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McCarthy, Joseph. 1952-1955.

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STATEMENTS ON MCCARTHYISM  
BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS  
Compiled by the Dane County Joe Must Go Club  
323 N. Lake St. Phone ~~5-6850~~ 5-9850

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN, President Union Theological Seminary

"Democracy stands always between the threat from two foes--tyrannies of the extreme left and of the extreme right; and usually, as today, the latter is the more dangerous. Communism is not, and has not been, a serious threat to the security of the American Nation, though it is an enemy which should be ferreted and rooted out. The real threat to American institutions comes today from Senator McCarthy, J. B. Matthews, and their ilk."

--Saturday Evening Post, May 1, 1954

FATHER LEON SULLIVAN, Catholic Missionary imprisoned  
by the Chinese Communists

"I would rather return to my Chinese Communist prison cell than avail myself of Senator McCarthy's protection... he is as great, if not a greater threat to American freedom than the military might of the Kremlin, and believe me I do not underestimate either the Kremlin's might nor its effectiveness."

--Commonweal, November 14, 1952

BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL, of the Roman Catholic Church

"Anti-communism is a serious business. It is not a game to be played so publicity-mad politicians can build fame for themselves. They distract us from pursuing a truly effective program of anti-communism... The large type charges almost always peter out to a back page item after they have served their purpose: to gain another headline. But by then, our man on horseback is charging off in another direction... This kind of ridiculous goings on is seriously described as anti-communism... If you will pardon a very low-brow comment, I will say: PHOOEY."

--Address to the United Auto Workers Educational Conference, April 9, 1954

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN Temple Emanuel B'ne Jeshurun

"When you disagree with McCarthyism, but are afraid to do anything about it, then you are conforming to the fear which hangs like a thick fog over America and threatens to choke freedom... The schools of this nation are under attack, the Government of this land is under attack. What Soviet agent could destroy the Army as effectively as its investigators? What enemy could emasculate the State Department as well? What spy could tear so shreds our foreign information service as effectively? McCarthyism is the greatest asset the Soviet Union has on the face of the earth.

- Sermon delivered at Milwaukee, Wis. February 26, 1954

DOCTOR CHAD WALSH a Director of the Church News, National Episcopal Magazine

"The antics of the McCarthyites are made to order for the propaganda purposes of international Communism... If they were Communist agents they could not be doing a more useful job, from Russia's viewpoint. The wilder the McCarthyites grow, the weaker they leave the American, and the stronger the position of International Communism."

- speech at Appleton, Wis. September 3, 1953

DOCTOR JOHN LAPP Former Director Social Science Department, Marquette University, The Jesuit College attended by McCarthy

"The greatest menace to liberty we have had in a long time is McCarthyism... McCarthy will be blown sky high when people wake up to what he has done."

- March 2, 1951

Joe Must Go Club  
323 N. Lake Street  
Madison, Wis.  
5 9850

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The following reprint is a partial political biography of Wisconsin's Junior Senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, as compiled by The Milwaukee Journal in its editorial of Wednesday, September 10, 1952, page 24, column 1.

### THE MAN THEY NOMINATED

An overwhelming majority of Wisconsin citizens who voted in the Republican primary Tuesday endorsed Senator McCarthy. Thus they nominated a man who:

Was censured by the Wisconsin supreme court for destroying evidence in an important case in which he was judge.

Was found by this same court to have violated his oath as a lawyer and a judge.

Was charged by the board of state bar commissioners with "moral turpitude."

Tried to fool the people about his war record, claiming he enlisted as a private when he actually entered service as a commissioned officer; pretended to have been wounded when he actually injured his foot in a moment of horseplay on board a ship in peaceful waters.

Left the military service of his country while the war was still raging so that he could advance his own political fortunes.

Accepted a \$10,000 fee from the Lustron Corp. while he, as a senator, was serving on a committee passing on policies of a federal agency lending millions of dollars to that corporation.

Had his bank note endorsed by a Washington lobbyist and immediately championed a sugar control measure of vital interest to that lobbyist.

Had to be required by the Wisconsin tax commission to pay more than \$2,700 in delinquent income taxes and interest.

Charged that Gen. George C. Marshall was disloyal to this country.

Attempted to link Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower with what he called the "Marshall conspiracy"—"a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man."

Was named by Washington newspaper correspondents as the "worst senator."

Was voted by the American Political Science association's legislative experts to be the "poorest" senator.

Loosed a campaign of character assassination against many American citizens and institutions while hiding behind his senatorial immunity.

Has been caught in dozens of lies, half truths and misstatements only to leap from one falsehood to another — always making charges, seldom answering them.

In his only primary speech, in Shorewood, chuckled cynically as his audience applauded statements that he deliberately falsified — implying that a plot of 24 years ago was a current description of conditions in the state department.

This is the record of the man to whom voters in the Republican primary gave their approval on Tuesday.

\* \* \* \* \*

To hide an appalling record of fraud and deceit from the voters of Wisconsin — to make them forget his poor record in the senate — McCarthy came up in 1950 with his issue of "Communists in government." He had considered other possible issues he could exploit — an old age pension plan of fabulous proportions — all-out support of the St. Lawrence waterway — but decided they lacked necessary "appeal."

He had never before paid much attention to communism anywhere. But now he began making sensational charges. As soon as one charge proved false, he made more. It was Hitler's big lie technique all over again and it was exploitation of the same basic fear — of communism.

Certainly there have been Communists in our government. It is more than probable that there are some today. But the justice department, the FBI, the loyalty boards, the house un-American activities committee, other congressional committees, and senators like Richard Nixon and Karl Mundt, both Republicans, have worked to weed them out. This is still being done — by careful investigation, by legal processes and with respect for the rights of citizens.

These persons and boards did not depend on character assassination, on lies, on sensational charges. And they got results, something that Senator McCarthy has never got insofar as discovering and digging Communists out of the government.

A majority of those voting in the Republican primary Tuesday fell for this hoax.

\* \* \* \* \*

This is not only appalling — it is frightening.

It betrays a dulled moral sense, a dimmed instinct for truth, for honor, decency and fairness.

It rewards falsehood, chicanery, deception, ruthlessness, the tactics of smear and fear, and contempt for the constitutional principles that safeguard American human and legal rights.

