



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series VII: Personal Miscellaneous, 1908-1989, undated.

Sub-series A: Biographical, 1908-1981.

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Autobiography/memoirs, Book 1, second draft, 1963?.

## BOOK ONE

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My Zionist career began when I was a lad of eleven. At the suggestion of my father I organized, together with my brother Maxwell, the first junior Zionist club in the United States. We named it the Dr. Herzl Zion Club, after the illustrious founder of political Zionism who had died that year.

When Dr. Herzl died, my father, ~~who loved Zion with a passionate love, said to us with tears in his eyes, "A prince and a leader has this day fallen in Israel."~~ A few days later he took us to a packed memorial service which was held in one of the large synagogues on the lower east side of New York, where men and women wept bitterly as if for a lost son. They wept for an uncrowned king who, in a few brief years, had kindled the hopes of a homeless people and, by the magic of his personality, had stirred their Messianic dreams of

national restoration, yet had died a poor, broken, and tired man at the age of forty-four.

The <sup>Club</sup> conducted its meetings, which were at first held in the narrow quarters of our home, in Hebrew. Father supervised our programs and corrected our Hebrew. My beloved mother, proud and happy with what we were doing, looked after us lovingly and, from time to time, added <sup>her own Touch</sup> ~~her culinary art~~ to our intellectual repasts.

We were five children--Bessie, Pearl, Maxwell, and our youngest sister Rose. Pearl died ~~young~~ in 1931, and though many years have since passed, I think of her often.

Both Bess and Pearl worked and augmented the family income. Their earnings made it possible for the younger children to go to school and High School. By the time I was Bar Mitzvah I also contributed something to the family budget. I taught English to immigrants much older than I, and Hebrew to children somewhat younger than myself. During the High Holy Days, I earned a few dollars singing in a <sup>Synagogue</sup> choir.

We loved to sing in our home. Father wrote his own Hebrew melodies and composed his own music. He had a fine voice. I sometimes sang some of his songs at public gatherings which our <sup>Club</sup> arranged.

Our <sup>Club</sup> program consisted of discussions in Jewish history and literature, debates, recitations, and lectures by adults who were invited to address us. We arranged for open meetings to which the public was invited. Before long we edited and published a little magazine of our own in Hebrew.

The most attractive feature of our program <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ the annual productions of a Hebrew play which we presented in a rented theatre on ~~the East Side~~. Abraham Goldfaden, the father of the Yiddish theatre, interested himself in our club and wrote his first and only Hebrew <sup>script</sup> ~~play~~, "David in War", for us. He also composed the music and personally trained us in the acting. ~~Members of the club~~ <sup>we</sup> visited the numerous societies and Landsmannschaften with which the East Side abounded in those days, addressed their meetings and sold tickets. We filled <sup>to capacity</sup> the People's Theatre on the Bowery ~~to capacity~~ and the play was a success. It was the first Hebrew production anywhere in the United States and it created quite a stir.

Other productions were to follow. A colleague recently sent me a review of the play, "Moses", which we ~~had~~ produced in 1909. The ~~review~~ <sup>which</sup> appeared in the magazine "Theatre". In a pleasant and light vein it praised the young amateurs for their acting and notably my performance of "Moses" which, it said, would have done credit to a professional actor.

By way of reply I wrote: "As you see, it has been a Long Day's Journey into the limelight....I acted the part of "Moses" in 1909. Fifty years later I wrote a book about 'Moses and the Original Torah'. But I am afraid that in spite of the histrionic talents of my youth and my scholarly research <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ later years, Moses still dwells in the thick darkness which he entered on his way up Mount Sinai."

The Dr. Herzl Zion Club was responsible for the founding of the Zionist Youth Movement in the United States which soon developed under the name of Young Judea. An impressive number of active Zionist and communal workers and leaders, educators and Rabbis, received their early training in our club.

The seven years between 1904 and 1911, ~~the year~~ when I left for Cincinnati to enter the Hebrew Union College, were <sup>quickening</sup> ~~quicken-~~ing and developing years for me. The vital and culturally stimulating environment of the East Side, ~~of those years,~~ alive and turbulent with ideological controversy, bubbling over with the ferment of old world ideas in their new world bottles, the opportunities for manifold expression which the club afforded, were all that a young man could ask for in his formative years. ~~Mind and spirit were quickened.~~ Though bread was not always abundant, the fullness of life was there; comradeship and challenge and beckoning horizons. We enjoyed a rare freedom of movement and scope within a traditional Jewish discipline which was accepted by us as a matter of course. We were, as it were, on our own in a world where to be on one's own meant, as a prior condition, loyalty to a revered way of life.

Among my unforgettable memories of those years were the lectures of Zvi Hirsch Masliansky. I sat every Friday evening in the wings of the stage of the Educational Alliance--Masliansky was fond of me and had invited me to sit there--and I listened to the captivating flow of his eloquence. After these many years I can still taste the sweet honey of his words. Masliansky was the most popular preacher-lecturer on the East Side, ~~in those days.~~ Thousands flocked to hear him. He would enrapture his audience by his eloquence and wit, by the vivid portrayal of the life which the immigrant listeners had left behind, its spiritual grandeur, as well as its physical poverty, its tyrannies and repressions. Vast congregations would sit spellbound as he spoke to them of the New World, its promises and horizons and of the many problems which confronted them and of the

frictions which were developing between parents and children. His impassioned words would reach heights of poetic fervor and grandeur when he spoke of the people of Israel, of its destiny and the hope of national restoration in Palestine.

In the Fall of 1911, I left for Cincinnati. In pursuing a Rabbinical career, I was following a family tradition. My father was an ordained Rabbi and so was his father before him. He had studied at the famous Yeshiva of Slabotka in Lithuania, <sup>Father</sup> ~~But~~ never occupied a Rabbinic post either in the Old World or the New. In Neinstadt, Lithuania, where I was born, Father was a ~~small-time soap~~ manufacturer. <sup>of soap</sup>. He earned his living in New York as a teacher of Hebrew. Though himself Orthodox, he raised no objection to my enrolling in a Reform seminary. He belonged to the Haskalah--the "enlightened" wing of Orthodoxy. He was at home in several languages--Russian, German, Lithuanian--and he wrote a beautiful Hebrew. Years later, when he settled in Palestine he published two volumes of Biblical commentary, "Chashukei Kesef" (Filigrees of Silver) which critics have praised as a fine blending of Rabbinic and scientific scholarship.

My decision to enter the Hebrew Union College was not the result of any clear ideological choice. Because of my love for ~~the~~ <sup>my</sup> ~~home of my childhood~~ <sup>home</sup> and the religious way of life of my parents, I had then and still have a warm affection for Orthodox Judaism, but I felt no strong intellectual commitment to it, either as to its practice or doctrine. I and my young friends were reaching out, quite unconsciously, for a more liberal type of Judaism. I was aware, of course, of the anti-Zionist tradition of Reform Judaism but before me were the examples of eminent men like Gustav Gottheil, who though a



Rabbi of the leading Reform Temple in New York was also Vice-President of the Federation of American Zionists; and of Judah L. Magnes, a graduate of the Hebrew Union College--and a one-time instructor there--who was Secretary of the Federation of American Zionists and at the same time Rabbi of a Reform Temple. That was true also of ~~the~~ Stephen S. Wise, who headed a liberal congregation in New York and was a leader in Zionism. One really never knows what motivates the basic decisions of ~~one's~~ life, but looking over the years I am inclined to believe that the decision which I made was a wise one.

I spent four years at the Hebrew Union College and at the University of Cincinnati. My days there were ~~very~~ pleasant. The members of the College Faculty were masters in their respective fields, some of them world-renowned. They revealed to me the quality and depth of genuine Jewish learning and each in his own way influenced me, some by their remarkable scholarship, others by the example of their lives, still others by the genuine warmth of their personalities. No attempts were made to indoctrinate the students. The sharp controversy over the issue of Zionism which had raged at the College a few years prior ~~to my entrance~~ and which had resulted in the resignation of two of its professors, had apparently subsided, and while the College still reflected the prevailing anti-Zionist position of early Reform Judaism, it was no longer militant about it. A student could preach a pro-Zionist sermon in the College Chapel if he so desired. Some of us did, and I was not disciplined for it.

During my first year in Cincinnati, I ~~also~~ helped to organize a Hebrew-speaking society, the "Ivriah". We held public meetings and organized courses for the study of modern Hebrew. My early love for

the Hebrew language was, of course, a byproduct of my <sup>Falken's</sup> ~~childhood~~ training, and ~~my home environment~~. In later years I came to understand how vital the cultivation of Hebrew was for the preservation of Jewish life. No Jewish community ever contributed culturally or scholastically to our people's life which did not foster the Hebrew language or Hebrew literature. No Jewish community ~~ever~~ survived for long which ignored Hebrew. This is an ineluctable fact of Jewish experience. We have armor against everything, except amharazut.

I was ordained in 1915 and I was called to my first pulpit in Wheeling, West Virginia. The community was relatively old, as Jewish communities in the Ohio Valley go, and ~~was~~ thoroughly Americanized. Almost everyone belonged to the temple, and attendance at worship on Friday evenings was relatively better than that of their descendants in later times. <sup>The generation</sup> ~~Their~~ loyalty to Judaism was greater than their knowledge of it. Religious education in the Sunday School was rudimentary, with untrained volunteer teachers and inadequate ~~religious~~ textbooks. But much of the life of the community centered in the temple.

I served ~~as~~ rabbi in Wheeling for two years, during which time I learned much about the nature and problems of a small Jewish community in the Middle West. Jewish life here was far more peripheral, much less rich, than the more intensive Jewish life which I knew in the East. As a rabbi, I came close to the people whom I saw, perhaps for the first time, as individual human beings in the setting of their everyday lives--not merely as a group abstraction. I found great warmth and helpfulness, and to this day I cherish my pleasant memories of them. Some years later I returned to Wheeling to marry Virginia Horkheimer, who has shared my life and graced and guided it ever since.

I was called to the pulpit of The Temple in Cleveland in 1917 and I have remained there ~~ever~~ since. Cleveland had a Jewish population of eighty thousand. Already in those years The Temple was an important and influential congregation. My predecessor, Moses J. Gries, was a man of dedication and of high personal integrity, but ultrareform in his interpretation of Judaism. In later years I was to reintroduce many elements of ritual and ceremony which he had discarded--the Friday evening and Saturday morning services to supplement the Sunday morning lecture-service, as well as the teaching of Hebrew in the Sunday School and on weekday afternoons. Rabbi Gries was anti-Zionist and so presumably were the majority of the members. But my "reforms" and my Zionism, which soon made themselves manifest, did not encounter ~~any~~ marked resistance. Perhaps my youth and the reception which the entire community gave to my preaching, helped me. The Temple always allowed me a free pulpit. Occasionally I found myself under the necessity of advocating a social, economical, or political cause which was unpopular or distasteful to some or to many in the congregation, but no effort was ever made to restrain me. When in later years I had to absent myself for long periods of time in connection with my Zionist activities ~~throughout the country, or overseas~~, the Temple people were extremely patient with me. On my seventieth birthday I told my congregation it had been good to grow old among people whom one loved.

Our two sons, Daniel Jeremy and Raphael David, were born in Cleveland. Daniel Jeremy is now rabbi of The Temple. Raphael David,



a graduate of Harvard Business School, is active in the business world. Both have brought joy to our home--they, their wives and their children.

Cleveland has been a good city to work in. The cosmopolitan character of its people endowed it with a commendable spaciousness. Intolerance of any sort found it difficult to take permanent root. Cleveland has a strong liberal tradition dating back to the days of Mayor Tom Johnson. Neither reaction nor radicalism <sup>HAS</sup> made much headway in ~~Cleveland~~. The city <sup>HAS BEEN</sup> ~~is~~ carried along by a sound, confident and steady-going liberalism.

The sense of civic unity in Cleveland is evidenced in its Community Chest. I attended the very first Community Fund Campaign in 1918 and I have remained close to the Fund ever since. I was privileged to open many of its Campaign meetings. The Community Fund, the first to be organized in the United States, was a civic achievement of more than local significance. It was a pioneering effort, experimental in the extreme, but it succeeded, and it carved a highway for the community idea in philanthropic giving for the entire nation.

Cleveland is a tolerant city in a religious sense. The various religious groups ~~in the community~~ carry on their activities in amity and frequently in cooperation. There have been ~~very~~ few instances of bigotry and sectarian hostility. I have been a member for more than forty years of a group of clergymen of various denominations called the Alsthians. We meet monthly in each other's homes. A paper is read by one of the members on a subject of his own choosing of common interest to our profession and ministry. It is then discussed freely and fully. Following which we sit down to a fellowship dinner. No

publicity is ever given to these meetings and no resolutions are ~~ever~~ adopted. But <sup>They have</sup> ~~it has~~ served as a valuable clearing-house for ideas, and a vehicle for better understanding, ~~and good will in the religious community of Cleveland.~~

I came to the Temple during the First World War. <sup>Before long</sup> ~~Before long~~ <sup>OUR OWN COUNTRY WAS AT WAR</sup> ~~our own country was at war.~~ ~~Temple boys left for the war, some never to return.~~ ~~War activities engrossed our days and the war mood completely engulfed us all.~~ I threw myself heartily into "the war to end all wars". I attended ~~many~~ patriotic rallies and spoke in many parts of the country in behalf of Liberty Bonds. In the summer of 1918 I went over-seas for the United States Committee on Public Information and at the request of the French High Commissioner. I visited the Front, the Army Camps, hospitals and the installations of the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., the Jewish Welfare Board and the Salvation Army. (My assignment was to see what provisions were made for the care of our troops over-seas. )

In France I met many distinguished Frenchmen--Albert Thomas, Maurice Barrés, Joseph Reinach, Emile Boutroux and others and learned their views on the future peace, on France-American cooperation and on Russia, where the Bolshevik Revolution had but recently overthrown the Kerenski government and had pulled Russia out of the war. I returned home to tell of what I saw. My report was seemingly not all that the super-patriots expected for thereafter and until the <sup>ARMISTICE</sup> ~~end of~~ ~~the war~~ a member of the Secret Service attended every one of my Sunday morning lectures. At the close of the war I was decorated by the French government, "Officer de l'Instruction Publique".

I was disillusioned with the Peace Treaty, ~~which followed the war.~~ I spoke out against it: "The treaty of peace as we have it

cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be called a peace treaty. There is no promise of peace in it. It has many of the earmarks of the Peace of Vienna of 1815 and the Treaty of 1871. It is imperialistic to a degree and vindictive in a frightful measure. The spirit of vae victis is written large in it. One looks in vain for that spacious generosity, that spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation, that healing sympathy which one was led to anticipate from the words of our leaders and spokesmen." (~~See "In the Time of Harvest", Macmillan Company, 1963, p. 30.~~) (June 1, 1919)

I was persuaded that the League of Nations which President Wilson was urging upon the Allied nations with so much idealism and with such cogent logic would be endangered by <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ harsh terms of ~~the~~ ~~Peace Treaty~~ which was being imposed upon the defeated nations. I ~~had been~~ ~~was the first~~ ~~had previously~~ been a strong advocate of a League of Nations and had spoken in many cities in favor of it, but when I returned from a second trip to Europe in 1920, after the Treaty of Versailles had been published, I was convinced that "it was not a treaty of peace but a treaty of war and that any league organized to perpetrate such a treaty is organized for war." (Oct. 19, 1920.) In an address before the Cleveland City Club, speaking on "Europe Revisited", I declared: "What one carries back with him from Europe is a confirmed feeling of the almost absolute futility of war. The gains which the world can credit itself with as a result of the war do not justify the sacrifices. European governments have learned practically nothing from the war." (Oct. 16, 1920.)

