



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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America's stake in human freedom, 1953.

Dear Friends:

I am honored to be here today and to have an opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you. I recall that my first appearances before the City Club or under its auspices were during the great Red Scare of 1919-1921, the witch-hunting days of the A. Mitchell Palmer era in the intolerant backwash of the First World War when our community, along with other communities in the country, was shut tight against free speech under the scare of Communism, and when the City Club, in an effort to reassert basic Americanism, established open forums on our Public Square and in other parts of the city to give men a chance to participate in free discussions.

Peter Nit
Brady
Hall

The Palmer era and its hostility to all forms of liberalism or radicalism, along with its hysterical arrests, imprisonments, deportations and mob violence, did not last very long. Americans who believed in the Bill of Rights rallied after a period of confusion and hesitation and put an end to it.

^{I am afraid}
We are moving into another such period today, induced by the same scare of Communism. It is more serious today, for Communism has become a greater menace than it was 35 years ago, and democracies have lost a good deal of their confidence. Demagogues, too, have improved their techniques, here at home, and have learned from foreign models how to ride into power by exploiting politically the issue of Communism.

I hope that the American people will soon rally again to safeguard their basic liberties and to put an end to the new effort which is being made ^{by various interests} ~~on a wide scale~~ to throttle them. America has a great stake in freedom, and the free world has a great stake in American freedom.

It is a truism to say that we are facing serious times, both at home and abroad. Many grave problems confront us, and their ~~resolution~~ ^{the solution} is not at all clear. Nobody has all the answers. Because ~~they~~ ^{the solution} are not clear and the right way has not yet been ~~discovered~~ ^{found}, it is important now more than ever to allow full and free discussion of all issues on the part of

our citizens and scrupulously to safeguard the tried and tested procedures of a free democratic society. We may differ as to their proper solution, and it is within the American tradition for our citizens to express their differences. In a free society a man must be prepared to do his own thinking. He must not be afraid to express a contrary opinion if it is an honest and a responsible opinion and motivated by love of country. It is the moral duty of a free citizen to call attention whenever he feels that the policies pursued by the majority are wrong and ^{to} advocate what he regards to be the right and not to be deterred by criticism, ^{abuse} ~~abusement~~, or intimidation. Else by *silence* or indifference or calculated *prudence* ~~the~~ wrong will be confirmed and the evil will be perpetuated. All tyrants and dictators, big or little, depend for their ultimate success upon the timidity, the submissiveness, or the ~~pension~~ ^{pendant} for conformity on the part of most people. ^{It} It is the moral duty also of the free citizen to defend the intellectual freedom, the independence of judgment, and the right of expression of other people.

The forces of law should, of course, be invoked against those who by force *would* ~~wish to~~ destroy our democracy. We hold no brief for Communists. Active Communists should be ferreted out as enemies of our government, their activities neutralized, and when there has been a clear violation of law, ^{then should be} punished by law. But the law should be clear and specific; the term Communism should be clearly defined and established in law, and the laudable traditions of American court procedure ^{which} safeguard the basic rights of ^{every} ~~the~~ accused should be employed in the process. Needless to say that this applies also to those who are accused of espionage.

Writing on "Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement" in 1952 in the Iowa Law Review, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI stated: "The Constitution provides a framework for a government of law - and under it both civil liberties and law enforcement derive their meaning...Law enforcement is a protecting arm of civil liberties.

Civil liberties cannot exist without law enforcement; law enforcement without civil liberties is a hollow mockery...Law enforcement, however, in defeating the criminal, must maintain inviolate the historic liberties of the individual.

Here is the very heart of the problem: the vital necessity of having men and women in law enforcement who hold inner allegiance to the principles of democracy

and perform their duties in a completely legal manner." *This, I believe, should hold true also of investigation committees in Congress.*

What has disturbed many Americans in the last few years has been the tendency on the part of certain Congressional investigation committees to take over the functions of our courts and our administration of justice without ~~being~~ *themselves* subjected to the restrictions and the ^{vital} safeguards under which these latter operate. Congressional investigations are of course a necessary part of our democratic legislative procedure and no one can reasonably object to them. What has alarmed large sections of our people are the methods which are sometimes employed by these committees, such as the release of unverified and unevaluated testimony by former Communists who were spies and enemies of our country ^{for years} and who have now turned informers; the inability of the accused to confront his accuser or to study the charges against him; the attempts to establish guilt by association and by so doing discredit men who are not Communists but liberals and progressives, ~~and~~ men of social vision and courage who ~~may~~ at some time in the past when the Soviet Union was our ally and ^{quite recently} ~~may have joined~~ *organization since declared* ^{to be} ~~subversive~~ when cooperation with it on the part of our citizens was the policy of the government, the irresponsible and wholesale charges ^{made} against American churchmen through the investigation of reactionary fundamentalist forces within ^{these} the churches who ^{are not averse} ~~also wish~~ to ^{taking} ~~take~~ ^{carefully documented in Lord Rags "Apostles & Disciples"} advantage of the Communist weapon in their theologic battles; ^{calculated} ~~the irresponsible~~ attacks and innuendoes against ^{Universities} the American educational system; and the patent political and publicity fortune-hunting on the part of some of the heads of these investigation committees.

These Congressional investigation committees have become quasi-judicial

bodies which involve directly or indirectly the careers, the livelihood, and therefore the very life and property of American citizens without giving them the protection of their constitutional guarantees which any American court of law would, as a matter of course, grant to them. The Congressional investigators claim that they are not responsible for evidence given under oath before them. The FBI stoutly maintains that it does not evaluate the evidence in its possession. But in the process of these Congressional hearings and as a result of them, men and women who refuse to testify against themselves, which is their constitutional privilege, are broken, lose their jobs and their professional positions, and stand condemned, without having been found guilty, under the American system of legal procedure. The fact ^{that} some or many of these people are Communists, and some of them Communist agents, with whom ^{no decent American can} ~~we~~ have ^{any} ~~no~~ sympathy at all and who merit punishment, ^{the very Constitution} this fact does not diminish by an iota their right under the Constitution, which they would like to ~~see destroyed~~ ^{but} and which Americans, in spite of them, are determined to ^{preserve} ~~defend~~. We insist, when we do insist, upon these safeguards of the Bill of Rights - not because of ^{the Communists} ~~them~~ - but in spite of them. For our sake! For the sake of our children! To secure, as the ~~Founding Fathers~~ ^{wrote} stated in the Constitution, "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

