industry's desire to eliminate waste and increase economy in production, and that labor would not be hurt by it. Certain shop practices and work-rules do become outmoded after a time, and I understand that the present rules are some fifteen years old. It is not reasonable to assume that an impartial board of arbitration, after a careful study of these proposals, would impose unfair work-rules upon the workers. If, however, labor finds by experience, during the life of this contract, that one or another of the revised rules is ~~greatly~~ *grossly* unfair, the issue, of course, could be re-opened before the next labor contract is signed, two or three years hence. *stop*

It should, however, be borne in mind that the problem of eliminating so-called feather-bedding from industry is part of a larger and more serious problem, created by

the radical changes which are taking place in American industry as a result of auto-
mation and the application of electronics and
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But in the process, just as in the earlier
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were first introduced, men will be displaced.
The blue collar workers -- that is, those
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whelming membership of American trade unions,-
are being steadily displaced by the white
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care of the men who are forced out by the new processes. Certainly the profits of an industry which are derived from automation should, in part at least, be used for re-training and finding new employment for men who have been forced out of their jobs. This is a moral responsibility and an urgent task which confront both labor and management. stop

The steel-workers of America are not an exploited group. In 1958, the average wage paid the American steel worker was \$3.03 an hour - though it should be remembered that steel-workers seldom work a full work-year. But he certainly is not a wage-slave! He is strong and self-protected as he should be. Whatever rights he now possesses, and whatever standards of living he now enjoys, were not given ~~to~~ him on a silver platter either by a solicitous company or a socially-minded public. He has had to fight for them, as have most organized laboring men in our country.

But, having finally arrived at this point, he must no longer talk or truculently think of himself in terms of a wage-slave. At the exciting and very revealing meeting which was held between the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, and seven prominent American union officials in San Francisco last September, the

skillful Soviet propagandist, Khrushchev, taunted the American labor leaders. They were, he said, capitalists' lackeys who were misleading the American working men who were nothing more than wage-slaves. Whereupon Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, threw across the table to Khrushchev a list of United States wage rates and said: "How can you say these people are wage-slaves, exploited by capitalism, making this kind of wages in America? How can you say that they have nothing to lose but their chains?"

To which Khrushchev replied rather lamely:

"We say what we do in retaliation for what you say about us".

Since American labor is where it is today, it is incumbent upon its enlightened leaders, when engaged in negotiations for renewed contracts on wages, work-rules or any other ^{matter} ~~consideration~~, to bear in mind that they are not fighting for the same rudimentary, in-dispensable, ~~exigent~~ ^{bed-rock} human rights of a generation or two ago. It is now possible for them to be more flexible, to give as well as to take, without sacrificing any of the real gains which have been won by labor,

and without retarding the future progress of the American working man. *You do not abandon your goal by accepting a temporary compromise.*

It must be clear to both labor and management that the American people will not indefinitely tolerate ~~100~~¹¹⁶-day strikes, will not stand idly by and suffer serious economic loss and hazards to health and security, while two contending parties are fighting it out and are waiting for unconditional surrender. The issues today are not such that they must be solved by unconditional surrender. / It should be remembered that collective bargaining implies bargaining - and bargaining implies give and take. *the old idea of a govt bargain, once declared Justice Brandeis was a transaction in which one must get the better of another. The new idea of a govt. contract is a transaction which is good for both parties to it.* Neither the steel industry nor the union ~~has~~^{seems to have} been compellingly aware of this simple fact in the present crisis. (Lincoln)

President Eisenhower has been criticized for invoking the Taft-Hartley Act. I personally question whether there is much merit to this law. But it is on our statute books, and the President had no choice but to invoke it. Perhaps he should have intervened much earlier in the dispute by appointing a fact-finding board with the right to make

recommendations for a settlement. Many of us think that he waited too long. When, on the 64th day of the strike, he finally did offer to appoint such a board, industry rejected it; and he then abandoned the idea *altogether*.

President Eisenhower was right when, moving to get a court injunction to halt the strike, he declared: "America's hopes for a voluntary, responsible settlement have not been fulfilled. It is a sad day for the nation." For when labor and management in key industries can no longer bargain collectively and can no longer, in a reasonable period of time, reach an agreement, then there can be recourse only to group dictatorship - which is fascism or communism - or to government intervention and control through the democratic process. Fortunately, we are not on the eve of the former alternatives - fascism or communism, but the latter alternative - government intervention - is certainly around the corner. We

assume that neither labor nor management want any of it. How, then, do they plan to avert it? Free citizens in this country would rather not resort to compulsion to settle labor disputes. / The United States Supreme Court struck down, some years ago, *as* unconstitutional, state statutes, which made arbitration of labor disputes mandatory. But if collective bargaining does not work, as the long drawn-out dead-lock in the steel strike has demonstrated, something else must take its place and that something cannot be strikes!