It will cause misgivings for the future across the land, for it evidences the dangers which confront our fundamental freedoms.

Bernstein gave  
talk on

"Challenge to  
Freedom"

at recent Congress  
Convention -

Oxman }  
Truman }

Udovis

knew him as judge - tried cases before him -  
helped him in first senatorial campaign

### The Country not anti-Semitic

1. did favors for Jewish people (i.e. shifted program to be present at Udovis wedding - asked U. to come to his.)
2. associations with Jewish people are rather extensive - considering rural area from which he sprang.
3. maintains friendships with cordiality + charm.
4. Has never said anything, even in his cups, which would reveal prejudice.
5. Joe, to Phil's in MKC to cover beef.

### Far-reaching political ambitions

1. Has not expressed any beyond senator.

Convinced that work he is doing is just -  
cause is important. Doesn't matter if he  
make political enemies - or loses political  
support. Would give up his crusade for  
political expediency.

one friend thinks that his use of Jews  
(Chm, Schine) is purely political - other  
friend thinks not.

### Personal qualities + characteristics

social grace + charm - won over  
the guests at Udovis' wedding.  
reputed - wit, wit, at poker game -  
keeps people in stitches. Doesn't seem like  
an ogre - human & being - affable  
personality. (Norman A. asked question -  
what's difference between this and  
personality of Huey Long?)

At school banquet, called everyone  
by first name. Great political attribute.  
Hard worker - rings doorbells - That is secret of  
original political success.

### Relationship to Church

married in Cathedral -  
message from Vatican -  
(get from Journal.)

Still associates with old  
friends - head hasn't been  
turned by contacts with the  
great in government. Knows  
that he is international figure,  
but this doesn't change his bearing.

~~Re: friend~~

Collier's - May or June 53

Current issue look

Charles Ashley

anti-Semitism

1. A. knows of no anti attitude on McC part.
2. On contrary, he is in favor of Israel, because Israel is bulwark of defense against communism.
3. A's opinion is that tough witnesses (copies) who are Jews might turn him.

long-range political ambitions -

1. wants to be in position to put pressure on others, and interested in presidency. Once ~~mentioned~~ asked what reaction of public was to Eisenhower on television.
2. He is in political trouble with republicans. Sumnerfield in LaGrone last Monday said that McCarthy was in trouble - to his face.
3. A. thinks McC is at beginning of the end. Won't go down without Republican machine - is afraid - and administration is going to dump him.

Church - no answer by A. - except that there is a link between church & McC on anti-communism -

Has an obsession on the <sup>communist</sup> subject - whether republicans or democrats.

Harnischfeger took up with McL on anti-La Follette basis

But industrialists are backing away - St. Lawrence Seaway

---

Gives lively, precise, bodyguards, spotlights, dramatic entrance - in small groups, completely unostentatious.

---

Political future dim:

- 1) Party will drop him.
- 2) Communism will no longer be issue.
- 3) Industrialists will drop him.

Ruthless, political opportunist - uses people, then drops them. He remembers names, but drops them anyway. One of earliest and oldest backers said this about him - which indicates political skills.

---

A. attacked him in State Rep. Comm. for stifling freedom, etc. - Then McL became fused toward him. A. was one of early backers. A. makes distinction between federal employees (security) and attacking professors, etc.

---

A. Thinks he is too smart to become dictator, demagogue.

McL will know his place. Has already over-stepped his bounds.

Coordinating Committee  
pro

Speakers Forum

Board of Trustees - 50-100 people

gear the whole thing around  
the FBI + Hoover. Make him the  
 rallying point. Not enough to be vs.  
country. Make people feel pro-FBI

1. Republican Party  
worker in local  
community. ✓

2. Top industrialist = ✓ Roberts

3. Laborer ✓ - Frank Benson

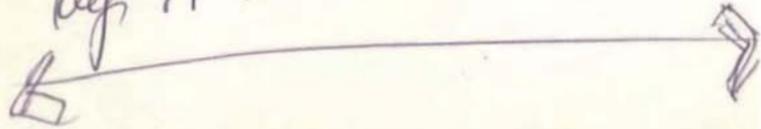
4. Journalist ✓ -

5. Speaker ✓ = somebody to turn  
on the lead  
named Jones  
whose statue  
depends on his back

6. Clergyman ?

---

Catholic-Lutheran split is bad  
don't introduce clergy.  
Keep it neutral.



FREE PARKING after 6:00 P. M.

take care of edge of parking

Patrons of Scribes may now enjoy free parking in the parking lot directly across the street.

\* We appreciate the note

Just give your waiter your car check and he will have it okayed

for you.

inquiries may be spoken  
in Wisc. because of the  
hand has spoken here  
since to create of America  
assigned for cabinet

THE MANAGEMENT

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THE MANAGEMENT

*While approval of Caesar is  
to fight communism, but will  
have air of on democracy,  
the FBI.*

Miles MacMillan }  
Louis Ruben } do cross-  
Zelig Pearlman } check  
ideas  
Gus Tyler

---

Harry Burshaw  
204 North 7th Street  
Blair  
Montgomery

---

GUS TYLER  
APRIL 8-9-10-11  
CHICAGO



Congress Hotel

FDR, Jr.

Tate delegation  
to Eisenhower first  
with statement  
deploring McCarthyism  
then come back and  
stamp state.

COMMITTEE FOR COMMON  
SENSE IN WISCONSIN

## STATEMENT ON McCARTHYISM

McCarthyism is a state of mind, an attitude, a type of thinking which is based upon the premise that any method employed in the ferreting-out of communists is legitimate. It makes no difference whether half-truths or half-lies are spewed forth. Exaggeration, irresponsible accusation, sly implication, guilt by association, unfounded charges are the techniques of this method. These and many other essentially un-American devices will more quickly eat away at the vitals of a free democracy than even the conspiratorial communism they are intended to eradicate.

To any fair-minded person, the true nature of communism, as a threat to freedom, cannot be combatted by throttling the very air of free thought. McCarthyism, in my judgment, represents a weakening of America's capacity to answer the communist threat. If it goes unchecked, it will eventually lead us down the path toward abandonment of the fair method of justice and law into the temptation of the dictatorial method of condemnation by decree. It is dangerous, shrill, hysterical, and is to be deplored and condemned.

