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As the Political Campaign Draws to a Close, 1960.

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

November 6, 1960

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AS THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN DRAWS TO A CLOSE

Looking over this congregation this morning I am inclined to suggest to the Federal Government that it hold elections more often.

The 1960 election campaign is drawing to a close, and, I believe that we all feel relieved. It has been a very long campaign, too long by far. With modern means of communication, which are available to the candidates, television and radio, when every section of the country can be reached almost instantaneously, and when scores of millions of people can listen and do listen to the same address and watch the speaker as if he were present in their own homes -- a campaign that lasts a few months becomes repetitious and tedious and boring. Prolonged campaigns do not help to clarify issues. There are, after all, only a limited number of vital issues in any campaign, and once you have argued them as effectively as you can, you are through. Thereafter you are only repeating yourself, and in order to hold the interest of the electorate, the listeners, you find yourself compelled to resort to sensational utterances, to free-swinging charges, to abuse and personal slurs. From acting and talking as a statesman you are forced to stoop to the role of the barker and the huckster. Perhaps we ought to take a leaf out of the political experience of other countries -- Great Britain, for example -- and greatly shorten the campaign time, say to ten days or two weeks. I believe that both voters and candidates would be grateful for such a change. Months of electioneering, without a coffee break, is just too long.

There has been an unusual amount of synthetic showmanship in this campaign -- who can draw the biggest crowds seemed to have been the chief concern of both parties. Political rallies are cunningly contrived and organized so as to bring the candidate

at the exact auspicious time at the exact place and the cohorts are marshalled to insure the biggest crowds, in order to demonstrate, I suppose, that the particular candidate is truly the choice of the vast majority of the people -- and that you might just as well vote for him if you do not wish to waste your vote. Now, there may be good showmanship, good showmanship psychology in all this but after all, one does not or should not vote for a candidate as one bets on a horse. We bet on a horse to win -- we vote for a candidate because one believes that he should win, because he represents our political convictions, regardless of whether he might or might not win.

There has been a novel departure in this campaign -- a very interesting novel departure -- that was a series of T.V. debates which were held between the candidates. They were helpful insofar as they brought to the tens of millions who listened in a clearer idea of the issues involved and what the candidates and their parties intended to do about them. But I, for one, could not help but ask myself as I watched and listened in on these debates, and they were very skillful debates -- in many ways remarkable debates and debaters. I could not help asking myself, "Shall we in the future have to nominate for the office of the President of the United States only clever and skillful debaters? Shall the office go to one who is quickest at repartee, or who could express himself, at the spur of the tense moment, without falter or hesitation, on the most involved and momentous issues confronting our country? Is this the true test of ability or statesmanship? Or perhaps is it the sober, second thought that is all important in men who hold the destiny of our country in their hands?" Some one has quite properly asked how George Washington would have fared in such a debate -- a man of slow and deliberate thought -- how would Jefferson have fared? Jefferson was not facile in public utterances -- or Wilson who took time to analyze, qualify and elaborate. Nor for that matter were most of our Presidents, or a goodly number of them, including Abraham Lincoln, very photogenic.

Some issues were given prominence in this campaign which, in my judgment, did not belong there. This was the case with the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. This was an issue which unfortunately was dragged into this campaign but did not belong there. Neither China nor the United States had raised the issue at this time -- it was not on the active agenda, as it were -- and certainly a subject so delicate and involved is not a proper topic for campaign issues and controversy. Nor was the Cuba issue a proper theme for this campaign. There were mistakes made in Cuba but they do not date from the present administration only. They go far back, a long time. Both Republican and Democratic administrations were involved and there will be no easy solution for what has developed in Cuba, and we are committed by treaties with our Latin-American neighbors not to take unilateral action in ~~sub~~ relation to Cuba or any other Latin-American states. Nor would it be wise to take unilateral action.

We were pleased -- I was pleased when Senator Kennedy retreated from his earlier position when he called for forthright and immediate action tantamount to an intervention in Cuba, actively backing all anti-Castro elements there and helping to overthrow his regime. It was an issue which did not belong in the campaign.

On the subject of America's military strength -- whether Russia is the leading military power in the world today or the United States -- I, as a layman, and the millions of American citizens who are also laymen and uninformed in such matters, are unable to pass any judgment. I, for one, am prepared to accept the assurance of the President of the United States, himself a military man, who was Chief of the victorious allied forces in the last war, to whom all the data of our military position are available as a matter of course -- I was prepared to accept his assurance -- I have no choice but to accept his assurance -- that the United States is at the peak of its military strength and is in a readied position to deter any aggression. I am compelled, however, to express my disappointment that both candidates appeared to out-do each other in their call for

greater and stronger military equipment for our country and said so little about disarmament, the most urgent and most pressing need of our time. Both of them spoke, I am afraid, as the Pentagon speaks, when military budgets are about to be voted in Congress. Both candidates out-did one another in their denunciation of communism, but neither of them, unfortunately, presented a clear program of how a rational way can be found for living together in the same world -- how a program can be worked out -- looking to the only thing that can be done, that should be done -- how a program can be worked out, for these two power blocs to live together, in the same world. On these two foremost and burning issues of our day, both candidates, I am afraid, gave us much heat but little light.