I was shocked and dismayed by the wave of intolerance, witch-hunting and anti-Red hysteria which swept over our country after the

(see also 12a)

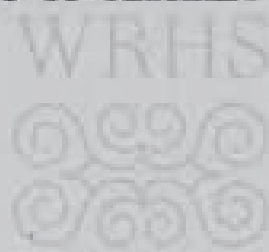
war. Those were the days of the Red Scare and the Palmer raids. Cleveland, too, was in the grip of this hysteria. On May 1, 1919, a parade of socialists and <sup>h.c.</sup> ~~sympathizers~~ <sup>A</sup> was broken up in a bloody riot. The next day two socialist centers were attacked by mobs, ransacked, and their occupants beaten ~~up~~.

Free speech was muzzled in our city. Under the auspices of the City Club, the one liberal body in ~~Cleveland~~ which ~~had~~ kept faith ~~in~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~with true Americanism~~, I addressed open-air meetings ~~in the Cleveland~~ <sup>in the</sup> Public Square and elsewhere. I called upon ~~our~~ <sup>my</sup> fellow citizens to return to democratic sanity and to safeguard the traditional values of our free American society. I helped to organize a group of Cleveland men pledged to law, order, and free speech. I have always believed that ~~patriotism is nothing more or less than what the simple phrase, "love of one's country," signifies.~~ The test of patriotism is not whether one subscribes to one policy or another, but whether, in so doing, that individual is prompted by love of country or by selfish motive. A man who is devoted to his country; who seeks its welfare; who works for its prosperity, is a patriot. He need not endorse every policy of <sup>the</sup> ~~government~~. He may believe that his country is totally wrong in a given instance, and still be a patriot. He may be conservative; he may be a liberal; he may be radical; he may be a capitalist; he may be a socialist; he may be, if Lincoln is to be believed, even a revolutionist, and still be a patriot.

In 1927 the National Society of Scabbard and Blade, a fraternal arm of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, the Key Men of America, and similar organizations issued a Black List of fifty-six "dangerous un-American personages who were working to undermine the government by their communistic tendencies." I was honored by being included in

this distinguished list. <sup>listed were such fine citizens</sup> ~~It contained such names~~ as Jane Adams, William E. Borah, Robert M. LaFollette, John Dewey, and Sherwood Eddy. My particular crime seems to have been that I heartily <sup>had</sup> endorsed the World Court and that I had defended the cause of organized labor.

I was not troubled by this blacklisting, but I was troubled by the growing intolerance in the nation as was evidenced by the large number of these self-constituted so-called patriotic bodies which were growing up like weeds on the American soil. Anyone who was a liberal, an enemy of child labor, a defender of the rights of the Negro, an advocate of the World Court, a pacifist, or anyone who favored the recognition of Russia, was automatically blacklisted. Later on I was to be blacklisted also by the Daughters of the American Revolution.





To return to Cleveland and my ministry at The Temple.

In 1924 we moved into our new temple in University Circle.

It is a beautiful and spacious structure. The sanctuary is of a modified Byzantine style. It has been described as "a building which is not only architecturally satisfying, but which expresses in itself the deeply religious spirit and the essential unity of the Jewish faith." (The Architectural Forum, No. 1925.)

I have always had strong reservations on the trends in contemporary church architecture. The church has lived with many types of architecture in many parts of the world, types which it created, borrowed, or embellished. The test of an effective church style is neither its antiquity nor its modernity. Any building which is conducive to prayer and meditation, which fosters in man a mood of humble quietude and reverence, and which gives him sanctuary from the clamor of the market place and the drabness of the commonplace is, from the point of view of the mission of the church and synagogue, good architecture. It may be old in design or it may be new, or it may be a blending of the two--it matters not, provided the spirit of man finds shelter in it and is moved by its beauty and harmony and the memories which it arouses to dwell on the mystery of life and the eternal ways of God.

A church design which is merely untraditional, which deliberately startles by its feats of novelty, which embodies abstractions in constant need of commentary, or which attempts to make the religious edifice "functional" in the mechanical sense of the term, aligning it with the high universal trend toward efficiency in our industrial society, misses, I am afraid, the unique and redemptive contribution

which a house of worship can make to the beset and troubled spirit of modern man when it turns to the courts of the Lord in quest of peace and spiritual security.

When a man enters a church or synagogue to pray or to be instructed in the word of God, he should be moved to exclaim not, "How modern! How functional! How sensationally different!" but, "This is none other than a house of God and this is a gate to heaven."

In 1958 we added additional facilities to ~~our Temple~~ and we acquired land to build a parking area and also a small park. We were determined to remain where we were, and not to move to the suburbs where many of our members were moving. I regarded the flight of churches and synagogues to the suburbs as a mistake and as a surrender of civic responsibility. We have had no occasion to regret <sup>that</sup> ~~our~~ decision. Our membership through the years has increased, and the University Circle, where we are ~~now~~ located, with its numerous educational and social institutions is developing into one of the nation's ~~most~~ impressive cultural centers.

Here I have worked these forty years. In spite of many ~~extra-mural and out-of-town~~ activities, ~~and the demands which were made upon me by national and international causes,~~ I tried not to neglect my Temple work. I was in my pulpit most every week-end and preached most every Sunday. I taught my Confirmation classes regularly, conducted classes for adults, supervised the general activities of the Temple and attended to the pastoral duties of my office. I did not visit people as often as I might have for I did not have the time, but I did not wholly neglect that part of my ministry either--and my associates in the Temple supplemented my work. I have never regarded

the purely pastoral phase of a rabbi's work as of primary importance. In the tradition of the rabbi, it never loomed large, though in the eyes of many members of modern congregations it is all-important. Historically, the rabbi was the teacher, not the pastor.

I prepared my sermons carefully, writing them out in longhand and then memorizing them. I seldom spoke extemporaneously. ~~I was~~ ~~reverent of the spoken word.~~ The inspiration necessary to the moment may be late in coming. Only in recent years, or on occasions which called for scrupulous care in wording, did I resort to a manuscript. In whatever I sought to accomplish, the spoken word was my most useful tool. My work through life has been principally a work of persuasion and I had to rely upon the proper word, the proper argument, the proper mode of delivery. Whether in the pulpit, the platform, or at congresses or conferences, it was through the spoken word that I could best represent my cause and on it ~~very~~ much often depended.

As a rule, my sermons never exceeded thirty to forty minutes. Beyond that, both preacher and congregation reach a point of no return. But capsule sermons to satisfy the quick-lunch taste of modern temple-goers never appealed to me. They are usually devoid of intellectual nutriment and free of spiritual calories.

One of the subjects which I stressed in the pulpit and platform was the importance of Jewish education. In 1922, I recall that in the keynote address which I delivered at the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Carnegie Hall, I stated:

"In deference to ourselves let us be frank. Our religious schools are inadequate. Their curricula are rudimentary and faulty. The time allotted to the religious education of our children is all



too short. We cannot transmit ~~the~~ a heritage of three thousand years, the learning and wisdom of thirty centuries, the history, religion, ethics, and literature of a people, all in the one or two hours a week during the few years of the child's school life. <sup>As</sup> We, rabbis, frankly confess our inability to cope with this problem. You Jewish laymen must look to it. It is you who must take the initiative in this tremendously urgent work." My concern led me to organize the Bureau of Jewish Education in Cleveland in 1924, with the aid of the Federation of Jewish Charities and with the cooperation of the other rabbis of the city. A survey had revealed ~~that fourteen thousand~~ Jewish children of school age, out of twenty-one thousand in our community, <sup>Fourteen Thousand</sup> were receiving no religious training whatsoever. The Bureau applied itself to the establishment of schools in all parts of the city, to the <sup>proper financial</sup> support of the existing educational institutions, ~~which were not entirely self-supporting~~, and to the training of ~~religious school and Hebrew school~~ teachers. I was elected president of the Bureau and actively served in that capacity for seven years. The Bureau has served well through the years and today is an established educational agency in our community.

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In my forty-five years as rabbi of The Temple what was it that I tried to teach my people about Judaism? I was never enamoured of formal, systematic theology, though, of course, I had studied theology, not only as part of my training, but subsequently to discover what new ideas and insights had been added. I have found little new in the writings of the renowned theologians of our day. Some were more

obscure than others, some more ponderous, ~~than others~~, but all ended with the same few simple truths which are the essence of all the religions of the western world, truths which the ancient seers and prophets of our religion had stated with greater clarity, conviction, and eloquence.

In preaching Judaism I never extolled one type of Judaism over another. I never criticized Orthodox Judaism, nor deprecated Conservative Judaism, nor extolled Reform ~~Judaism~~. I was never an "orthodox" Reform Jew. Denominational distinctions interested me very little. In fact, I was rather critical of Reform Judaism though I was a Reform rabbi, perhaps because I was a Reform rabbi. I believed that the pioneer reformers and their disciples were too zealous to modernize Judaism, and too self-conscious about modernity. There was <sup>even</sup> ~~too~~ much emphasis in their thought and speech upon "reform," "change," "progress," too little upon "rebirth," "return," "tracing back to God." Nothing is so shallow and ephemeral as modernity. The very word suggests a mode, a fashion, an improvised and passing version which has its practical utility, to be sure, but which must not be confused with that which is of the essence and of the eternal. They were too eager to accommodate, to facilitate, and, strange as it may seem, to conform--not to tradition, of course, but to the most recent thought and practice of their day--the tradition of recency. They were sufficiently intellectual in their critique, but lasting religious reformation is achieved only by mystics who are concerned not with the recency of their doctrine, but with the immediacy of their religious experience.

Great spiritual movements break not only with the past, but with the present as well. They never attempt to 'modernize' religion but to restore it to its timeless ~~spiritual~~ essence, to its enduring distinctiveness through all times and ages, to that which like the flowing current moves and changes and yet remains the same. Quite consciously they are movements of "return" to marvelous and decisive beginnings so as to recapture ~~an~~ ageless truth. They never set out to adjust men to their social, political or economic environment. They aim to tear <sup>men</sup> ~~them~~ free from their environment. They demand ~~of them~~ surrender, self-denial, <sup>renunciation</sup> of worldly comforts and interests, and they offer <sup>only</sup> ~~them~~ the compensations of spiritual blessings. The greatest religions were those which made the greatest demands upon their followers and which called for the most rigorous disciplines.

For all their loyalty, learning and high-mindedness, many of <sup>early</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>reformers</sup> ~~the leaders of our movement~~ over-estimated the importance of ~~their~~ ritual <sup>changes</sup> ~~reform~~. It was not long before it became clear that people could refrain from praying from an abridged prayer book quite as easily as from an unabridged one, that a Jew could fail to observe a one-day holiday quite as readily as a two-day one, and that even services of ~~great~~ dignity and beauty could fail to impress and attract if the disposition to worship is not there. It must be clear by now that the omission from the prayer book of the prayer for the restoration of Zion did not appease the unfriendly gentile, <sup>and it</sup> ~~and~~ did not succeed in making more secure the position of the Jew in the German Fatherland. It must ~~be~~ be clear by now that the Jew who spoke a perfect German could be disliked as vehemently as he who spoke a perfect or imperfect Yiddish. Those who were finally driven out of Germany were Jews who had become perfectly adjusted and perfectly

modernized. This is not to suggest that many of the reforms were unnecessary. But looking at them from the perspective of history, which reformers frequently sacrifice for an apocalypse, they appear far less consequential than they seemed at first.

The need for this type of reform was over a long time ago. What is needed today is not the innovation or renovation or reformation or reconstruction of Judaism, but the conversion of the Jew to his faith. It is no longer a question of less or of more: but of ~~the~~<sup>which</sup> godlessness, secularism, and materialism/have blighted our people, along with all other peoples, but <sup>to</sup> which we, because of our unique position in the world, can least of <sup>all</sup> submit. It is hopeless to try to reach the heart of our people or to serve them by reviving old slogans and battle-cries, or discarded rituals, or by confronting them with the competitive claims of Orthodoxy, Conservatism, or Reform. None of these has scored any significant victory in our day, and life is now attacking them all.

And so, when I taught my people about Judaism, I spoke to them not of competitive denominational ideologies, but of that which is carved out of the everlasting rock.

I tried to transmit to ~~my people~~ the core insights of Judaism which are easily recognizable in all stages of its development: that God is One, indwelling in all nature, and yet transcending it, near to man in all his needs and yet beyond man's comprehension; that God can never be represented and is never incarnated; that man, while fashioned out of the earth, is nevertheless made in the spiritual image of God; that while man is bound up by his physical and mental limitations, he is



nevertheless boundless in his moral aspirations, and he is free to determine his own spiritual progress through his own efforts, assisted by the grace of God; that both body and soul are of God and that the whole of man--body, mind and soul--is sacred; that all men are equal in their essential humanity and in the sight of God; that there is but one moral law for prince and pauper, for ruler and subject, for native born and the stranger; that life is good and is a gracious gift of God; that the evil which exists in the world can be overcome, and in the overcoming of it lies the meaning and the adventure of human life, and that a good age of universal justice and brotherhood and peace awaits the human race, to be ushered in by the efforts of the human race; that there is a reward for goodness in time and in eternity, and punishment for evil which can be averted through repentance; that man's principal concern should be with life this side of the grave since "the hidden things belong to God but the things that are revealed belong to us and our children, that we may do all the words of the law."

I ~~would have~~ stressed that while Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people, evolved by them and entrusted to them, their mission was to spread its teachings to the whole world. The message of Judaism <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ universal. Israel conceived of itself as a covenanted people, trained through a self-imposed discipline to be, as it were, an army of the Lord, to carry this revelation of the One God and of His mandates to all men everywhere. <sup>Israel</sup> ~~was~~ was chosen not for any special favors or special privileges, but for the hard, exacting obligations of spiritual leadership which is so often a crown of thorns.

As an historic faith, infused with the life experience of the Jewish people, Judaism naturally reflected in ~~some of~~ its customs, symbols, ceremonies, and festivals the special experiences and the special needs and hopes of the Jewish community, but the light of its spiritual and its ethical vision is intended for the whole of mankind. Judaism excluded no one from sharing in its faith because of race or of caste. In fact, no one needs to be formally admitted into its fold in order to be "saved."

This is the Judaism which I taught ~~my people~~ through the years --in sermon, lecture, address, <sup>and</sup> ~~or classroom instruction~~. This is the Judaism which I applied in interpreting the events of the day, from week to week, from year to year, not only to my own congregation but to the numerous other groups which I frequently addressed.

It is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of one's ministry. The minister deals in imponderables. A businessman can point to his profits, the doctor to the number of cases that he cured, <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ engineer to the number of structures or ~~bridges~~ which he built. The minister can point to no such tangible achievements. He does not know whether his teaching is followed or not, or whether his preaching has any influence whatsoever. You have to have faith that the seeds that you sow will, somewhere, in some soul, take root.