## MORAL DUTIES OF THE FREE MAN

A. We have been careless of holy things

B. Liberty most important thing to talk about

1. Read opening paragraphs of Fulbright's speech
2. This is the way we started on ideals
3. This is the only way we will win the battle of the century
4. Liberty is in danger. Totalitarianism "can happen here"  
Delavan is Main Street
5. Danger signs
  - a. Due process of law being abused by Congressional committees
  - b. Social rights being abused - trust in fellow men
  - c. Economic rights being invaded - Houston Supt. of Schools
  - d. Intellectual right being invaded - book-burning
6. Crimes against liberty and freedom in the name of 100% Americanism

You can't teach democracy with a club

Castor oil - Mussolini  
Rubber Trunchen - Hitler  
Slave camp - Stalin

TALK GIVEN AT: 1954

- 22 Feb. - Rotary - Delavan
- 24 Feb. - Rotary - Wauwatosa
- 25 Feb. - Carroll College
- 26 Feb. - sermon
- 1 Mar. - Plymouth Church women

PLEASE SIT TOWARD THE FRONT IN COURTESY \* THE SPEAKER

GRINNELL COLLEGE CHAPEL

Wednesday, May 5, 1954

(Hymns unannounced)

Organ Prelude

Call to Worship

\*Hymn . . . . . No. 83  
(Remain standing for Prayer)

Prayer

Organ Response

Scripture Reading . . . . . I Samuel 8:10-22

Address

THE MORAL DUTIES OF FREE MEN

Closing Hymn . . . . . (omit stanza 4) . . . . . No. 238

Closing Prayer

\* \* \*

The speaker this morning is Rabbi Herbert Friedman of Milwaukee. He is a well-known speaker in various parts of the United States and has traveled abroad at various times.

You may wish to meet him at the coffee hour after the service, downstairs in the chapel.

Next Week: Professor Baumann of the History Dept. will give the 8th and concluding presentation of the series Builders of Grinnell.

Worship Assistant: Anna Robinson

## Moral Duty of the Free Man

1. To seek truth in a world where the vocabulary has been changed - Big Brother - 1984      Fulbright
4. To defend that truth, <sup>once found,</sup> against tyranny. (Einstein's school)
2. To reject conformity - John Stuart Mill  
"The mere example of non-conformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom, is itself a service." (Abba Silver)
3. To reject fear or discomfort involved in speaking out.
5. To protect civil rights & liberties in the course of defending freedom against tyranny - else we lose freedom

Abba Hillel Silver -

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

Albert Einstein -

Being a lover of freedom, when the revolution came in Germany I looked to the universities to defend it, knowing that they had always boasted of their devotion to the cause of truth; but no - the universities immediately were silenced.

Then I looked to the great editors of the newspapers whose flaming editorials in days gone by had proclaimed their love of freedom; but they - like the universities - were silenced in a few short weeks.

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

John Stuart Mill, "On Liberty"

The test of a free society is "The freedom and variety of situation"

"The mere example of non-conformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom, is itself a service."

GRINNELL COLLEGE  
GRINNELL, IOWA

DIVISION OF  
SOCIAL STUDIES

April 29, 1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
2419 E. Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee 11, Wis.

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

Thank you for so promptly sending me the  
publicity materials.

We shall make a hotel reservation for you  
at the Monroe Hotel for Tuesday night. The  
Rock Island station, at which you will ar-  
rive, is just about 100 yards from the ho-  
tel. I will not be able to meet you at  
the train, but you will be taken care of  
without trouble at said institution.

Will you please phone me at the college  
(which is just about 3 short blocks  
away) after you have had your breakfast,  
and I can give you further directions a-  
bout reaching my office.

The lunch will be arranged as you desire.

One thing I have forgotten. Do you have  
a scripture passage which you would deem  
fitting? We have a brief worship service  
first (10 minutes or less). Need to know  
by Monday.

We will look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

*Winston L. King*  
Winston L. King

# M J C

# MILWAUKEE JEWISH COUNCIL

REGIONAL OFFICE of ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH

Suite 500 - Madison Building

Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin

BRoadway 6-7920



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SAMUEL ZIEBELMAN

December 2, 1953

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
Temple Emanu-El  
2419 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

I am attaching the stenotypist's report of Mr. Henry Schultz's address concerning "L'affaire De Cartes" and the November issue of the ADL Bulletin. I hope this is the material you requested and that it will be helpful. Should your comments be recorded for posterity I would appreciate a copy of same.

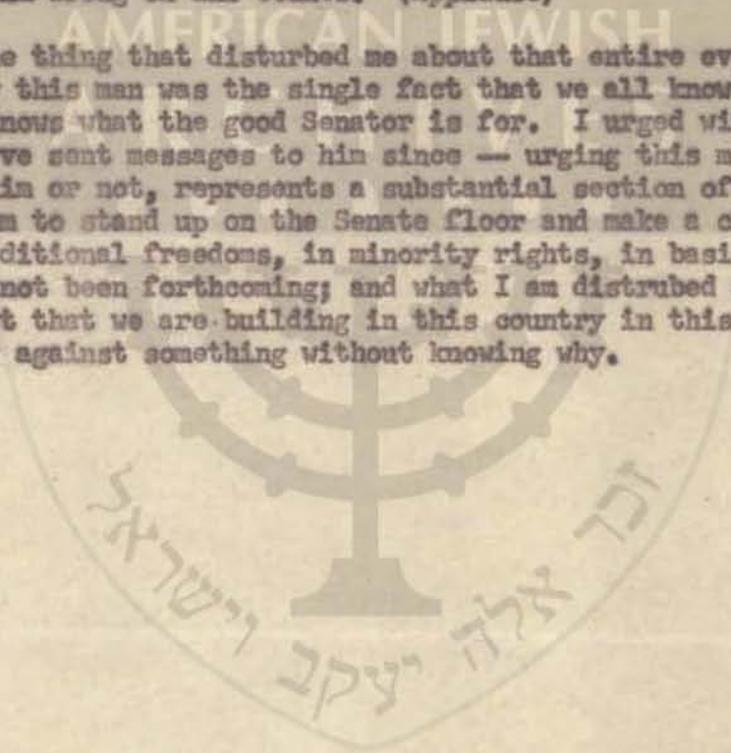
Sincerely,

ROBERT GORDON  
Assistant Director

RG;rz  
Encl.