On the issue of our prestige abroad, of which much has been made in this campaign, -you will recall that I spoke of it briefly two weeks ago -- I have remained unimpressed by this issue. As a nation, we should be concerned with doing the right at all times, regardless of the swiftly changing ebb and flow of so-called international prestige. The nations whose opinions we are, so to speak, soliciting and about whom reports and surveys are made from time to time -- those nations themselves are not paragons of virtue whose judgments are objective and well-founded and unimpeachable. I should not be concerned by what Lumumba thinks of us or Kasavubu thinks of us but whether what we are trying to do in the Congo is just and humane and calculated in the long-run to be helpful and therefore to succeed. That holds true as regards our relations with all the new and the so-called neutral states of Africa and Asia. We should not be maneuvered, we should not maneuver ourselves into a position where we become dependent upon their applause and their approval. We should be scrupulous in our adherence to code of high international morality in keeping with our traditional American principles of justice and fair play, helping wherever we can, to the degree that we can. We should not worry so much about prestige and being slapped on the back at all times.

There were other unrelated issues introduced in this campaign. Of the Catholic issue I will speak in a moment. There was also a Jewish issue forcibly, and in my mind, entirely unjustified, introduced in the campaign. Vice-President Nixon and Ambassador Lodge were charged with anti-Jewish and anti-Israel bias. As a Rabbi, and a long-time friend of Israel, I felt constrained to speak up against the gross unfairness. I should like to re-read this morning what I actually said because there have been so many interpretations placed on what I said, so many conflicting headlines on it. Actually what I said was this, and I assure you it was very carefully said - every word:

"I was delighted to welcome into our home Ambassador and Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge on the occasion of their visit to Cleveland.

I recalled with pleasure our earlier contacts, especially during the critical years prior to the establishment of the State of Israel when I frequently turned to Mr. Lodge, who was then United States Senator, for counsel, guidance, and political help. This was always given readily and generously.

Ambassador Lodge was always a convinced, warm and understanding friend of our people's historic hope for the re-establishment of the national Jewish home, as was his distinguished grandfather who was a pioneer supporter of our movement in the United States.

I recall Ambassador Lodge's deep satisfaction when the State of Israel was finally proclaimed and the eloquent words which he spoke on the occasion of the first anniversary celebration when I had the privilege of introducing him at a civic rally in Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Since those years, Ambassador Lodge has remained a consistent supporter of Israel, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity, ~~and~~ its security and its economic progress. This was the case even during the difficult days of Suez-Sinai crisis, when,

as the spokesman of the United States in the United Nations, he, as a matter of course, represented our government's position of which many both here and among our allies did not fully approve. I am glad to say these things about Ambassador Lodge in order to correct misrepresentations. In the heat and controversy of a political campaign, facts are sometimes distorted and the helpfulness of loyal friends is sometimes forgotten.

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon has also been subjected to a mischievous campaign smear. He has been charged with anti-semitic utterances in his earlier political career. Responsible Jewish bodies have closely investigated these charges (by these bodies of course I meant the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee) -- responsible Jewish bodies have closely investigated these charges and found them to be utterly groundless and false. Mr. Nixon has been a warm friend of Israel. He has advocated continued support for the young state, strong and unceasing efforts to establish freedom of passage through the Suez Canal for Israeli shipping and an end to all discriminatory actions.

The position of the candidates of both political parties on Israel and their attitude towards our people, which in each instance has been friendly and unimpeachable, should not enter into this campaign any more than the religious issue generally. American Jews should vote and I believe they will vote, without reference to any Jewish angle which simply does not exist in this campaign."

̄ This was the statement. This was all of it. What interpretation people choose to place upon it, that I am afraid, is unavoidable. I have, of course, my own political preferences and I shall vote them next Tuesday, but I do not regard it, and never have regarded it as my function and responsibility as a Rabbi to announce my preferences in public or to tell people how they should vote. It is only when I feel that an injustice is being done to a candidate, that he is being maligned and slandered

with
in a matter in which I, as a Jew, am involved and in one ~~in~~ which I am fairly familiar that I speak up. This is a question of morality . One must be fair even when one is a strong party man or very enthusiastice for one candidate or another -- one must be fair.

I did the same thing once before in 1952 when General Eisenhower was a candidate fo the Presidency of the United States. In the closing years of that campaign, the issue of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law was thrown into the hopper. This was an immigration law which was passed by Congress by Democrats and Republicans alike. It set quotas for immigrants who could be permitted to come to the United States in any given year and this law favored the Nordics and discriminated against immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe -- principally immigrants who would not normally be coming from those countries, Catholics and Jews. President Truman properly and commendably vetoed that bill. Congress over-rode his veto. This bill was sponsored by Senator McCarran, Congressman Walters, both Democrats, and President Truman's veto was over-ridden by both Democrats and Republicans. General Eisenhower, of course, had nothing to do with the enactment of this law. He was not in Congress at the time and did not hold any political office; but, because during his campaign as head of the Republican ticket he endorsed all Republicanx candidates for the Senate -- among whom were some who had approved of the McCarran Bill, President Truman violently attacked General Eisenhower in a letter which he sent to a Jewish body in New York charging him with accepting the "Master Race" theory --the implication charged him with anti-Semitism. This charge was leveled at a man who had broken the might of Hitler and of the Nazi races. President Truman said that he had an attack of "Moral Blindness" and he made the charge at the very time that General Eisenhower was declaring publicly: "We must stike from our statute books any legislation concerning immigration that implies of blasphemy against the democracy, that only certain peoples of Europe are welcome on American shores". At that time I probably expressed my feelings of shock that

such an attack should be made. Of General Eisenhower I said:

"Much is permitted in a campaign but the attempt by implication to identify a man like General Eisenhower whose humanity and broad tolerance are known all over the world, with anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism is just not permissible even in the heat of the campaign."