In fighting Communism we must make doubly sure that we are fighting ~~only~~ Communists, not others whose ^{views} ~~voices~~ we do not happen to like. ~~We must make doubly sure of our ground before we move to suppress the freedom of any citizen.~~ It is so easy to permit our prejudices and our dislike for the unlike to run away with us. It is so easy to brand and to excommunicate a man who does not happen at the moment to agree with a policy which is ^{dis} ~~dis~~ ^{avored} by the Government or by the majority of the people, but whose ~~and~~ agreement may be grounded in a profound patriotic devotion and loyalty to ^{our} ~~his~~ country. We must ask ourselves what it is that we want to suppress and why we want to suppress it and whether the suppression will ultimately

involved providing for a proper code of procedure. This is highly commendable.

been raised for fair rules in investigations. Bills have been

serve the best interests of ^{our} a free and democratic America. ^{FF} And in our zeal to fight Communism^{to}, we must not forget to fight also Fascists, and there are plenty of them in our midst though they go by ^{different} and ^{less revealing} ~~sundry~~ names - sometimes they arrogate to themselves a monopoly ^{of} American patriotism - and they are as dangerous to American democracy as are the Communists. The ^{Nazi} Fascists in Germany rode into power on the pretext of fighting Communism and proceeded to destroy the German republic; and in so doing they established one of the most vicious and contemptible, and to their own people most disastrous dictatorship in history.

In the days to come, there will be many ~~more~~ political adventurers and unscrupulous demagogues who may wish to ride into power, like Hitler did on the issue of "fighting Communism." They will stop at nothing. They will not limit themselves to routing out Communists from government; they will wish to route out everybody ^{whom} they do not like from our educational system, from our universities and colleges, from our churches, from the press. These people will rally around themselves, as Hitler did, all the reactionaries, all the enemies of social liberalism in this country, and ultimately they will exploit racial and religious animosities to serve their political ends. Let us learn from history. The time to speak out against all this is now. ~~It is later than you think.~~

Unless we are on guard, Americans will soon be free to express only approved views and accredited opinions, that is to say views that are approved by the majority and opinions which an organized vociferous minority will permit them to entertain. *In the Report, the Amer. Civil Liberties Union - (Jurok)*

I have from time to time warned against these ^{dangerous} ~~abuses in our body politic and~~ in our national life, a warning which has been shared by many responsible educational ^{groups} and organized religious bodies in the United States. Because of it I have been ^{and other universities} ~~subjected~~ ^{collaborating} to some criticism in the press. I do not mind the criticism, and no one ^{the} ~~who~~ ^{university} takes a stand on public issues should wish or expect to be immune from criticism.

I wish, however, that the criticism were more factual and constructive and less ~~stuffy and~~ patronizing to ^{the} poor, "duped" and "misguided" clergymen... No clergyman would of course dream of ever possessing the omniscience of some of our editorial writers, but in all fairness it should be said that clergymen are not babes in the woods either. I venture to say that the best and most intelligent work in the fight against Communism on the American scene today is being carried on by the churches ~~of our country~~ and by their ministers. They, however, refuse to confuse ~~and confound~~ book-burning, witch-hunting, hysteria, and political chicanery with the real patriotic defense of America and its institutions.

In this connection it would be well to recall the words of Professor Albert Einstein spoken at the time the Nazis came into power in Germany.

"Being a lover of freedom, when the revolution came in Germany I looked to the universities to defend it, knowing that they had always boasted of their devotion to the cause of truth; but no - the universities immediately were silenced. Then I looked to the great editors of the newspapers whose flaming editorials in days gone by had proclaimed their love of freedom; but they, like the universities, were silenced in a few short weeks..."

Only the Church stood squarely across the path of Hitler's campaign for suppressing truth. I never had any special interest in the Church before, but now I feel a great affection and admiration because the Church alone has had the courage and persistence to stand for intellectual truth and moral freedom."

It is of utmost importance that we remain alert and scrupulous in the defense of our civil liberties because the struggle against Communism is likely to continue for a long time to come, far beyond this generation. There is little hope of any conclusive settlements in the near future. These are great world issues ^{working themselves out} ~~operating~~ on a global ^{stage} ~~scale~~ which may require generations before permanent adjustments, reconciliations, or syntheses are reached.

What, therefore, we ^{may} believe to be only temporary ^{and emergency} measures of suspension of civil rights may turn out to be ^a permanent injury and ^{the} sacrifice of American freedom.

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Because of the long ordeal ahead, I have also from time to time advocated that efforts ~~should~~ be made to discover a ~~modus vivendi~~^{modus} way of living together in the same world with



the Soviet Union. This too has aroused criticism. I find comfort today in the

epoch-making address which President Eisenhower delivered before the Assembly

of the United Nations last Tuesday. *- an address which should fill the heart of every American with pride and confidence.* I find confirmation also for my belief

that the road towards a basic understanding will be a long, *broken and arduous* and hard road, in ~~the~~ *what*

appears to be the initial negative reaction of the Kremlin to President Eisenhower's atomic

proposals. In his address you will recall the President said, "My country wants

to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations...

We never have and never will, propose or suggest that the Soviet Union surrender

what is rightfully hers. We will never say that the peoples of Russia are an enemy

with whom we have no desire ever to deal or mingle in friendly and fruitful rela-

tionship. On the contrary, we hope that this conference (the proposed four-power

meeting soon to be held) may initiate a relationship with the Soviet Union which

will eventually bring about a free intermingling of the peoples of the East and

the West - the one sure, human way of developing the understanding required for

confident and peaceful relations."