We sat with Joe McCarthy not too long ago. The good Senator requested the privilege of sitting with ADL leadership to discuss the disturbing charge that he had been guilty of anti-semitism. Many of us debated whether we should meet with the good Senator -- and the cooler and wiser heads prevailed and took the position that any man in public life in a position of public importance and responsibility who personally requests a meeting with officials of the ADL, is entitled to have it -- and we met with him and presented the Senator with a whole list of disturbing incidents -- and the Senator had a very difficult evening. He did have with him, copies of letters addressed to some of these people in which he had repudiated their support. I could not believe all of his explanations, but he made them fervently. When he was all through very late in the evening, he turned to us and said; "You know, fellows, after listening to you folks tonight, I am convinced that I am not a very good Senator." He said; "I probably am not a very good citizen"; and then in an effort to be humorous, he said; "But one thing I do know -- I am the best gin rummy player in Washington"; so Ben Epstein, our National Director, sent downstairs for a ceck of cards -- and I beat him, meaning the Senator, and proved him wrong on all counts. (Applause)

To be serious, the one thing that disturbed me about that entire evening in all of the protestations made by this man was the single fact that we all know what McCarthy is against, but nobody knows what the good Senator is for. I urged with him, I pleaded with him -- and we have sent messages to him since -- urging this man, who, whether you like it or like him or not, represents a substantial section of American public opinion -- I urged him to stand up on the Senate floor and make a clear statement of his belief in the traditional freedoms, in minority rights, in basic justice. So far, such a statement has not been forthcoming; and what I am disturbed about, ladies and gentlemen, is the fact that we are building in this country in this nation an era of hate, an era of being against something without knowing why.



# the ADL bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

NOVEMBER • 1953



Herblock

## ARE WE A NATION OF 'AGAINSTS'?

By HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

ADL National Chairman

We extract from each other a new form of loyalty oath which does not express loyalty to the nation, but to the society of 'againsts'

SOME months ago the editors of the Madison (Wis.) Capital-Times asked the question, "What is a Communist?" They wanted to print 100 answers. To get that number, they discovered, they had to interview 241 persons: 44 refused outright to answer; 97 persons said they could not define the term and refused to be quoted. Of the 100 who did give permission to publish their answers, about 12 said they had little or no understanding of "What is a Communist?"

Among the rest, there were fewer than a dozen reasonable, orthodox definitions. Most answers were to the effect that the "Communists are people always sneaking around," or "A Communist is somebody who doesn't believe in religion and thinks everything should be equal."

I do not believe the people of Madison, Wisconsin, are conspicuously more or less informed than other citizens of the country. And 241 answers—or lack of them—do not, perhaps, constitute a scientific survey of the degree of American understanding of "What is a Communist?" But they do confirm the belief, reinforced repeatedly in my talks with editors, community leaders, and educators, that most Americans simply do not know what they are opposing. And, in the process of being hostile to something they do not understand, many of

them have acquired the symptoms and sometimes the personality of the blindly prejudiced—the hater.

The tendency toward indiscriminate and blind hatred is chilling. It threatens to undermine the security of minority groups and, in turn, the whole nation. The trend toward conformity can stultify; the trend toward hatred is more active—it can be murderous.

ARE WE BECOMING a nation of "againsts"—of people who are blindly, fiercely, doggedly against something they cannot define except to say it is wicked? Seven years ago, I introduced a resolution to the New York City Board of Higher Education—it was called the "Schultz amendment" and won me a good share of abuse—which would have outlawed the American Youth for Democracy in New York City Colleges on the grounds that it was Communist-dominated. Ten years ago I drafted the constitution of a labor union which adopted the principle that no Communist could hold office in that union. I can define a Communist. I can tell why the American system—despite some serious inequities which must be fought—is infinitely superior to the Communist one; why it must be secured against all enemies.

Now that I have made the statement—

that I am not now and never have been a Communist—let me examine it. I said that I see signs of an evil tendency all about me. I see the signs within me too. I had no positive reason for making this disclaimer at this point. It does not hurt the Communist movement. It is not germane to this article. I said it for a totally different reason.

I said it because I felt a need to show that I am one of the "againsts." Otherwise, I feared that I would lose contact with my reader; that unless I made my position clear, I would be placing myself beyond the pale; that I would be suspected and disbelieved.

I am not alone in making these disclaimers. In fact, I know few who do not make them in one way or another. The disclaimers are a form of loyalty oath, exacted neither by government nor employer. They do not express loyalty to the United States, or to the principles of democracy—but to the society of the "againsts."

MANY YEARS AGO, at college, I knew three students who had come from a section of the South not yet penetrated by Lillian Smith, Hodding Carter, or Supreme Court decisions on equal rights. The three boys had fearsome prejudices

# THIS MONTH

NOVEMBER

SUN MON TUE WED THU FRI SAT

## Soviet scholarship

WE NOTE THE Kremlin's attention to cultural progress in the careful efforts that have gone into the most recent edition of the Russian standard encyclopedia. Its 600 pages include a Communist evaluation of Judaism. There is no particular shock in finding out that in Kremlin-approved research Judaism "as ever, plays a reactionary role and is being used by the Jewish bourgeoisie of capitalist countries and by international imperialism as a means of the spiritual enslavement of the Jewish toiling masses."

One must marvel at Russian scholars gifted with the ability to relate their scholarly studies to the impromptu needs of politics. This, sir, is practical research, guaranteeing the correct answer.

## Profit motive

THIS MONTH THE SOBER Christian Science Monitor took a long look at one of the nation's hate sheets and editorially shuddered. The Monitor was shocked at its "hateful, un-Christian contents." It wondered how a magazine which carries on its masthead "the most sacred symbols of Christianity and patriotism" could refer to a U.S. President as "the little bald-faced man in the White House who comes a-runnin' when a Jew whistles." Or print a smear that a Supreme Court justice was "part of a mysterious undercover apparatus." Or tell its readers that the widely beloved widow of a late president is "willing to betray tradition, sacrifice sovereignty, mongrelize the race, encourage communism and profiteer on power."