For ~~a~~ while the right to strike is the laboring man's charter of freedom, which he should never surrender; society today can no longer tolerate prolonged strikes in essential industries without endangering its very life. President Truman, certainly a friend of labor, was driven by necessity to order the Secretary of Commerce in 1952 to seize and operate the nation's steel mills to avert a strike by six hundred

thousand C.I.O. United Steel workers. Prior to that time, in August of 1950, he ordered the army to seize all railroads to prevent a general strike, after the unions had rejected terms of settlement. // Thoughtful workers have also come to question the practical wisdom of these long drawn-out strikes which cost them more in pay-loss than they can ever make up in years of employment, even if their strike is won. *stop*

All these facts point urgently to the need of a higher order of statesmanship to assert itself on the part both of labor and management. Five strikes in ten years in the steel industry does not speak well for the statesmanship either of labor or management. It is a sorry record of lack of vision and plain good sense. Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, was, in our judgment, entirely correct when he accused both sides in the present controversy of shirking their re-

sponsibility to the nation. Industry waited eighty days, after the strike began, before it made its first money proposal. Why? This has given ground to the suspicion that the companies really wanted and welcomed a summer stoppage of production in order to reduce their large inventories of high-priced steel without reducing prices. They perhaps figured too, that the time was propitious to get tough with labor, since labor had had an unfavorable press and public opinion as a result of the ^{Congressional} ~~investigations of~~ ^{into some} labor racketeering ~~and in Congress~~ ^{mal-practices}.

If this higher statesmanship does not promptly assert itself, then government will either be forced to appoint a board to make findings and impose a settlement, or it will have to seize and operate the steel plants. ^{5/12}

As a private citizen, who is a friend ~~to~~ both of labor and management, I would suggest that, ^{in order to avert further government intervention,} ~~they~~ ^{they} invite forthwith a group of public-spirited men, ~~three or five~~, lay or religious

leaders, or both, on whose judgment and fairness they can rely, to render a decision in the dispute. The facts are all in. The decision can be rendered quickly. This is not compulsory arbitration. It ~~is~~ ^{will} not ^{have been} made mandatory by any act of government. ~~It will avert government intervention.~~ It will be purely voluntary on their part. It should be a welcome ^{and a} face-saving solution all-around ^{which} ~~and~~ will get both parties out of the seemingly hopeless impasse into which they have maneuvered themselves.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

NOVEMBER 15, 1959

The prolonged, costly and embittered steel strike has caused many of our people to do some basic thinking on labor-management relationship in our country.

At the moment, steel-workers are returning to their jobs under a federal injunction. They are doing so reluctantly under protest. The issues have not been settled and no employment contracts have been signed. If negotiations fail during the period of the injunction, and if after sixty days no agreement is ~~reached~~^{reached}, and if in a secret ballot conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, the steel-workers turn down the last offer which will be made by the companies, the injunction will be dissolved, and the union will then be free to strike again. The strike which lasted one hundred and sixteen days - the longest steel strike on record - and which was preceded by five months of fruitless negotiation ~~before the strike was called~~ - will be resumed, the mills will be shut down again, and the disastrous cycle of widening unemployment and spreading industrial paralysis, will resume again.

The President of the United States will then have no other recourse but to call upon Congress to take action to meet the grave crisis which will confront the nation and to make such recommendation as will remedy the situation and arrest a recurrent danger in the future.

The long drawn-out steel strike has aroused partisan passions, ~~and provoked deep-seated emotions~~. In the heat of any major conflict things are said which, upon reflection, ~~were~~^{had} better ~~be~~^{been} left unsaid. A strike is a form of warfare and in war, many ~~peace-time~~ restraints and decencies, are abandoned. Propoganda takes over, and reason and fairness are, for the duration, almost suspect.

Thus spokesmen for the industry have branded the spokesmen² for the steel-workers as union bosses, who are concerned not with the real welfare of the members of their union, but with their own power and prestige. ~~They~~^{They} have charged that their demands^{of labor} would undermine the economy of the United States by contributing to an inflationary spiral. "The steel union is on strike for more inflation" reads a full-page advertisement of the steel companies coordinating committee. To accept the union demands would simply price the steel industry out of competition with foreign markets.