Back in December, 1950 I addressed ^{my} ~~the~~ Temple Congregation on ^{this} ~~the~~ theme, *in an address called*
"A Letter to Mr. Truman," which was then published. From this address, permit
me to quote the following:

"It is clear that only in the direction of courageous and continuous exploration of every avenue for reaching understandings, if only piece-meal, only in the direction of negotiation, earnestly sought and welcomed, lies the hope of the world. Negotiation is not appeasement. Let not the American people be persuaded into closing their minds at the sound of the word appeasement. It is today a tabu device to paralyze thought and wise diplomatic action. There should be urgent and continuous exploration of every opportunity for coming to an understanding with the Soviet, a nation which we cannot defeat in war any more than it can defeat us.

Our appeal to our national leadership in Washington, which we make in all good will, for we are all involved in one common destiny, is to be courageous and unafraid, not to be swayed by partisan political considerations and not to allow itself to be stampeded by war-mongers, fanatics and cranks, and by those who would push us into war for reasons which have nothing to do with love of country. ^{//} ~~There are those in our country who do not want an understanding with Russia. There are those even in high government posts who are ardently advocating a preventive war with Russia. There are those who will try to sabotage any possibility of agreement. These are our real enemies.~~



Friends!

Regardless of how powerful we become militarily, we shall still have to settle ^{in time} all our differences with Russia in one of two ways: war -- atomic war, which is unthinkable, which everyone agrees would result only in a bloody stalemate on a global scale or in the possibility of civilization being destroyed altogether; and negotiation -- the way of give and take, the way of statesmanship in which skillful and inspired diplomacy are perhaps more effective than any assumed preponderance of power which can only be established in actual combat.

In order to build up to strength and checkmate the aggression of the Soviet Union, we have been attracting to our democratic front dictators of the type of Franco and Tito. This has not strengthened our position with the free peoples of the earth. It has ^{seriously} brought into question our role as the all-out defender of human freedom against all types of dictatorship. We have also made a rearmed Western Germany the keystone to our entire scheme of European defense.

We, who had denounced ^{and fought} the Germans for being ^{aggressively} militaristic, are now insisting that they should rearm. Because of our total absorption in the building up of a front against Russia, we have invited Western Germany to rearm and to join the defense forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This, of course, can only come about if Germany remains divided; but the German people want to be united far more than they want to fight on the side of the Allies against Russia. They have had their stomach full of fighting Russia in the last world war. They do not want their country to become the battleground for a war between America and Russia; nor do they want a civil war to rend their people apart. Stalin ^{you will recall} countered our move by putting forward his program for a united, rearmed, but neutral Germany. Stalin, too, as a result of the disastrous cold war between Russia and the United States, was forced to retreat from the position which he and ^{we and} the allied heads took at

Potsdam in August 1945, where they agreed that "all war potentials of Germany were to be destroyed -- war plants, warships, aircraft and arms -- so that Germany would never again be able to ^{make} ~~make~~ war." From this sound, statesmanlike position, Russia too; under pressure of the cold war, ^{has} retreated.

The entire arch of our foreign policy in Europe, with a cooperating Western Germany as its capstone, is, I fear, doomed to collapse. We are not willing or ready to face the issue of a united ^{disarmed} and neutral Germany. A divided Germany will not stay divided for long. A united and rearmed Germany will be the signal for the Third World War. In this war Germany will again be fighting ^{only} for Germany, not for democracy or for any alliance. The French, on the basis of their bitter experiences in two world wars, know that; we refuse to face the ~~issue~~ ^{facts and the lessons of history}. We have failed to discuss ~~it~~ ^{this ~~is a~~ Subject} frankly with the Russians.

We feel that the Russians are insincere. But when can we be sure of their sincerity? All important international agreements in the past have had to surmount suspicions of insincerity and double-dealing. When was the art of diplomacy entirely free from secrecy and concealment neatly packaged in frankness and tied with the ribbon of disarming amiability? One need not be credulous or gullible in negotiation, nor abandon a precautionary skepticism. On the other hand, one cannot indefinitely postpone negotiations on the ground that the other party is not free from diplomatic guile.

We settled into a routine of negativism, waiting for 1954 or 1955, when we hope we shall be strong enough to deal with the Soviet Union successfully. Even our Allies have become restive under the crushing military burdens which this scheme imposes upon their people.

It is, of course, important that we be strong militarily, and that we do not lower our guard. In the kind of a world in which we live, defenselessness is an invitation to aggression. But military strength alone will not improve the deteriorated and dangerous international situation of our

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day. That, to quote President Eisenhower again, "would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic collossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world." We must learn to rely in the future as much on statesmanship and moral leadership as on force; and never give up trying to reach an agreement, even if it is on a small or peripheral issue. Every time a sincere effort on our part is rebuffed by the Russians, it is they, not we, who lose ground in the battle for the hearts and minds of men who are ^{still un-} ~~not~~ shackled by Communist dictatorship. We ~~shall be~~ ^{are} taking the wind out of the sails of Soviet propaganda.

War is not inevitable. I know that we do not want war. I doubt whether the Soviet Union wants war. Neither has anything to gain from it. Both, whether as victor or vanquished, would be the loser.

Ways must and can be found for a tolerable "modus vivendi", a way of coexistence which, while never quite free from tensions and strains, will yet give the world a chance to breathe freely and go about the real business of life. Ideologies cannot be adjusted by compromise, but political problems of coexistence can be.

In the 16th and 17th centuries it was universally held that Catholicism and Protestantism could not live together in the same world. One or the other had to go. The stakes were enormous--far greater than those at stake in the East-West struggle today; for not only were the fortunes of this world involved, but also those of the next world. The ideologies could not be reconciled--and so the struggle passed from the realm of ideas and propaganda to the battlefield. Europe was drenched in blood. The wars of religion lasted for a hundred years and destroyed ^{hundreds of} towns, ^{and} cities, and whole provinces; until the inevitable truth dawned upon man that a way had to be found for Catholicism and Protestantism--and other religious minority sects--to live together in the same world without sacrificing their particular loyalties and

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dogmas. A compromise of toleration was finally agreed upon, and Europe was able to move forward again once this frightful road-block was removed. Out of the religious toleration which was thus achieved, there flowed also political liberties to the peoples of Western Europe.

Our age will have to find a formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and the fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in the one world in which we live. They may be irreconcilable in theory; they need not be in practice.