Easy. There's money in it.

## On importance of intercultural education

EXCEPT FOR THE SOCIAL primates (humans), ants are the most successful organisms that have evolved on earth. They have no serious enemies except other ants, and for this reason their colonies wage organized war on each other. . . . Under special circumstances ants can get along without their fierce nationalism. When young, unconditioned ants from several hostile colonies are mixed together, they live with each other peacefully, like human children of differing ancestry who have never been taught their elders' prejudices and hates.—From *Time Magazine's* review of Derek W. Morley's book, *The Ant World*.

## About some frontier research

HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S FAMED Dr. Gordon W. Allport was much impressed with ADL's study on the effectiveness of its carcards campaign. "An ingenious study which justifies the time, effort and money put into the campaign," he writes. The study was made by ADL's department of scientific research and Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, using carcards in Springfield, Massachusetts, busses as a testing ground. The results: More people read and remembered "democracy car cards" sponsored by ADL through the Institute for Democratic Education, than they did commercial advertising cards.

To quote Professor Allport: "I should like to congratulate the authors and ADL on a remarkably useful piece of frontier research. It would make good teaching material for our class in group prejudice and conflict." He meant it. Ordered 40 copies for his class.

against Negroes and expressed them freely. After six months, under the pressure of a fairly liberal education, one of the boys had a softening in his attitude. He would occasionally make such statements as, "Well, I'll grant you that some blacks are pretty smart," or "Some deserve a better break." Each time he would look at his Southern colleagues, detect something in their glances, and say, "Now look here, you guys know I'm no nigger-lover, but . . ."

His disclaimer is close to the one repeatedly heard today, "You know I'm not a Communist, but . . ."

Both statements cater to prejudice.

People, with the prejudices born of fear, must always unequivocally affirm their membership in the society of "againsts." Otherwise, they lose whatever status they have among like-minded people who, with nothing better to do, make a hallowed temple of their prejudices, worship there daily, and demand that others do too.

This is, of course, all within the framework of a society which is against communism without being able to define or understand the nature of the real enemy. The distinction that communism is evil but that there is nothing wrong with being a Negro, does not apply here. To the prejudiced, the enemy is composed of genii and chimera, nothing more. In the society of the anti-Negro, as in the society of the "againsts," neither truth nor facts matter.

THE PATTERN OF hate—no matter what the enemy at first—is easily transferable. It is, apparently, easier to learn how to hate than to understand. Once implanted, the roots grow deep and spread in all directions. We can see an example of the transference of hate patterns in the type of anti-Semitism we have here in the United States.

In 1915, anti-Semitism had become such a facet in American mores—it was almost unknown in this country 50 years before—that a Jew was lynched by an Atlanta mob rallying to the slogan, "End outside interference in Georgia." By the 1920's, almost every leading college had some kind of quota sys-

tem for Jewish students. The Ku Klux Klan was busily attacking Jews and Catholics, an enlargement on its original mission and a good example of the ready transference of hate.

The earlier type of bigotry—based on religious differences only—had now been replaced by a more complex type. Jews, in the literature of the anti-Semite, were charged with being racially apart, "oriental," basically different in mental and physical structure, and what-not. Hitler used but did not originate this type of pattern. It had flourished in this country, before the rise of political racism in Europe, as an outgrowth and transference of hatred against the Negro.

COUNTLESS PATRIOTIC AGENCIES and individuals throughout the country are today actively and intelligently fighting communism. They fight it by supporting those things which are anathema in a Communist society—such as freedom of expression. They fight it by trying to reduce the inequities on which communism thrives—such as unequal employment opportunity based on racial or religious prejudice. They fight it by the exposure of Communist lies—the Voice of America struggles mightily to do this. All these groups, government and non-government, are fighting for a stronger and better land. The very nature of their assignments shows an understanding of communism.

To some degree—perhaps a greater degree than some of us care to admit—the congressional investigating committees have been effective in fighting communism. Liberals, labor, and men and women in education have made mistakes. Sometimes they have not vigorously rooted out Communists in their midst; evidence of Communist infiltration in other areas too, has ranged from annoying to shocking. Congressional investigating committees, by successfully dramatizing the menace of communism, have served a major, necessary function, of help to us all.

Liberals, labor and education can be mainstays in the anti-Communist

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the ADL bulletin

212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

Vol. 10, No. 11

Nov., 1953



Published monthly except July and August by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman; Meler Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, honorary vice-chairmen; Phillip M. Klutznick, Jefferson E. Peyser, Edmund Waterman, vice-chairmen; Richard E. Gutstadt, executive vice-chairman; Jacob Alson, treasurer, Benjamin R. Epstein, national director. Editorial Board: N. C. Belth, chairman; Oscar Cohen, Benjamin R. Epstein, Arnold Forster, J. Harold Saks, Lester J. Waldman. Subscription Rates: Fifty cents per year; \$1.00 for 3 years. Subscribers must report changes of address, giving old and new addresses, at least four weeks in advance. Printed in U.S.A.

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Art Director: EDWARD GOLDMAN

Circulation Manager: SARI GRILL

# 'DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT'

THE congenial folks scattered around this page are coming to "Dinner With The President," November 23. You can come too—without leaving your home.

It's the dinner party at Washington's Mayflower Hotel, given by the board of governors of B'nai B'rith to honor ADL on its 40th anniversary and climaxed by the League's presentation to President Eisenhower of its 1953 America's Democratic Legacy Award. The President's response—telecast to the nation on all four networks as part of a glittering, one-hour entertainment and documentary program—concludes ADL's three-day Freedom Forum reviewing American progress in human relations during the past 40 years. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Archibald MacLeish will keynote a series of sessions featuring American leaders from all fields and professions.

More than 30,000,000 Americans will see the TV spectacle produced for ADL by Rodgers and Hammerstein. The incomparable Ethel Merman will make her first TV appearance since her sensational debut on the Ford Anniversary Show. Eddie Fisher, William Warfield, Herb Shriner, Helen Hayes, Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer are among the show world celebrities who will appear, along with the entire "I Love Lucy" cast—not only Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball, but supporting stars William Frawley and Vivian Vance as well. Walter Cronkhte and Ben Grauer will do the commentary.