I have found a strengthening of ~~the~~ <sup>my</sup> spirit in study and have managed to <sup>scarcely</sup> ~~steal~~ away <sup>a precious few</sup> ~~the~~ hours for some serious writing. In 1927 I published <sup>a</sup> ~~my~~ book, <sup>on</sup> "Messianic Speculations in Israel, from the First through the Seventeenth Centuries." Its nucleus was the doctoral thesis which I had presented to the faculty of the Hebrew Union College in 1925, which I now enlarged and completely revised. It was well

received in the scholarly world. In 1958, when a paperback edition of ~~the book~~ was published, I added a brief preface which carried the story of messianic speculations up to the time of the establishment of the State of Israel. I believe that Zionism and messianism tap the same spiritual sources. Loss of national independence, the will to live as a rehabilitated people in the national home, and an unfaltering faith in divine justice established the force of messianic belief in Israel. I found the beckoning vision of a redeemed humanity basic to Israel's way of life then and now--only now the will to live and the unyielding hold on divine justice <sup>leads</sup> ~~lead~~ to practical strategies rather than to pious speculations.

In 1931 I published a series of essays under the self-explanatory title, "Religion in a Changing World." It was a "best-seller" among such books in its day. I find in my files a selection of quotations, published by the Cleveland Press, which points the direction of my thought:

Man's true life does not take place in time or space but in the secret processes of spiritual growth.

One should not confuse that which is necessary with that which is ultimate.

Man does not require much to be happy. It is in his striving after the excessive that the roots of his unhappiness lie.

Man must have more than one world in which to live; for his one world may collapse and then he is totally bereft.

There is nothing new in novelty.

Man possesses no rights other than the right to do right.

Man's first duty is not to express himself but to perfect himself.

We are the richest nation in the world today and the richest nations were always the first to succumb to moral decadence.

The liberal regards democracy not as absolutely perfect but as progressively perfectible.

A man can be a blackguard even in Utopia.

Our age needs a form of good will which will not only tolerate differences but which gladly uses them for the enrichment of life.

On the plane of common human aspirations all men may meet without sacrificing their characteristic cultures or modes of life.

International good will is not a legacy of the human race. It will be the achievement of those men and women throughout the world who can think with a minimum of bias and feel with a maximum of restraint.

Our modern pessimism is based on the belief not that knowledge will not increase, but that increased knowledge will not bring us increased happiness.

A trayful of mechanical toys, of engines, motors, radios, and airplanes is no adequate compensation for the loss of human freedom and dignity.

Not the least of the roles which religion should perform in the modern world is to resist change--change which is unintelligent, uninformed, and whimsical. One of religion's great opportunities is to tide mankind over its periods of confusion.

The flaunting of moral conventions, unaccompanied by a critical appraisal and by a readiness to substitute still higher conventions for them, is far from being a sign of moral advance.

At the heart of the atom, matter and energy become undistinguishable, merged into the one astounding miracle of creation, and the heart of knowledge, science, and religion become one in the everlasting mystery of mind.

In 1956 "Where Judaism Differed" was published. It was an inquiry into the distinctiveness of our faith and dwelt on the fundamental insights of Judaism. To these I have already referred. It was well received, and in a short time six printings were issued. A Hebrew translation appeared in Israel in 1961.

In 1961 my book, "Moses and the Original Torah," was published. Moses has been relegated by the prevailing schools of ~~Biblical~~<sup>Hebrew</sup> critics to the ~~remote~~ legendary periphery of Scriptural history. It ~~is~~<sup>was</sup> argued that he lived so long ago that whatever he taught must have been



rudimentary and imperfectly developed. The doctrine of evolution cannot be applied to man's spiritual life in the same way it is applied to organic life. The advance of spiritual ideas is not necessarily slow and gradual. What is intrinsically exalted does not necessarily come late in time. I argued, in this work, that Moses in fact began Israel's spiritual revolution; that the <sup>original</sup> Torah cannot be laid to the literary prophets or to any other movement or event in <sup>later</sup> ~~later~~ ~~Biblical~~ history. I studied the ~~original~~ Torah of Moses to which the prophets of later time frequently refer--its uniqueness, where it is to be found in the Bible, and how it fared in pre-exilic times among the peoples of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. My approach was radical of current assumptions, and the book aroused considerable controversy.

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Jewish "intellectuals" have always been a problem to the Jewish people. As a rule ~~they are supercilious fringe Jews, victims of a conscious or unconscious escapism.~~ They entertain neither love nor reverence for their people's heritage. They have cut their moorings and are adrift.

The term "intelligentsia," like the terms "proletariat" and "peasant," is really not applicable to the structure of American society. It belongs, or belonged, to the social stratifications of the Old World. When men speak of the Jewish "intellectuals" in the United States, they have in mind, presumably, Jewish authors, journalists, artists, philosophers, professors, etc., not necessarily all the educated, college-bred Jewish men and women of whom there are legion in our country.

Quite a number of this small group of alienated "intellectuals" --if and when they treat Jews and Judaism in their literary products-- do so ~~delightfully~~, disparagingly, and at times with acid and scorn. Some of them do so out of ignorance. But a goodly number of them hail from oldfashioned Jewish homes and from a distinctly Jewish environment, ~~where they received orthodox Jewish training.~~ But they have removed themselves ~~from positive Jewish life~~ because they believe that there are sweeter pastures elsewhere--higher rewards, both social and monetary. To belong to a distinguishable and, at times, disfavored minority group is too difficult a burden to bear. It is only after these intellectuals become disillusioned, when they discover that the rewards which they anticipated are not forthcoming, that some of them return to the welcoming fold of Israel, a bit saddened and embittered and a bit over-zealous. ~~Men~~

From time to time these intellectuals are polled by some enterprising magazine as to their attitudes towards Jew and Judaism and the results are, of course, largely negative. These findings are then interpreted to mean that there is a sharp trend among all educated Jews in the United States away from Judaism and the Jewish people, and toward non-religion and assimilation.

In 1926 the Menorah Journal presented several such intellectuals in a survey of the Jewish cultural and religious scene in the United States. One was Professor Horace M. Kallen, another was Elliot E. Cohen, managing editor of the Menorah Journal and in later years editor of Commentary, and the third was Henry Hurwitz, the founder and editor of the Menorah Journal. The Menorah movement was founded in the early twenties by a group of intellectuals to refurbish Judaism for the

modern college student--who had presumably outgrown the old brand.

These three "did a job" on American Judaism, the American rabbi, and Jewish theological schools in the United States. Their composite <sup>JUDICAMENT</sup> ~~portrait~~ of American Jewish life was one of lamentable inadequacy. There was but one hope for American Israel and that was in an adequately financed and endowed Menorah movement.

Especially freewheeling and gross was the essay of Elliot E. Cohen, whose particular bête noire was the American rabbi, but whose distaste for Judaism generally was no less sharp. Among the rare pearls of wisdom with which his article was adorned were:

The Elders of Zion myth is a by no means distant cousin of the Jewish mission myth.

The little respect our culture receives is that paid to a people who stumbled ~~upon~~ on some spiritual ideas capable of being incorporated, in a greatly improved form, of course, in the culture of the West.

Lacking wisdom, our leaders take refuge in speech. Good Watsonian behaviorists, they discover the springs of thought in the voice box.

Speeches and sermons are born of the air and destined to vanish with the breath that gave them birth. ^

But they (the rabbis) are guilty certainly of a too weak acquiescence in the degradation of the rabbinical function to that of a spokesman--i.e. mouthpiece, of the ignorance, ambitions and fears of the influential Jewish laity.

Mr. Hurwitz requested me to write a rejoinder, ~~to these articles~~.

"Let me repeat again most sincerely and urgently, my invitation to you to write an article for the Menorah Journal, as soon as may be, to present the situation as you see it in answer to Kallen's and Cohen's articles. . . . You will be doing the Journal a very great service-- I believe you will be doing the cause of Judaism in America a great service--if you will present your analysis of the situation, your

description of what the rabbinate and the synagogue have so far had to build up in this country, and what you believe their future service should be. May I count on you for this?" I finally consented to write such an article. My article, "Why Do the Heathen Rage," was accepted.

~~Galley proofs were submitted to me which I corrected and returned.~~

Mr. Hurwitz announced ~~the~~ forthcoming publication of ~~my article~~ as an indication of ~~the broadmindedness and fairness of the Menorah Journal.~~

On the eve of my departure for Europe in July of that year, I was informed by Mr. Hurwitz that the article would not be published. I immediately turned ~~over the article~~ to the Jewish Tribune of New York, ~~which published it~~ <sup>WHERE IT WAS PRINTED</sup> in four weekly installments, beginning with the issue of July 23, 1926.

Mr. Hurwitz attempted to justify ~~the~~ suppression of my article in a letter which he sent to the Jewish Tribune. Upon my return from Europe, I replied to it in the Tribune of August 20th.

"Upon my return from London today I read the letter which Henry Hurwitz wrote to you in explanation of the suppression of my article which had been requested and accepted by the Menorah Journal.

"Mr. Hurwitz states in his letter that I made two unacceptable conditions to its publication, one, that it should be printed in full, without change, and two, that no answer to it should appear in the same issue of the Journal.

"This is correct. One will readily understand why these conditions were made when one remembers that two of the three authors whose papers I discussed are respectively the editor and the managing editor of the Menorah Journal. When I requested that no answer should be made in the same issue, I asked for my article the same privilege

which the articles of Dr. Kallen, Mr. Cohen, and Mr. Hurwitz enjoyed. The editor indicated in a note which accompanied the galley proofs that a reply to it would appear in the following issue of the Journal, to which, of course, I raised absolutely no objections.

"Mr. Hurwitz was free to reject my conditions. He did not reject them; rather he accepted them with alacrity and in writing.

"Mr. Hurwitz refers to the title of my article, 'Why Do the Heathen Rage?' (a Biblical phrase, by the way) as 'the elegant nomenclature of Rabbi Silver.' Here again Mr. Hurwitz's memory seems to fail him. I submitted two titles for his consideration, the other being, 'A Rabbi Makes Reply,' and Mr. Hurwitz, himself, selected the former.

"There is a subtle suggestion contained in Mr. Hurwitz's letter that my article did not fully measure up to the established standard of thought and expression of the Menorah Journal. Of that the reader must judge. I am, however, again compelled to refresh Mr. Hurwitz's memory. Upon receipt of my article, he wrote that he was glad to get it 'and glad even after reading it.' This was in April. Four or five weeks later, during which time the editor undoubtedly had sufficient time to acquaint himself with the palpable deficiencies of the article, he sent me the galley proofs. Shortly thereafter, at a public meeting, he announced its forthcoming publication. In June, then, the article still measured up to the exacting standards of the Menorah Journal. In July it failed utterly. . . .

"One must be a dour fellow indeed not to chuckle at the literary vagaries of this distinguished editor."



Thirteen years after I penned my critique of the Menorah Journal, Milton Steinberg, the noted rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue of New York, felt constrained to write a similar critique of Commentary Magazine, a monthly journal of Jewish life, letters, and opinion, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. Its editor at that time was the same Elliot E. Cohen, who brought to his new post the same aversion to Judaism and rabbis, and the same predilection for secularist themes and writers. Only this time he preferred literary confections which had a touch here and there of the pornographic.

"I doubt," wrote Rabbi Steinberg, "whether either the editors or the inner communications committee representative of the American Jewish Committee are aware of the extent and bitterness of the hostility they have awakened in broad sectors of American Jewry, especially among informed and committed Jews . . . My complaint is against the spirit which animates it as disclosed in three circumstances, that the magazine has studiously ignored some of the most significant elements in Jewish life; that it has consistently given distorted presentation to certain others, no less crucial; and, finally, that all too frequently it takes on an air of condescension and superciliousness towards matters Jewish, including historic Jewish sanctities, and of offensiveness toward Jewish sanctities."

The Menorah Journal lacked a positive Jewish program and content. It made much of Jewish "culture", ~~and catered to Jewish intellectuals~~, but the culture was secularist in character, avoiding any positive identification with Judaism as a religion. Nor was it Hebraic in character or outright in its "nationalist" identification. It was neither Zionist nor anti-Zionist. Towards the end it became the mouthpiece of the American Council for Judaism . . . "Culture, with us," to quote Emerson, "ends in headache."

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My philosophy of Judaism as a religious humanism led me to the conviction that the organized religious community, as such, should enter the arena of social and political life and work for the building of the good society.

The primary and major service which the church and the synagogue must render the cause of social justice is to galvanize, by education and inspiration, the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it. But they should not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. Neither is an academy for <sup>the</sup> social sciences. They are, or should be, a dynamic agency for social reconstruction. They must enter the arena of life and do valiant battle for its sanctities.

Organized religion cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. <sup>Religion</sup> ~~It~~ would be compelled either to champion an existing order in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or a new order, which might fail ever to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The organized religious fellowship is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism, or communism, there are basic principles of justice at stake in each, and organized religion must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system holds adequate guarantees.

A minister is, of course, never entirely free in his profession. No one working in and through an institution is entirely free. One cannot expect to have the ~~perfect freedom~~ <sup>perfect</sup> and independence, say, of a prophet, and still be the endowed and accredited spokesman of an organized group. In a minister of small integrity, this makes for a measure of insincerity. But in most cases it serves to increase the minister's patience without decreasing his courage or his dedication.

This conviction as to <sup>social</sup> ~~the~~ role of organized religion ~~in modern society~~ informed and impelled my active participation in the social movements of the day.

By 1927 the unemployment situation <sup>had become</sup> ~~was becoming~~ extremely <sup>serious</sup> ~~serious~~ in Cleveland, as <sup>in the entire nation</sup> ~~indeed it had become~~ all over the country. I urged our city government to undertake immediate large scale construction projects as a means of <sup>bringing</sup> ~~bringing~~ relief, to the ~~unemployed~~ and ~~adequate local, state, and federal relief~~. It was at this time that I began <sup>a ten year</sup> ~~my~~ campaign for statewide unemployment insurance, ~~which was to continue for almost a decade.~~

Unemployment was forcing thousands to the doors of charitable institutions, and nothing is more degrading and desolating. This social pauperization of ~~the manhood and womanhood of our land~~ was a blot on the <sup>reputation</sup> ~~honor~~ of the fairest and richest country in the world.

Unemployment, I was convinced, was not an insoluble problem. Periodic fluctuations of prosperity and depression were not inevitable. The business cycle could, to a large extent, be controlled. If the



same amount of research and ingenuity which has gone into the technical improvement of American industry had gone into the problem of the regularization of production, the stabilization of markets, and the control of credits, the dread ghost of the business cycle would have been laid long ago.

I urged that a law should be passed establishing compulsory unemployment insurance for all workingmen. Every <sup>valueless</sup> ~~workingman~~ is entitled to be protected against involuntary unemployment, just as he is entitled to be protected against the disability of sickness and old age. Unemployment insurance is a legitimate charge against industry in the same way as accident ~~insurance~~ or fire insurance. An insurance plan should be so drafted and premiums should be so graded as to put financial pressure upon the employer to regularize employment within his industry.