Now, some might say that I do these things only when Republicans are involved. I should like to call your attention to an address which I delivered here from this pulpit on May 17th of last year. The subject was "A Catholic President in the White House?" This address was widely printed, widely circulated. Our Ohio State Senator Lausche had this address inserted in the Congressional Record of June 22nd of last year. I wish I had the time to re-read to you this entire address but I must limit myself to just a few lines from it. I said (and I think some of you were here when I spoke on this theme):

"I believe that many Catholics in the United States fully accept this position of the separation of the Church and the State. Recently Senator Kennedy, who came quite close two years ago to receiving the nomination for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, and who today is talked of as a possible Presidential candidate, was questioned on this very issue and he replied very clearly -- of course he is a Catholic --

"The First Amendment to the Constitution is an infinitely wise one. There can be no question of Federal funds being used for support of parochial or private schools. It's unconstitutional under the First Amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court. I am opposed to the Federal Government's extending support to sustain any church or its schools. As for such fringe matters as buses, lunches, and other services, the issue is primarily social and economic and not religious. Each case must be judged on its merits within the law as interpreted by the courts." End of the quote.

It is true that Senator Kennedy has been sharply criticized by some editorial writers in the Catholic press for the views which he expressed. It is such criticism which disturbs some non-Catholics in the United States. It raised doubts in their minds, as does the continued criticism of the Church hierarchy of our government's

failure to aid religious schools.

But even those of us who are opposed to Federal aid to parochial schools -- whether they be Catholic or Protestant or Jewish -- and there are Protestant as well as Jewish parochial schools -- fail to see what all this has to do with the election of a Catholic to the Presidency of the United States. A Catholic President, if elected, takes an oath of office which is prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. This oath of office reads: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States.' End of quote. Now what right have we to assume that a Catholic President would be less faithful to his oath than a Protestant President? Numerous Catholics have in the past been elected or appointed to high office in this nation and in every state of the Union -- Governors, Congressmen, Senators -- many of them elected in states where the majority of the electorate was Protestant -- Supreme Court Justices, Chiefs of the United States Supreme Court -- high ranking military chiefs and key diplomats. They served with unimpeachable loyalty and integrity. Their religion in no way caused them to subordinate the interests of their government to the interests of their Church."

From the numerous letters which I received after the circulation of this address, eighteen months ago, was the following: "Dear Dr. Silver: I have just read with interest, an article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 18th. Your thoughtful and reasoned approach to the question of "A Catholic in The White House?" is both a measure of sustenance and encouragement. I can't help but feel that many Americans are less bigoted and less intolerant today regarding this troublesome matter than they were 30 years ago. Tolerant voices, such as yours, will surely produce an atmosphere in which all of us can abide peaceably. With every good wish, I am, Sincerely, John F. Kennedy." Shortly thereafter, when Senator Kennedy visited Cleveland in connection with his primary campaign, he called upon me in my

and we spent a very pleasant half-hour chatting about many things.

In this connection, the Catholic issue, I am compelled to say that the recent pastoral letter which was addressed to the Catholics of Puerto Rico and read by the priests in all Catholic churches, the pastoral letter signed by three Bishops, two of whom were born and educated in the United States, in which letter they ordered all Catholics not to vote for the popular Democratic Party, as it is called, and stated that those who knowingly violated thisⁱⁿjunction would commit sin. One Bishop even intimated the penalty of excommunication. I am compelled to say that this pastoral letter coming at this time has not made the Catholic position of Senator Kennedy any easier. His own position is very clear. That of his church is not. The Puerto-Ricans are United States citizens -- even though they do not vote in a national election. To give voting instructions backed by the authority of the Church is to quote the Island Governor who is running on the issue of the separation of Church and State -- "both anti-American and anti-democratic". And to say that those instructions which were given by the Bishops are intended only for Puerto Rico and would never be issued in the United States is not entirely satisfying. I'm afraid it's a begging the question."

My advice to all Americans is: On Tuesday next do not vote as Jews, or as Catholics or as Protestants, vote American. Vote your own best interests and ~~xxxx~~ the best interests, as you see it, of your country. To vote against a Catholic just because he is a Catholic is bigotry and I am afraid there will be many bigots in this forthcoming election. To vote for a Catholic just because he is a Catholic is also bigotry and I am afraid there will be many such bigots next Tuesday. Before you vote on November 8th, ask yourselves the following pertinent questions. Shut out all the din and the clamor now of the campaign and think through these questions for yourselves. Do not vote on the promises that have been made. Before an election

everybody promises high in the sky. As my grandmother used to say () naturally. Ask yourselves these pertinent questions:

1) Has our country been generally prosperous during this past administration; or do you believe that our country would have made, and can now make greater and sounder economic progress under a new President, under a Democratic Administration? That is a fair question to ask yourselves.

2) Have the rights of labor, the needs of the aged, the sick, the unemployed, have our schools suffered under the past administration, or would social progress in these directions have been accelerated, and in your judgment, will be accelerated under a new, under a Democratic Administration? That's another fair question for you to ask yourselves.

3) In the matter of Civil Rights -- has the past administration made marked progress/ Has it gone as far as it should have, and would a Democratic Administration have done more, and is it likely to do more in the matter of school desegregation in the South and the Negroes' rights to vote and equality of opportunity for all the people? That's another fair question to ask yourselves.