Assisting Rodgers and Hammerstein are Martin Manulis, producer of "Suspense," who is TV producer of ADL's show. Byron Paul of CBS' staff, is directing. The script is by Milton Geiger.

CBS, which is contributing all the technical crews and equipment, will telecast the program "live" across the country at 7-8 p.m. (EST). NBC, ABC and Dumont networks will show kinescopes of the full show at varying hours later the same evening. Check your newspapers—and join in ADL's 40th anniversary.



Ethel Merman



Helen Hayes



Herb Shriner



Desi and Lucy



William Warfield



Ben Grauer



Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer



Walter Cronkhte



Eddie Fisher



"I found teachers who were afraid to play bridge together."

## OUR TEACHERS PLAY IT SAFE

By GERTRUDE NOAR

As director of ADL's department of education, Miss Noar travels to all parts of the country each summer, participating in teacher workshops as lecturer, consultant and observer. She is a former teacher and junior high school principal and author of several educational texts.



MUCH of my working life has been devoted to the cause of democratic education. There is nothing remote or abstract about the cause. In the past decade particularly, intercultural education has become a glowing firmament on the American scene. I have always found that teaching about the importance and dignity of the individual is satisfying work, especially because I believe it to be one way of assuring our democratic survival.

But at this moment, after many months of travel throughout the United States, I'm apprehensive about the future of intercultural education.

This year ADL was associated with workshops and institutes in some 50 colleges and universities, involving thousands of teachers and school administrators. Again, this year, I personally attended many of them. But this time, things were different.

THE TONE WAS set for me early this summer. I had joined a group of educators in the conference room of a big-city school system. This city is charged with intergroup friction and an out-of-town professor, knowing this, told of his surprise:

"I visited the intercultural workshop now going on at the university here. It's a fine one. But only one local teacher

was there. Weren't the members of this city's school system invited?"

There was a dead silence for a while. Then the school superintendent answered—in a low voice. "Yes, they've been told," he said. "But the teachers here are gun-shy. They don't dare go any place that uses the terms 'intergroup' or 'intercultural education.' The terms sound a little subversive; no one wants to take any chances. . . ."

I found this pattern in other cities too. In some places, the names of workshops had been changed. Workshop planners had to find euphemisms for "intercultural education"—now, apparently, a dirty word. Teaching about the problems of democracy has been soft-pedaled. Enrollments in some of the biggest, oldest workshops in the country are lower. There were fewer new workshops in 1953 than educators had forecast.

In another city, a promising young teacher was holding an after-class discussion with some of us who had known of his work from a summer conference. One of us asked: "I know you believe in the value of group processes. Couldn't they be used to advantage in your subject?"

The young teacher confessed that he had used them—until this year. "Now I wouldn't dare embarrass the administration," he explained, "Our superintendent is under attack and he has to answer for each of us. We don't dare change our classroom practices or try out new ideas any more. We spend all our time on fundamentals and drills."

Or another example, in a southwestern city. Some workshop participants were working on problems of assembly programs and holiday celebrations. Someone asked: "Has anyone tried December programs that include the Mexican and Jewish festivals? They help give more status

Continued on page 8

# How Can I Become a Menace?

. . . asks James Madole, who runs the poverty-stricken National Renaissance Party. He thinks notoriety will make him a fuhrer

FOR \$150 a week you can buy your own fascist movement. Bully boys, buntings and all.

That's about the going rate for the National Renaissance Party. The party—meaning James H. Madole, a slight, pimply-faced, 27-year-old demagogue, abetted by a handful of ne'er-do-wells and juvenile thrill seekers—isn't doing too well these days. The mail, which Madole collects twice weekly at a letter drop in New York City's Yorkville quarter, is painfully bare of cash sustenance. Sometimes as little as three and four dollars is all that drops out of the envelopes from zealots, cranks and misguided old ladies who struggle against their inner frustrations by joining hate movements. It's hardly enough money to pay Madole's way back to his home in Beacon, N. Y.

So the high-strung young man who rants against Jews and Negroes, sports a bolt-of-lightning emblem familiarly like the swastika, and campaigns for "a government by the intellectual elite," is shopping around for someone who wants a little street-corner trouble stirred up—and has the price for it.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF Madole's impoverished circumstances perhaps will surprise those perturbed folks who have inquired of ADL about Madole's boisterous

activities on the street corners of Yorkville.

Until this month, when the seasonable weather drove it indoors—it still hasn't been able to find or finance a meeting hall—the National Renaissance Party occupied itself with Friday evening street rallies. Madole, a shy youth, but able to mesmerize himself into an effective, rapid-fire public speaker, handles the party oratory. For such public occasions, he is flanked by an American flag, a group of his bullying supporters and—for added decoration—a pretty, young girl named Ruth Ross who considers herself the party's women's organizer. Miss Ross has a singular approach to all political issues: she hates Jews.

On good nights, National Renaissance Party rallies have attracted crowds of 100 or more. This pleases Madole mightily. It doesn't bother him that much of his audience are curiosity-seekers and that many of the "regulars" who attend are reporters and investigators, making notes of what he says to use against him. Madole appreciates his enemies; he would like to promote more of them. They get his name in the newspapers, giving him the stature of a menace.

This is vital to Madole. He is convinced that he'll never get his hate move-

ment out of its poverty until he personally has achieved some distinctive notoriety as a menace. Perhaps then, he hopes, will come the solid financial backing from those hidden sources willing to invest in anti-Semitic groups like Madole's for purposes of political chicanery.

Meanwhile, says Madole, every scrap of attention helps. He is peacock-proud of his scrapbook. To his inner circle of compatriots, he admits his glee for the militancy of a group of Jewish war veterans who try to counteract Madole's rallies by holding one of their own, a corner away. "That kind of public conflict makes news," says Madole, "and any kind of publicity is good for us."

MADOLE GIVES THE appearance of a dedicated evangelist who genuinely believes in his work—even if he doesn't completely understand it. He is a mystic-minded youth, surrounded by a flood of frustrations that go back to his childhood. He likes to picture himself as a scion of German nobility. He keeps a dog-eared copy of Mein Kampf handy. He can't read it; it's in German, which he neither reads nor speaks. Madole is constantly embarrassed by this defect, particularly when he makes appearances before Teutonic groups.