<sup>connected with</sup>  
The Consumers League of Ohio had been ~~studying the problem of~~ unemployment. In 1928 I urged upon it the wisdom of concentrating on unemployment insurance, ~~as a means of solving the relief problem which was caused by unemployment.~~ In April, 1930, the League appointed a committee ~~to study unemployment insurance~~ with the idea of framing legislation on the subject. The committee consisted of economists, representatives of labor and industry, social workers, and civic and religious leaders. It met weekly in the Parlor of The Temple for a period of six months. It studied intensively every phase of unemployment insurance and the insurance plans which had been adopted in other countries.

As an outgrowth of this study, it was decided to sponsor, in the Ohio State Legislature a <sup>bill</sup> ~~bill~~ for unemployment insurance. <sup>ANSWERS</sup> A public

meeting of citizens was called on December 15, 1930, to receive the draft of the proposed bill for consideration and action. At this meeting, the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance was officially organized and I was elected chairman. The meeting voted to authorize the Chairman to appoint committees to secure the endorsement of other organizations throughout the State, to interview members of the Ohio Legislature, to organize a Speakers Bureau and to do whatever else was necessary to further the movement.

Our <sup>HEARINGS</sup> ~~Bill~~ was introduced in the Ohio State Legislature in January, 1931, <sup>where</sup> It was known as the Reynolds-Keifer Bill. Hearings ~~on the Bill~~ were held in Columbus and I appeared before the Legislature on February 17th. Prior to my appearance, the Executive Director of the State Council of Retail Merchants circularized the membership of the Council with the warning: "When the eloquent Rabbi Silver appears in Columbus before legislative committee, with packed galleries, pleading for such a cause, LOOK OUT!"

At these hearings I said:

"I have been amazed in recent years as I became progressively more and more aware of this problem, of the relative indifference of the American public to the whole problem of unemployment until it becomes as acute as it has in recent months. We assume that unemployment is inherent in our industrial system and can offer only emergency relief. We have overlooked the social menace of unemployment. It has been said that irregular employment makes for irregular character, ~~AND~~ <sup>AND</sup> makes for a break-up of personality. Social workers tell us of the disruption which results when the head of the family fails to provide for the needs of the family. He cannot endure the silent rebuke of

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wife and children. Unemployment is forcing tens of thousands of self-respecting working-men to the humiliation of begging at the doors for charity.

"This Bill will not solve the problem of unemployment but it will solve some of its evils. It substitutes for our unplanned anti-social relief a dignified American method of relief. This Bill is an insurance measure and not a 'dole'. It is the very antithesis of the dole...The beneficiary pays for the protection which he receives and the amount is clearly fixed. The plan is actuarially sound.

"It places no additional burden on the people of the State of Ohio, for we are already spending millions in taking care of the unemployed in an inefficient, haphazard sort of way...Why should not the great State of Ohio take the first step in the right direction which will immediately be followed by other states?←

"Insurance will help our state when it most needs help--during periods of economic depression.

"The mind of the American working-man today is very restive. During the next decade we will have to pay for the undernourishment of these years, for the partial starvation to which we are subjecting our children. How long will the American working-man tolerate a system which compels him to use up his savings periodically? Russia is a challenge to our whole system, which seems to acknowledge that unemployment and misery are inherent in our capitalistic system. You do not believe it, nor do I.

"This Bill is sound, this Bill is practical. It is conservative. It has taken into account all the experiences of other countries.

"I voice the earnest sentiments of men and women who work in the field of religion, who are close to men and women in their great needs."

~~There were those who spoke against the Bill,~~ (representatives of industry and business) Both the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce worked for its defeat.

~~The Bill~~ was killed in the Senate on March 12th, and in the House on March 26th. However, as a result of the <sup>Publicity</sup> ~~great interest~~ which <sup>Accompanied</sup> ~~was aroused in unemployment insurance by~~ the introduction of <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Bill and due to the manifold activities of our committees <sup>throughout the</sup> ~~throughout the~~ <sup>State</sup> ~~State~~, the ~~Ohio~~ Legislature on April 9, 1931, acted favorably upon the recommendation of Governor White for the appointment of a Commission "to investigate the practicability and the advisability of setting up unemployment reserves or insurance funds to provide against the risk of unemployment, and to recommend what form of legislation, if any, may be wise or suitable to Ohio as a separate State and which may seem to offer the best preventive remedy to avoid future distress and suffering, such as is being undergone by our citizens who are unable to find work through no fault of their own."

Governor White appointed this Commission in November, 1931. It consisted of ten members with Senator J. A. Reynolds of Cleveland as Chairman and Elizabeth S. Magee, as Secretary. The Commission included a prominent industrialist, the Secretary of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, the Master of the Ohio Grange, the Secretary of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce, two professors of Economics--one from Antioch and the other from Ohio State University, the Director of Information Bureau on Women's Work, an attorney from Cleveland, later to become United States Senator, the National Secretary of B'nai B'rith, and myself.



This Commission worked for a year and made a thorough study of the field of unemployment insurance. On October 26, 1932 it presented its conclusions, together with the draft of ~~a bill for~~ an Unemployment Insurance Law. The Commission found that "unemployment insurance is not only desirable and practical but that the state cannot safely face the employment insecurity of the future without preparing for it by a compulsory system of insurance."

The report, as might be expected, was not unanimous. Two members, representing the employers and the Ohio Grange dissented: "Instead of a substitute for charity," they wrote to the Governor, "the proposed Bill presents an additional form of charity which may easily induce idleness, discourage thrift, and leave a large part of the present charity load as a public charge while the cost of compulsory unemployment insurance must eventually be borne by labor, the taxpayer or the consuming public."

~~Later on,~~ The representative of the employers on the Commission, a Cleveland manufacturer, J. F. Lincoln, in addressing the Associated Industries of Cleveland, charged that the three Jewish members of the Commission (Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Professor William M. Leiserson, and I) were the authors responsible for the Unemployment Insurance Bill. He went on to say that all three were foreign-born, ~~AND~~ "their background was a tradition of a land of pogroms, exile, and serfdom, also one of despotism, persecution, misery, and immemorial hatred." <sup>He</sup> questioned whether "these sponsors of the Bill had absorbed the American spirit of initiative, of individual responsibility, and self-reliance sufficiently to be trusted with the handling of major social and political problems of the country."



~~Similarly~~, the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, in a ~~brochure which~~ <sup>carefully pointed out</sup> ~~analyzed~~ the Commission's report, expressed "its resentment at the impudent challenge hurled at us by foreign propagandists." It asked, "When were Christian charity, family love, neighborly kindness, and human brotherhood scientific?" It further stated that "this attempt to foist upon the United States foreign ideals and foreign practices during this trying period is indefensible and disloyal."

The Unemployment Insurance Bill of the Commission <sup>was</sup> introduced into the Ohio Legislature in 1933. It was known as the Harrison-Keifer Bill.

<sup>It</sup> ~~This Bill~~ passed the House but was killed in the Senate.

Organized labor at first opposed unemployment insurance, but by 1932 a ~~complete~~ reversal of attitude took place on the part of the American Federation of Labor. Thereafter, unemployment insurance had organized labor as one of its staunchest friends in the State.

In 1934 I went to Washington and appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House to advocate the passing of the Wagner-Lewis Bill for Unemployment Insurance.

In June, 1934 I called a conference in Columbus to plan the drafting and presentation of a third unemployment insurance bill.

In 1935 a third bill was introduced, ~~known as~~ the Boyd-Hunter <sup>AJ</sup> ~~Bill~~, which, like <sup>the preceding</sup> ~~the~~ bill, embodied the recommendation of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance. <sup>It</sup> ~~This Bill~~ passed the House but was killed in the Senate.

Finally, in December, 1936, at a special session of the STATE Legislature, an Unemployment Insurance Bill was passed ~~by the State~~ ~~of Ohio~~ which, in the main, followed the provisions of the original

<sup>Passage</sup>  
Commission ~~Bill~~ Through the years before its enactment into law,  
the Ohio Plan was discussed in many states of the Union and stimulated  
action in many of them. It was, in a way, the forerunner of unemploy-  
ment insurance in the United States. ~~the~~ *the Ohio Plan*

From time to time I felt impelled to speak out in labor-  
management disputes. Cleveland was then, as it is today, an import-  
ant industrial community. As in most other cities, periodic attempts  
were made to crush effective labor unionism. At the close of the  
First World War there was severe unemployment in the city, and this  
situation was seized upon to undermine the organized labor movement.  
A leader in the campaign was the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce whose  
president had been President Wilson's Secretary of War, Newton D.  
Baker. In protest I resigned from the Chamber of Commerce. The  
correspondence between Mr. Baker and myself was given wide publicity  
in the local press. Labor leaders assured me that it greatly  
strengthened their position. *W.D.*

In September, 1930 I found myself again involved in a  
labor-management dispute in which justice was on the side of labor.  
The Hotel Managers of Cleveland broke a seventeen year old agreement  
with the Cooks', Waitresses', and Waiters' Union, and the latter had  
to resort to a strike in order to protect their right of collective  
bargaining. The action of the Cleveland Hotel Association in refusing  
all forms of arbitration was clearly part of <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ effort instigated  
and directed by powerful interests marshalled under the banner of the  
Associated Industries of Cleveland, who were anxious to use the  
~~economic~~ <sup>economic</sup> depression to destroy unionism. I publicly <sup>condemned</sup> ~~criticized~~ the  
hotel owners' action as highhanded, and their refusal to arbitrate as  
indefensible. <sup>With the</sup> ~~aid of~~ <sup>aid of</sup> a favorable press and  
public the strike won its point.

Through the years I was called in on several occasions to arbitrate labor-management disputes and to settle strikes.

Years later, in 1958, the issue of the Union Shop was again revived. A "Right to Work" constitutional amendment was presented to the voters of the State of Ohio. On that occasion I issued the following statement, which was widely used by the Ohio Federation of Labor ~~to defeat the amendment~~;  
Labor ~~to defeat the amendment~~:

"Every man in a free society should have the right to work. But every man, once he finds employment, also has the moral duty to join an organization of fellow workers which achieves for him, through its organized efforts, the favorable conditions he enjoys in his employment and affords him protection for the future. Everyone is morally obligated to share in the responsibilities if they wish to avail themselves of the rewards of collective effort. The theoretic "Right to Work" which no one questions is qualified by man's moral responsibility to assume the obligations which assure him the very things which he seeks in his employment.

"It has been my conviction for many years that no free society and no free economy can long endure in the modern world without a strong organization of its working people. A strong labor movement not only protects workers against exploitation but, at the same time, will save capitalism and free enterprise from those very abuses which ultimately destroy it."

The amendment was decisively defeated.

As I look back upon my political and economic attitudes, I believe that I should describe myself as a liberal. I was never a socialist, but I favored the welfare state. I was never a committed political or economic party man--but I have found certain consistencies in my judgments. In 1929 I penned what I then called the creed ~~which~~ <sup>of the untired and undaunted liberals of all times have lived by</sup> of the untired and undaunted liberals ~~of all times have lived by~~ <sup>Trans-</sup>pose ~~the first person singular pronoun for the plural~~ and the ~~creed~~ <sup>statement</sup> becomes what it, in fact was, ~~a personal creed~~ <sup>my own</sup>.

~~This is the creed I subscribe to.~~

We believe in Man, in his slow, ascendent<sup>d</sup> progress, in the autonomy of his spirit and in the primacy of his claims over the claims of all forms of human organization.

We believe in freedom--the fullest measure of freedom compatible with the fullest measure of responsibility.

We believe in authority--but only in authority sanctioned by reason and consent.

We believe that the only tools of social progress are education, experimentation, and cooperation.

We believe that to be well governed is not as important as to be self-governed; that values bestowed are not as desirable as values achieved. Hence, we reject all manner of milleniums proffered to us at the spear-point of dictatorship.

We believe that all truth is made manifest through the contact and clash of diverse opinions and that the ~~very~~ motive power of progress is the free exchange of ideas and the exercised privilege of nonconformity.

We believe in tolerance but not in indifference, in enthusiasm but not in fanaticism, in convictions but not in obsessions, in independence but not in isolation, in conflict but not in hate.

In 1917, the year I came to Cleveland, the Communist Revolution took place in Russia. ~~No religious leader could or would wish to bypass this major challenge of the twentieth century.~~ The pulpit would have relegated itself to irrelevancy if it had failed to give men guidance on this powerful new phenomenon which was shaking the very foundations of our society. Religion could not ignore it--for it was attacking all religion. Democracy and liberalism could not ignore it, for it was destroying them both wherever it could. It would have been a simple matter to engage in wholesale condemnation and so find oneself praised and applauded. But there were factors in the Communist revolution which a religious leader was obligated to consider, and spiritual elements which he could not ignore. As between the East and the West it was not altogether a case of black or white--the perfectly good system ~~against~~ the utterly evil one.

I have long been convinced that Communism is a disfigured theory, and I have long been convinced that we must learn to live on the same ~~plane~~ as the Soviet people and they with us. In 1920 I stated in my pulpit, "I believe that Bolshevism is fundamentally primitive and naive, and in practice wicked and destructive. I believe that it does not and will not make for greater human freedom or greater human happiness; and I believe that industrial democracy and industrial progress must be sought along other lines than those of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Nov. 24, 1920.) I have not changed my mind. In those early years I also



denounced the British blockade of Russia and called for the withdrawal of American troops on the thesis that every nation must determine its own life and in the belief that no one nation can compel the world to mold itself after its image.

In 1917 I delivered a sermon which I titled, "Bolshevism--How to Meet it." My central thought was, "Kill Bolshevism with justice, kill it with love." That was very naive, quite as naive as were the teachings of the founders of our faith when they confronted the evils of their ~~own~~ day. My visits to Russia, in 1926, 1935, and 1961, convinced me that most economic systems can achieve economic results and that whatever our views on ~~a competitive system~~ <sup>The Communist system</sup> there remains no option but living with it. I said this often. In 1961, upon my return from my most recent visit, I put it this way: "I am convinced that we must learn to live on the same globe with the Soviet people and they with us. The Russians have adopted a way of life which is theirs. I would not choose it for myself or for America. It has stark and basic defects which we cannot ignore, and it has certain merits which we should not underestimate. But their way of life is theirs, and whatever is wrong with ~~they~~ <sup>it</sup> they themselves will have to correct in the future. Neither they nor we are always in the right. The problem before the world today is not which system is the better, but how the two can keep from destroying each other--and mankind. Both are strongly entrenched and sufficiently powerful that one cannot destroy the other without destroying itself. The question is, then, not which will bury the other, but whether a war, once unleashed between the East and the West, will not bury them both.

"The only alternative to annihilationist war is mutual

accommodation. Many of the differences between us will have to be left to the solvent of time. The two systems will certainly persist concurrently for a long time. This should be accepted as an axiom by this generation and the next, and the next. Neither the communists nor we are getting off the globe. We must all, therefore, make every effort to free ourselves from the emotional climate of the cold war. This, of course, applies also to the communists, for the cold war cannot be ended unilaterally. As a people, we should learn to live more wisely and less excitedly, and to act more circumspectly and cooperatively in world affairs, exploring every avenue of possible agreement and bearing in mind that we can never have it all our own way. As a rule, it is better to study our adversary--at times even to learn from him--than to abuse him. We should go about our national business with emotional tautness, certainly without self-righteousness, in the full knowledge that while the worst can happen, in all likelihood it will not; doing what we feel we ought to do at the behest of our own national traditions and principles, helping where we can, seeking no political compensation in return, craving no praise and deterred by no threats, looking first to the soundness and justice of our own economy and the wellbeing of our people. No one will rob us of our chosen way of life, nor will time rust our spiritual treasures, if we cherish them lovingly."