4) Has our country been at peace? Has our foreign policy been as imaginative, as clear-sighted and as adroit as it might have been and would a Democratic Administration have acted in a radically different manner with reference, say, towards Russia, China or Berlin or Disarmament? This is another fair question for a citizen to ask himself.

And after you have weighed these questions in your mind and their relative importance, then ask yourself who in your judgment of the two candidates is best qualified to carry out the things which you wish to be carried out in our country during the next four years.

According to the answers to these questions you should vote. On each one of these issues there may be an honest difference of opinion -- the citizen, you, must assume the responsibility for his judgment and his decision.

Both candidates are good men -- intelligent and patriotic -- seeking the good of their country. Both believe in progress for our country -- one, perhaps, would like to reach the new frontier more rapidly, the other would like to make progress more slowly, but both are good men. They may not necessarily be great men, giants of the earth. Both have made mistakes in the past but no one knows what greatness a man is capable of until he has been challenged by circumstances and summoned to make the great decisions in a critical hour. It's a mistake to thrust both men aside and say: "Oh well, I won't vote for either of them". One of them will be the President of our country.

Whomever our people choose next Tuesday, whoever is elected will be the President of all of us and we shall all pray that our Heavenly Father will bestow upon him wisdom and counsel and strength to guide our beloved country during the unpredictable years which lie ahead for their burden -- his burden, the burden of the ~~elective~~ elected Chief Executive of the United States, the most onerous and difficult office in the world, his burdens will be very heavy.

And so quite calmly and deliberately and in the spirit of patriotism, think through your position, enter the voting booth on November 8th and vote as a free man, as a free man. Amen.

1. Looking over this congregation this morning I am ^{Sermon (1} 960
inclined to suggest to the Federal Government that it
hold elections more often.

2. The 1960 election campaign is drawing to a close, and,
I believe that we all feel relieved. It has been
a very long campaign, too long by far. With modern
means of communication, which are available to the
candidates, TV and radio, when every section of the
country can be reached almost instantaneously, and when
scores of millions of people can listen and see
listen to the same address and watch the speaker
as if he were present in their ^{own} homes, - a campaign
becomes after a few weeks boresome and repetitious,
boring and ~~tedious~~ ^{tedious}.

~~Prolonged~~ campaigns do not help to clarify issues.
There are often only a limited number of
vital issues in any campaign, and once you have
argued them, as effectively as you can, you are
through. Thereafter, you can only repeat yourself -
and, in order to hold the interest of the electorate,
you find yourself compelled to resort to sensational
utterances, to ~~crossing~~ ^{crossing} ~~chaps~~ ^{chaps} to ~~both~~ ^{both} ~~investors~~, and
from being to ridicule ^{abuse} ~~personalities~~ ^{personalities} ~~shurs~~.
From acting and talking as a statesman, you ^{are forced to}
drop to the role of the barker and the luckster.

Perhaps we ought to take a leaf out, the political ⁽²⁾
expenses of other countries - G. Br. for example - and shorten
the campaign time to a few weeks. I believe that ~~the~~
~~citizens~~ and voters and candidates alike would be
grateful for ^{such a} change. Months of electioneering - without
a coffee break - is too long.

3/ There has been an unusual amount of synthetic
showmanship in this campaign. Who can draw the biggest
crowds? ^{- from the primary election} Political rallies are curiously coached, and
organized, as to the exact time and place ^{where they will be held} to using the
crowds would be on hand, to demonstrate that the
candidate is truly the choice, the vast majority of
the people - and that ^{as} might just as well vote for him.
if we do not wish to waste your vote.
^{there may be} Perhaps this is not abnormal pay doing behind a
sound modern air technique - but after all - one
does not, a should not vote for a candidate, as one
bets on a horse. ~~to win~~ We bet on a horse to
win - we vote for a candidate because we believe that
he should win, because he represents ^{political} ~~any~~ ^{con}stituents.

4/ A novel departure in this campaign was the series
of T.V. debates bet. the candidates. They ~~had~~ were
helpful in so far as they brought to the focus

Now was Cuba ^{a long time} ~~there~~ there were mistakes made in Cuba but they do not date from the present administration. They go far back ^{a long time} ~~in the past~~ in both Republican and Democratic administrations were involved. There will be no easy solution ^{for Cuba} and we are committed by treaties with our Latin American neighbors not to take unilateral action in Cuba - nor would it be wise.

P We are pleased to ~~hear~~ ^{know} that Senator K. retracts from his earlier position when he called for ^{virtual} ~~an~~ intervention in Cuba, ^{actually backing} ~~the~~ all Anti-Castro elements and help them overthrow ~~the~~ his regime.

6/ On the subject of American military strength - while Russia is the leading military power in the world today of the U.S. - I, as a layman, and the millions of Am. citizens who are ~~as~~ ^{as} informed in such matters, ~~are~~ ^{are} unable to pass any judgments. I am prepared to accept the assurance, the Pres., that I - being a military man, Chief, the ^{business} ~~armed~~ forces in the last war - and to whom all the data of our military position ~~is~~ ^{are} available - that the U.S. is at the peak of its military strength and ^{is} ~~in~~ ^{in a position} ~~in a position~~ to deter any threat to peace aggressor.

I am compelled, however, to express my disappointment that both candidates appeared to outdo each other in their ^{total} ~~possess~~ for greater and stronger military arms ~~equipment~~ ^{equipment} in the U.S. - and said so little about disarmament - the most urgent and pressing need of the times.

they spoke at the Pentagon speaks, when military budgets (5
are to be voted on in Congress.