Some unionⁱⁿ spokesmen retorted that ^{the companies} by refusing to accede to the ⁱⁿ demands of the union, and by their ⁱⁿ outrageous counter-proposals, ~~the companies~~ were trying to impose an industrial tyranny upon the workers, ~~and~~ were engaging in a public-be-damned ^{jungle} warfare and were applying the black snake whip on the backs of the workers. ^H The average citizen, I suspect, has not been greatly impressed by these ^{heated} particular arguments. The steel industry was never particularly noted for its disinterested patriotism, its spontaneous altruism and its ^{readiness to} efforts to curb ~~its~~ its appetite for profits out of any concern ^{for} inflation. The profits of the industry in recent years, after making due allowance for taxes, depreciation and replacement, have been enormous. ~~While it may not have paid out these profits to its stock-holders in dividend, it has paid it out in part in stock-dividends.~~ The United States Steel has twice in the last ten years split its ~~inflationary~~ stock three for one in 1949 and two for one in 1955. No one begrudges the steel industry its profits. ^{and our system of private enterprise cannot operate without profits} But at no time during the recent inflationary ^{trend} time has the steel industry offered to ^{cut} reduce the cost of steel per ton as a token contribution ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to a ^{lowering of prices and a} levelling off in inflation, ~~to encourage~~ nor to reduce the amazing salaries, bonuses and pensions and ~~which it pays~~ ^{principle} its executives.

Of course, the problem of inflation ^{exists and} is our nation's most serious and ~~most~~ urgent economic problem. It affects us all. The increased cost of all things and the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar is impoverishing millions of our people who live on fixed incomes. ^{The trend} ~~it~~ may assume, before long, cataclysmic proportions. This problem is nation-wide in scope and can only be met by national action ^{in which} by our ^{will launch} federal government working in concert with industry, labor, farmer and banker, ~~on~~ a comprehensive ^{program} ~~plan~~ to check inflation. It is not the task of a single industry to ^{now with in capital} ~~attempt~~ ^{that} ~~alleviate~~ and to enforce a solution ^{unilaterally} and ~~one which is at the exclusive~~ expense of its workers, ^{exclusively}.

In the ^{most} recent issue of the Harvard Business Review, I read a very interesting article written by Professor Lawrence G. Lavengood on "American Business and the Piety of Profits". In it he makes ^{some} ~~this~~ very interesting observations.

"A business firm, even if it owns the town, is only one element within the community....The assumption of complete identity of interest may lead businessmen stealthily to the view that no one knows better than they what the community interest is, even though their vantage point is surely as much off to one angle as that of any other interested group.

"Immodest claims by businessmen to guardianship of the public welfare can excite in the public an unfortunate belief that businessmen have the knowledge and the power, by themselves, to solve the problems caused by and affecting society at large. When social problems, which be it remembered are defined finally by society and not by businessmen alone, cannot be remedied satisfactorily by business decisions, then, at the end, the public is inclined to give businessmen an immoderate share of the blame for the fact that the problems exist at all."

"If inflation does exist, most industries probably have an interest in seeing it tamed, but it is fanciful to suppose that one or another industry can do an appreciable amount of taming by itself."

It is true, of course, that American industry is today encountering serious competition from abroad - in many products, not only in steel. Foreign countries ^{whose} ~~where~~ economic recovery was accelerated by American grants, ^{Subsidies} and loans, have now recovered to a point where they can compete with us successfully in foreign markets and in our own. They are helped ^{ed} in their ^{competition} by the wages which they pay their workers. ^{These} ~~These~~ wages ^{are} ~~are~~ considerably lower than ours, but so is their ^{of the workers} standard of living. ^{They} ~~Their workers~~ haven't the homes, the cars, the refrigerators, the washing-machines, nor the food that many of our workers have. What then? Is it

suggested that in order to meet competition from abroad the wages of our workers should be cut down to their level? What then will become of our industries which are producing these ^{very consumer's} ~~convenience~~ goods which our workers will then not be able to buy? The solution for this problem, too, ^{of competition from abroad} cannot be placed at the ~~exclusive~~ ^{exclusively} door-steps of the American workers. Industry, through more efficient methods of production, through modernization and new inventions, ^{aided} wherever necessary by government, should face this problem in the future as in the past. In this regard, it should be noted that the steel industry has not suffered in recent years because of the high wages which it has paid. Its sales increased, its profits increased, the number of workers employed remained constant ^{or actually decreased} and the out-put per man per hour increased. Steel/wages and profits are ahead of those in industry generally in our country.