In line with this position I favored diplomatic recognition of Russia in the 1930's and Russia's admission to the League of Nations and our ~~early~~ recognition of Red China after World War II. I felt that our military intervention in Korea was precipitous and bore more of impatience than statesmanship. In an address titled, "A Letter to

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In an address titled, "A Letter to Mr. Truman," which I delivered on December 17, 1950 and which was reprinted in the Congressional Record, I gave my reasons.

AND I FEARED THE LOGIC OF  
RAID MANSHIP.



2nd open public letter to President Truman delivered  
on Dec. 17, 1960 and ~~reprinted~~ <sup>published</sup> subsequently in  
the ~~Congressional Record~~ <sup>Congressional Record</sup> ~~and other sources~~ <sup>and other sources</sup>.

Mr. Truman," which I delivered on December 17, 1950 and which was  
reprinted in the Congressional Record, I gave my reasons.

"~~It is~~ <sup>It is</sup> proper to alert the American people today to the  
grave dangers in which they find themselves, as the President has done,  
but more is needed to meet the dire emergency--much more. In the  
first place, there must be self-examination at the top level. A  
sense of omniscience is not conducive to sound government, nor is  
impatience and irritability with suggestions and criticism, and narrow  
partisanship and a desire to make political capital out of grave  
international situations.

"There is in my judgment need for a re-examination of our  
entire foreign policy which has been going from bad to worse ever  
since President Truman, on his own responsibility, announced the so-  
called Truman Doctrine and pledged our country to resist Communism all  
over the world, a commitment on which we are simply not able to make  
good and one which our allies are unwilling to back up. A re-examina-  
tion of our entire foreign policy is called for. . . .

"These are some of the things about which I should like to  
write to Mr. Truman. I should also like to draw his attention to some  
words which he himself uttered the other evening, and suggest that in  
those words lies the right direction of statesmanship in these dire  
days. He said, 'There is no conflict between the legitimate interests  
of the free world and those of the Soviet Union that cannot be settled  
by peaceful means, and we will continue to take every honorable step  
we can to avoid a general war.' This is quite different from the  
dogmatism, the rantings, and the warmongering of so many others, which  
are so frequently heard these days.



"Stalin, too, has declared more than once that the communist world and the capitalist world could live side by side in one world. Truman does not trust Stalin. Stalin does not trust Truman. Hence the impasse. It <sup>seems</sup> clear that only in the direction of courageous and continuous exploration of every avenue for reaching understandings, if only piecemeal, only in the direction of negotiation, earnestly sought and welcomed, lies the hope of the world. Negotiation is not appeasement. ~~Let not~~ <sup>Must not</sup> The American people be persuaded <sup>To</sup> ~~into~~ <sup>At the second BE</sup> closing their minds ~~at the sound~~ of the word 'appeasement.' It is ~~very~~ a tabu device to paralyze thought and wise diplomatic action. There should be urgent and continuous exploration of every opportunity for the coming to an understanding with the Soviet, a nation which we cannot defeat in war any more than it can defeat us. . . .

<sup>my</sup> ~~our~~ appeal to our national leadership in Washington, ~~which we make in all good will, for we are all involved in one common~~ <sup>WPS AND</sup> ~~destiny,~~ is to be courageous and unafraid, not to be swayed by partisan political considerations and not to allow itself to be stampeded by warmongers, 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~~ <sup>who are ardently advocating a preventive war with Russia.</sup> There are those who will try to sabotage any possibility of agreement. These are our real enemies.

\* \* \*

I urged a friendlier attitude towards Communist Russia in spite of what I ~~know~~ <sup>know</sup> about its attitude towards religion, towards Zionism, and towards the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

The regime in Russia is hostile to religion. Its leaders boastfully avow their atheism. They do not seem to be as rabid and gross in their opposition ~~to it~~<sup>now</sup> as in 1920, but everything that the government can do to eradicate it from among the people, short of completely closing down all places of public worship, is done.

Anti-Semitism in Russia has had a long and dark history, and the October Revolution did not uproot it. Russian Jews, it is reported, (1963) are being steadily pushed out of positions in the top governing bodies of the State and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the higher echelons of the Red Army, the diplomatic services, and the higher brackets of academic professions and plant management.

I do not know how widespread this type of anti-Semitism actually is in the U.S.S.R. today. Its existence is vigorously denied by the government. But cultural and religious discriminations directed against the Jewish nationality group, as such, is certainly being practiced. The fundamental law of the U.S.S.R. grants cultural autonomy and equality to all nationality groups. ~~They have~~<sup>Each has</sup> a right to ~~their~~<sup>its</sup> own language, schools, press, and other cultural activities. This has been one of the honorable and proud boasts of the Soviet Union. The Jewish group is recognized as a nationality. Every Jew in the Soviet Union is required to indicate that he is a Jew--just as every Georgian that he is a Georgian. But unlike all the other nationality groups, and there are many, the Jewish group enjoys none of the rights of these nationalities.

It has been denied these rights because it is an extraterritorial community, that is, not centered in any one territory or region. It is argued by ~~the~~ apologists of the regime that those who wish or wished

to enjoy such rights could, or should have, migrated to the autonomous Jewish region of Biro-Bidjan in eastern Siberia, which the Soviet established. This argument, of course, ignores historic realities. Jews, though widely scattered, always constituted a separate ethnic and cultural group in Russia which, even in the darkest days of the Tsars, were free to exercise their religion, and free to teach and develop their own Hebrew and Yiddish culture. The argument also overlooks the fiasco of Biro-Bidjan, of which more later.

I am inclined to the belief that progress in the direction of winning for the Soviet Jewish minority the same cultural and religious considerations which are accorded ~~and~~ other nationality and religious groups is not foreclosed, given an insistent world Jewish protest, but one which does not join the chorus of the Cold War.

In 1932 I was given a sabbatical leave of absence by my congregation. I spent it abroad in Berlin, Paris, Prague, Rome, Geneva, and in Palestine. For the first time I came face to face with Fascism and Nazism in their native homes. The Fascist regime in Italy was then celebrating the tenth anniversary of Mussolini's March on Rome. While I was in Berlin in January, 1933, the Nazis took over the government of Germany. I ~~also~~ attended ~~the~~ sessions of the League of Nations in Geneva and was present when the critical debate on Manchuria took place.

Everybody knew that the Sino-Japanese conflict had brought the League to the first searching test of its career. Heretofore, the League had intervened more or less successfully in conflicts <sup>between</sup> ~~small~~ ~~nations~~ ~~only small~~ nations, ~~was not successful~~. Now one of the Big Five was

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vitally involved. The League must now reveal its ~~true character~~ <sup>STRENGTH OF PURPOSE</sup>. Was it really a competent international organization to ensure peace, resolved to enforce its principles and agreements upon all signatories alike without fear or favor, or was it merely a creature of the great powers, who would allow it freedom of action only when ~~their~~ <sup>Private self</sup> interests were not jeopardized? All excuses for delay had been exhausted. It was more than a year since China had appealed to the League against Japan's invasion of Manchuria. It was almost a year since Japan, at the League's intercession, had agreed to an immediate cessation of hostilities and to the withdrawal of her troops -- a solemn pledge no sooner spoken than ignored. The Lytton Commission had been appointed to gain time and, after months of close investigation, its report had been submitted. The report, remarkable for its thoroughness and unbiased judgment, found Japan's aggression in Manchuria unwarranted by any consideration of self-defense and ~~that the new state of Manchukuo, which Japanese bayonets had carved out of China, was nothing more than a Japanese puppet~~ <sup>To be</sup> ~~continued~~ <sup>TO GIVE CONQUEST AN AIR OF LEGITIMACY.</sup>

The hour of decision had arrived.

Many delegates took part in the momentous debate. Dr. Yen spoke for China. Matsuoka spoke for Japan. There were those who spoke for the smaller nations -- for Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Spain. These all spoke in defense of China and against Japan. ~~If Japan were allowed to go unchecked~~ <sup>IF</sup> ~~and the League in this emergency were to be found powerless~~ <sup>To</sup> ~~checking~~ the aggression of a great power, then ~~their own security from aggression was gone~~ <sup>ATTACK</sup> and the League was a broken reed to lean on <sup>AND INTERNATIONAL COMPALES</sup> ~~GAVE THEM NO SECURITY FROM ATTACK.~~



Everyone waited to hear the spokesmen of the Great Powers.

Paul Boncour arose to speak for France. I had never realized how pliant and flexible a language French could be in the hands of one who wished to dodge and wriggle round a moral issue. Boncour's speech was so finely spun, so dexterous, and so meaningless that men declared it to be diplomacy at its ~~very~~ best. He was followed by Sir John Simon, <sup>as a statesman</sup> ~~speaking for Great Britain. Sir John was at his barrister's best.~~ <sup>+ First Rate</sup> ~~He~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~could~~ <sup>see</sup> both sides of the case. On the one hand, etc., but on the other hand, etc.; therefore, one must not proceed with undue haste.

It was all over. ~~Great Britain, too, would not take sides.~~ The high drama of Geneva had petered out into a sour comedy. ~~One knew now that the League would do nothing in the Manchurian situation.~~ I saw and knew the beginning of the end of the League of Nations.

From Geneva I went to Rome, and there I had an interview with Il Duce. Premier Mussolini ~~was, at that time, riding high.~~ He <sup>IN THE STYLE OF A ROMAN TRIUMPH</sup> was celebrating ~~triumphantly~~ the tenth anniversary of Fascism in Italy. Within another ten years, his ~~battered and riddled~~ body would be hanging face down from a lamp post in Milan, his empire gone, his country in total collapse. But on the day that I saw him in the Palazzo Venezia ~~in Rome~~, he looked and acted as if he were the favorite of the gods, <sup>AND SO</sup> ~~which~~ he believed himself to be. In our conversation he prescribed freely for Italy, ~~and~~ for the United States ~~AND FOR~~ <sup>THE WORLD</sup> ~~as well.~~ He ~~thought that a central master mind and central economic planning and control were necessary in a country like America.~~

Mussolini ~~prided~~ <sup>prided</sup> himself on the religious tolerance which existed in his country and declared that there was no anti-Semitism

in Italy. Jews occupied positions of high importance. He expressed the thought that the increase in anti-Semitism in Europe ~~in recent years~~ was a result of economic dislocations. He was bringing better times about, and ~~he said that~~ anti-Semitism would wane with the return of normal times. It would not be long before Mussolini ~~would~~ abandon <sup>the posture of</sup> his religious tolerance <sup>in favor of</sup> and ~~accept~~ the racism of the Nazis and their shameful anti-Jewish program.

I arrived in Berlin on January 22, 1933, at the beginning of what turned out to be the most exciting fortnight in the political history of Germany. I found the city on edge. The Nazis were staging a series of quasi-military demonstrations. Three days later, in spite of bitter cold weather, fifty thousand communists staged a counterdemonstration. "Berlin is ours," they cried. On the following Sunday, a hundred thousand Social Democrats, with bands playing and banners flying, marched into the great Lustgarten Square shouting, "Berlin bleibt rot (Berlin remains Red)."

In the meantime, the political pot was boiling and spilling over. Von Schleicher's brief regime of less than two months as Chancellor seemed to be coming to an end.

On January 28th he resigned.

Hindenburg now called upon the former Chancellor, Franz von Papen, to negotiate with the political party leaders for the formation of a new Cabinet "within the framework of the Constitution and in agreement with the Reichstag." Who would be the new Chancellor? Forty-eight hours of terrific suspense ~~now~~ followed. Who would succeed von Schleicher? Would it be Hitler?--Hitler, the firebrand, the agitator, who had promised his followers that heads would roll in the dust once he came into power. But Hindenburg had twice refused him the Chancellorship.

And then suddenly, with the force and speed of a thunderbolt, came the announcement that a new Cabinet had been formed and that Hitler was Chancellor. Berlin was stunned. The Nazis were delirious with joy. Their long hoped for day of triumph had finally come.

Almost immediately, the Nazi newspaper appeared with screaming headlines: "Chancellor Hitler!" "German Berlin!" "Hang the flags out!"

A huge torchlight procession was held. Thousands upon thousands of ~~Hitler~~ shock troops and ~~Steel~~ helmets, carrying torches, marched, shouting, "Heil Hitler" and singing, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles." They marched past the President's Palace, where the erstwhile ~~insignificant~~ Army Corporal, now Chancellor of <sup>of the Reich</sup> ~~the German Reich~~, received their homage.

I stood on the curb and watched.

I knew, of course, what the rise of Hitler to power would mean to the Jews of Germany, but I underestimated the depravity of the man and <sup>of</sup> his regime. I thought that it was possible, and perhaps likely, that the Nazi leaders, <sup>back</sup> ~~now~~ shouldered with political responsibility, would be sobered by these responsibilities and would not attempt to carry out their fantastic schemes against the Jewish citizens of Germany. I was beguiled by the thought, as were so many German Jews at the time, that "one does not eat his soup as hot as it is cooked."

The German Jews with whom I spoke ~~soon after the rise of~~ ~~Hitler to power~~ were concerned, of course, but were not greatly frightened. They were preparing themselves for the storm which they knew was coming but which, they were confident, would in time blow over.

This hope was not to be.

I left Berlin for Prague. Ever since the First World War, I had entertained the hope of visiting the new republic of Czechoslovakia, and particularly its President, Tomas G. Masaryk. I had long been an admirer of this wise and courageous leader, who towered majestically over ~~all~~ the political leaders ~~and statesmen~~ of Europe. I was ~~very~~ eager to learn what this man, the most authentic exponent of democratic ideals in Europe, had to say in such confused and turbulent times. I was received in the audience chamber of the Hradcany Castle. He came in, tall, erect, impressive. ~~His~~ Eighty-three years had not bent his back, dimmed his eye, nor abated his intellectual vigor. ~~Very~~ Informally, but ~~very~~ earnestly, he spoke about many things for nearly an hour--politics, religion, the blind gropings of our age for a new order of things; and on all matters <sup>he</sup> the President proved to be a keen and incisive commentator, ~~who spoke as one having the authority of knowledge and experience.~~

"What do you, Mr. President, think of the future of democracy?"

We were holding our interview a few days after Hitler's rise to power in Germany. His answer came, without a moment's hesitation, clear and decisive, "Democracy is passing through a crisis, but crisis does not mean defeat. Democracy is safe. Mankind has known monarchic<sup>y</sup> and ~~every~~ ~~all~~ forms of autocratic government ~~in countless ages~~. It has experienced democracy only for a very short time. In a sense, democracy is only just coming to be. Mankind has nothing to put in its place. All dictatorial experiments are impressive but ephemeral. It has been tried before. Democracy, however, needs a great moral content today. We have been exploiting it exclusively for capitalistic individualism and business purposes."



"What is really at the bottom of the world's moral confusion?  
What is really wrong with our age?"