Both candidates attacked one another in their demon-
strations / conferences - but neither presented a clear
program & how a national program of living together
in the same world could be worked out.

On these two prominent and burning issues I
asked both candidates. I am as much kept out
in the light.

7). On the issue of our prestige abroad - I think much
has been made in this campaign, I have, ^{remained} as I indicated
two weeks ago - ~~remained~~ unimpressed.

As a nation we should be concerned with doing the
right - regardless of the ^{so-called} ~~so-called~~ plans of prestige. The
nations ~~whom~~ whom speak about us ~~has been~~ are
sometimes given to us in reports and meetings are
themselves not paragon / is true, whose programs ~~are~~
are objectionable ^{well informed} in unpleasant. I should not be
concerned by what Kennedy thinks of US ^{Kassavulu} ~~any more~~
~~concerned~~ - they come and go - but whether our policy
towards the world is just ^{right} human - and calculated
in the long-run to succeed and be helpful. That
holds true for all ^{years} our relations ^{with} all the new and so-
called neutral states of Africa and Asia. We should not

measure ourselves onto further, being deficient versus (6
their appeals. We should be scrupulous in our
adherence to ~~the~~ a code, high international morality
is keeping with our traditional American principles &
helping whenever we can and to the degree that we
can - ~~and not~~ ^{we should} ~~worry~~ ^{care} about prestige and being shuffled
on the back all the time.

8/ There were other unrelated issues introduced into the campaign.
9/ to Catholic issue I will speak in a moment.

There was also a ~~very~~ fairly and honestly
interviewed.

V.P. Nixon and American bridge were swamped with
anti-Jewish and anti-Israel bias. As a Latino, and long-
time friend of Israel, I felt compelled to pick up against
this gross unfairness. (Linda).

~~Then~~ In the afternoon paper in our city - this
statement was published with an unfortunate headline -
which gave the impression that I endorsed the Republican
Ticket. ^{Lodge, Texas R. Silver Endorsement For Nixon}
~~Nixon and Lodge~~ as you see there is nothing
the sort in this statement.

I have, of course, very political preferences, and I shall
with them right to say, but I do not regard it as my
function or responsibility to advocate my preferences
in public and to tell people how they should vote.
It is only when I feel that an injustice is being done

to a candidate, that he is being maligned and slandered,
in a matter, & with which I am fairly well familiar,
that I speak up. This has to do with morality: one must
be fair, even when he is a strong party man, or very enthusiastic for
9. I did it once before in 1952 - when Gen. Eisenhower
was a candidate for the Presidency. In the closing days of
that campaign the ~~McCarra~~ ^{McCarra} - Walter ~~Bill~~ ^{Bill} was ~~passed~~ ^{passed}
this was an immigration ~~bill~~ ^{law} which was ~~passed~~ ^{passed} by Congress
It set quotas of immigrants who would be permitted to come
to the U.S. in any given year. The ~~bill~~ ^{law} favored Northerners and
discriminated against immigrants from Southern & Eastern
Europe - principally Catholics and Jews. Pres. Truman vetoed
the bill. Congress overrode his veto. The bill was sponsored
by ~~Senator~~ ^{Senator} McCarran and ~~Walters~~ ^{Walters}, both democrats. Pres. Tr.
veto was overruled by both democrats and republicans. Gen.
Eisenhower, of course, had nothing to do with the enactment, this
law; but because in his campaign as head of the Ticket
he endorsed ~~all~~ ^{all} republican candidates for the Senate, among whom
were some who had ~~not~~ ^{not} opposed the McCarra Bill, Pres.
Truman violently attacked Eisenhower, charged him with
accepting the "Master Race" theory - this charge was leveled
at the man who had broken the night, the Nazi roots -
that he had an attack of "moral blindness." It was the
charge at the very time when Sen. E. was declaring publicly: "We
must strike from our statute books any legislation concerning
immigration that implies the blasphemy against the democracy;
that only certain groups of Europeans are welcome on our western
shores."

at that time I publicly expressed very feelings of shock that
such irresponsible statement could be made.

"Lunch is permitted in a campaign but the attempt by
unbreakers to identify a man with them. Scabrous where
humanity and broad tolerance are known all over the
world, with anti-semitism and anti-Catholicism is just not
permissible even in the heat of the campaign."

10/ Some might think that I do ~~it~~ ^{this} only when Republicans
are involved. I should like to call their attention to the

where I delivered her - May 17th / last year.
"A Catholic Present in the White House?" The address was
widely reprinted - and widely circulated. ~~See~~ This State
Senator Lausche had inserted in the Cincinnati
Record of June 22.

~~If I stated~~ I wish I had the time to re-
read to you this address. - Just a few lines must suffice -

(Just 4-5)
A few weeks after I delivered this address I received

the following letter (Just,
not long thereafter - on the occasion of his visit to
Cleveland in connection with his interest in the campaign
programs - he called upon me in ^{at my} ~~his~~ house - Chat -

11/ In this connection, I am compelled to say that the
recent pastoral letters addressed to the ~~faithful~~ Catholics
of the ~~United States~~ ^{at least by} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ 3 ~~books~~ ^{books}, eg. when were born our
educated in the ~~USA~~ in which they ordered all Catholics

③ In the matter of Civil Rights - has the past administration (10) made ^{much} progress, ~~and~~ ^{has it} far as far as it should have - or would a Democratic administration have done more, and is it likely to do more in the matter of school desegregation in the South - and the Negro's right to vote, and ~~the~~ equality of opportunity -

④ Has our country been at peace? ~~and~~ has our foreign policy been as unambiguous, as 'clear-sighted' and as adroit as it might have been, ~~under~~ and under a Democratic administration have acted in a radically different manner - with reference to Russia or China or disarmament?