America should lead confidently in finding the way. The way is not that of a global armament race which will impoverish the peoples of the earth--ourselves included--and end as such races always end--in the catastrophe of war. *- and I believe that we have begun to change over to a new course.* It is time to change over onto a new course. The way is rather that of conference, of courageous diplomacy, of giving urgent leadership in the United Nations to a program of speedy and balanced reduction of armament. The new way will put us in a position to render through the United Nations more extensive and constructive aid to the backward peoples of the world, *As the President indicated in his address of April 16th,* and to cooperate with them in achieving necessary agrarian and social reforms which will set them firmly on the road to a free and happier life. The ultimate defense of democracy in the world lies not in superior armor or in the atomic bomb, but in raising the standard of living of the masses of the earth whose misery and wrongs are receptive soil for all kinds of doctrines of violent revolution and for all types of economic deceptions. While Communism breeds in other places beside poverty, certainly it never overlooks these natural seed-beds. When we shall come to these under-privileged peoples bringing them the gifts not of bombs and bayonets, but of bread and health and education and freedom, they will become our natural allies, and our alliance will be cemented

in good will and in hope. At present they are suspicious even of our generosity because they have lost confidence in our motives. They regard our humanitarian efforts as part of a calculated over-all strategy to draw them into an armed conflict with the Soviet Union for which conflict they have no desire whatsoever. They are convinced that a war, even a successful war, will not give them either bread or freedom. Our generation waged two world wars to make the world safe for democracy, and there is less democracy in the world today than in the last one hundred years.

This is the kind of leadership to which the world will respond, leadership which does not wait on the occasion but makes it, which is prepared to take calculated risks for peace, which is eager for negotiation and conference to settle all issues which endanger the peace of the world--a leadership which exerts sincere and unremitting pressure for limitation of armaments and the lifting of the crushing military burdens from the backs of the peoples of the earth--a leadership which aggressively plans for world-wide cooperation to help and guide the backward and impoverished peoples to higher levels of agricultural and industrial development, of well-being, health and education--a leadership which seeks the liberation of all dominated, colonial peoples and extends friendly help to them in adjusting themselves to their new way of life--this kind of leadership--which is not dictation, which is not imposed by our wealth and power, which is not enmeshed and hampered by commitments to the imperial interests of colonial empires and which flows naturally from the head-waters of our great liberal traditions and history--is sure to re-kindle the hopes of the world.

The Temple Bulletin

Published Weekly by
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Vol. XXXX

JANUARY 3, 1954

No. 13

Sunday Morning Service

10:30 o'clock



RABBI SILVER

will speak on:

Three Prophets

Amos, Hosea, and Micah

Friday Evening Services
5:30 to 6:10

Saturday Morning Services
11:15 to 12:00

The Temple Bulletin

The Temple

Congregation Tifereth Israel
(Founded 1850)

Rabbis:

Abba Hillel Silver, D. D., Litt. D., D. H. L.

Earl Stanley Stone, M. H. L.

Associate Rabbi
Director of Religious Education

Ass't. Director of Religious Education
MILDRED B. EISENBERG

Executive Secretary
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SWetbriar 1-7755

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

Rabbi Silver resumes this week his discourses on the great personalities of the Bible and will speak on three of the foremost prophets—of Amos, Hosea, and Micah.

It was gratifying to see so many students attending out-of-town colleges and universities at services last Sunday morning. The ritual was conducted by members of the Alumni Association — Alice Newman, Mary Galvin, John Efroymsen, and John Bloomfield.

UP AND ATOM

Tryouts for the Mr. and Mrs. Club show, "Up and Atom," will be held in Mahler Hall Wednesday and Thursday, January 6 and 7 at 8:30 p.m.

Please contact show director Rolly Kraus, if you cannot attend.

TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Open meeting, January 13, 1954. Guest artist Josef Gingold, Concertmaster of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra. Refreshments in Mahler Hall, 1:00 p.m. Cradle Prayers will be highlighted. Exhibits and sales in the Temple Women's Gift Shops.



TEMPLE MUSEUM

The Temple Museum has acquired a rare Parochet, a covering for the Ark, dating from the 17th century. The background of the curtain is Jade green floral damask. In the center is a panel in apricot velvet containing the Ten Commandments, the names of the donors, and the date. On the top of the curtain is a valance of rare workmanship containing the symbols of the Tabernacle, the Altar, the Priestly Breastplate, the Laver, the table of the Shewbread, and the Menorah. At the top are the three crowns of the Torah, of the Priesthood, and of Royalty. The size of the Parochet is 5 feet 10 inches long by 4 feet 1 inch wide.

The Parochet has been donated to The Temple Museum in memory of Patricia Anne Newman by her family and friends.

The Temple Museum is open on Sunday mornings from 10:00 to 10:30 and after services. Appointments may be made to view the museum at any time during the week.

Temple Memorial Book

The name of
LOUIS D. KENDIS

has been lovingly inscribed in The Temple Memorial Book by his wife, Mrs. Edith G. Kendis, and children, Mrs. Mildred Englander, Allyn D. Kendis, and Loren S. Kendis.

Temple Memorial Book

The name of
SUMNER C. WIENER

has been lovingly inscribed in The Temple Memorial Book by his wife, Mrs. Beatrice B. Wiener, and his children, Elmer A. Wiener, Mrs. Ethel W. Kendis, and Mrs. Lois W. Abt.

The Temple Gratefully Acknowledges The Following Contributions

TO THE LIBRARY FUND:

In memory of Harry Katz by Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Zucker.

TO THE FLOWER FUND:

In honor of the anniversary of Rabbi and Mrs. Abba Hillel Silver by Mr. and Mrs. Albert J. Goodman; in memory of Mr. Emanuel Altman by Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Efroymsen; in memory of Ray D. Koch by Mr. and Mrs. Leo Oppenheimer; in memory of Mr. Albert Taub by Mr. and Mrs. Moe L. Rothman; in memory of Mr. Albert Taub by Mr. and Mrs. Lee Rothman.

TO THE SOPHIE AUERBACH SCHOLARSHIP FUND:

In memory of Mr. Albert Taub by Mr. and Mrs. Leon Feder.

