



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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The spiritual foundations of democracy, 1940.

City Club 40-8  
Nov. 16, 1940

~~For~~ The world, ~~generally~~, stands today bewildered and disillusioned.

The strong and sure foundations upon which it had builded its life have been rudely shaken. That high optimism which fed upon truly remarkable achievements in every scientific field has vanished. Marvelous had been the vistas which opened up before the eyes of men in the preceding century. Men could dream then and men did dream, unabashed, of a glorious and uninterrupted progress for mankind, of an unending conquest of nature, and of building, in a world of abundance, a civilization free from all poverty, ignorance and war. "In the nineteenth century," wrote Victor Hugo, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead, man will begin to live!" But here we are in the twentieth century, and war is not dead, <sup>the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead,</sup> royalty is not dead, dogmas are not dead, and man is beginning to die... The vista which stretches before our generation today ends at the edge of a wilderness.

TP For twenty-five years now, men have lived in a world of mounting hate, intolerance, and bigotry, of revolutions, invasions, wars, the rise and fall of empires, and amidst the slaughter of millions of their kind. Great peoples have destroyed their liberties and enslaved themselves. Millions of men cower today in terrorized submissiveness. The wealth of nations is being drained in war, and in preparation for wars which will also drain the lives of their people. The mind of man, trained and sharpened by generations of scientific education, is now applied to the perfection of the war technique. So that the discoveries which science records in our day in such great numbers no longer fill the hearts of men with pride or enthusiasm. They suspect that these things will not contribute either to their happiness or security. The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom.



The thoughtful among men have accordingly begun to search earnestly for ~~some way of salvation~~ a road away from disaster. They are seeking desperately hard to rediscover that vision which was somehow lost amidst the brilliant pageantry of scientific achievement in the last century, -to the hurt and sorrow of the world. They understand now what the wise men of the earth have <sup>always</sup> ~~also~~ known: that increased knowledge does not necessarily mean increased goodness or happiness, that facts are not in themselves blessings, that "truth can make us mad as well as free," that the prolongation of human life is not the same as the improvement of human life, that the acceleration of a process does not always insure a finer product, that change does not necessarily spell progress, and that democracy, as Lecky pointed out a half century ago, may often destroy liberty. (~~W. E. A. Lecky - "Democracy and Liberty" I.) p. 256 ff~~) They realize now that the fault is not with science or education or democracy, as such, but with the interpretation which men have put upon them, with the omnipotence and autonomy which they have ascribed to them and with their failure to understand that science, education and democracy are means and not ends in themselves.

What has been tragically missing in our civilization is the compelling and unifying faith in the great human goals which religion, and religion alone, has set for mankind, and towards the attainment of which science, education and democracy should contribute, if they are to fulfill their chief function. Mankind

lost sight of these goals. Therefore human progress today has no clear direction. *Every true sanctuary of man - The Temple, the Kaaba, the earthly Jerusalem must be modelled after a celestial archetype.*

Good material and good tools are not enough for the builder. He must have a plan. *To build a noble and enduring society, it is not enough to have wealth and knowledge.*

Mankind must be possessed of the architectural plan <sup>and that only</sup> ~~which~~ the spiritual vision of man designed. It must also have the will and loyalty to follow that plan. That <sup>has</sup> ~~will and loyalty~~ the moral sense of man <sup>alone</sup> ~~alone~~ provides. Without faith in God, the reality of the spiritual vision as well as the ~~authority~~ <sup>sense in man</sup> of moral ~~law~~ are quickly denied and rejected in the world.



It is becoming increasingly clear to thoughtful men that faith in God ~~is~~ the strongest bulwark of a free society. Human freedom began when men became conscious that over and above society and ~~physical~~ nature there is a God who created them, who breathed his spirit into them, who fashioned them in His likeness, and that they are, therefore, possessed of intrinsic and independent significance, and are endowed, as individuals, with original and irrevocable rights and authority. *When in the long* ~~In the~~ past, men challenged the authority of kings ~~and~~ <sup>or</sup> magistrates, ~~or~~ <sup>they did it</sup> of restrictive customs or traditions, and all "the brutal solidarity of ancient times", <sup>Some</sup> in the name of higher mandates derived from the spirit of God within them, in the name of <sup>some</sup> moral sanctions which emanated from their relationship to God. Men became free when they acknowledged a higher authority than that of state, class, system or ruler. Fundamentally the eternal struggle has always been between autocracy and theocracy. *in their broadest implications* Modern Nazi, "steely, authoritative romanticism" (Goebbels' phrase) is but another expression of the old autocratic principle, eternally at war with the principle of spiritual <sup>disciplined</sup> freedom *in man*.

X Friends of democracy have somehow forgotten the religious origin of the whole democratic <sup>dogma</sup> ~~thesis~~ in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of a long struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. This struggle received its impetus not from organized religion, to be sure, that is to say, from the church, but from the faith of deeply religious folk in ~~the primacy~~ of the dynamics of religion, in revelation-- and from a deliberate return to prophetic traditions and sanctions. They drew their inspiration from the moral passion of Biblical Judaism; <sup>and Christianity</sup> for Judaism fashioned God not in the Caesar-image of an imperial ruler, nor in the Aristotelian-image of an ultimate philosophical principle, nor <sup>in</sup> ~~as~~ the cult-<sup>image</sup> ~~deity~~ of some priestly hierarchy but, to quote Prof.

out



Whitehead, as "the personification of moral energy". And every important social and economic movement in Western Europe in the last few centuries was inspired by <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ Judaeo-Christian ethical idealism. "On the whole, ~~therefore~~," concludes Mr. Lange, in his "History of Materialism," it is very probable that the energetic, even revolutionary, efforts of this century to transform the form of society in favor of the down-trodden masses, are very intimately connected with the New Testament ideas, <sup>which</sup> because of their origin and content are also, of course, O. T. ideas, although the champions of these efforts feel themselves bound in other respects to oppose what is now-a-days called Christianity."

Modern democracy was born in the struggle for religious freedom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Protestant Reformation was not merely a reformation in the realm of doctrine and ritual and a repudiation of the authority of the Papacy and the hierarchial system of the Church. It was much more than that. The early leaders of the Protestant movement did not themselves fully appreciate the forces which they represented. They were confused, and at times very inconsistent. They did not grasp fully what was happening in the mind and the heart of the world. What actually was happening was a new determined upreaching on the part of men in the Western World for spiritual liberty, for the emancipation of man from the straight-jacket of <sup>Tradition and</sup> System. Luther, when still a revolutionary, proclaimed that "human authority might be resisted when its mandates conflicted with the Word of God." Suddenly on all sides one heard again the magic phrase, "The Word of God". A new authority surged back into the life of the world--the authority of direct revelation, which was available to all.