Has the steel industry then no case ^{at all} in the present dispute? It has! Not so much in the area of wage increases as in the area of work-rules and practices. The government's fact-find board reported that the two sides were only one cent apart in wages, and only a few cents apart on the total. Management has asked for a revision in certain work-rules, which it claims, make for waste and inefficiency. They would like to eliminate what they call feather-bedding - make-work practices - keeping men on the pay-roll who are not needed. ^{They have made other proposals.} The union has rejected these demands ~~as~~ out-of-hand - as a backward step designed to break the union. It sees nothing amiss in the present work-practices in the mills. It is afraid that changing the rules would open the way to reducing crew sizes for the same work-load, introducing harmful speed-ups and other undesirable later practices. ~~It would endanger~~

^{whole} It is prepared to refer the matter for further study ^{to} a joint committee. Industry, however, would like to have its proposals submitted at once to a three-man board of arbitration, with one member from management, one from the ^{union} ~~workers~~ and one selected by management and the union. This arbitration board would consider what changes "if any" were to be made in the rules to improve efficiency with "due regard for the welfare of the employees".

Fair-minded people, who have no *axe to grind*, are of the opinion that there is some merit in the steel industry's desire to eliminate waste and increase economy in production and that labor would not be hurt by it. Certain shop practices and work-rules do become outmoded after a time, *and* I understand that the present rules are some fifteen years old. It is not reasonable to assume that an *impartial* ~~balanced~~ board of arbitration, after ^a careful study of these proposals, would impose unfair work-rules upon the ^{workers} ~~men in the industry~~. ~~If labor later on finds by experience,~~ *however* ~~that the~~ *during the life of this contract, that* ~~these~~ *were* greatly unfair, the issue, of course, could be re-opened *at least one or another, the revised rules is* again before the next labor contract is signed, two or three years hence.

It should, however, be borne ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ mind that the problem of eliminating *so-called* feather-bedding from industry is part of a larger and more serious problem, created by the radical changes which are ^{taking place} ~~being brought about~~ in American industry ^{as a result of} ~~through~~ automation and the application of electronics and electrical devices to production. Ultimately this shift from old-time machine operation to automatic flow and processes will increase production and will open up new frontiers of economic opportunity which will benefit labor, consumer, and investor alike. But in the process, just as in the earlier processes when machinery which displaced hand labor and labor-saving devices generally were ^{first} ~~introduced~~, men will be displaced. The blue collar workers - - that is, those who are engaged in production and maintenance - and who at the moment constitute the overwhelming membership of American trade unions -- are being steadily displaced by the white collar worker. In some industries, for example in the electrical and equipment industry, the production and maintenance workers are actually being outnumbered by the white collar worker -- the technician, the engineer, the computer, etc. While it is, of course, undesirable and quite impossible to check these modern technological changes in industry, provision should be made to take care of the men who are forced out by the new processes. Certainly the profits of an industry which are derived from automation should, ⁱⁿ ~~at least~~ ^{at least} ~~part~~ be used for retraining

and finding ^{new} ~~employment~~ for men who have been forced ^{out of} ~~from~~ their jobs. This is a *Moral* responsibility and ^{an urgent} ~~a~~ task which confronts both labor and management.

The steel-workers of America are not an exploited group. In 1958, the average wage paid the American steel worker was \$3.03 an hour, though it should be remembered that steel-workers ^{seldom} ~~rarely~~ work a full work-year. But he certainly is not a wage-slave!

He is strong and self-protected as he should be. Whatever rights he now possesses, and whatever standards of living ^{he} ~~he~~ ^{enjoys} ~~has~~ now ~~has~~, were not given to him on a silver platter by a solicitous company or a socially-minded public. He has had to fight for them, as have most organized laboring men in our country.

But, having finally arrived at this point, he must no longer talk or ^{truthfully} ~~think~~ of himself in terms of a wage-slave. At the exciting and very revealing meeting which was held between the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, and seven prominent American union officials in San Francisco last September, the skillful Soviet propagandist, Khrushchev, taunted the American labor leaders. They were ^{he said} ~~capitalists'~~ lackeys who were misleading the American working men who were nothing more than wage-slaves. Whereupon Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, threw across the table to Khrushchev a list of United States wage rates and said, "How can you say these people are wage-slaves exploited by capitalism, making this kind of wages in America? How can you say that they have nothing to lose but their chains?"

To which Khrushchev replied ^{rather} ~~lamely~~: "We say what we do in retaliation for what you ~~substantive~~ say about us."

^{Since} ~~being~~ ^{is where it is to-day} ~~it is~~, it is incumbent upon its enlightened leaders, when engaged in negotiations for renewed contracts on wages, work-rules or other any ~~of the~~ considerations, to bear in mind that they are not fighting ^{for} ~~the~~ the same rudimentary, indispensable, ^{red-neck} ~~exigent~~, human rights of a generation or two ago. It is now possible for them to be more flexible, to give as well as to take without sacrificing any of the real gains which have been won by labor, and without retarding the future ^{progress of} ~~prospects~~ of the American working man.