TO THE ABBA HILLEL SILVER CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND:

In memory of Mr. Emanuel Altman by Mr. and Mrs. Philip R. Berk; in memory of Mrs. Charlotte Havre by Mrs. M. B. Spero.

TEMPLE MEN'S CLUB DAY, JANUARY 10

The feature Temple Men's Club activity for January will be Men's Club Day at The Temple followed by a brunch at Wade Park Manor. Every member and his lady is invited and urgently requested to attend services Sunday morning, January 10th. Members of the Club will participate in the regular Temple service.

During the brunch held at Wade Park Manor after the services, entertainment will be furnished by the Mr. and Mrs. Club Orchestra, which is composed of twenty members of the Club. For the convenience of members, The Temple parking lot will remain open until after the brunch.

Immediately after services take your ladies to the Wade Park Manor where a reception committee will greet you. Brunch will be \$1.75 per person. Reserved tables for ten are still available as are also single reservations. Please phone or leave your reservations at The Temple office as soon as possible. Reservations are limited to 225.

Assist your committee in making adequate arrangements by responding before Wednesday, January 6th, when reservations will have to be closed.

AMERICA'S STAKE IN HUMAN FREEDOM

Address given by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
at the City Club of Cleveland, December 12, 1953

Dear Friends:

I am honored to be here today and to have an opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you. I recall that my first appearances before the City Club or under its auspices were during the great Red Scare of 1919-1921, the witch-hunting days of the A. Mitchell Palmer era in the intolerant backwash of the First World War when our community, along with other communities in the country, was shut tight against free speech under the scare of Communism, and when the City Club, in an effort to reassert basic Americanism, established open forums on our Public Square and in other parts of the city to give men a chance to participate in free discussions.

The Palmer era and its hostility to all forms of liberalism or radicalism, along with its hysterical arrests, imprisonments, deportations and mob violence, did not last very long. Americans who believed in the Bill of Rights rallied after a period of confusion and hesitation and put an end to it.

We are moving, I am afraid, into another such period today, induced by the same scare of Communism. It is more serious today, for Communism has become a greater menace than it was 35 years ago, and democracies have lost a good deal of their confidence. Demagogues, too, have improved their techniques, here at home, and have learned from foreign models how to ride into power by exploiting politically the issue of Communism.

I hope that the American people will soon rally again to safeguard their basic liberties and to put an end to the new effort which is being made by various interests to throttle them. America has a great stake in freedom, and the free world has a great stake in American freedom.

It is a truism to say that we are facing serious times, both at home and abroad. Many grave problems confront us, and their solution is not at all clear. Nobody has all the answers. Because the solutions are not clear and the right way has not yet been found, it is important now more than ever to allow full and free discussion of all issues on the part of our citizens and scrupulously to safeguard the tried and tested procedures of a free democratic society. We may differ as to their proper solution, and it is within the American tradition for our citizens to express

their differences. In a free society a man must be prepared to do his own thinking. He must not be afraid to express a contrary opinion if it is an honest and a responsible opinion and motivated by love of country. It is the moral duty of a free citizen to call attention whenever he feels that the policies pursued by the majority are wrong and to advocate what he regards to be the right and not to be deterred by criticism, abuse, or intimidation. Else by silence or indifference or calculated prudence the wrong will be confirmed and the evil will be perpetuated. All tyrants and dictators, big or little, depend for their ultimate success upon the timidity, the submissiveness, or the penchant for conformity on the part of most people.

It is the moral duty also of the free citizen to defend the intellectual freedom, the independence of judgment, and the right of expression of other people. The forces of law should, of course, be invoked against those who by force would destroy our democracy. We hold no brief for Communists. Active Communists should be ferreted out as enemies of our government, their activities neutralized, and when there has been a clear violation of law, they should be punished by law. But the law should be clear and specific; the term "Communism" should be clearly defined and established in law, and the laudable traditions of American court procedures which safeguard the basic rights of every accused should be employed in the process. Needless to say that this applies also to those who are accused of espionage.

Writing on "Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement" in 1952 in the *Iowa Law Review*, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI stated: "The Constitution provides a framework for a government of law—and under it both civil liberties and law enforcement derive their meaning . . . Law enforcement is a protecting arm of civil liberties. Civil liberties cannot exist without law enforcement; law enforcement without civil liberties is a hollow mockery . . . Law enforcement, however, in defeating the criminal, must maintain inviolate the historic liberties of the individual. Here is the very heart of the problem: the vital necessity of having men and women in law enforcement who hold inner allegiance to the principles of democracy and perform their duties in a completely legal manner." This, I believe, should hold true

also of investigation committees in Congress.

What has disturbed many Americans in the last few years has been the tendency on the part of certain Congressional investigation committees to take over the functions of our courts and our administration of justice without subjecting themselves to the restrictions and the vital safeguards under which these latter operate. Congressional investigations are of course a necessary part of our democratic legislative procedure and no one can reasonably object to them. What has alarmed large sections of our people are the methods which are sometimes employed by these committees, such as the release of unverified and unevaluated testimony by former Communists who were spies and enemies of our country for years and who now have turned informers; the inability of the accused to confront his accuser or to study the charges against him; the attempts to establish guilt by association and by so doing discredit men who are not Communists but liberals and progressives, men of social vision and courage who at some time in the past, when the Soviet Union was our ally and when cooperation with it on the part of our citizens was the policy of the government, may have quite innocently joined organizations since declared to be subversive; the irresponsible and wholesale charges made against American churchmen through the instigation of reactionary fundamentalist forces within these churches who are not averse to taking advantage of the Communist weapon in their theologic battles; the calculated attacks and innuendoes against American universities; and the patent political and publicity fortune-hunting on the part of some of the heads of these investigation committees.