The demand for spiritual liberty soon expressed itself in demands for other forms of liberty. Peasant revolts followed. Political and economic rights were demanded by humble people. By what authority?



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They had no authority. They had no human law to which they could appeal. In whose name did they speak? In the same name and by the same authority as the ancient prophets of Israel, presumed to challenge kings, high-priests, <sup>the</sup> ~~and~~ noblemen, and the rich, and to denounce them for their injustices. They spoke in the name of God, in the name of a revelation from God. All men were equal because God made all men equal. The things which they demanded were the things which the Bible, the revealed Word of God, conceded to them and to all men. The social revolutions of the sixteenth century which were quenched in the blood of a hundred thousand peasants received their inspiration from religion and revelation.





'Millennial Kingdom,' the 'Restitution of All Things', the 'Reign of the Saints', and in cognate phrases....It was under the dominance of this attitude of mind that the conviction of the imminence of the promised millennial reign seized such vast numbers of the poor working-population of Western Europe during those early years of the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. In such wise did the disinherited classes of that age envisage their social revindication". (E.B. Bay, "Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists," (1903) p. 388-9).

*James Martineau, the eminent English div. in the last century eloquently summed up the socio-theological movement of the 16c whose repercussions are felt to this day!*

"The full thunder-cloud of the Hebrew prophets, stealing over a world in negative stagnation, waked the sleeping lightnings of the soul, and for a while streaked the atmosphere of history with fearful portents...The downtrodden serfs of Franconia had not long heard the glad tidings from Wittenberg, ere they began to draw parallels between themselves and the old Israel when the desert had been passed...The earth was the Lord's and the army of the saints was come to take it... The time of jubilee was come, when every believer should have his field of heritage... Throughout the great movement which in the third decade of the sixteenth century spread insurrection from the Breisgau to Saxony, the peasants were animated with the belief that the Gospel, armed with the sword of Joshua, was to subjugate the world, and that all the conditions of property, of law, of civil administration, under which secular communities exist, were to be superseded by institutions conformed to a divine model." (~~James Martineau - "Studies of Christianity" (London, 1890) p. 341-3).~~

The quintessence of the spiritual idealism of the Protestant Reformation, which later on affected the life of the American people, lay with the various Anabaptist sects which sprang up in the wake of the Reformation. Some of these sects were hundreds of years ahead of their time. They believed in the absolute moral responsibility of the individual, in his inherent spiritual sovereignty and in the right of private judgment in matters of religion. They held that the duty of the State was only to protect the good and to punish the evil and beyond that the State itself was evil. The State had no right to circumscribe the freedom of the individual. These sects



were the first to demand absolute dis-establishment--the separation of church and state. They were the first to preach universal toleration and freedom of worship. They maintained that all property belonged to God. Some of them, like the early Christians, practised voluntary communism--- which is a very different thing, of course, from the secular dictatorship communism of our day--- in fact, ~~is~~ the violent negation of it in everything but surface similarity.

Thus, out of victories won for religious freedom on the battlefields of the spirit, there stemmed other victories for man's political, economic and social emancipation. The absolutism of king and state was first curbed by the religious spirit of man, demanding at the point of revolution, the right, not of universal suffrage or better living conditions, but the right to worship God as it saw fit.

Those doctrines of the Anabaptists were carried over from Germany to Holland and England, and then to the United States. The Founding Fathers of our country adopted many of the doctrines of these religious "fanatics". When they wrote into the Declaration of Independence; "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness", they were giving political expression to seminal religious, Anabaptist doctrines. When they countered the claim of the Divine Rights of Kings with the counter-claim of the Divine Right of the People to resist the tyranny of kings, when, they proclaimed ~~that~~ resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, when, they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical proclamation; "Proclaim ye freedom through-out the land unto all the inhabitants thereof", or when, they placed on the first seal of the new-born republic of the United States, the figure of Moses leading the children of Israel out of



Egypt, they were summoning religious truth, authority and tradition to under-write and sanction their revolution. Edmund Burke was entirely right when he declared, " The religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principles of resistance; it is the ~~dissidence~~ of dissent, and the protestantism of the Protestant religion."

X Struggles for human freedom, uninspired by a living faith in God, ~~often~~ lead mankind to disaster. In recent year, Russia attempted to build a free and happy society without God. It succeeded only in forging a dictatorship and an enslaved society. This is most unfortunate, for historically, it was the religious motif which nurtured and religious bodies which fostered communism. Modern Socialism received its comprehensive and scientific exposition at the hands of Marx and





ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND, OHIO - BEFORE  
THE CITY CLUB ON NOVEMBER 16, 1940.

## THE SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

The world stands today bewildered and disillusioned. The strong and sure foundations upon which it had builded its life have been rudely shaken. That high optimism which fed upon truly remarkable achievements in every scientific field has vanished. Marvelous had been the vistas which opened up before the eyes of men in the preceding century. Men could dream then and men did dream, unabashed, of a glorious and uninterrupted progress for mankind, of an unending conquest of nature, and of building, in a world of abundance, a civilization free from all poverty, ignorance and war. "In the nineteenth century," wrote Victor Hugo, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead, man will begin to live!" But here we are in the twentieth century, and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead, dogmas are not dead, and man is beginning to die.... The vista which stretches before our generation today ends at the edge of a wilderness.

For twenty-five years now, men have lived in a world of mounting hate, intolerance, and bigotry, of revolutions, invasions, wars, the rise and fall of empires, and amidst the slaughter of millions of their kind. Great peoples have destroyed their liberties and enslaved themselves. Millions of men cower today in terrorized submissiveness. The wealth of nations is being drained in war, and in preparation for wars which will also drain the lives of their people. The mind of man, trained and sharpened by generations of scientific education, is now applied to the perfection of the war technique. So that the discoveries which science records in our day in such great numbers no longer fill the hearts of men with pride or enthusiasm. They suspect that these things will not contribute either to their happiness or security. The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom.