It must be clear to both labor and management that the American people will not indefinitely tolerate ¹¹⁶~~100~~-day strikes, ^{will not}~~stand silently~~ by and suffer serious economic loss and hazards to health and security, while ~~the~~ two contending parties are ^{fighting it}~~out~~ and ^{are waiting for}~~demanding~~ unconditional surrender. The issues ^{to-day} are not such that they must be solved by unconditional surrender. ^{It should be remembered that} Collective bargaining implies bargaining - and bargaining implies give and take. Neither the steel industry nor the union has been compellingly aware of this ^{simple}~~fact~~ in the present ~~strike crisis~~.

President Eisenhower has been criticized for invoking the Taft-Hartley Act. I personally question whether there is much merit to this law. But it is on our statute books, and the President ^{no choice but} had to invoke it. Perhaps he should have intervened much earlier ^{in the dispute} by appointing a fact-finding board with the right to make recommendations for a settlement. ^{Many of us think that he waited too long.} When, on the 164th day of the strike, he finally ^{did} offer to appoint such a board, industry rejected ^{it} and he ^{then} abandoned the idea. ~~When, as he put it, he "got sick and tired" of the long delay.~~

President Eisenhower was right when, moving to get a court injunction to halt the strike, he declared: "America's hopes for a voluntary, responsible settlement have not been fulfilled. It is a sad day for the nation." For when labor and management in key industries can no longer bargain collectively and can no longer, ^{can reach an agreement} in a reasonable period of time ~~settle their differences~~, then there can be recourse only to group dictatorship - which is fascism or communism - or to government intervention and control through the democratic process. Fortunately, we are not on the eve of the former alternatives - ^{fascism or communism}, but the latter alternative - government intervention - is certainly around the corner. We assume that neither labor nor management want any of it. How, then, ^{do they plan to avert} ~~will they avert~~ it? Free citizens in this country would rather not resort to compulsion to settle labor disputes.

The United States Supreme Court struck down some years ago ~~an~~ unconstitutional, ~~a~~ state statute² which made arbitration of labor disputes mandatory. But if collective bargaining does not work, as the long drawn-out dead-lock in the steel strike has demonstrated, something else must take its place and ~~that~~ something cannot be strikes!

For a while the right to strike is the laboring man's charter of freedom, which he should never surrender. Society today can no longer tolerate prolonged strikes in essential industries without endangering its very life. President Truman, certainly a friend of labor, was driven by necessity to order ~~the~~ ^{the} Secretary of Commerce in 1952 to seize and operate the nation's steel mills to ~~avert~~ ^a a strike by six hundred thousand C.I.O. United Steel workers. Prior to that time, in August of 1950, he ordered the army to seize all railroads ~~to~~ prevent a general strike, after the unions had rejected terms of settlement. Thoughtful workers have also come to question the practical wisdom of these long drawn-out strikes which cost them more in pay ^{- loss} ~~than~~ ^{than} they can ever make up in years of employment, even if their strike is won.

All these facts point ^{urgently} to the need of a higher order of statesmanship ^{to assert itself} on the part ~~neither~~ ^{does} both of labor and management. Five strikes in ten years in the steel industry, not ~~to~~ speak well for the statesmanship either of labor or management. It is a sorry record of lack of vision and plain good sense. Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, was, in our judgment, entirely correct when he accused both sides in the present controversy of shirking their responsibility to the nation. Industry waited eighty days after the strike began before it made its first ^{useful} ~~meaningful~~ proposal. Why? This has given ground to the suspicion that the companies ^{really} ~~wanted~~ ^a and welcomed/summer stoppage of production in order to reduce their large inventories of high-priced steel without reducing prices. They perhaps figured too, that the time was propitious ~~for~~ ^{then} to get tough with labor, since labor had had an unfavorable press and public opinion as a result of the investigations of labor racketeering in Congress.

If this higher statesmanship does not promptly assert itself, then government will either be forced to appoint a board to make findings and impose a settlement, or it will have to seize and operate the ^{steel} plants.

As a private citizen who is a friend both of ^{organized} labor and management, I would suggest that they invite forthwith a group of public-spirited men, three or five, lay or religious leaders, or both, on whose judgment and fairness they can rely, to render a decision in the dispute. The facts are all in. The decision can be rendered quickly. This is not compulsory arbitration. It is not made mandatory by any act of government. It will avert government intervention. It will be purely voluntary on their part. It should be a welcome ^{solution} face-saving ^{all-around} and will get both out of the ^{parties propagating} impasse into which they have maneuvered themselves.