"The world is morally ill. The World War was not the cause of this moral illness, but only a tragic symptom of it. The world has come to worship the machine and force, which is an expression of the machine. The things which the machine creates are looked upon as the highest values of life; and men and nations have rushed in headlong <sup>AFTER THEM</sup> ~~pursuits after them~~. Human aspirations are all too frequently only the desire to possess some kind of machine, or some machine-made toy. The world needs a new mind and a new devotion to spiritual values bound up with a realistic program of social progress."

Here ~~President~~ Masaryk launched into a criticism of the churches for having failed in their spiritual mission, ~~throughout the world~~. This failure, he held, was one of the causes of our spiritual chaos. "Churches today are bureaucratic and institutionalized. They do not go out into the highways and byways of life to reach and mold the personal lives of men. They have their institutions and their functionaries in every town and hamlet, ~~in the land~~. In many countries they have control of the education of the young, yet they fail to inspire the rising generation with enthusiasm for the moral and spiritual essentials of civilization."

There was something of the ancient prophet about this man who, in spite of the burden of more than four score years, was still battling as fearlessly and as confidently for what he regarded as the basic and indispensable ideals of humanity, <sup>as he</sup> ~~as~~ in the years of his early manhood.



I was greatly stirred. The years ~~which were to follow~~ would not vindicate his hope that democracy was safe in the world. His own beloved country would, after a second World War, fall into a ruthless communist dictatorship such as he could never have envisioned, and this dictatorship would engulf a third of the globe. But perhaps Professor Masaryk's outlook had wider <sup>and</sup> ~~perspectives~~. Perhaps he was thinking in larger epochs when he said that democracy was passing through a crisis. That crisis is still going on and the final outcome is not yet in sight.

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With the coming of the Nazis to power the Jews of the world felt themselves mortally challenged. They reacted in many ways.

The American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights was organized in May, 1933, to fight the Nazi regime by means of boycott. Its President was Samuel Untermyer, a brilliant lawyer and law partner of Louis Marshall. I was the Chairman of the Administrative Committee. When it was incorporated in November, 1933 its name was changed to "The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights," and its officers were Samuel Untermyer, President; myself, along with James G. Gerard, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Arthur S. Tompkins, and Col. Theodore Roosevelt, as Vice-Presidents. A notable group of Americans ~~from all walks of life~~ constituted its Board of Directors.

The boycott was widely endorsed as the only <sup>feasible</sup> ~~weapon~~ <sup>A</sup> against Hitlerism, short of war. Organized labor, the liberal forces of the United States, and outstanding religious leaders ~~in the nation~~ advocated it. There was, however, considerable opposition to such a boycott, even on the part of organized Jewish bodies, such as the

B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and others. Opinions differed sharply as to its practicability and its possible repercussions. Parenthetically, ~~the~~ Jewishly-controlled department stores in New York City were far more reluctant to cooperate with the boycott ~~movement~~ than ~~the~~ non-Jewish stores.

While some friends of the boycott movement undoubtedly hoped that its economic penalties would contribute to the fall of Hitler, the greater number of us looked upon it as an effective weapon of protest, as a means of expressing the horror and abhorrence of the American people <sup>to</sup> of Nazi persecution and <sup>the</sup> the shameless Nazi propaganda which was beginning to infiltrate our own cities.

I addressed many meetings in behalf of the boycott movement. Two stand out in my memory--one in December, 1933, in the Chicago Stadium, which was attended by some fifteen thousand people. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Paul Hutchinson, and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison of the Christian Century, Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church of New York, Col. Raymond Robbins, <sup>Dr</sup> Solomon O. Levinson, and others. A resolution was unanimously adopted ~~at this meeting~~ "to join in the condemnation of the inhuman conduct of the Nazi government and to aid and cooperate to remove this vital menace to liberty and civilization and to pledge ourselves to refrain from buying or dealing in any and all German materials, goods, and products, and to refuse to patronize or ride in German owned or controlled steamships or other means of transportation until the stigma and curse of Nazism ~~were~~ <sup>was</sup> weeded out of the German government."

In addressing this boycott rally in Chicago, I stated:

"Just why are we so aroused, so deeply stirred? Just why are we so passionately indignant at what has happened and is happening in Germany? After all, we are not unaccustomed to persecution. Many pages of our history are red with the blood of Jewish martyrs. What makes this latest chapter in the story of the age-old persecution of Israel so much more horrible and dreadful? Why are we rallying to fight against this thing as men fight against death and the plague? There are other countries in the world today where the Jews do not as yet enjoy full equality. There are other lands in which our brethren suffer disabilities of one kind or another. What is the difference between them and Germany?

"The difference is a very vital one. In those countries especially of Eastern Europe where our people do not, as yet, possess a full measure of equality, they are hopeful of achieving it. They have come out of the Dark Ages practically rightless, but by dint of effort and struggle over many generations they have achieved a measure of it. They are hopeful that they will achieve more. There is, therefore, in their situation an upward climb, a constant ascent which gives hopefulness and confidence to their struggles and their sacrifices.

"But in Germany the process has been completely reversed. In Germany there has been a throwback; that which was already achieved through blood and struggle has been again wrested away. In Germany our people through many generations of struggle had reached a position of freedom. They succeeded in winning equality and they have used it worthily. From the days of Moses Mendelssohn to the days of Albert

Einstein, they contributed to Germany's cultural, political, social, and economic life in fullest measure. In every department of human endeavor, the Jews gave to Germany, and through Germany to the world, men of genius, in science, art, literature, in the things of the mind and the spirit--pathfinders, pioneers, men who wrote the classic textbooks of the new sciences.

"What, therefore, has happened in Germany concerns us not merely insofar as six hundred thousand men, women, and children of our people are being trodden under the ruthless heel of tyranny but because the security, wellbeing, and rights of Jews in the world are at stake. If Hitler succeeds (and there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind that he will not succeed), if Hitler succeeds in establishing himself and in using that great nation of sixty-five million people as a base for his anti-Semitic campaigns throughout the world, then Jews are facing an era of dread, uncertainty, and conflict all over the world. It is because we want to avert that calamity that we are determined to crush Hitlerism at the outset. I don't want this great land of ours, which has been our hope and our dream, as it has been the hope and dream of mankind, this land which is built not upon one race but upon a hundred races, this nation into which all peoples have poured their blood and their dreams--I don't want this nation which was founded on the principle of the unalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, I don't want this land to be sullied, to be dirtied by Naziism and Hitlerism."

The second meeting which I recall was <sup>^</sup>the testimonial dinner tendered to William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, early in 1934. Mr. Green had given outstanding leadership to

the boycott movement in the United States. He saw early and clearly  
the dangerous <sup>impact of Nazism and efficiency in the</sup> Nazi assault on organized labor and he was outraged by Germany's  
<sup>policy of hate</sup> ~~Nazi~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~hate~~. Under his guidance, the American Federation of Labor joined  
by unanimous vote the boycott.

At this testimonial dinner I said, among other things:

"The same bloody hand which laid waste the Jewish community  
also destroyed all the agencies and institutions of mutual help and  
protection which organized labor had established in Germany over a  
period of many years, outlawed its unions, scattered its forces,  
imprisoned its leaders, confiscated its funds, and reduced the  
~~workingmen to a condition of feudal vassalage.~~  
workingmen to a condition of feudal vassalage.





I continue to see

After the War I opposed the rearming of Germany. ~~On March 4,~~  
~~A MILITANT GERMANY AS A MAJOR THREAT TO WORLD PEACE, MY LIFE~~  
~~1951, I spoke at The Temple on "Shall We Rearm Germany?" I said:~~  
~~HAS SEEN TWO WORLD WARS PRECIPITATED BY GERMANY. WE CAN NOT~~

At Potsdam in August, 1945, an agreement was reached between Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany. They agreed that all war potentials of Germany should be destroyed--war plants, warships, aircraft and arms--so that Germany would never again be able to make war. ~~By 1950,~~

~~That was five and a half years ago. Today~~ the United States ~~is~~ leading the world in a determined effort to re-arm Germany.

"Ironically enough, the explanation which ~~is~~ given ~~for this change~~ of ~~front~~ <sup>was</sup> is exactly ~~the same~~ <sup>the explanation</sup> as Hitler gave when he persuaded the allies to help him re-arm--namely, the over-riding need to resist Communist aggression.

~~The Potsdam allies have now fallen out. They fought the war side by side against a common enemy, but now they are mobilizing against each other, and are courting the favor of their erstwhile common enemy.~~

Disagreements among the allies following the first World War made possible the reconstruction of Germany's military might, the emergency of Hitler, and his early diplomatic and annexationist victories. Germany knew how to play off one ally against the other and how to gain advantages from each. Hitler knew how to make his brown dictatorship tolerable and palatable to the allies by harping upon the evils and the dangers of the red dictatorship. So did Mussolini. As a result Europe was turned over as a helpless victim to the bestialities of Nazi and Fascist madmen while the democracies were paralyzed into inaction by a propaganda which said that all these things were necessary--in order to save Europe from a worse fate--from Communist domination. But strange to say, when the unbearable tensions and the expansionist greed of the Nazi-Fascist adventurers finally brought on the Second World War, it was found that the allied democratic nations were at war, not with Communist Russia, but with the Nazi and Fascist states, and Communist Russia, far from fighting against the democracies, was actually fighting on their side.

History has often a strange and tragic way of repeating itself. As if doomed by some inescapable fate, as if under the compulsion of some spell or incantation, the allied nations are today retracing the same road which they took after the First World War, step by step. Spurred on by the fear of Communist Russia, real, inflated or imaginary, the democratic nations ~~are rushing to re-arm~~ Germany even before the Germans ~~have~~ asked for it, even though most Germans ~~are still~~ opposed to it. ~~We are determined to thrust rearmament upon Germany.~~

"The United States, even more than Great Britain--certainly more

than France -- ~~is~~ resolved to bring Western Germany within the Western European defense system against the Soviet. It ~~is~~<sup>was</sup> prepared to re-arm Germany in the same manner as it ~~is~~<sup>was</sup> re-arming the member nations of the North Atlantic Pact. Since all German plants which before the war produced arms and munitions have been destroyed by the allies, the United States will now equip Germany with arms and munitions, and the American taxpayer will pay for the cost of German re-armament. In return it is expected that Western Germany will supply the allied nations with many divisions of ground troops to stand off a possible Russian invasion of the West...

~~PREJUDICE AGAINST EVERY EVIDENCE OF HISTORY A REARRED~~  
~~"It is these Germans, as unreformed and unrepentant as~~ <sup>GERMANS</sup>  
~~in the days following the first World War, whom we are now~~  
~~determined to re-arm. It will~~ <sup>will</sup> help us keep the world safe for  
democracy. "

In January, 1952 I joined Professors Albert Einstein and Stringfellow Barr in sponsoring a Report on Germany which was issued by the Faculty-Graduate Committee for Peace at the University of Chicago, ~~whose~~ whose conclusions were:

of President Roosevelt. What I expressed in my March address represents a settled conviction. Only one consideration would have warranted a change of attitude, if the opposition candidate, in this case Mr. Willkie, would have been an isolationist, representing a foreign policy at sharp variance with the sound and courageous one which President Roosevelt has been presenting. In which case, the vital interests of civilization, now being threatened, would have outweighed any other consideration. Fortunately, Mr. Willkie has expressed himself clearly and unequivocally in favor of giving maximum aid, short of war, to Great Britain."

The Republican National Committee made extensive use of my statement. That was entirely proper. I was asked to become active in the campaign. I declined on the ground that it was an unvarying practice of mine not to participate in any political campaign.

I received a warm note from Mr. Willkie:

"Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am most appreciative of your statement released in the Cleveland Press of Tuesday, August 6, announcing your support of my candidacy for President of the United States.

"As one of the outstanding Jewish rabbis in the country, as well as a noted liberal and leader in the Zionist movement, I am proud to have your support, and I am deeply grateful for all you are doing in my behalf.

Cordially and sincerely,

Wendell L. Willkie"

Politics aside, I really admired this man whose vision in the midst of war reached out to the "One World," and whose deep humanity touched the hearts of men.

In 1944, when President Roosevelt ran for a fourth term, I again voted for the Republican candidate, Thomas Dewey. This was looked upon as heresy and was deeply resented by many Jews and Zionists. There were prominent Zionists, close to the Administration, who felt that my Republicanism would prove embarrassing to the Movement in Washington. My troubles in the Zionist Emergency Council in the ~~next~~ <sup>next</sup> following ~~few~~ <sup>or which more later</sup> years, ~~to which I will refer later on, are~~ <sup>were</sup> in the main traceable to this ~~fact~~ <sup>political association</sup>.



of land acquisition, irrigation, afforestation, and sanitation, in order to prepare the land for mass immigration. Upon my return to the United States, I toured many cities in behalf of the Palestine Reconstruction Fund.

In July, 1920 I attended the World Zionist Conference in London. It was the first meeting of World Zionists since before the war. ~~The war was now over. The Allies had triumphed and~~ the promises of the Balfour Declaration loomed large and hopeful in the deliberations of this conference. The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference had met in San Remo ~~a few months prior~~ and had resolved that Palestine <sup>IN FULL AWARENESS OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE BILFOLR DECLARATION</sup> should be allotted to Great Britain as a mandatory. Sir Herbert Samuel was already in Palestine as High Commissioner.

I recall ~~the~~ great ~~Zionist~~ demonstration ~~which was~~ held in Albert Hall on July 12th to celebrate the acceptance by Great Britain of the mandate for Palestine. Ten thousand people packed the ~~hall~~ <sup>auditorium</sup> and thousands who sought admission were unable to get in. The giants of our Movement were on the platform--Weizmann, Nordau, Sokolow, Ussishkin. So were Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, Col. Wedgewood, and Major Crmsby-Gore. Lord Rothschild presided. The speakers were all enthusiastically greeted. ~~Their~~ Speeches were frequently interrupted by loud applause, cheers, and cries of "Hear, hear!" Each ~~speaker~~ had a notable message and all their messages were infused with high hopes for the Jewish National Home, whose career had now begun. It was a stirring and unforgettable occasion for everyone and especially for me. I was the youngest man on the platform and I spoke for the American Zionist Delegation. This was my first address to an audience outside the United States. The response of the audience delighted me.



The "Jewish Chronicle" of London referred to my address as "a magnificent effort magnificently accomplished. It was the work of a master of oratory, a man who has the ability of controlling vast audiences by the power of his tongue, by his dramatic capacity deftly employed so that his art seemed but natural. And soon after he had brought his audience spellbound, the meeting closed to the strains of a magnificent organ." (The Jewish Chronicle, July 16, 1920.)

← All this, of course, fed not only my vanity but my confidence and morals.

It was at this London Conference of ~~1920~~ that the Keren Hayesod (The Palestine Foundation Fund) was established and this led to the first serious controversy in Zionist ranks in which I was to take part. There had been, of course, other controversies in the prewar days of our Movement and there would be many more, in the days to come. Our Zionist household was to resound, from time to time, with the clash of arms, with partisan slogans and battle cries, with voices each claiming to have the one sure and only answer to what should be done. But the relentless realities of life and the force of unforeseen and unpredictable world events modulated and often muted some of the dogmatic predictions and assertions of this man or that party. Frequently our Movement had to charter its course in ~~very~~ stormy seas. It had to adjust its course from time to time to shifting tides, weather, and winds. No one unalterable chart was adequate for all occasions. Our Movement seemed to have a logic of its own, and when the situation required, it did not hesitate to make the necessary adjustments, however drastic they may have been. No one chart and no one navigator finally brought our ship safely into port.