The thoughtful among men have accordingly begun to search earnestly for a road away from disaster. They are seeking desperately hard to rediscover that vision which was somehow lost amidst the brilliant pageantry of scientific achievement in the last century, - to the hurt and sorrow of the world. They understand now what the wise men of the earth have always known: that increased knowledge does not necessarily mean increased goodness or happiness, that facts are not in themselves blessings, that "truth can make us mad as well as free," that the prolongation of human life is not the same as the improvement of human life, that the acceleration of a process does not always insure a finer product, that change does not necessarily spell progress, and that democracy, as Lecky pointed out a half century ago, may often destroy liberty. They realize now that the fault is not with science or education or democracy, as such, but with the interpretation which men have put upon them, with the omnipotence and autonomy which they have ascribed to them and with their failure to understand that science, education and democracy are means and not ends in themselves.

What has been tragically missing in our civilization is the compelling and unifying faith in the great human goals which religion, and religion alone, has set for mankind, and towards the attainment of which science, education and democracy should contribute, if they are to fulfill their chief function. Mankind lost sight of these goals. Therefore human progress today has no clear direction. Good material and good tools are not enough for the builder. He must have a plan. Every true sanctuary of man - The Temple, the Ka'ba, the earthly Jerusalem must be modelled after a celestial archetype. To build a noble and enduring society, it is not enough to have wealth and knowledge. Mankind must be possessed of the architectural plan; and that only the spiritual vision of man has designed. It must also have the will and loyalty to follow that plan. That the moral sense of man alone has provided. Without faith in God, the reality of the spiritual ~~idea~~ vision as well as the moral sense in man are quickly denied and rejected in the world.



It is becoming increasingly clear to thoughtful men that faith in God is the strongest bulwark of a free society. Human freedom began when men became conscious that over and above society and nature there is a God who created them, who breathed his spirit into them, who fashioned them in His likeness, and that they are, therefore, possessed of intrinsic and independent significance, and are endowed, as individuals, with original and irrevocable rights and authority. When in the long past, men challenged the authority of kings or magistrates, or restrictive customs or traditions, and all "the brutal solidarity of ancient times", they did it in the name of some higher mandate derived from the spirit of God within them, in the name of some moral sanction which emanated from their relationship to God. Men became free when they acknowledged a higher authority than that of state, class, system or ruler. Fundamentally the eternal struggle has always been between autocracy and theocracy in their broadest implications. Modern Nazi, "steely, authoritative romanticism" (Goebbels' phrase) is but another expression of the old autocratic principle, eternally at war with the principle of spiritual disciplined freedom in man.

Friends of democracy have somehow forgotten the religious origin of the whole democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of a long struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. This struggle received its impetus not from organized religion, to be sure, that is to say, from the church, but from the faith of deeply religious folk in the dynamics of religion, in revelation -- and from a deliberate return to prophetic traditions and sanctions. They drew their inspiration from the moral passion of Biblical Judaism and Christianity; for Judaism fashioned God not in the Caesar-image of an imperial ruler, nor in the Aristotelian-image of an ultimate philosophical principle, nor in the cult-image of some priestly hierarchy, but to quote Professor Whitehead, as "the personification of moral energy". And every important social and economic movement in Western Europe in the last few centuries



was inspired by this Judaeo-Christian ethical idealism. "On the whole," concludes Mr. Lange, in his 'History of Materialism,' "it is very probably that the energetic, even revolutionary, efforts of this century to transform the form of society in favor of the down-trodden masses, are very intimately connected with the New Testament ideas, (which because of their origin and content are also, of course, Old Testament ideas,) although the champions of these efforts feel themselves bound in other respects to oppose what is now-a-days called Christianity."

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Those doctrines of the Anabaptists were carried over from Germany to Holland and England, <sup>and</sup> then to the United States. The Founding Fathers of our country adopted many of the doctrines of these religious "fanatics". When they wrote into the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness", they were giving political expression to seminal religious, Anabaptist doctrines. When they countered the claim of the Divine Right of Kings with the counter-claim of the Divine Right of the People to resist the tyranny of kings, when, they proclaimed that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical proclamation: "Proclaim ye freedom throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof", or when they placed on the first seal of the new-born republic of the United States, the figure of Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt, they were summoning religious truth, authority and tradition to under-write and sanction their revolution. Edmund Burke was entirely right when he declared, "The religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principles of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the Protestant religion."



Struggles for human freedom, uninspired by a living faith in God, often lead mankind to disaster. In recent years, Russia attempted to build a free and happy society without God. It succeeded only in forging a dictatorship and an enslaved society. This is most unfortunate, for historically, it was the religious motif which nurtured, and religious bodies which fostered communism. Modern Socialism received its comprehensive and scientific exposition at the hands of Marx and his disciples at a time when materialistic determinism, now largely discredited, was the philosophic vogue. The theoreticians of the movement, in an effort to make it appear philosophically up to date, drafted it upon those extreme materialistic hypotheses, with which, of course, they have no essential connection. The fact that organized religion evinced little sympathy for the struggling masses was also a contributing factor to the anti-religious attitude of the founders of modern Socialism. But it is becoming clear to many that in turning anti-religious, Socialism has needlessly sacrificed a most powerful ally and has drawn to itself antagonisms which would otherwise not be directed against its real purposes.

Fascist and Nazi states in Europe also sought to build happier socialized communities on the basis of a Godless materialism, vitiated still further by an anti-spiritual racism and chauvenism. They succeeded only in effecting, with the aid of rubber truncheons and concentration camps, a brutally regimented and terrorized society. The "new" orders which these Godless revolutionary movements achieved were only variant forms of older despotisms. Though they pride themselves on being young and dynamic, they are so only in the sense of being immature, raw, untempered and cruel. A society achieved real renewal only through inner spiritual renewal. If freedom is ever to speak again everywhere, its speech, to quote Heine, will again have to be Biblical.

The soldiers of Cromwell marched into battle singing Psalms. For three centuries the spirit of Cromwell and of his Puritan hosts has molded the free life of the English peoples. Roger Williams established the first free society in the New



world in the name of a God of Freedom, whose faithful minister he was. The spirit of Roger Williams has permeated the free life of this nation to this very day. The American Revolution kindled its torches at the flame of a religious dogma that men were created by God to be free and equal. The long protracted struggle in this country to emancipate the slaves received its powerful momentum not from economics, or from any materialistic conception of history, but from deep religious convictions, which revolted against the enslavement of human beings, children of God, and which saw in the Civil War a divine retribution for the sins which the nation committed against the black man, and which heard in the tramp of men marching to battle the footsteps of God. "His truth is marching on!"...

Democracy shrivels when its religious source dries up. An early and friendly critic of American democracy, De Tocqueville, cautioned it: "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot."