This is my God
not

is THIS my FAITH

A Rabbi Reviews Human Work

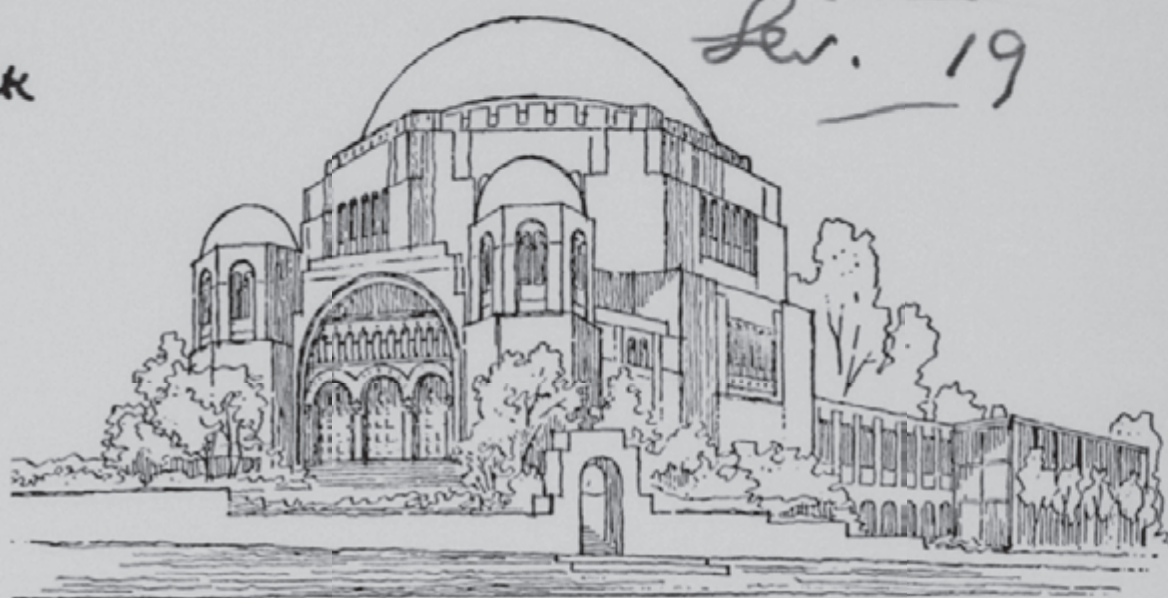
THE TEMPLE

CLEVELAND, OHIO

November 15, 1959

Vol. XLVI No. 3

- 1) ~~Guest~~ parking!
- 2) ~~Guests~~



SOME THOUGHTS ON THE KADDISH — FROM THE RABBIS' DESK

The thing we look for in worship as in life is honesty of emotion. I saw evidence of such honesty last Saturday morning. I noticed, as the Kaddish was being recited, a young girl, hardly in her teens, rising for this prayer. I know her family, and I wondered whom she was mourning. After the service I asked, and discovered that her dog had died, that she had recited the Kaddish prayer in memory of her beloved pet. Strict Jewish law, of course, would not prescribe such saying of the Kaddish. According to tradition a man recites the Kaddish only for members of his most immediate family. But I found nothing unseemly or out of order in this girl's practice, for what is the Kaddish but a reaffirmation of God at a moment of poignant loss and deep grief?

I have been asked many questions about the Kaddish and concerning who should recite it. Reform Judaism, of course, places the obligation of reciting the Kaddish equally on men and women. We have thrown over all evidence of sexual inequality. Personally I do not find it improper for a child to rise in memory of a grandparent or great-grandparent or other loving relatives, or even of intimate companions. This is not Jewish law, but then we, as Reform Jews, are concerned with spirit and intention as well as with rigid and scrupulous observance.

From time to time this question is presented—is it correct and proper for a widow or widower who has since remarried to rise for the saying of the Kaddish? Tradition answers, no. This provision is intended to legitimize a

natural desire to keep unhappy memories out of the new home and the new relationship. I tend to disagree with this customary reasoning. Man is capable of many loves. He does not necessarily mar new happiness by reminding himself of other happinesses especially since he cannot in any case forget them. It is quite possible to be completely in love and yet rise year after year in respect of one who was deeply loved and is tenderly remembered.