[illegible]

15/ Both candidates are lost men - in hell just and perhaps -
Both beggars in money, one would better to ~~regain the new French~~ ^{new French} ~~other would make~~ ^{make} ~~hasty~~ ^{hasty} ~~wealth~~ ^{wealth} ~~plunder~~ ^{plunder}.
seeking the for their country - ~~they will / up / the~~ ^{they will / up / the} ~~best~~ ^{best}
~~that they are capable of~~ - ~~He may not be great - but~~ ^{He may not be great - but}
one never knows what features a man is capable of -
what ^{he is} ~~challenged~~ by circumstances and ~~summed~~ ^{summed} to make ~~great~~ ^{great}
decisions in a critical hour

16). Whomever our people choose next Tuesday, ^{whose is elected} will be the
President of ~~us~~ all, vs- and we shall pray for his
~~success~~ that our Heavenly Father - will bestow upon
him wisdom, counsel and might to guide our
beloved country during the unfortunate year which
he ahead. For his goodness will be heard.



RAEEL ABBA HILLEL'S STATEMENT

FOLLOWING VISIT WITH AMBASSADOR AND MRS. LODGE IN

CLEVELAND, OCTOBER 27th, 1960

I was delighted to welcome to our home Ambassador and Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge on the occasion of their visit to Cleveland.

I recalled with pleasure our earlier contacts, especially during the critical years prior to the establishment of the State of Israel when I frequently turned to Mr. Lodge, who was then United States Senator, for counsel, guidance, and political help. This was always given readily and generously.

Ambassador Lodge was always a convinced, warm and understanding friend of our people's historic hope for the re-establishment of the national Jewish home, as was his distinguished grandfather who was a pioneer supporter of our movement in the United States.

I recall Ambassador Lodge's deep satisfaction when the State of Israel was finally proclaimed and the eloquent words which he spoke on the occasion of the first anniversary celebration when I had the privilege of introducing him at a civic rally in Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Since those years, Ambassador Lodge has remained a consistent supporter of Israel, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity, its security and its economic progress. This was the case even during the difficult days of Suez-Sinai crisis, when, as the spokesman of the United States in the United Nations, he, as a matter of course, represented our government's position of which many both here and among our allies did not fully approve. I am glad to say these things about Ambassador Lodge in order to correct misrepresentations. In the heat and controversy of a political campaign, facts are sometimes distorted and the helpfulness of loyal friends is sometimes forgotten.

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon has also been subjected to a mischievous campaign smear. He has been charged with anti-semitic utterances in his earlier political career. Responsible Jewish bodies have closely investigated these charges and found them to be utterly groundless and false. Mr. Nixon has been a warm friend of Israel. He has advocated continued support for the young state strong and unceasing efforts to establish freedom of passage through the Suez Canal for Israeli shipping and an end to all discriminatory actions.

The position of the candidates of both political parties on Israel and their attitude towards our people, which in each instance has been friendly and unimpeachable should not enter into this campaign any more than the religious issue generally. American Jews should vote and I believe they will vote, without reference to any Jewish angle which simply does not exist in this campaign.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

I have no doubt that this is the position of the Catholic hierarchy of the United States and of Catholic laymen everywhere. But many of them would like to see a relaxation of the First Amendment which would make it possible for Federal aid to go to Catholic schools. These efforts, which have been made from time to time, have in the main been unsuccessful. Apart from certain fringe assistance given to the children attending parochial schools - and in my opinion wisely given - such as participation in the Federal school lunch program, or school buses - the basic principle of the separation of Church and State has held good in its original intent.

In 1947, the Supreme Court of the United States proceeded to define more fully the intent of the First Amendment. It declared: "Neither a state nor the Federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions or prefer one religion over another... No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect 'a wall between Church and State'".

X I believe that many Catholics in the United States fully accept this position. Recently Senator Kennedy, who came quite close two years ago to receiving the nomination for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, and who today is talked of as a possible Presidential candidate, was questioned on this very issue and he replied very clearly - and of course he is a Catholic - "The First Amendment to the Constitution is an infinitely wise one. There can be no question of Federal funds being used for support of parochial or private schools. It's unconstitutional under the First Amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court. I am opposed to the

Federal Government's extending support to sustain any church or its schools. As for such fringe matters as buses, lunches, and other services, the issue is primarily social and economic and not religious. Each case must be judged on its merits within the law as interpreted by the courts."

It is true that Senator Kennedy has been sharply criticized by some editorial writers in the Catholic press for the views which he expressed. It is such criticism which disturbs some non-Catholics in the United States. It raises doubts in their minds, as does the continued criticism of the Church hierarchy of our government's failure to aid religious schools.