Why do all present-day enemies of human liberties persecute religion, even though in Nazi and Fascist lands they sometimes come to terms with clericalism which is a totally different thing? Because religion in its spiritual essence is their death warrant. They see in Judaism and in its offspring, Christianity, the last unwearied watchmen over the ramparts of human liberties, who must be destroyed before their own freedom-annihilating materialistic revolutions can be firmly established. Thus, fundamentally, it is not the Jews whom the Fascist dictators wish to drive out of Europe, but Judaism, that entire complex of ethical and spiritual ideas rooted in the principle of the sacredness of human personality, the worth of the individual and the transcendent moral law which are at the very heart of the Judeo-Christian civilization, which they wish to supplant.

Dictators hold man in utter contempt. Hitler called the masses "eine Hammelherde von Hohlkopfen" ("Herd of sheep and empty-heads"). Otto Strasser, a close collaborator of Hitler in the early days of the Nazi movement, declares that Hitler surrounds himself with depraved and vicious accomplices because they confirm his profound conviction that man is essentially vile. "From this conviction I will never depart...Man is



congenitally evil. He can only be controlled by force. To govern him, everything is permissible. You must lie, betray, even kill when policy demands it."

Herman Rauschning, from his intimate knowledge and observation both of the Nazi movement and its Fuehrer makes this summary: "It may be said in general that at the back of the whole tactics and method of propaganda of National Socialism there is a complete contempt of humanity: the whole system is based on taking men as they are and pandering to their weakness and their bestiality. Such is its universal recipe. National Socialism banks on human sloth and timidity - just as much in the case of the intellectuals, the middle classes, and the old ruling classes, as with the masses...The exploitation of envy and ill-will, of the lowest human instincts, the sowing of dissension between opponents, and the appeal to their ignoble qualities and notorious weaknesses have thus far unfailingly helped National Socialism to success, incidentally destroying the basis of a general sense of morality which was weak enough to begin with."

Dictators are anti-Semitic because they know or sense that liberty is Semitic in origin and character. "Democracy", declared Hitler, "is fundamentally Jewish, not Germanic". And by Jewish, he meant not only Abraham, but Jesus as well, for they were kinsmen in blood and spirit. The so-called Aryan must trace his political traditions back to the oriental despotisms and King-worship of ancient Persia and to the caste system of India. Even the Greeks had no strong consistent democratic tradition. Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle opposed the democratic form of government. Aristotle actually defended slavery. "The Greek political thinkers," declares Professor Zimmern, "do not recognize, or do not make proper allowance for the rights and responsibilities of the individual soul. Just as they failed to distinguish between Nationality and Government, so they failed also to distinguish between Conscience and Public duty...Their work was vitiated by their failure to realize the extent and urgency of the claim of the individual soul. Men must be spiritually free before they can co-operate politically on the highest terms." But the Semite of the desert, from whom Israel is descended, and from whom Judaism and Christianity are descended,



neither knew nor tolerated any despotism. The democratic motif runs like a golden thread through the whole political, social, economic and religious history of Israel from the earliest nomadic period to the present.

The spiritual foundations of modern democracy lie deep in the religious dogmas of Judaism and Christianity -- in the concept of man as a child of God, physically circumscribed, but capable of reaching levels where he is "just a little lower than the angels", in the concept of doing justice, loving mercy, walking humbly and seeking peace as the only ways of reaching those high levels; in the concept of Human Brotherhood - One God - One Humanity; in the concept of rulers and governors, as servants of God and men, subject to the same moral law, and not as a law unto themselves; in the concept of a Messianic future of universal knowledge, freedom, security and peace which men, through their righteous labors and sacrifices - sacrifices of self, not others - , will someday bring about: "when every man shall dwell under his vine and under his fig tree with none to make him afraid".

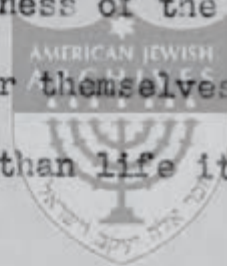
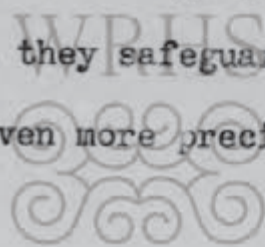
It is abundantly clear, on all sides, that humanity has sickened of its Godless civilization. Because the spiritual interpretation of human destiny was allowed to languish, other interpretations have come to life and are now driving mankind mad. For when God is dethroned, His throne does not remain empty for long. Some false God, some Wotan, Moloch, Mammon or Mars soon occupies it. In place of piety, reverence, humility, compassion, self-sacrifice, other qualities -- insolence, cruelty, aggression and combativeness are not extolled. Because men have rejected the ideal of the sanctification of human life under God, they now have a world in which human life is held cheap, in which the stature of the individual has been reduced, his rights usurped by the state, his labor looked upon as a commodity and his life, just a statistical item. Because men have ignored the sovereignty of God's moral law, they have a world in which men, parties and governments have set themselves up above all law. Where there is no longer the Law of God, there ensues the law of the Duce, the Fuehrer, of the Commissar, before which all men must tremble.



Now that lights are going out everywhere in the world, men must turn again to the light of God, and the youth of the world should be led to it. By that light men will find their way to a kingdom of just human values, achieved through just human methods. They will then not seek freedom through slavery, or peace through war, or justice through class-struggle, or knowledge through the burning of books, or abundance through confiscation, or unity through blood-purges and liquidations.

They will move steadily and resolutely forward, along the road of social progress, economic justice, human freedom and international peace, guided by the prophetic ideals of the sacredness of the individual and his inalienable rights, which must never be sacrificed to state or class sovereignty, the sacredness of the moral law which is not a changeable human convenience, but eternal as the laws of nature and the sacredness of method - the almighty Holiness of the "How".

In such manner will they safeguard for themselves and for those who shall come after them, what is even more precious than life itself -- Dignity and Freedom.





ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND, OHIO  
BEFORE THE CITY CLUB ON NOVEMBER 16, 1940.

### THE SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

The world stands today bewildered and disillusioned. The strong and sure foundations upon which it had builded its life have been rudely shaken. That high optimism which fed upon truly remarkable achievements in every scientific field has vanished. Marvelous had been the vistas which opened up before the eyes of men in the preceding century. Men could dream then and men did dream, unabashed, of a glorious and uninterrupted progress for mankind, of an unending conquest of nature, and of building, in a world of abundance, a civilization free from all poverty, ignorance and war. "In the nineteenth century," wrote Victor Hugo, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead, man will begin to live!" But here we are in the twentieth century, and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead, dogmas are not dead, and man is beginning to die....The vista which stretches before our generation today ends at the edge of a wilderness.