These Congressional investigation committees have become quasi-judicial bodies which involve directly or indirectly the careers, the livelihood, and therefore the very life and property of American citizens without giving them the protection of their constitutional guarantees which any American court of law would, as a matter of course, grant to them. The Congressional investigators claim that they are not responsible for evidence given under oath before them. The FBI stoutly maintains that it does not evaluate the evidence in its possession. But in the process of these Congressional hearings and as a result of them, men and women who refuse to testify against themselves, which is their constitutional privilege, are broken, lose their jobs and their professional positions, and stand condemned, without having been

found guilty, under the American system of legal procedure. The fact that some or many of these people are Communists, and some of them Communist agents, with whom no decent American can have any sympathy at all and who merit punishment, does not diminish by an iota *their* right under the Constitution, the very Constitution which they would like to destroy but which Americans, in spite of them, are determined to preserve. We insist, when we do insist, upon these safeguards of the Bill of Rights—not because of the Communists—but in spite of them. For our sake! For the sake of our children! To secure, as the Founding Fathers wrote in the Constitution, “the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” In Congress itself voices have been raised for fair rules in investigations. Bills have been introduced providing for a proper code of procedure. This is highly commendable.

In fighting Communism we must make doubly sure that we are fighting Communists, not others whose views we do not happen to like. It is so easy to permit our prejudices and our dislike for the unlike to run away with us. It is so easy to brand and to excommunicate a man who does not happen at the moment to agree with a policy which is favored by the Government or by the majority of the people, but whose disagreement may be grounded in a profound patriotic devotion and loyalty to our country. We must ask ourselves what it is that we want to suppress and why we want to suppress it and whether the suppression will ultimately serve the best interests of our free and democratic America.

And in our zeal to fight Communists, we must not forget to fight also Fascists, and there are plenty of them in our midst though they go by different and less revealing names—sometimes they arrogate to themselves a monopoly of American patriotism—and they are as dangerous to American democracy as are the Communists. The Nazi Fascists in Germany rode into power on the pretext of fighting Communism, and proceeded to destroy the German republic; and in so doing they established one of the most vicious and contemptible, and to their own people most disastrous, dictatorships in history.

In the days to come, there will be many political adventurers and unscrupulous demagogues who may wish to ride into power, like Hitler did on the issue of “fighting Communism.” They will stop at nothing. They will not limit themselves to routing out Communists from government; they will wish to route out everybody whom

they do not like from our educational system, from our universities and colleges, from our churches, from the press. These people will rally around themselves, as Hitler did, all the reactionaries, all the enemies of social liberalism in this country, and ultimately they will exploit racial and religious animosities to serve their political ends. Let us learn from history. The time to speak out against all this is *now*.

Unless we are on guard, Americans will soon be free to express only approved views and accredited opinions, that is to say views that are approved by the majority and opinions which an organized vociferous minority will permit them to entertain.

I have from time to time warned against these dangers in our national life, a warning which has been shared by many responsible educational groups and organized religious bodies in the United States. Because of it, I and other colleagues of mine in the ministry have been subjected to some criticism in the press. I do not mind the criticism, and no one who takes a stand on public issues should wish or expect to be immune from criticism. I wish, however, that the criticism were more factual and constructive and less patronizing to the poor, “duped” and “misguided” clergymen . . . No clergyman would of course dream of ever possessing the omniscience of some of our editorial writers, but in all fairness it should be said that clergymen are not babes in the woods either. I venture to say that the best and most intelligent work in the fight against Communism on the American scene today is being carried on by the churches and their ministers. They, however, refuse to confuse book-burning, witch-hunting, hysteria, and political chicanery with the real patriotic defense of America and its institutions.

In this connection it would be well to recall the words of Professor Albert Einstein spoken at the time the Nazis came into power in Germany:

“Being a lover of freedom, when the revolution came in Germany I looked to the universities to defend it, knowing that they had always boasted of their devotion to the cause of truth; but no—the universities immediately were silenced. Then I looked to the great editors of the newspapers whose flaming editorials in days gone by had proclaimed their love of freedom; but they, like the universities, were silenced in a few short weeks . . .

Only the Church stood squarely across the path of Hitler’s campaign for suppressing truth. I never had any

special interest in the Church before, but now I feel a great affection and admiration because the Church alone has had the courage and persistence to stand for intellectual truth and moral freedom.”

It is of utmost importance that we remain alert and scrupulous in the defense of our civil liberties because the struggle against Communism is likely to continue for a long time to come, far beyond this generation. There is little hope of any conclusive settlements in the near future. These are great world issues working themselves out on a global stage which may require generations before permanent adjustments, reconciliations, or syntheses are reached.

What, therefore, we may believe to be only temporary and emergency measures of suspension of civil rights may turn out to be a permanent injury and the sacrifice of American freedom.

Because of the long ordeal ahead, I have also from time to time advocated that efforts be made to discover some way of living together in the same world with the Soviet Union. This too has aroused criticism. I find comfort today in the epoch-making address which President Eisenhower delivered before the Assembly of the United Nations last Tuesday—an address which should fill the heart of every American with pride and confidence. I find confirmation also for my belief that the road towards a basic understanding will be a long, broken and arduous road, in what appears to be the initial negative reaction of the Kremlin to President Eisenhower’s atomic proposals. In his address you will recall the President said, “My country wants to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations . . . We never have and never will, propose or suggest that the Soviet Union surrender what is rightfully hers. We will never say that the peoples of Russia are an enemy with whom we have no desire ever to deal or mingle in friendly and fruitful relationship. On the contrary, we hope that this conference (the proposed four-power meeting soon to be held) may initiate a relationship with the Soviet Union which will eventually bring about a free intermingling of the peoples of the East and the West—the one sure, human way of developing the understanding required for confident and peaceful relations.”

Back in December, 1950 I addressed my Temple Congregation on this theme, in an address called “A Letter to Mr. Truman,” which was then published.

From this address, permit me to quote the following:

"It is clear that only in the direction of courageous and continuous exploration of every avenue for reaching understandings, if only piece-meal, only in the direction of negotiation, earnestly sought and welcomed, lies the hope of the world. Negotiation is not appeasement. Let not the American people be persuaded into closing their minds at the sound of the word appeasement. It is today a tabu device to paralyze thought and wise diplomatic action. There should be urgent and continuous exploration of every opportunity for coming to an understanding with the Soviet, a nation which we cannot defeat in war any more that it can defeat us.

Our appeal to our national leadership in Washington, which we make in all good will, for we are all involved in one common destiny, is to be courageous and unafraid, not be to swayed by partisan political considerations and not to allow itself to be stampeded by war-mongers, fanatics and cranks, and by those who would push us into war for reasons which have nothing to do with love of country."