His pre-occupation with the "intellectual elite" is no indicator of his own mental strength. Madole rarely utters an original thought. Much of his thinking comes from schemers who supply Madole with a little money and a lot of convictions. Madole accepts their beliefs uncritically, repeating them as his own.

Unlike most of his contemporaries in the hate racket, Madole is penny-pinching and not addicted to high living. He still lives with his mother in Beacon. She shares his hatred of Jews.

Madole will even forsake his stature as group fuhrer to take over menial details, like distributing vile, anti-Semitic handbills on street corners. This, by the way, is the party's most serious activity.

About a dozen youngsters are running around town, handing out these tracts. They are the mimeographed and illiterate products of an unkempt, assertive, 24-



James H. Madole

year-old who uses the name Mana Truhill. He is boss of the party's Elite Guard, its storm troopers.

TRUHILL IS A noisy extrovert who likes to affect German military airs, thrust out his chest and throw his weight around. He persists in wearing high, black lumber boots—the nearest thing he could get to German military boots—to complement the gray shirt uniform which he designed for his Elite Guard.

He seemingly has carved out a novel career for himself; that of professional nuisance. Several months ago he walked into ADL's New York office with an offer "to sell" his information about Madole and the National Renaissance Party. He said that his right name was Emanuel Trujillo, that he was a full-blooded Apache Indian and that he had been selling his information to a fringe outfit, but was dissatisfied with the "financial assistance" given him. Before departing, Truhill ventured the admission that his personal ideology is "out-and-out" Communist and that he attends Jefferson School, the Communists' educational plant.

Such defection from loyalty to Madole is not unique. Many of the others in Madole's inner circle keep trying to peddle their "secrets." This pettiness and fast-dollar attitude typifies the whole outfit.

Early this month, the National Renaissance Party rented a meeting hall, leaving a \$10 deposit. When the owner of the building learned of its identity, he cancelled the rental. By mistake he returned \$15 for the deposit. Madole and Truhill could barely disguise their joy at this windfall. They went gaily forth to their tasks of becoming a menace.



Mana Truhill (left) poses with pal, John M. Lundoff, the party's "Brooklyn chairman."



Ruth Ross gets her "kicks" out of dressing up in lightning bolt and swastika emblems.



Dr. Tibor von Eckhardt. A diplomat's opportunism carried him far.

# The Diplomat With Arrow Cross Friends

By JOSEPH L. LICHTEN

Last of a Series

SINCE 1919, when he made his debut in politics as a member, then chairman, of a Jew-baiting group called the Society of Awakening Hungarians, and later with Hungary's Race-Protecting Party, Dr. Tibor von Eckhardt has been—to quote the astute John Gunther—"an adventurous man." His grasp of opportunism has carried him far.

Eckhardt has been in the United States since 1941, a "political refugee." He has occupied his time here with power politics, awaiting the day of Hungary's liberation from Soviet rule—and his own ascension to power as the dominant leader of a new Hungarian government.

Outside the Hungarian community in the United States, Eckhardt is not too well known here. He is much less publicized than most of the leaders of the Hungarian National Council, a catch-all group that is, in effect, the Hungarian government-in-exile. But the lack of public notice does not diminish Eckhardt's political strength. He is one of the most powerful Hungarian politicians biding time in the United States.

His contacts run high up in Washington. He has made good connections with the State Department through J. F. Montgomery, former U.S. ambassador to Hungary. Montgomery introduced him to President Roosevelt, Sumner Welles and others in the New Deal administration. Eckhardt remains a confidant of important congressmen and government officials. He knows his way around the Pentagon and his political strings are tied to capitals in many parts of the world, a legacy of his days as Hungary's delegate to the League of Nations in Geneva.

Eckhardt is now in his late fifties, a knowledgeable, edu-

cated and energetic personality with the suave polish of the diplomat. Politics has been his lifelong work. He knows the business.

In this series of articles reporting on the postwar influx of Hungarian fascists to America—about 2,000 of them have found easy entry despite our rigid immigration laws—one question has persisted: Who let them in? It is for U.S. immigration authorities to answer.

Meanwhile, some of the mystery of how so many former members of Hungary's Arrow Cross movement have managed to slip in, not alone for the security of a haven, but to engage actively in propaganda work for the rebirth of a fascist Hungary, is solved by the identity of their most enthusiastic sponsor. He speaks on their behalf to government authorities. He finds them jobs, often as propagandists. He enrolls them as his supporters. He is—Tibor von Eckhardt.

It is likely that Eckhardt, in his political adventuring, has played with anti-Semitism more out of expediency than conviction. Whatever the reason, many of the groups he led or associated himself with made their distinctive contributions to the economic plunder and physical torture of Hungary's Jews.

IN THE YEARS immediately following Hungary's disastrous involvement in World War I, Jewish citizens felt the lash of the scapegoaters. Those who were merchants or of middle-class circumstances were harassed, beaten, jailed in secret hiding places, constantly blackmailed. A good part of the anti-Semitic plotting was done by the Society of Awakening Hungarians. This group had its headquarters in Budapest, but its program of violence extended to the provincial towns. One

An introduction to suave Tibor von Eckhardt, who approved of legalized anti-Semitism. Concluding: WHO LET THEM IN?

of its more successful exploits was the bombing of a prominent club of liberal professionals. The members—many of them Jews—were seated for a banquet when the bomb, secreted behind a stove, exploded. Many were killed.

Tibor Eckhardt was chairman of the Society. Whether he personally involved himself in such atrocities is not known. He has never posed as an extremist. But neither did he speak out against the brutalities of his followers.

Eckhardt seemingly approved of a genteel, legalized anti-Semitism. When the Race-Protecting Party was dissolved—its connivance with the growing Hitler movement was no longer secret—Eckhardt joined the Smallholders Party, patterned to win the votes of land-owning peasants. The party was not anti-Semitic, though it took on that coloration after Eckhardt and his friends joined. It had meetings on "the Jewish question." Eckhardt addressed one such rural gathering in 1938, at which he rejected pogroms, but not anti-Semitism, with the statement: "When a brazen fly walks on my temple, I do not use a hammer to strike it; rather I introduce a law in Parliament against it. This is the case of the Jews."