For twenty-five years now, men have lived in a world of mounting hate, intolerance, and bigotry, of revolutions, invasions, wars, the rise and fall of empires, and amidst the slaughter of millions of their kind. Great peoples have destroyed their liberties and enslaved themselves. Millions of men cower today in terrorized submissiveness. The wealth of nations is being drained in war, and in preparation for wars which will also drain the lives of their people. The mind of man, trained and sharpened by generations of scientific education, is now applied to the perfection of the war technique. So that the discoveries which science records in our day in such great numbers no longer fill the hearts of men with pride or enthusiasm. They suspect that these things will not contribute either to their happiness or security. The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom.

The thoughtful among men have accordingly begun to search earnestly for a road away from disaster. They are seeking desperately hard to rediscover that vision which was somehow lost amidst the brilliant pageantry of scientific achievement in the last century, - to the hurt and sorrow of the world. They understand now what the wise men of the earth have always known: that increased knowledge does not necessarily mean increased goodness or happiness, that facts are not in themselves blessings, that "truth can make us mad as well as free," that the prolongation of human life is not the same as the improvement of human life, that the acceleration of a process does not always insure a finer product, that change does not necessarily spell progress, and that democracy, as Lecky pointed out a half century ago, may often destroy liberty. They realize now that the fault is not with science or education or democracy, as such, but with the interpretation which men have put upon them, with the omnipotence and autonomy which they have ascribed to them and with their failure to understand that science, education and democracy are means and not ends in themselves.

What has been tragically missing in our civilization is the compelling and unifying faith in the great human goals which religion, and religion alone, has set for mankind, and towards the attainment of which science, education and democracy should contribute, if they are to fulfill their chief function. Mankind lost sight of these goals. Therefore human progress today has no clear direction. Good material and good tools are not enough for the builder. He must have a plan. Every true sanctuary of man - The Temple, the Ka'ba, the earthly Jerusalem must be modelled after a celestial archetype. To build a noble and enduring society, it is not enough to have wealth and knowledge. Mankind must be



possessed of the architectural plan; and that only the spiritual vision of man has designed. It must also have the will and loyalty to follow that plan. That, the moral sense of man alone, has provided. Without faith in God, the reality of the spiritual vision as well as the moral sense in man are quickly denied and rejected in the world.

It is becoming increasingly clear to thoughtful men that faith in God is the strongest bulwark of a free society. Human freedom began when men became conscious that over and above society and nature there is a God who created them, who breathed his spirit into them, who fashioned them in His likeness, and that they are, therefore, possessed of intrinsic and independent significance, and are endowed, as individuals, with original and irrevocable rights and authority. When in the long past, men challenged the authority of kings or magistrates, or restrictive customs or traditions, and all "the brutal solidarity of ancient times", they did it in the name of some higher mandate derived from the spirit of God within them, in the name of some moral sanction which emanated from their relationship to God. Men became free when they acknowledged a higher authority than that of state, class, system or ruler. Fundamentally the eternal struggle has always been between autocracy and theocracy in their broadest implications. Modern Nazi, "steely, authoritative romanticism" (Goebbels' phrase) is but another expression of the old autocratic principle, eternally at war with the principle of spiritual disciplined freedom in man.

Friends of democracy have somehow forgotten the religious origin of the whole democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of a long struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. This struggle received its impetus not from organized religion, to be sure, that is to say, from the church, but from the faith of deeply religious folk in the dynamics of religion, in revelation — and from a deliberate return to prophetic traditions and sanctions. They drew their inspiration from the moral passion of Biblical Judaism and Christianity; for Judaism fashioned God not in the Caesar-image of an imperial ruler, nor in the Aristotelian-image of an ultimate philosophical principle, nor in the cult-image of some priestly hierarchy, but to quote Professor Whitehead, as "the personification of moral energy". And every important social and economic movement in Western Europe in the last few centuries was inspired by this Judaeo-Christian ethical idealism. "On the whole," concludes Mr. Lange, in his 'History of Materialism,' "it is very probably that the energetic, even revolutionary, efforts of this century to transform the form of society in favor of the down-trodden masses, are very intimately connected with the New Testament ideas, (which because of their origin and content are also, of course, Old Testament ideas,) although the champions of these efforts feel themselves bound in other respects to oppose what is now-a-days called Christianity."

Modern democracy was born in the struggle for religious freedom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Protestant Reformation was not merely a reformation in the realm of doctrine and ritual and a repudiation of the authority of the Papacy and the hierarchical system of the Church. It was much more than that. The early leaders of the Protestant movement did not themselves fully appreciate the forces which they represented. They were confused, and at times very inconsistent. They did not grasp fully what was happening in the mind and heart of the world. What actually was happening was a new determined upreaching on the part of men in the Western World for spiritual liberty, for the emancipation of man from the straightjacket of Tradition and System. Luther, when still a revolutionary, proclaimed that "human authority might be resisted when its mandates conflicted with the Word of God." Suddenly on all sides one heard again the magic phrase, "The Word of God". A new authority surged back into the life of the world — the authority of direct



revelation, which was available to all.

The demand for spiritual liberty soon expressed itself in demands for other forms of liberty. Peasant revolts followed. Political and economic rights were demanded by humble people. By what authority? They had no authority. They had no human law to which they could appeal. In whose name did they speak? In the same name and by the same authority as the ancient prophets of Israel presumed to challenge kings, high-priests, the noblemen, and the rich, and to denounce them for their injustices. They spoke in the name of God, in the name of a revelation from God. All men were equal because God made all men equal. The things which they demanded were the things which the Bible, the revealed Word of God, conceded to them and to all men. The social revolutions of the sixteenth century which were quenched in the blood of a hundred thousand peasants received their inspiration from religion and revelation.

James Martineau, the eminent English divine of the last century, eloquently summed up that socio-theological movement of the sixteenth century whose repercussions are felt to this day: "The full thunder-cloud of the Hebrew prophets, stealing over a world in negative stagnation, waked the sleeping lightnings of the soul, and for a while streaked the atmosphere of history with fearful portents...The downtrodden serfs of Franconia had not long heard the glad tidings from Wittenberg, ere they began to draw parallels between themselves and the old Israel when the desert had been passed...The earth was the Lord's and the army of the saints was come to take it...The time of jubilee was come, when every believer should have his field of heritage...Throughout the great movement which in the third decade of the sixteenth century spread insurrection from the Breisgau to Saxony, the peasants were animated with the belief that the Gospel, armed with the sword of Joshua, was to subjugate the world, and that all the conditions of property, of law, of civil administration, under which secular communities exist, were to be superseded by institutions conformed to a divine model."