Friends! Regardless of how powerful we become militarily, we shall still have to settle in time all our differences with Russia in one of two ways: war—atomic war, which is unthinkable, which everyone agrees would result only in a bloody stalemate on a global scale or in the possibility of civilization being destroyed altogether; and negotiation—the way of give and take, the way of statesmanship in which skillful and inspired diplomacy are perhaps more effective than any assumed preponderance of power which can only be established in actual combat.

In order to build up to strength and checkmate the aggression of the Soviet Union, we have been attracting to our democratic front dictators of the type of Franco and Tito. This has not strengthened our position with the free peoples of the earth. It has seriously brought into question our role as the all-out defender of human freedom against all types of dictatorship. We have also made a rearmed Western Germany the keystone to our entire scheme of European defense.

We, who had denounced and fought the Germans for being aggressively militaristic, are now insisting that they should rearm. Because of our absorption in the building up of a front against Russia, we have invited Western Germany to rearm and to join

the defense forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This, of course, can only come about if Germany remains divided; but the German people want to be united far more than they want to fight on the side of the Allies against Russia. They have had their stomach full of fighting Russia in the last world war. They do not want their country to become the battleground for a war between America and Russia; nor do they want a civil war to rend their people apart. Stalin, you will recall countered our move by putting forward his program for a united, rearmed, but neutral Germany. Stalin, too, as a result of the disastrous cold war between Russia and the United States, was forced to retreat from the position which he and we and the allied heads took at Potsdam in August 1945, where they agreed that "all war potentials of Germany were to be destroyed—war plants, warships, aircraft and arms—so that Germany would never again be able to make war." From this sound, statesmanlike position, Russia too, under pressure of the cold war, has retreated.

The entire arch of our foreign policy in Europe, with a cooperating Western Germany as its capstone, is, I fear, doomed to collapse. We are not willing or ready to face the issue of a united, disarmed and neutral Germany. A divided Germany will not stay divided for long. A united and rearmed Germany will be the signal for the Third World War. In this war Germany will again be fighting only for Germany, not for democracy or for any alliance.

The French, on the basis of their bitter experiences in two world wars, know that; we refuse to face the facts and the lessons of history. We have failed to discuss this subject frankly with the Russians. We feel that the Russians are insincere. But when can we be sure of their sincerity? All important international agreements in the past have had to surmount suspicions of insincerity and double-dealing. When was the art of diplomacy entirely free from secrecy and concealment neatly packaged in frankness and tied with the ribbon of disarming amiability? One need not be credulous or gullible in negotiation, nor abandon a precautionary skepticism. On the other hand, one cannot indefinitely postpone negotiations on the ground that the other party is not free from diplomatic guile.

We settled into a routine of negativism, waiting for 1954 or 1955, when we hope we shall be strong enough to deal with the Soviet Union successfully. Even our Allies have become restive under the crushing military burdens

which this scheme imposes upon their people.

It is, of course, important that we be strong militarily, and that we do not lower our guard. In the kind of a world in which we live, defenselessness is an invitation to aggression. But military strength alone will not improve the deteriorated and dangerous international situation of our day. That, to quote President Eisenhower again, "would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world." We must learn to rely in the future as much on statesmanship and moral leadership as on force; and never give up trying to reach an agreement, even if it is on a small or peripheral issue. Every time a sincere effort on our part is rebuffed by the Russians, it is they, not we, who lose ground in the battle for the hearts and minds of men who are still unshackled by Communist dictatorship. We are taking the wind out of the sails of Soviet propaganda.

War is not inevitable. I know that we do not want war. I doubt whether the Soviet Union wants war. Neither has anything to gain from it. Both, whether as victor or vanquished, would be the loser.

Ways must and can be found for a tolerable "modus vivendi", a way of coexistence which, while never quite free from tensions and strains, will yet give the world a chance to breathe freely and go about the real business of life. Ideologies cannot be adjusted by compromise, but political problems of coexistence can be.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was universally held that Catholicism and Protestantism could not live together in the same world. One or the other had to go. The stakes were enormous—far greater than those at stake in the East-West struggle today; for not only were the fortunes of *this* world involved, but also those of the next world. The ideologies could not be reconciled—and so the struggle passed from the realm of ideas and propaganda to the battlefield. Europe was drenched in blood. The wars of religion lasted for a hundred years and destroyed hundreds of towns and cities, and whole provinces, until the inevitable truth dawned upon man that a way *had* to be found for Catholicism and Protestantism—and other religious minority sects—to live together in the same world without sacrificing their particular loyalties and dogmas. A compromise of toleration was finally agreed upon, and Europe was able to move forward

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again once this frightful road block was removed. Out of the religious toleration which was thus achieved, there flowed also political liberties to the peoples of Western Europe.

Our age will have to find a formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and the fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in the one world in which we live. They may be irreconcilable in theory; they need not be in practice.

America should lead confidently in finding the way. The way is not that of a global armament race which will impoverish the peoples of the earth—ourselves included—and end as such races always end—in the catastrophe of war. It is time to change over onto a new course—and I believe that we have begun to change over to a new course. The way is rather that of conference, of courageous diplomacy, of giving urgent leadership in the United Nations to a program of speedy and balanced reduction of armament. The new way will put us in a position to render through the United Nations more extensive and constructive aid to the backward peoples of the world, as the President indicated in his address of April 16th, and to cooperate with

them in achieving necessary agrarian and social reforms which will set them firmly on the road to a free and happier life. The ultimate defense of democracy in the world lies not in superior armor or in the atomic bomb, but in raising the standard of living of the masses of the earth whose misery and wrongs are receptive soil for all kinds of doctrines of violent revolution and for all types of economic deceptions. While Communism breeds in other places beside poverty, certainly it never overlooks these natural seed-beds. When we shall come to these under-privileged peoples bringing them the gifts not of bombs and bayonets, but of bread and health and education and freedom, they will become our natural allies, and our alliance will be cemented in good will and in hope. At present they are suspicious even of our generosity because they have lost confidence in our motives. They regard our humanitarian efforts as part of a calculated over-all strategy to draw them into an armed conflict with the Soviet Union for which conflict they have no desire whatsoever. They are convinced that a war, even a successful war, will not give them either bread or freedom. Our generation waged two world wars to make the world safe for democracy, and there is less democracy in the

world today than in the last one hundred years.