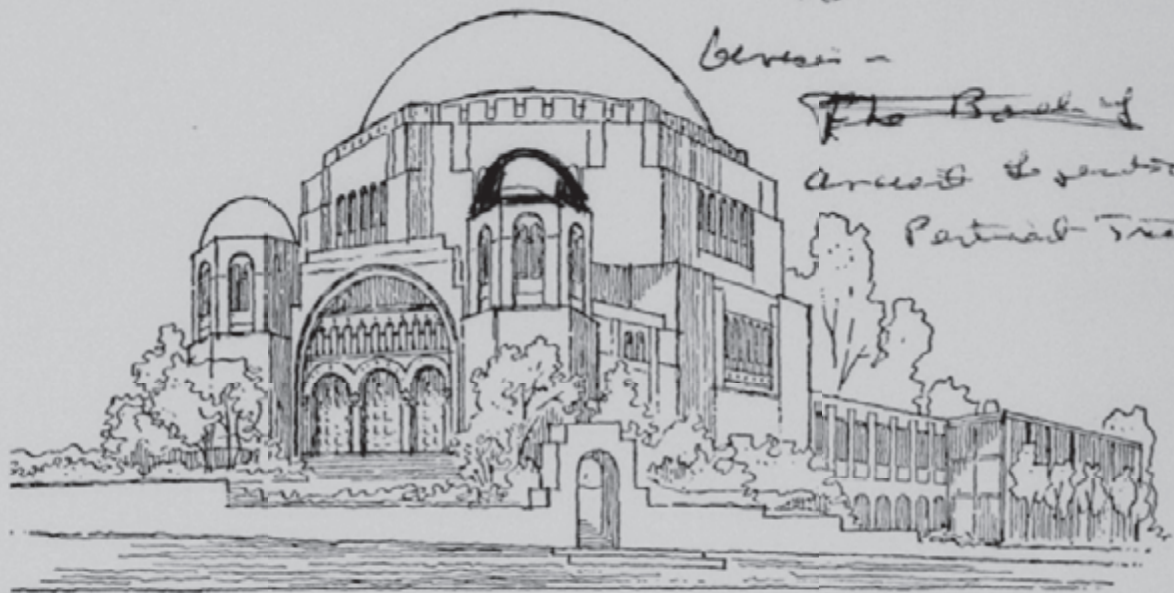
But even those of us who are opposed to Federal aid to parochial schools - whether they be Catholic or Protestant or Jewish - and there are Protestant as well as Jewish parochial schools - fail to see what all this has to do with the election of a Catholic to the Presidency of the United States. A Catholic president, if elected, takes an oath of office which is prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. This oath of office reads: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Now what right have we to assume that a Catholic President would be less faithful to his oath, solemnly sworn, than a Protestant President? Numerous Catholics have in the past been elected or appointed to high office in this nation and in every state of the Union - Governors, Congressmen, Senators - many of them elected in states where the majority of the electorate was Protestant - Supreme Court Justices, Chiefs of the United States Supreme Court - high ranking military chiefs and key diplomats. They served with unimpeachable loyalty and integrity. Their religion in no way caused them to subordinate the interests of their government to the interests of their Church.

THE TEMPLE

CLEVELAND, OHIO

November 6, 1960

Vol. XLVII No. 3



OUR CHANGING WORLD — FROM THE RABBIS' DESK

A home is built, bought, then resold. Ordinarily this fact would command a brief paragraph in the real estate news, satisfying our curiosity as to the mortgage a friend is undertaking. But this particular home was built in an exclusive suburb, bought by an epidermically acceptable prospective settler, and resold to one whose skin color raised a question of admissibility.

What particularly intrigued me about this incident was the awkward, foot-in-gaping-mouth position in which this suburb's mayor found himself. On Wednesday he told a group of clergymen, "We live in a changing world and we have changing neighborhoods." On Thursday, after the news became public, he told a reporter, "I will fight with every means in my ability to prevent infiltration in those neighborhoods where the neighbors are content with the status quo."

Mayor Stapleton's position does not do him credit. A changing suburb requires calm, helpful leadership. Instead, the mayor fanned the very flames of fear and confusion which must at all costs in such a situation be kept under control.

I find Mayor Stapleton's dilemma not only tragic but symbolic. Many of us, like him, espouse equality and justice as long as integration takes place in another part of town. We are dedicated social liberals as long as only white children play on our green lawns. Forced to face up to a changing neighborhood we put up a "For Sale" sign and scurry away to seek another suburb which has not yet been afflicted with the disease of democracy. Is it not time that everyone accepted the reality and the rightness of modern living? The 1960s will see profound social changes. In the South there will be

integrated schools, in the North integrated suburbs. Economics, politics, and simple justice demand it.

We can no longer pay the price of private prejudice. Culturally, educationally, financially, legally many a colored person is the equal, if not the better, of the average white suburbanite and understandably wants the same opportunities for himself and his children. Shall we flee? Mass exodus will only lower the value of our homes. Shall we be fearful? Of what? Are the lives of our children not the richer for knowing those of other backgrounds and persuasions? In our tense and anxious world can we afford the bitterness of community strife, a bitterness inevitable if we attempt to bar our gates? What we must do is learn to live in the twentieth century in that spirit which our prophets commanded thirty centuries ago. It will not be easy. There are no simple, wholly adequate

solutions. But this much is evident—those neighbors who extended a hand of welcome understood the dimensions of modern life. The mayor, protesting loudly both pious platitude and the prejudices of property, is a man who has not yet faced squarely the challenge of our times.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

MUSIC FOR SUNDAY

Organ	Concerto V, Set 2, Allegro	Handel
	Pastorale—First Sonata	Guilmant
	Cantabile	Franck
Opening Psalm—Tov l'hodos		Rogers
Bor'chu (Congregational)		Sulzer
Sh'ma-Boruch (Congregational)		Traditional
Mi Chomocho (Congregational)		Sulzer
Kedusha		Rogers
Silent Devotion—May the Words		Saminsky
Before the Address—		
O How Great Is the House of God		Dickinson
Mrs. Strasser, Mr. Hakola and choir		
Olelu-Vaanachnu		Goldstein

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

November 6, 1960

10:30 o'clock

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

will speak on

**AS THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN
DRAWS TO A CLOSE**

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:

MILTON MATZ

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MILDRED B. EISENBERG

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LEO W. NEUMARKVice-President

ELI GOLDSTONVice-President

MAX EISNERTreasurer

EDWARD D. FRIEDMANAssociate Treasurer

THIS SUNDAY

Mr. and Mrs. Herman Moss will be hosts for the Social Hall coffee hour preceding the worship service. Mr. Moss is an Honorary Member of The Temple Board of Trustees.