The quintessence of the spiritual idealism of the Protestant Reformation, which later on affected the life of the American people, lay with the various Anabaptist sects which sprang up in the wake of the Reformation. Some of these sects were hundreds of years ahead of their time. They believed in the absolute moral responsibility of the individual, in his inherent spiritual sovereignty and in the right of private judgment in matters of religion. They held that the duty of the State was only to protect the good and to punish the evil and beyond that the State itself was evil. The State had no right to circumscribe the freedom of the individual. These sects were the first to demand absolute dis-establishment — the separation of church and State. They were the first to preach universal toleration and freedom of worship. They maintained that all property belonged to God. Some of them, like the early Christians, practised voluntary communism — which is a very different thing, of course, from the secular dictatorship communism of our day — in fact, is the violent negation of it in everything but surface similarity.

Thus, out of victories won for religious freedom on the battlefields of the spirit, there stemmed other victories for man's political, economic and social emancipation. The absolutism of king and state was first curbed by the religious spirit of man, demanding at the point of revolution, the right, not of universal suffrage or better living conditions, but the right to worship God as it saw fit.

Those doctrines of the Anabaptists were carried over from Germany to Holland and England, and then to the United States. The Founding Fathers of our country adopted many of the doctrines of these religious "fanatics". When they wrote into the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be



self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness", they were giving political expression to seminal religious, Anabaptist doctrines. When they countered the claim of the Divine Right of Kings with the counter-claim of the Divine Right of the People to resist the tyranny of kings, when, they proclaimed that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical proclamation: "Proclaim ye freedom throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof", or when they placed on the first seal of the new-born republic of the United States, the figure of Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt, they were summoning religious truth, authority and tradition to under-write and sanction their revolution. Edmund Burke was entirely right when he declared, "The religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principles of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the Protestant religion."

Struggles for human freedom, uninspired by a living faith in God, often lead mankind to disaster. In recent years, Russia attempted to build a free and happy society without God. It succeeded only in forging a dictatorship and an enslaved society. This is most unfortunate, for historically, it was the religious motif which nurtured, and religious bodies which fostered communism. Modern Socialism received its comprehensive and scientific exposition at the hands of Marx and his disciples at a time when materialistic determinism, now largely discredited, was the philosophic vogue. The theoreticians of the movement, in an effort to make it appear philosophically up to date, drafted it upon those extreme materialistic hypotheses, with which, of course, they have no essential connection. The fact that organized religion evinced little sympathy for the struggling masses was also a contributing factor to the anti-religious attitude of the founders of modern Socialism. But it is becoming clear to many that in turning anti-religious, Socialism has needlessly sacrificed a most powerful ally and has drawn to itself antagonisms which would otherwise not be directed against its real purposes.

Fascist and Nazi states in Europe also sought to build happier socialized communities on the basis of a Godless materialism, vitiated still further by an anti-spiritual racism and chauvenism. They succeeded only in effecting, with the aid of rubber truncheons and concentration camps, a brutally regimented and terrorized society. The "new" orders which these Godless revolutionary movements achieved were only variant forms of older despotisms. Though they pride themselves on being young and dynamic, they are so only in the sense of being immature, raw, untempered and cruel. A society achieved real renewal only through inner spiritual renewal. If freedom is ever to speak again everywhere, its speech, to quote Heine, will again have to be Biblical.

The soldiers of Cromwell marched into battle singing Psalms. For three centuries the spirit of Cromwell and of his Puritan hosts has holded the free life of the English peoples. Roger Williams established the first free society in the New World in the name of a God of Freedom, whose faithful minister he was. The spirit of Roger Williams has permeated the free life of this nation to this very day. The American Revolution kindled its torches at the flame of a religious dogma that men were created by God to be free and equal. The long protracted struggle in this country to emancipate the slaves received its powerful momentum not from economics, or from any materialistic conception of history, but from deep religious convictions, which revolted against the enslavement of human beings, children of God, and which saw in the Civil War a divine retribution for the sins which the nation committed against the black man, and which heard in the tramp of men marching to battle the footsteps of God. "His truth is marching on!"...



Democracy shrivels when its religious source dries up. An early and friendly critic of American democracy, De Tocqueville, cautioned it: "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot."

Why do all present-day enemies of human liberties persecute religion, even though in Nazi and Fascist lands they sometimes come to terms with clericalism which is a totally different thing? Because religion in its spiritual essence is their death warrant. They see in Judaism and in its offspring, Christianity, the last unwearied watchmen over the ramparts of human liberties, who must be destroyed before their own freedom-annihilating materialistic revolutions can be firmly established. Thus, fundamentally, it is not the Jews whom the Fascist dictators wish to drive out of Europe, but Judaism, that entire complex of ethical and spiritual ideas rooted in the principle of the sacredness of human personality, the worth of the individual and the transcendent moral law which are at the very heart of the Judeo-Christian civilization, which they wish to supplant.

Dictators hold man in utter contempt. Hitler called the masses "eine Hammelherde von Mohlkopfen" ("Herd of sheep and empty-heads"). Otto Strasser a close collaborator of Hitler in the early days of the Nazi movement, declares that Hitler surrounds himself with depraved and vicious accomplices because they confirm his profound conviction that man is essentially vile. "From this conviction I will never depart...Man is congenitally evil. He can only be controlled by force. To govern him, everything is permissible. You must lie, betray, even kill when policy demands it."

Herman Rauschning, from his intimate knowledge and observation both of the Nazi movement and its Fuehrer makes this summary: "It may be said in general that at the back of the whole tactics and method of propaganda of National Socialism there is a complete contempt of humanity: the whole system is based on taking men as they are and pandering to their weakness and their bestiality. Such is its universal recipe. National Socialism banks on human sloth and timidity - just as much in the case of the intellectuals, the middle classes, and the old ruling classes, as with the masses...The exploitation of envy and ill-will, of the lowest human instincts, the sowing of dissension between opponents, and the appeal to their ignoble qualities and notorious weaknesses have thus far unfailingly helped National Socialism to success, incidentally destroying the basis of a general sense of morality which was weak enough to begin with."