DEBATE

CONCLUDED

The ~~controversial issue~~ at this Conference ~~was over~~ the nature of the newly organized Palestine Foundation Fund. Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues on the Zionist Executive favored the immediate raising of an all-inclusive fund of twenty-five million pounds, to be secured within one year, through an extraordinary offering of capital and income similar to the Biblical Tithe. These funds would be contributed by the Jewish people; part would be devoted to the acquisition of land, to immigration, education, and other social services, and the major part to investments in economic undertakings within the ~~country~~ <sup>Palestine</sup>. The Fund, in other words, would undertake all activities necessary for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

Justice Louis D. Brandeis and most of his colleagues from the United States were ~~opposed to the comingling of funds.~~ <sup>BETWEEN</sup> <sup>THE</sup> They insisted on the separation of investments and donations. The Keren Hayesod should be devoted exclusively to social services ~~in Palestine~~ <sup>AND ITS NECESSARY</sup> and its organizational and political activities. <sup>CAPITAL</sup> ~~Money~~ for economic undertakings ~~in Palestine~~ <sup>AND BY ROUTINE BUSINESS APPROACHES</sup> should be raised from private investors. The economic planning and development of the country should be vested in the hands of a small body of experts. Justice Brandeis also favored a more or less decentralized World Zionist Movement.

~~Justice~~ Brandeis maintained that Dr. Weizmann had been in <sup>AND THAT</sup> agreement with him ~~right along~~. At Weizmann's request, and in order to bring some new forces into the work, he had seen and persuaded some leading personalities in British Jewry to assume direct responsibility for the economic development of Palestine within the Zionist Movement--Sir Alfred Mond, James de Rothschild, and Waley-Cohen. These three, together with Weizmann, Sokolow, Flexner, and himself, were to

constitute the <sup>CENTRAL</sup> ~~small~~ Executive. But overnight, Weizmann, <sup>SO</sup> Brandeis charged, changed his mind. The plan which <sup>HAS BEEN</sup> ~~was~~ agreed upon was wrecked. Brandeis felt shocked and let down and he never forgave Weizmann.

The clash between these two men was due ~~not only~~ to a sharp difference on how to do the upbuilding work in Palestine. It was due also to a conflict of personalities. ~~Mr.~~ Weizmann, as Isaiah Berlin described him years later, "was not too tolerant of other leaders. . . he believed in his own judgment, he was bold and independent, and at times deeply disdainful . . . he found it difficult to share the direction of affairs with others." (Chaim Weizmann, Athenaeum, 1963, p. 41.) ~~Mr.~~ Weizmann shared the weakness of other great men. He was intolerant of greatness at his side. ~~Others~~ Besides Brandeis--Herzl, Wolfsohn, Nordau, and Sokolow, had also felt the abrasive exclusiveness in leadership of this brilliant man, who was otherwise so amiable to friends and co-workers.

Justice Brandeis, too, was hard and inflexible once he had reached a conclusion. He was not given to any detours on the road to his main objective. Weizmann found Brandeis--as he later described him--"a Puritan, upright, austere, of a scrupulous and implacable logic. These qualities sometimes made him hard to work with."

(Chaim Weizmann, "Trial and Error," 1950, p. 248.) Brandeis, a relative newcomer to the Movement, <sup>OF SOME</sup> ~~was not sufficiently sensitive to~~ the ~~honored position which some~~ <sup>AND HONORED</sup> of the older leaders ~~whom he wished~~ to ~~displace occupied in the Movement~~--men like Ussishkin, Rubbin, Jabotinsky. He was less than circumspect in his treatment of them.

<sup>EFFICIENT AND BUSINESS LIKE</sup>  
He failed to see that the Movement, after all, had not been organized,

concluded that the differences between Weizmann and Brandeis could be compromised. I was never taken in by the propaganda which went the rounds <sup>about a</sup> ~~about the~~ fundamental ideological conflict ~~which existed~~ between their two concepts of Zionism--between that of Eastern European Jews which Dr. Weizmann represented and that of Western European Jews which Justice Brandeis represented--the so-called irreconcilable struggle between Washington and Pinsk. Weizmann's protagonists at the time, especially Louis Lipsky, made much of it and ~~Dr.~~ Weizmann, himself, dwelled on it ~~at the time~~ <sup>Then</sup> and later, ~~on in his "Trial and Error"~~. It is true that Dr. Weizmann appealed more effectively to the Jews of Eastern Europe and to their descendants in the United States. He spoke their language and understood their psychology much better than the "Westerner," Brandeis.

<sup>Moreover,</sup> Brandeis was a sound political Zionist. His position was that now that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were established facts, the major energies of the Movement should be directed towards the economic development of the country ~~in order~~ to prepare it as rapidly as possible for a maximum Jewish immigration. He believed further that the Jewish people should <sup>he asked not only to</sup> ~~be asked not only to~~ make donations for vital and necessary activities, such as immigration, education, and health which would yield no financial returns, ~~but~~ <sup>with</sup> that they should invest capital in the country, <sup>he insisted</sup> ~~and~~ that these investments should be treated as investments and not as donations and their <sup>MANAGEMENT</sup> ~~operations~~ should be directed by an independent board of experienced economists and financiers.

Before Dr. Weizmann arrived in the United States in April, 1921 to launch the Keren Hayesod, the Executive of the Zionist Organization



of America approved of a memorandum ~~which was~~ to be submitted to him upon arrival. It set out the viewpoint of the Executive and was to serve as a basis for conference and discussions with Dr. Weizmann, looking towards agreement. Dr. Weizmann chose to regard this memorandum as an ultimatum.

A public reception and meeting was arranged in his honor and <sup>thereby</sup> those who accompanied him--Professor Albert Einstein and M. M. Ussishkin--by the Zionist Organization of America at the Metropolitan Opera House on the afternoon of April 10th. A General Committee, representative of all elements of the Jewish community, was organized. Judge Mack invited me to represent the Zionist Organization of America ~~on that occasion~~. I accepted ~~the invitation~~ and spoke at what was <sup>an</sup> ~~a~~ tremendous enthusiastic gathering, which was addressed also by ~~Judge~~ Mack, ~~Judge~~ Herbert Lehman, and Louis Marshall.

During the ensuing week, a number of conferences were held between Judge Mack and Dr. Weizmann and their colleagues. With good will, common ground could have been reached. In fact, ~~Dr.~~ Weizmann finally agreed that until the next <sup>World</sup> Zionist Congress, the Keren Hayesod in the United States should be <sup>~~if~~ ~~SCREW THE AREA OF INVESTMENT~~</sup> ~~exclusively a donation fund~~. The draft of an agreement had actually been drawn up, but the next morning Dr. Weizmann rejected it and proceeded to issue a manifesto announcing the establishment of a Keren Hayesod Bureau in the United States. ~~Dr.~~ Weizmann maintained that the <sup>REJECTED</sup> ~~final~~ draft virtually meant the control of the Keren Hayesod by the Zionist Organization of America and the actual recognition of the Zionist Organization of America as a body, coordinate with, or even superior to the World Zionist Organization.

The fat was in the fire, and at the Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America it burst into flames. The Convention



become 'the tools for capitalist exploitation in Palestine.' The Soviet government shares this view."

This, of course, was confirmation of our contention that the Crimean scheme was being used by Russian communists as a counterfoil to Palestine.

On July 14th, before my departure for London to attend the meeting of the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization, I issued the following statement:

"What is tremendously significant is the official acknowledgment on the part of the Soviet Government that the Crimean colonization project was launched by the Russian Bolsheviks as a counterfoil to Palestine and indirectly also as a move against Great Britain.

"The Zionist Organization has for a long time been in possession of evidence concerning the ulterior motives actuating the Bolshevik protagonists of Russia of the colonization scheme, but has consistently refrained from making use of its findings so as not to hurt the important and necessary relief campaigns which were launched throughout the United States in behalf of the Jews of Eastern Europe. In spite of the implied antagonism to Palestine in the colonization project, the Zionists have actively cooperated in the relief campaigns throughout the country, but they have at all times regarded with misgiving this headlong movement fraught with so much uncertainty and danger.

"We have never questioned the sincerity of the leaders of the American Joint Distribution Committee, but we hope that they will be impressed by the startling disclosures contained in Kalenin's statement, and that they will be cautious in embarking further upon any extension of their colonization program.

~~"The Kalenin statement bears out the prediction that the settlement of Jews in Crimea would create a menacing anti-Jewish movement among the Crimean peasants. That such a hostile movement has already taken on serious proportions is indicated by the fact that Kalenin himself found it necessary to counteract it by an official appeal to the people of Crimea.~~

~~"One is disturbed, too, by the fact that according to the statement of Kalenin, the land placed at the disposal of Jewish settlers in Crimea is of an inferior quality, such as the Russian peasants could not use and such as will require the investment of millions of dollars on the part of American Jews before it can be made available for cultivation."~~

The Soviet government originally intended to use the Crimean colonizations as a base for a territorial center of the Jewish nation in the Soviet Union. In 1928 the Soviet Executive Council changed its mind and decided to establish <sup>T.C.</sup> ~~an~~ autonomous Jewish agricultural territory in the Siberian frontier at Biro-Bidjan. This put an end to all large scale plans for Jewish colonization in Crimea.

Surprisingly, American Jewish philanthropists became excited about this project, too. It, too, petered out. This was also to be the fate of the colonization project in the Dominican Republic in 1939. Agreements were entered into between a group of Jewish philanthropists in the United States and the government of Rafael Trujillo. The first thirty-two settlers arrived in May, 1940. By the end of that year, some two hundred and ten persons had been settled, and that was it! The Second World War practically put a stop to the transportation of Jewish refugees to the Dominican Republic, and when the war was over nobody seemed to care very much about the project altogether.

Judaism for the next two generations.

In fact, their confrères in Germany, where Reform Judaism originated in the early nineteenth century, had already set the tone. They confidently proclaimed that Germany was their Fatherland-- a rather one-sided proclamation, <sup>and that</sup> they needed no other homeland. The early Reformers were riding the high tide of nineteenth century liberalism, but they failed to note the dangerous shoals of nineteenth century nationalism, the tread towards the centralizing state, and the threat to the Jewish minority of the fast deploying class struggle of their day. / This oversight was especially dangerous in a land like Germany, which was only just then recovering, after two centuries, from the physical and spiritual devastations of wars of religion, among a people periodically swayed by waves of hysterical religiosity, hysterical metaphysics, and hysterical politics, whose foremost religious leader in the sixteenth century could indulge in an anti-Semitism which was matched only by the anti-Semitism of the foremost political leader of Germany in the twentieth century.

These early Reformers were thinking of progress, as most men of their day did, in terms of an unbroken march forward, in terms borrowed from the progress of things scientific. There were ample warnings all around them, portents which less romantic eyes did appraise more realistically--signs of an irreconcilable opposition, an indurate racial, cultural, economic, and religious hostility which had not and would not accept

the humanistic and democratic synthesis which a revolutionary middle-class capitalism had popularized in the nineteenth century, and which was destined sooner or later to disintegrate.

Dr. Isaac M. Wise entertained this same premature confidence that mankind was rapidly approaching the era of a universal faith and a universal republic. He declared in 1875:

"Before our very eyes, the world moves onward into the golden age of redeemed humanity and the fraternal union of nations, as our prophets thousands of years ago have predicted. We are fast approaching the universal democratic republic with civil and religious liberty, cemented by the world's advanced intelligence. This century settles old accounts. It is progressive." The following year he declared: "The Jews do not think of going back to Palestine among Bedouins and sandy deserts, and the nations in power do not want them to go there. No European country today would give permission to the Jews to emigrate with their wealth or even without it . . . It is all dream and fantasy. The world goes not backward, its march is onward, and this will expunge the old race prejudices as well as the religious superstitions of the races. . . ."

And so, when Dr. Wise and his colleagues came to formulate a Declaration of Principles for Reform Judaism, as they did in 1885 in Pittsburgh, they stated:

"We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a





In public opinion in Germany, when Reform Judaism appeared in  
the early 18th cent., including its leaders, Reform Judaism developed among  
communities of merchants and petty and lower middle class people  
to meet <sup>the needs of</sup> ~~the needs of~~ to avoid problems in which their needs  
were becoming more acute. The dogmatic scaffolding of Judaism was  
a barrier to progress. Some looked at the matter (and from records) consider  
Judaism comfortable here in Vienna or Berlin or Frankfurt and so to be  
~~created~~ <sup>created</sup>, out of the very history of Jews, priests, and rulers. The  
ancient Torah from <sup>ancient</sup> ~~ancient times became practical, with rules  
to follow, and which then were easily changed when one had  
to meet the new circumstances and needs of the time and  
to bring a promise to <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ of humanity.~~

The ~~consequence~~ for Jews living in the land of hope and of (2nd) only  
discipline, where their capacity for innovation was free and  
large a rule, and so Jewish people did not meet a national fate,  
but living in the Fatherland and while some 2nd, the political  
life was in one solid movement, and one leader but one  
pursued and ruled all matters which moved almost every  
section of German society, Jews in that country, over-cared  
about applying useful things and practical necessities of the  
domestic intellectual men. A fact that had led to the fact to not  
be aware of domestic matters + intervention which reached  
highly by the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> communities and their



False in progress ~~and then~~ <sup>decides</sup> to reinterpret Jewish life  
according to communist logic, ~~just~~ <sup>just</sup> by appeal to a religious  
grouping, not a people; Jews should be far more responsive to Jewish or  
nationality. There is no movement for the ideological opposition to  
Jewish nationality in 1947 or even today. Judaism is clearly not  
nationalist and internationalist ~~although~~ <sup>although</sup> it is concerned in  
its ethical concepts and ideals. The communist people have  
championed Jewish national revival and yet we find a whole lot  
of ideas of national restoration in Palestine. The mission of Israel  
is to provide the idea of one law & the moral law in the  
world as he nothing substitutes to do with anti-nationalism,  
in fact, it does more than anyone else to most eloquent  
expression of the bond of D.T., a most individualistic quality  
perhaps, ~~all the~~ <sup>all the</sup> ~~eloquent~~ <sup>eloquent</sup> distinction between Judaism  
as a religion and ~~nationality~~ <sup>no nation</sup> is a contemporary political  
struggle to justify the Jewish right to equality of citizenship in the  
modern state. And Jewish national revival is not any  
historically Jewish but neglected for just the same right to equality  
of citizenship in a modern state needs no such justification. The  
Jewish right alone is entitled to equality of citizenship as long as  
healing the Jews and Jews is hampered in loyalty. Why promise more?  
The entire world is now recruited by an <sup>proletarian</sup> ~~nationalist~~ <sup>nationalist</sup> ~~movement~~  
European nationality has been, quite a ready-made in our  
nationality our home. They have been known to select  
because of any small supporting definition of Jewish life  
and yet ~~then~~ <sup>then</sup> there is no single definition of Jewish life  
available unless it be that of an historic people, recognized  
as ~~such~~ <sup>such</sup> by the world by ourselves. Yet when I.M. was,

On Sunday, January 24, 1943, The Temple celebrated my twenty-fifth year as its Rabbi. The guest speaker was Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization. In the course of his address, he said:

"I do believe that Rabbi Silver is destined to perform things which will transcend the framework of even a great community like yours. Very often, I confess it to you, I had it in mind to exercise the authority and power which was given to me by my constituents in drafting away Rabbi Silver, at least for a short time, and loading upon him the great and difficult tasks of service to the national ideal at this very critical time."