The other day I was asked a second question regarding the Kaddish. A young man whom I had converted inquired if it is proper to rise in memory of his non-Jewish parents who had recently died. My answer—and in this case the answer of Jewish tradition—is that it is not only proper but fitting. The convert has accepted a new

form of religious expression. His conversion in no way affects his love for his parents. He needs to express his grief. It would be altogether improper of us to deny him such expression.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

MUSIC FOR SUNDAY

Organ	
Fantasia on Psalm 90—O God Our Help	Ender
Berceuse	Lemare
Meditation	I. Freed
Opening Psalm—Mah Tov	Piket
Bor'chu (Congregational)	Sulzer
Sh'ma-Boruch (Congregational)	Traditional
Mi Chomocho (Congregational)	Sulzer
Kedusha	Traditional-Grobani-Thatcher
Silent Devotion—May the Words	Willard
Before the Address: Psalm 95	
Let Us Sing Unto the Lord	Freudenthal
Soprano solo—Miss Wischmeyer	
Olelu-Vaanachnu	Goldstein

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

November 15, 1959

10:30 o'clock

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

will speak on

THE STEEL STRIKE — INJUNCTION — SETTLEMENT

FRIDAY EVENING SERVICES

5:30 to 6:10

SATURDAY MORNING SERVICES

11:00 to 12:00

The Temple

Rabbis:

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

Associate Rabbi

Director of Religious Education

MILTON MATZ

Assistant Rabbi

Staff:

MILDRED B. EISENBERG

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LEO W. NEUMARKVice-President

ELI GOLDSTONVice-President

MAX EISNERTreasurer

EDWARD D. FRIEDMANAssociate Treasurer

THIS SUNDAY

Before attending services the Mr. and Mrs. Club will meet in the Social Hall for breakfast. Nursery care during the service will be provided for pre-school children. The congregation is reminded that children under the age of three may not be left in the Nursery. Due to the Mr. and Mrs. Club Breakfast, Pre-Service Coffee will be served in the Lounge.

The flowers which will grace the pulpit are contributed in memory of Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Siegmund Joseph, by Mrs. Harold Zellerbach of San Francisco and Mrs. Walter Goldsmith.

CHANUKAH CANDIES

The Temple Women's Association sends Chanukah gifts to men and women of The Temple family who are presently serving in the Armed Forces. In order that all of our service people may be reached, names should be submitted immediately to Mrs. S. S. Reich, 3290 Warrensville Center Road, Cleveland 22, Ohio, or to The Temple office.

CONFIRMANDS PARENTS SERVICE AND LUNCHEON

Sunday, November 22nd

Service 10:30 A.M. The Temple
Luncheon 12:00 Noon Social Hall

A musical skit will be presented by members of the Confirmation Class

HARRY D. KOBLITZ

The Temple notes with sorrow the passing of a loyal member and honored friend, Mr. Harry D. Koblitz. Mr. Koblitz had been active in the life of our congregation for half a century. He was a member of the Building Committee which in 1922 and 1923 planned and executed the program of construction for our Temple, and he was also a member of our Building Committee which in 1956 to 1958 determined and built our new Annex. A member of The Temple Board for many years, his wise counsel helped make for the steady growth of Temple life and the expansion of Temple activities. In 1957 the Board of Trustees passed the following resolution making Mr. Koblitz Honorary Life Trustee of The Temple:

"At this point Mr. Bertram J. Krohngold proposed and made a motion that Mr. Harry D. Koblitz, in view of his long, loyal and generous support in all Temple matters, be elected to the position of Honorary Trustee for life. After a proper second was made the motion was passed unanimously."

Mr. Koblitz will be sorely missed. The members, Board, Officers and Rabbis extend to his family their deepest sympathy.

THE MR. AND MRS. CLUB ADULT EDUCATION SERIES

Friday, November 20th

8:30 P.M.

Social Hall

"JUDAISM AND LAW"

Adoption, Blue Laws, Capital Punishment, Cremation, Divorce

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

Sheldon Guren

Irving Konigsberg

Allan Levine

Leonard Scharfield

Ken Weinberg

An informal question and answer period will follow the discussion

Coffee hour

Guests are welcome

THE TEMPLE HIGH SCHOOL

"Judaism in 3-D" is the name of a series of three evening discussions to be held with the three Rabbis of The Temple by the students of the three classes of the High School. A novel and unusual format has been developed for intimate small-group discussion which will permit each student to spend one evening with each of the Rabbis.

The first of the three evenings will occur on Sunday evening, November 15th, beginning at 6:30 P.M. with supper in the Social Hall, followed by the discussion programs.

The overall theme of the three evenings will be "The Art of Prayer". The three Rabbis will each deal with one aspect of this general subject. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver will lead his discussions on "From Sacrifice to Prayer". Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver's discussion theme will be "The Art of Prayer". Rabbi Milton Matz' topic will be "To Whom Do We Pray?"

The 3-D series is sponsored by the Student Council of The Temple High School.

HANDCRAFT

Under the capable and energetic supervision of our Promotion Chairmen, Mrs. H. Shan Carran and Mrs. Alvin Udelson, fifty women are engrossed in an exciting and fascinating new Tuesday Activities project.