Dictators are anti-Semitic because they know or sense that liberty is Semitic in origin and character. "Democracy", declared Hitler, "is fundamentally Jewish, not Germanic". And by Jewish, he meant not only Abraham, but Jesus as well, for they were kinsmen in blood and spirit. The so-called Aryan must trace his political traditions back to the oriental despotisms and King-worship of ancient Persia and to the caste system of India. Even the Greeks had no strong consistent democratic tradition. Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle opposed the democratic form of government. Aristotle actually defended slavery. "The Greek political thinkers," declares Professor Zimmern, "do not recognize, or do not make proper allowance for the rights and responsibilities of the individual soul. Just as they failed to distinguish between Nationality and Government, so they failed also to distinguish between Conscience and Public duty...Their work was vitiated by their failure to realize the extent and urgency of the claim of the individual soul. Men must be spiritually free before they can co-operate politically on the highest terms." But the Semite of the desert, from whom Israel is descended, and from whom Judaism and Christianity are descended, neither knew nor tolerated any despotism. The democratic motif runs like a golden thread through the whole political, social, economic and religious history of Israel from the earliest nomadic period to the present.



The spiritual foundations of modern democracy lie deep in the religious dogmas of Judaism and Christianity -- in the concept of man as a child of God, physically circumscribed, but capable of reaching levels where he is "just a little lower than the angels", in the concept of doing justice, loving mercy, walking humbly and seeking peace as the only ways of reaching those high levels; in the concept of Human Brotherhood - One God - One Humanity; in the concept of rulers and governors, as servants of God and men, subject to the same moral law, and not as a law unto themselves; in the concept of a Messianic future of universal knowledge, freedom, security and peace which men, through their righteous labors and sacrifices - sacrifices of self, not others - , will someday bring about: "when every man shall dwell under his vine and under his fig tree with none to make him afraid".

It is abundantly clear, on all sides, that humanity has sickened of its Godless civilization. Because the spiritual interpretation of human destiny was allowed to languish, other interpretations have come to life and are now driving mankind mad. For when God is dethroned, His throne does not remain empty for long. Some false God, some Wotan, Moloch, Mammon or Mars soon occupies it. In place of piety, reverence, humility, compassion, self-sacrifice, other qualities -- insolence, cruelty, aggression and combativeness are now extolled. Because men have rejected the ideal of the sanctification of human life under God, they now have a world in which human life is held cheap, in which the stature of the individual has been reduced, his rights usurped by the state, his labor looked upon as a commodity and his life, just a statistical item. Because men have ignored the sovereignty of God's moral law, they have a world in which men, parties and governments have set themselves up above all law. Where there is no longer the law of God, there ensues the law of the Duce, the Fuehrer, of the Commissar, before which all men must tremble.

Now that lights are going out everywhere in the world, men must turn again to the light of God, and the youth of the world should be led to it. By that light men will find their way to a kingdom of just human values, achieved through just human methods. They will then not seek freedom through slavery, or peace through war, or justice through class-struggle, or knowledge through the burning of books, or abundance through confiscation, or unity through blood-purges and liquidations.

They will move steadily and resolutely forward, along the road of social progress, economic justice, human freedom and international peace, guided by the prophetic ideals of the sacredness of the individual and his inalienable rights, which must never be sacrificed to state or class sovereignty, the sacredness of the moral law which is not a changeable human convenience, but eternal as the laws of nature and the sacredness of method - the almighty Holiness of the "How".

In such manner will they safeguard for themselves and for those who shall come after them, what is even more precious than life itself -- Dignity and Freedom.



# THE CITY

Volume XXVI

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1940

Number 11

Hear Ye!

Hear Ye!

## Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

WILL DISCUSS:

**"The Spiritual Foundations of Democracy"**

City Club Dining Room Saturday Noon November 16

PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS AT ONCE

## "The Spiritual Foundations of Democracy"—by Rabbi Silver

That is Subject He Will Discuss at Saturday Noon  
Forum Meeting

A MAN who is near and dear to those Clevelanders who cherish freedom of thought and freedom of speech, will be heard on the Saturday forum this week.

He is Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, spiritual leader of The Temple.

His subject:

"The Spiritual Foundations of Democracy."

Today when democracy is facing the mighty test of aggression, new political and economic philosophy, a man of Rabbi Silver's attainments and humanitarian outlook, is a welcome light.

### NEARLY 25 YEARS

FOR nearly a quarter of a century he has served as a spiritual leader in the community. During that time he served many causes outside his own, led many battles for the rights of free speech and free assembly; to further educational opportunity and for the wise use of leisure time; for the existence and support of men, women and children caught

in the crossfire of crumbling civilizations; for a wide variance of social advancement.

From his own pulpit and from other platforms he has thundered against the rule of might, against intolerance and aggression, against the evils of dictatorships, against everything that invades the right of man and society.

### SOCIAL OUTLOOK

IN THE field of community and social service Rabbi Silver fathered the unemployment insurance movement—the movement that was born in Cleveland.

It was here, under the sponsorship of the Consumers' League, that the movement first was inaugurated. The frame of the unemployment insurance bill was built in Cleveland and its gospel carried through the state by Clevelanders inspired by Rabbi Silver and his fellow workers in this cause. The fruit of their efforts, after eight years of active campaigning, resulted in the passage of the

(Continued on page 4)



## THE CITY

Published weekly except June, July and August by  
THE CITY CLUB OF CLEVELAND

712 Vincent Avenue  
Telephone, MAin 0082

Entered as second-class matter, September 20, 1916,  
at Cleveland, Ohio, under the act of March 3, 1879.  
Price, 30 cents a year.

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## Believe It or Not

Interesting and a delight was the speaker at last Saturdays Forum. James Young, one of the few Americans who's been in a Japanese jail and got out, told us a lot of things we didn't know, but suspected.

\* \* \*

Reading all of the alibis of our "expert" political writers and dopesters to whom we listen with rapture the year round, remarks Cityzen G. P. Bugbee that they are all at their "authoritative best in predicting the past."

\* \* \*

All of which goes to prove, as we may have said, before, that nothing is more certain than the principle of uncertainty. To be successful in practical affairs, compromise with your absolutes.

\* \* \*

Anyway, this "column" will not have to eat its words; nor regret its waning influence among its readers — it never had any. (Confidentially, we lost all of our bets). Want to make something of it?

\* \* \*

Cityzen George R. Brown tells of the unemployed man who refused to serve on the jury. He said it offered no opportunity for a raise.

\* \* \*

Worthwhile quote from Cityzen Richard ("The Byproduct") Harding's column of last Tuesday: "Whether you win or lose in today's election, you must re-

member that the campaign just closed did much for the moral health of America — it revived free speech. It has made it possible for numbers of people to voice their objections to an administration which as recently as six years ago was widely regarded as sacredly immune against criticism."