It was not long before the draft came and I responded to the summons. The next ten years proved to be the most exciting and rewarding years of my life.

My Zionist career, as it were, began many years before -- in 1904, to be exact. I was then a lad of eleven. At the suggestion of my father, I organized, together with my brother Maxwell, the first junior Zionist Club in the United States. We named it the Dr. Herzl Zion Club, after the illustrious founder of political Zionism who had died that year.

When Dr. Herzl died, my father, who loved Zion with a passionate love, said to us with tears in his eyes, "A prince and a leader has this day fallen in Israel." A few days later he took us to a <sup>PALESTINE</sup> great memorial service which was held in one of the large synagogues on the Lower East Side of New York, where men and women wept bitterly as if for a lost son. They wept for an uncrowned king, who, in a few brief years, had kindled the hopes of a homeless people and, by the magic of his personality, had stirred their Messianic dreams of

the Hebrew language was, of course, a by-product of my childhood training and my home environment. In later years I came to understand how vital the cultivation of Hebrew was for the preservation of Jewish life. NO JEWISH COMMUNITY EVER CONTRIBUTED CULTURALLY OR SCHOLASTICALLY TO OUR PEOPLE'S LIFE WHICH DID NOT FOSTER THE HEBREW LANGUAGE OR LITERATURE, NO JEWISH COMMUNITY EVER SURVIVED FOR LONG WHICH IGNORED HEBREW. THIS IS AN UNELUCTABLE FACT OF <sup>Jewish</sup> ~~OUR~~ EXPERIENCE. ~~THE PEOPLE PERISH FOR WANT OF KNOWLEDGE~~, WE HAVE ARMOR AGAINST EVERYTHING, <sup>EXCEPT</sup> AMHARAZUT.

I was ordained in 1915 and I was called to my first pulpit in Wheeling, West Virginia. The community was relatively old, as Jewish communities in the Ohio Valley go, and was thoroughly Americanized. Almost everyone belonged to the Temple and attendance at worship on Friday evenings was relatively better than that of their descendants in later times. Their loyalty to Judaism was greater than their knowledge of it. Religious education in the Sunday School was rudimentary with untrained volunteer teachers and inadequate religious text-books. But much of the life of the community centered in the Temple.

I served as Rabbi in Wheeling for two years, during which time I learned much about the nature and problems of a small Jewish community in the Middle West. Jewish life here was far more peripheral, much less rich, than the more intensive Jewish life which I knew in the East. As a Rabbi, I came close to the people whom I saw, perhaps for the first time, as individual human beings in the setting of their every-day lives--not merely as a group abstraction. I found great warmth and helpfulness and to this day I cherish my pleasant memories of them.

Some years later I returned to Wheeling to marry Virginia Horkheimer, who has shared my life and graced and guided it ever since.

I was called to the pulpit of The Temple in Cleveland in 1917 and I have remained there ever since. Cleveland had a Jewish population of 85,000. Already in those years the Temple was an important and influential congregation. My predecessor, Moses J. Gries, was a man of dedication and of high personal integrity, but ultra-reform in his interpretation of Judaism. In later years I was to re-introduce many elements of ritual and ceremony which he had discarded--the Friday evening and Saturday morning services to supplement the Sunday morning lecture-service, as well as the teaching of Hebrew in the Sunday School and on week-day afternoons. Rabbi Gries was anti-Zionist and so presumably were the majority of the members ~~of the Temple~~. But my "reforms" and my Zionism, which soon made themselves manifest, did not encounter any marked resistance. Perhaps my youth and the reception which the entire community gave to my preaching, helped me. The Temple always allowed me a free pulpit. Occasionally I found myself under the necessity of advocating a social, economical or political cause which was unpopular or distasteful to some or to many in the congregation, but no effort was ever made to restrain me. ←

When in later years I had to absent myself for long periods of time in connection with my Zionist activities throughout the country, or over-seas, the Temple people were extremely patient with me. On my seventieth birthday I told my congregation it has been good to grow old among people whom one loved. 44.

Our two sons, Daniel Jeremy and Raphael David, were born in Cleveland. Daniel Jeremy is now Rabbi of The Temple. Raphael David,



war. Those were the days of the Red Scare and the Palmer raids. Cleveland too was in the grip of this hysteria. On May 1, 1919, a parade of socialists and sympathizers was broken up in a bloody riot. The next day two socialist centers were attacked by mobs, ransacked and their occupants beaten up.

Free speech was muzzled in our city. Under the auspices of the City Club, the one liberal body in Cleveland which had kept faith with true Americanism, I addressed open-air meetings in the Cleveland Public Square and elsewhere, ~~in the city~~. I called upon our fellow-citizens to return to democratic sanity and to safe-guard the traditional values of our free American society. I helped to organize a group of Cleveland men pledged to law, order and free speech. I have ~~only~~ <sup>believed</sup> that PATRIOTISM IS NOTHING →

In 1927, the National Society of Scabbard and Blade, ~~the~~ <sup>FRATERNAL</sup> Reserve Officers Training Corps, the Key Men of America, and similar organizations issued a Black List of fifty-six "dangerous un-American personages who were working to undermine the government by their communistic tendencies". It <sup>HONORED BY BEING INCLUDED IN THIS</sup> was a distinguished list. It contained such names as Jane Adams, William E. Borah, Robert M. LaFollette, John Dewey, and Sherwood Eddy. MY PARTICULAR CRIME SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THAT I HEARTILY ENDORSED THE WORLD COURT AND THAT I was not troubled by this blacklisting but I was troubled by the growing intolerance in the nation as was evidenced by the large number of these self-constituted so-called patriotic bodies which were growing up like weeds on the American soil. Anyone who was a liberal, an enemy of child-labor, a defender of the rights of the Negro, an advocate of the World Court, a pacifist, or anyone who favored the recognition of Russia, was automatically blacklisted. Later on I was to be blacklisted also by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

I HAD DEFENDED THE CAUSE OF ORGANIZED LABOR.



To return to Cleveland and my ministry at the Temple.

In 1924 we moved into our new Temple in University Circle. It is a beautiful <sup>and spacious</sup> structure <sup>The Sanctuary is</sup> of a modified Byzantine style. It has been described as "a building which is not only architecturally satisfying, but which expresses in itself the deeply religious spirit and the essential unity of the Jewish faith." (The Architectural Forum, No. 1925.)

I have always had strong reservations on the trends in contemporary church architecture. The church has lived with many types of architecture in many parts of the world, types which it created, borrowed or embellished. The test of an effective church style is neither its antiquity nor its modernity. Any building which is conducive to prayer and meditation, which fosters in man a mood of humble quietude and reverence, and which gives him sanctuary from the clamor of the market place and the drabness of the commonplace is, from the point of view of the mission of the church and synagogue, good architecture. It may be old in design or it may be new, or it may be a blending of the two--it matters not, provided the spirit of man finds shelter in it and is moved by its beauty and harmony and the memories which it arouses to dwell on the mystery of life and the eternal ways of God.

A church design which is merely untraditional, which deliberately startles by its feats of novelty, which embodies abstractions in constant need of commentary, or which attempts to make the religious edifice "functional" in the mechanical sense of the term, aligning it with the high universal trend toward <sup>efficiently</sup> ~~functionalism~~ in our industrial society, misses, I am afraid, the unique and redemptive contribution

My philosophy of Judaism as a religious humanism ~~also~~ led me to the conviction that the organized religious community, as such, should enter the arena of social and political life and work for the building of the good society.

<sup>PRIMARY AND MAJOR</sup>  
The ~~first~~ great service which the church and the synagogue must render the cause of social justice is to galvanize, by education and inspiration, the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it.

But they should not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. <sup>Neither is</sup> ~~They are not~~ an academy for social sciences. <sup>OR SHOULD BE</sup> They are a dynamic agency for social reconstruction. They must enter the arena of life and do valiant battle for its sanctities.

Organized religion cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. It would be compelled either to champion an existing order in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or a new order, which might fail <sup>EVER</sup> ~~even~~ to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The organized religious fellowship is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of justice at stake in each, and organized religion must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system holds adequate guarantees.

A minister is, of course, never entirely free in his profession. No one working in and through an institution is entirely free. One

cannot expect to have the perfect freedom and independence, say, of a prophet, and still be the endowed and accredited spokesman of an organized group. In a minister of small integrity, this makes for a measure of insincerity. But in most cases it serves to increase the minister's patience without decreasing his courage or his dedication.

This conviction ~~of mine~~ <sup>informed</sup> as to the role of organized religion in modern society ~~guided me~~ <sup>informed</sup> through the years both in my pulpit and in my active participation in the social movements of the day.

Thus, in the dark days of the economic depression, when so many of our fellow-citizens were jobless and their families in dire want, I spoke up time and again on the social menace of unemployment.

By 1927 the unemployment situation had become extremely serious in Cleveland, as indeed it had become all over the country. I urged our city government to undertake immediate large-scale construction projects as a means of bringing relief to the unemployed and adequate local, state, and federal relief.

It was at this time that I began my campaign for unemployment insurance which was to continue for almost a decade until <sup>STATE WISE</sup> the State of Ohio ~~adopted it~~.

Unemployment was forcing thousands to the doors of charitable institutions and nothing is more degrading and desolating. This social pauperization of the manhood and womanhood of our land was a blot on the honor of the fairest and richest country in the world.

Unemployment, I was convinced, was not an insoluble problem. Periodic fluctuations of prosperity and depression were not inevitable. The business cycle could, to a large extent, be controlled. If the

Commission Bill. Thus, seven years of unflagging labor and devotion to a cause were finally crowned with success.

Through the years before its enactment into law, the Ohio Plan was discussed in many states of the Union and stimulated action in many of them. It was, in a way, the forerunner of unemployment insurance in the United States.

Early in 1954 I was invited by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to testify on Bill S-692 which had been introduced the previous year--a bill to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, and ancestry. I intended to attend the hearings on January 19th but because they were postponed to March I did not attend in person, but I sent a statement which was requested to be incorporated in the record of the hearings. In this statement I declared:

"We have prided ourselves on our doctrine of "free enterprise." How much free enterprise is there for an American citizen of dark color--or of minority religions--if his advancement is restricted, or made impossible by his race or creed? Is it not fair to say that individual enterprise can only be made truly free when every man's achievement is limited only by his own ability and merit? . . .

"What cannot be measured is the unmeasurable hope and sense of status that the mere passage of such legislation brings to millions of our fellow Americans. . . .

"A second potential boon of FEPC is the strengthening of our unity as a people. It is of the essence of Americanism that we are unafraid of frank controversy on all manner of social, economic, and political questions. But there is a type of controversy that is



fruitless and destructive--the controversy that pits race against race and religion against religion in matters of earning a livelihood. The real issues and problems confronting us are so grave that we dare not squander our strength on such disputes. In the last analysis there are only two ways to answer the increasingly articulate demand for full rights by racial and minority groups: there is the way of segregation and oppression and there is the way of equality of opportunity. The first is a direction which leads to conflict and violence. The second leads to harmony and a united people. It is my belief that FEP legislation represents a significant step in this second, constructive direction.

"The third major basis for urging enactment of the legislation before you is the contribution which it can make to strengthen our political and moral leadership on the international scene.

"Such leadership does not derive from industrial and military might alone, vital as these are. It stems from faith which the world has in the integrity of our ideals and our devotion to the principles of human equality. We have heard much discussion concerning the value of the Voice of America; I am confident that with enactment of a federal FEP measure, the true voice of America will speak with an authority and persuasiveness no broadcast or series of broadcasts can hope to achieve.

"We can no longer afford the luxury of ambiguity on the subject of intergroup relations. It is far too late to speak the words, "All men are created equal," and to sanction deeds of inequality. We cannot hope to win the cooperation of peoples who are today casting off the last shackles of inequality abroad if we tolerate this sort of

thing at home. We can, through the enactment of FEP, help close the gap between what we profess and what we practice."

From time to time I felt impelled to speak out in labor-management disputes. Cleveland was then, as it is today, an important industrial community. <sup>AS IN MOST OTHER CITIES PERIODIC ATTEMPTS WERE</sup> An organized attempt was made at that time to <sup>TO</sup> <sup>EFFECTIVE</sup> crush labor unionism. ~~Strikes and lockouts were the order of the day.~~ At the close of the <sup>FIRST WORLD</sup> war there was severe unemployment in the city and this situation was seized upon to undermine the organized labor movement. A leader in the campaign was the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce whose president <sup>HAD BEEN</sup> was President Wilson's Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker. In protest I resigned from the Chamber of Commerce. The correspondence between Mr. Baker and myself was given wide publicity in the local press. Labor leaders assured me that it greatly strengthened their position. ADD

In September, 1930 I found myself again involved in a labor-management dispute in which justice was on the side of labor. The Hotel Managers of Cleveland broke a seventeen year old agreement with the Cooks', Waitresses', and Waiters' Union and the latter had to resort to a strike in order to protect their right of collective bargaining. <sup>THE ACTION OF THE CLEVELAND HOTEL ASSOCIATION IN REFUSING ALL FORMS OF ARBITRATION</sup> The action was clearly part of a united effort instigated and directed by powerful interests who were <sup>MARSHALLED UNDER THE BANNER OF THE ASSOCIATED</sup> fast obtaining a strangle-<sup>IN ORDER TO USE THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION</sup> hold on Cleveland to destroy unionism in a period of intense economic <sup>OR CLEVELAND</sup> depression. I publicly criticized the hotel owners' action <sup>AS WELL AS THEIR REFUSAL TO ARBITRATE AS</sup> I publicly criticized as altogether indefensible the <sup>INDEFENSIBLE</sup> intransigent attitude which these hotels had taken in refusing all forms of arbitration. Through the years I was called in on several occasions to arbitrate labor-management disputes and to settle strikes.

Years later, in 1958, the issue of the Union Shop was again

revived. A "Right to Work" constitutional amendment was presented to the voters of the State of Ohio. On that occasion I issued the following statement, which was widely used by the Ohio Federation of Labor to defeat the amendment:

"Every man in a free society should have the right to work. But every man, once he finds employment, also has the moral duty to join an organization of fellow workers which achieves for him, through its organized efforts, the favorable conditions he enjoys in his employment and affords him protection for the future. Everyone is morally obligated to share in the responsibilities if they wish to avail themselves of the rewards of collective effort. The theoretic "Right to Work" which no one questions is qualified by man's moral responsibility to assume the obligations which assure him the very things which he seeks in his employment.

"It has been my conviction for many years that no free society and no free economy can long endure in the modern world without a strong organization of its working people. A strong labor movement not only protects workers against exploitation but, at the same time, will save capitalism and free enterprise from those very abuses which ultimately destroy it."

The amendment was decisively defeated.