In Handcraft, half of the women, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Alan Englander, are decorating and hand-painting woden buckets. These buckets have many uses; cookie jars, sewing kits, and to accommodate children's toys and crayons. All are being decorated in original designs and may be personalized if desired.

The remaining twenty-five women are busily engaged in permanent fabric painting. Under the Chairmanship of Mrs. William Gross, Jr. they hand-paint original attractive designs on Belgium linen tablecloths and napkins. These may be selected in any size. Painting Irish linen guest towels distinctively patterned and colored for your individual needs is another facet of this project. Hand painting fitted percale crib sheets in a Mother Goose motif is one more charming idea of this group.

The most creative idea of this table is painting original junior and teen-age designs on twin or full sized percale sheets and pillow cases. We urge you to order your personalized linens and cookie buckets early to insure delivery in time for the holidays.

CANTEEN COMMITTEE

One of the pleasant features of Tuesday Activities is the luncheon prepared and served by The Temple Women's Association Canteen Committee. Each menu includes one hot dish, two salads, sandwiches and a delicious homemade dessert.

In addition, the Canteen Committee provides a special luncheon treat for the fifteen to twenty children in the Tuesday morning Nursery School.

Mrs. Samuel Stillman is over-all Chairman, and her Co-chairman is Mrs. Ralph Kovel. Mrs. Stillman served as Chairman for the month of September and Mrs. Myer Fine and Mrs. Leroy Kendis served as Chairmen in October. Their Committee comprised Mesdames Charles Ascherman, Joseph Davidson, Joseph Kumin, Joel Rice and Arthur Roth.

Due to increasing patronage it is now necessary to register with Mrs. J. W. Lerner and Mrs. Abe Nebel when entering the Social Hall. This method will enable the Canteen Committee to estimate the number of women who plan to stay for lunch.



THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

NEW DATE

Tuesday, November 24, 1959

1:00 P.M.

Luntz Auditorium



JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mrs. S. L. Dancyger will preside at the meeting

Admission by Membership Card

Guests \$1.00

MRS. I. J. WOLF

The Temple notes with deep regret the passing of a beloved friend and teacher, Mrs. Anna Wolf. In 1949, on the occasion of Mrs. Wolf's retirement from active teaching, the following resolution was unanimously passed by the Board of Trustees and it is altogether fitting that it be reprinted at this time:

"The Board of Trustees of Temple Tifereth Israel, in session assembled on the 9th day of November, 1949, hereby pays earnest tribute to MRS. ANNA WOLF, who has retired after more than forty years in the service of The Temple Religious Schools as teacher, mentor and friend to the hundreds of young people who passed through her classes.

"Endowed with an unusual capacity to secure and hold the interest of her pupils, armed with the special techniques of transmitting her vast knowledge to them in absorbing fashion, she endeared herself to all of the children, her fellow workers and all others with whom she came in contact.

"With those who enjoyed the rare privilege of association with her, there will ever abide the precious memory not alone of the work of a great teacher, but of companionship with a beautiful spirit—an extraordinary combination of personal grace and mental strength.

"RESOLVED, therefore, that this expression of our high regard for MRS. ANNA WOLF be spread upon the permanent records of the proceedings of our Board of Trustees and that an engrossed copy thereof be transmitted to her with warm wishes for good health and abundant happiness.

Bertram J. Krolmgold
Eugene B. Meister
Philip L. Steinberg
Committee on Resolutions"

Published weekly except during the summer vacation.
Fifty cents per annum.

The Temple Bulletin
THE TEMPLE
EAST 105th ST. & SILVER PARK
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO
SW 1-7755

Second Class mail privileges authorized at
Cleveland, Ohio

DATES TO REMEMBER

Sunday, November 15 — Sunday Morning Service
Mr. and Mrs. Club Breakfast

Monday, November 16 — Adult Hebrew Classes

Tuesday, November 17 — Temple Women's Association Tuesday Activities

Wednesday, November 18 — Adult Hebrew Classes

Friday, November 20 — Mr. and Mrs. Club Adult Education

Sunday, November 22 — Sunday Morning Service
Confirmants Parents Luncheon

THE TEMPLE LIBRARY is open Tuesday through Friday 9:00 A.M. to 5:30 P.M., Saturday and Sunday 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon.

THE TEMPLE MUSEUM will be open at the close of Sunday morning services in addition to all occasions of organization meetings. Arrangements to view the Museum by special appointment may be made through The Temple Office.

THE ISRAELI GIFT SHOP is open during all Tuesday Activities sessions. Selections can be made at all times from the display case in the lobby through The Temple Office.