The flowers which will grace the pulpit are contributed in memory of husband and father, Louis E. Gruber, by Mrs. Louis E. Gruber and Mr. and Mrs. Irving Fine.

ALTAR FLOWERS

The flowers which graced the pulpit on Saturday, October 29th were contributed by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Winkelman in honor of the Bar Mitzvah of their grandson, Leonard Alan Freed.

CHANUKAH CANDLES

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.

In Memoriam

The Temple notes with deep sorrow the passing of

CLARA SCHWARTZ

ROSE UNGER

and extends heartfelt sympathy to the members of their bereaved families.

THE MR. AND MRS. CLUB

A PANEL DISCUSSION

Friday, November 18th

8:30 P.M.

Social Hall

"CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS"

A Social and Economic Problem

Panel:

Dr. John Turner

Assistant Director of Field Service,

Cleveland Welfare Federation

Mr. Alan Fonoroff

Chief City Planner of Cleveland

Mr. Paul Donaldson

Assistant Law Director,

Shaker Heights

Mr. Sidney Vincent

Assistant Director,

Jewish Welfare Federation

Moderator:

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

Refreshments

Guests Welcome



The Mr. and Mrs. Club invites Temple members of any age to contribute short stories, articles, poems, or any other literary compositions to the next edition of "Reflections".

Material on any subject is welcome.

Manuscripts should be double spaced and sent to Dick and Judy Bracker, 1333 Avondale Road, South Euclid 21. Deadline is January 6, 1961. For further information, call EV 2-7767.

THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

"WHAT IS JUDAISM?"

For your listening pleasure and for the joy of learning, The Temple Women's Association suggests Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's recording, "What is Judaism?" This message was originally prepared to answer questions put to Dr. Silver by members of the Mr. and Mrs. Club of The Temple. The long-playing, unbreakable record can be purchased at The Temple Office or through The Temple Women's Association. Cost is \$3.00; a slight additional charge will enable the record to be mailed as a gift anywhere in the country.

✓
THE TEMPLE MEN'S CLUB

ELECTION PARTY



Tuesday, November 8th

8:30 P.M.

Social Hall and
Luntz Auditorium

Dancing

T.V. Election returns

Guest entertainment

Refreshments throughout the evening

Midnight supper

Open only to Temple Men's Club
Members and their ladies

Send reservations to
Leonard Task, Temple Office

Reservations Limited



THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

POLITICAL RALLY-GO-ROUND

More than six hundred members and guests of The Temple Women's Association became delegates and representatives for the presidential candidate of their choice at the Political Rally-Go-Round on Wednesday, October 26th in the Social Hall. Chairman of the affair, Mrs. Alvin Udelson, arranged an event-filled agenda for the mock convention.

An old-fashioned "Free Lunch" was planned and served by Mrs. Richard Adler, Mrs. Louis N. Gross, Mrs. David Schiffer, and Mrs. David Simon. Delegates, "pledged" to a particular state by the fifty women representing each state of the Union, sat together at tables in a red-white-and-blue motif, decorated by Mrs. Harry Horvitz. After the luncheon, the women gathered in Luntz Auditorium to hear John Wingate, outstanding Mutual Network news commentator, who gave a political scene analysis as a keynote of the "convention". Mr. Wingate, well-known for his broadcasting throughout the New York area, spoke on "On Top Of The News" and presented highlights about both the candidates and the issues of the election.

Mrs. Alexander Mintz was the coordinator of the "convention" and asked for a show of delegates. Banners made by Mrs. Marvin Hecht were carried by state chairmen, and this was followed by the results of the polling of the membership.

An exquisite cashmere, mink-trimmed sweater, contributed by S. A. Lane Furs as a prize for the state delegate bringing the most delegates to the "convention" was won by Mrs. Don Neuberger. Mrs. Myron S. Eckstein and Mrs. Howard Gans were also awarded a prize as a "Democrat" and "Republican" winner.

Mrs. Joel Bennett was Chairman of Hostesses for the day and Mrs. Robert Rosenthal and Mrs. Malcolm Zucker were in charge of Arrangements, with Mrs. M. J. Koblitz, Jr. as adviser. Mrs. Gilbert Stein and Mrs. Morton G. Epstein were Publicity Chairmen.

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DATES TO REMEMBER

- Adult Hebrew Class
- Sunday, November 6 — Sunday Morning Services
High School "Night With The Rabbis"
- Monday, November 7 — Advanced Adult Hebrew Class
- Tuesday, November 8 — Temple Women's Association Tuesday Activities
Temple Men's Club Election Party
- Adult Hebrew Class
- Sunday, November 13 — Sunday Morning Services
New Member 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 on all occasions of organization meetings. Arrangements to view the Museum by special appointment may be made through The Temple office.

THE ISRAELI GIFT SHOP this year celebrates its tenth anniversary season. The Israeli 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.