This is ~~the~~ the kind of leadership to which the world will respond, leadership which does not wait on the occasion but makes it, which is prepared to take calculated risks for peace, which is eager for negotiation and conference to settle all issues which endanger the peace of the world—a leadership which exerts sincere and unremitting pressure for limitation of armaments and the lifting of the crushing military burdens from the backs of the peoples of the earth—a leadership which aggressively plans for world-wide cooperation to help and guide the backward and impoverished peoples to higher levels of agricultural and industrial development, of well-being, health and education—a leadership which seeks the liberation of all dominated, colonial peoples and extends friendly help to them in adjusting themselves to their new way of life—this kind of leadership—which is not dictation, which is not imposed by our wealth and power, which is not enmeshed and hampered by commitments to the imperial interests of colonial empires and which flows naturally from the head-waters of our great liberal traditions and history—is sure to re-kindle the hopes of the world.

ALUMNI BREAKFAST

FENWAY HOTEL GREEN ROOM

Sunday, January 10, 1954

9:15 A. M.

85¢ per person

In Memoriam

The Temple notes with deep sorrow the passing of

LOUIS DOLIN

and extends heartfelt sympathies to the members of his bereaved family.

RABBI A.H.SILVER, 53-6
THE TEMPLE,
E.105TH & ANSEL RD.,
CLEVELAND, OHIO. 6

THE CITY

Vol. XXXIX

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1953

No. 15

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Subject:

"AMERICA'S STAKE IN HUMAN FREEDOM"

Dining Room

Saturday Noon

December 12, 1953

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER TO AIR HIS VIEWS ON HUMAN FREEDOM

A veteran battler for human freedom and dignity throughout the world and a man who, despite his international eminence, is never afraid to give his point of view staunchly despite the fact that it might run counter to public thinking, is to take the Forum roster next Saturday.

The man is Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple, close friend of American presidents, and long a leader in Zionist activities that have made his name and thoughts known in almost every nation around the world.

An example of Dr. Silver's fearlessness of opinion despite prevalent views can be seen in his constant reiterations for a top-level meeting of world leaders to end the war in Korea, his urging that Mao's China be admitted into the United Nations, and his strong support of former President Truman's firing of Gen. MacArthur.

His opinions have often won him sharp criticism—often to the point of lengthy editorials in Cleveland's daily papers—but they have rarely been shaken unless he himself believed that new events brought about a need for a new outlook.

A close friend of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Rabbi Silver gave one of the benedictions at the Chicago convention that nominated him. Only a few weeks ago, Dr. Silver was one of less than a score of honored guests at a White House stag party with the president.

Dr. Silver was born in Lithuania in January, 1893. He received his A.B. degree from the University of Cincinnati in 1915. In 1925 he got his D.D. degree from Hebrew Union College and in 1928 a Litt. D. from Western Reserve University. Since then his activities in local and national civic affairs have been so numerous as to defy listing in so small a space.

The Rabbi came to Cleveland as the spiritual leader of The Temple when he was 24 years old—three years after the United States entered World War I. Since then his reputation has soared to its present high position.

Dr. Silver speaks always from a deep font of knowledge and in a style that is unusually moving. In his numerous talks he has never failed to leave his listeners deeply impressed and completely satisfied that the subject has been covered thoroughly. For an interesting experience next Saturday, make it a definite date to come to the forum.

December 19—Annual Meeting. Orpheus Male Chorus

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BELIEVE IT OR NOT

Cityzen Livingston Fewsmith wonders whether our capacious friend, Cityzen Milton (Sights & Sounds) Widder has heard of the new organization: Overweights Anonymous.

* * * *

Comes a greeting from our former editor, I. L. Kenen, now Washington representative of the American Zionist Council.

* * * *

We're sure glad to learn that WGAR, our City Club radio spokesman, although sold, will not deprive us of our friends: Cityzens John Patt and Carl George.

* * * *

Looks as if Cityzen R. L. (Engineer) Matthews had hit on something to ameliorate the delinquency problem. He organized a Little League Bowlers in his neighborhood. He hoped for twenty applicants. Two hundred appeared. So he pressed more fathers into service—Boy Scouts, Senior grade.

* * * *

Before anyone else says it, we'll let Cityzen James B. (Law) Dolphin say it: Macarriage delenda est.

* * * *

The consensus on last Wednesday night's Field Day for Candidates: Right up to the standard of excellence of past celebrations. The presentations were varied and everyone was enjoyable.

The Improvised Quartette, promised—threatened—by Cityzen Earl R. (C. P. Judge) Hoover, failed to show at the Field Day. Others, however, did.

* * * *

It was heartening to see our earliest living Ex-president in joyful attendance. Ed Baker, second president of The City Club and still doing business as resident of Bache & Company.

* * * *

As usual there were a number of performers not scheduled on the program. Cityzen Andy Pangrace seemed to be around somewhere in most of them; then there were Cityzens John Ferguson, S. Burns Weston and Carl Perley at the piano—as usual.

* * * *

On December 17 at The Cleveland Hotel, our industrious young Cityzen Robert H. Rawson who manages the Empire Plow Company when he isn't managing some civil meeting, will be the moderator at the School for Cuyahoga County Officials.

* * * *

Cityzen David (Scripps-Howard Science Ed) Dietz makes the Saturday Review of Literature because, some time ago before an exclusive club (not the City Club), he made a speech upon the subject: "Adventuring Through the Universe." When introduced, the chairman read a list of former speakers including one by David Dietz upon the subject—you guessed it—"Adventuring Through the Universe." As Dave replied: "It's the same old speech, but you'll have to admit it's the same old universe." "Age cannot wither . . ."

* * * *

Cityzen Wm. L. Hughes comes to the support of Cityzen Wm. (Magazines) Feather by recalling Victor Hugo's statement in Les Miserables (we have his word for it): "A pun is the odor of a fading mind." Let's not get into smellodrama.

JEST IN FUN

Always ducks a quack doctor.

—N. K.