\* \* \*

With Cityzens Henry Brainard, Frank Bubna, Gerry Gesell and Ed Blythin prominently mentioned for mayor, we have not overlooked a boomlet for Cityzen Tom (Grand Opera, etc.) Sidlo. Tom could do that job in his leisure moments.

\* \* \*

We have so many reports of weird experiences by Cityzens trying to get into public Hall at the Roosevelt meeting that we can't publish them. Among others, Cityzen Robert (District Judge) Wilkin came down the street with a police escort and then couldn't make the doorway.

\* \* \*

Our correspondent Dave Boone says: "Unity is certainly the crying need of the country after all the cockeyed and bitter insanities of a presidential campaign, but it ain't a one-sided affair. The victors have to forgive and forget just as much as the losers, if it's to work."

\* \* \*

Some of you may have missed it. Anyway Cityzen Robert (PD) Snajdr didn't; and he wants every Cityzen to ponder Westbrook Pegler's remarks in last Saturday's *Press*. His first statement will give you the idea: "In the last eight years I have learned that there are no worse bigots than the men and women who call themselves liberals, and work at it in print and on committees for or against this or that."

\* \* \*

Comes word from Cityzen I. F. (Cleveland Trust) Freiburger, a football fan plus, that he is ready to make a speech on "De-alcoholized Football," out of which he guarantees that you will receive a de-alcoholized kick. "Throw out that ball; we can see it now."

\* \* \*

Last Friday night Cityzen Albert Sanders managed a dinner for his Commercial Law League brethren. Ex-Prex Marc Grossman was the M.C. who kept the speakers within bounds.



**Only  
Eighteen  
More Days  
Until**

The Club's Fiscal Year Ends

The Arrival of Your Check Will Count

The Books Must Be Balanced

We Must Use the Red or the Black Ink

— If you don't use Black, we'll have to use Red

## **Citizens—Spin Your Wheels for the Club**

**W**ELL, Citizens — is there any vitality left in you.

Or did you spend most of your energies and strength spinning wheels to get your favorite candidate elected.

But, elections are over now. So let us take a leaf from the political notebook of Membership Campaign Chairman-Citizen Earl Hoover. He spun his wheels effectively for his candidate, and Supreme Court Judge Gilbert Bettman made the difficult grade with the help of the Cuyahoga County vote.

Citizen-Chairman Hoover is revitalizing his energies and is going to work now, hammer and nails, for the promotion of membership in the City Club.

Chairmen of the different groups are getting down to brass tacks to follow up their members — every one of whom is to get a member — and line up the prospects.

Expect a call any day now to meet with your chairman and bring along your prepared list of prospects, for the work is under way.

The Club needs members — and you need the Club — so the cycle is complete.

Every member get a member — and it's not hard. All you do is a little talking about the advantages of the Club and the prospect will sign on the dotted line.

You want to know the advantages of the Club?

Just think over why you joined — and the argument is in the bag.

So let's go.

Spend your political energies on the Club for the next couple of weeks.

**COMING!**

**JAY FRANKLIN**

(We, the People)

*Plain Dealer* Columnist

**SATURDAY NOON—NOVEMBER 23**



## "The Spiritual Foundations of Democracy"

(Continued from page 1)

unemployment insurance bill by the Ohio State legislature in 1936.

CAME HERE IN '17

RABBI SILVER came to Cleveland as the spiritual leader of The Temple when he was 24 years old — three months after the United States entered World War I.

During the first five years of his ministry he devoted himself a great deal to the relief of the war-devastated and persecution-ridden communities in eastern Europe. Those were years of bloodshed and pogroms which came in the wake of revolutions and counter-revolutions.

In the last five years Rabbi Silver has had to concentrate much of his efforts on the same kind of work, brought about by similar, if not more horrible, circumstances.

ON ANTI-SEMITISM

IN A series of articles reviewing a score of years in Cleveland, Rabbi Silver had this to say about anti-Semitism:

"For all practical purposes, anti-Semitism is here to stay for a long time, for it is co-extensive with all forms of intolerance, and intolerance dies hard.

"We must meet it as our forefathers met it for 2000 years — with vigilance, courage and pride.

"We must join forces with all the liberal, forward-looking groups and classes in the world, which are similarly menaced by reaction, and we must work for the establishment of greater justice among men, which alone will secure law, order and fairness for all men."

Rabbi Silver said this 20 years ago.

Today it still holds true.

## Czech Satirists in New Play

Voskovec & Werrich, the Continental clowns who stirred up Hitler's ire, and who escaped to America before the Nazis reached Prague, are appearing in their second American production at the Play House this week. It's a translation and adaptation by K. Elmo Lowe and Amy Douglass. "V & W" wrote the original Czech version, "The Ass and the Shadow."

The unique talents of these two brilliant satirists shine through the obvious difficulties of adapting the play to

## ..... Pithy Qs .....

Questions we cannot answer:

Where do all the dry leaves blow away to?

Why do they call Ed Byers an independent?

How does BETTOR business help Cloyd Miller?

\* \* \*

Sid Rosenbaum, policy writer, says why not Charley Couch to succeed Burton?

\* \* \*

Carl (Hitler-double) Driggs is taking Christmas odors for perfume. He demonstrated so many kinds on Herbert that he smells like 30 scents.

\* \* \*

Well, champ, here we go to where do we go from here?

\* \* \*

United we stand for everything.

\* \* \*

Bevier boasts that he made more votes for the New Deal than C. Miller. We believe it.

American audiences. Certainly every follower of the City Club Anvil Revues will get a tremendous kick out of "V & W." They will be remembered as first appearing at the City Club last spring.

The performance is a rollicking one, punctuated by uproarious laughs. Six new songs were written for it by Harold Rome, of "Needles and Pins" fame.

## What You've Been Waiting For!

The Nominating Committee composed of chairman Chas. F. Carr, M. E. Buehrle, L. T. Fontaine, Harold Glickman, David Jenkins, Robert Stephan and A. F. Williams has just announced the names of eight candidates to compete for the four vacancies on the Board of Directors.

The Candidates are Albert I. Davey, Jr., Karl H. Driggs, Clarence C. Fowerbaugh, Frank B. Fufts, R. T. F. Harding, Louis Rich, John F. Robb, Karl O. Thompson.

While the date for Candidates Field Day has not been decided, it probably will take place during the first week in December.

Remember — Members Only. This rule will be strictly enforced. Sign up that new member, or reinstate that former member, before it is too late.