Characteristically, as a member of Hungary's parliament, Eckhardt supported a series of drastic anti-Jewish laws. One such measure restricted to 6 per cent the number of Jews who would be allowed to practice in the professions. "I am voting for this law," Eckhardt said, "because in the succession states [Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia] Hungarians do not occupy even six per cent of the jobs." But he didn't say why the fate of Hungarians elsewhere should, in retribution, be visited on his fellow citizens of Jewish birth.

Years later, shortly after his arrival in the United States, Eckhardt still championed second-class citizenship for Hun-

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## Are We A Nation of 'Againsts'?

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fight. They are increasingly and effectively working at the job. But the barbs of suspicion—hurled at them by those congressional committees dominated by the "againsts"—hinder many of their efforts. Blanket condemnation of congressional investigating committees is wrong. But when these committees disregard the meaning and potentialities of our great democratic institutions, we can only wonder; as they *now* operate, are they more harm than help?

Then, throughout the country, there are countless groups which make much noise about fighting communism—without any definition of their aims. These constitute the extreme wing of the "againsts," the inciters to prejudice and even violence.

The name McCarthy has not been

mentioned here at all. The man has become the symbol of these tendencies and frequently I am asked, "Is McCarthy an anti-Semite?" Certainly he is not an anti-Semite in the sense that Gerald L. K. Smith is. Senator McCarthy has often expressed his good feelings toward "people of the Jewish faith." He has made conspicuous use of his staff members who are Jewish. But I believe the security of our minority groups is largely dependent on the strength of our democratic institutions. It is dependent on good education for all—so that we have emotionally and culturally healthy citizens. It is dependent on the extension of civil rights and liberties. I believe that Senator McCarthy's methods have injured many of our democratic institutions.

I have listened to Senator McCarthy

discuss the things he is against. I have personally asked him what he believes in, what positive ideals he has for America. I have suggested that he state them. I would really like to know what they are.

There are those who say we must be indulgent of our "againsts." After all we are a young country, inclined to wild action, but somehow we always tend to take the right road. The climate of the country in the '20s and '30s is cited to show how easily we survive periods of hysteria and scapegoating. In the '20s we had the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. In the '30s we had the great upsurge of organized anti-Semitism.

But we don't have the same easy-to-understand reasons for the development of such patterns today. Serious social maladjustments, economic chaos, the rise of Nazi Germany, all contributed to the growth of American prejudices in these earlier decades. It's not the same today.

We have had years of prosperity. There is no Nazi propaganda machinery operating on a grand scale to convert Americans to anti-Semitism. In fact, since 1940, the United States has witnessed the development of an intercultural education movement destined to make many more Americans understand and respect differences among men. It has seen the passage of civil rights legislation in many states, legislation which—as part of the educational process—may lead more and more people to accept the principles of equality of opportunity.

BUT THESE ADVANCES are still in their infancy. They can easily succumb unless they are properly fed and cherished. Arrayed against them are these factors:

"The real fear of communism combined with the inability to understand or recognize it.

"The patterns of prejudice and dis-

crimination which, although ceaselessly fought, are still ingrained in our culture.

"A sense of guilt about these practices which sometimes hastens the process of scapegoating.

"A strong suspicion of the intellectual, almost bordering on an anti-intellectual movement.

"The professionals in the business of selling hatred against minority groups.

"Those Congressional committees which—in the process of capturing headlines—spread fear and confusion nationally.

A show-case sample of the use of prejudice to get ahead in a confused world was the burning of the Reichstag building in the early years of the Nazi climb in Germany. It was "proved," in a widely publicized trial, that "Communists" had destroyed the building. Public opinion was inflamed against "the enemy." Soon after, the Nazis turned these carefully nurtured hatreds against the Jews.

This illustration may be too pat. We are not the Germans, conditioned within an authoritarian framework. We have all kinds of armor that the German people did not have. We have wealth and no particular need to scapegoat to acquire more. We have a tradition of democracy which should be strong and self-perpetuating. We have a sense of humor. We have a great reservoir of moral strength. And we have a background of law and constitutional principles devoted to the respect of the individual rights.

Most of all, we have much self-interest at stake. Each American has a share in preserving the democratic structure, with its opportunities for individual enterprise and collective strength. Probably all of us realize this—in the abstract. But as we are frightened and unsure, we become lax about preserving these traditions. We let prejudice govern our ways. We become "againsts."

## The Diplomat With Arrow Cross Friends

Continued from page 7

garian Jews. In a speech, made in Hungarian, at a rally in New York's Hotel Commodore, he spoke on postwar plans:

After the war, numerus clausus must be upheld in Hungary; otherwise civil rights will be violated more frequently if the Jews enjoy the same rights as the Christian citizens. This would serve only as fresh nourishment for anti-Semitism.

In these instances, Eckhardt parrots the thinking of the Kremlin which likewise abolishes "fresh nourishment for anti-Semitism" by abolishing all things Jewish!

By virtue of his government posts, Eckhardt is a member of the Hungarian National Council; he is chief of its military section. He is also a member of the Magyar Harcosok Bajtarsi Kozossege [Hungarian Veterans' Association], created in 1949 and led by General Andreas Zako, a former staff officer of Ferenc Szalasi, Hitler's puppet in Hungary. Zako had an interesting assignment under Szalasi: to organize the Kopjas Movement as the Hungarian counterpart to the Nazis SS.

NOT ALL THE members of the MHBK are fascist-minded. But Zako and its other leaders are. Because of Eckhardt's active membership in this group, the liberal members of the Hungarian National Council demanded that Eckhardt be expelled from the Council since its constitution forbids membership to anyone associated with a Nazi or Communist group. They describe MHBK as "a Nazi group." They refuse to sit with Eckhardt and thus the activities of the Council have been virtually paralyzed for almost two years.

Eckhardt and General Zako are political associates. Perhaps this explains Eckhardt's intervention on behalf of Lajos Marschalko, a pogromist who is chief editorial writer of the MHBK newspaper, when the latter ran into trouble with U.S. immigration officials. Marschalko's is an unusual case; he was finally deported.

Others weren't. In the last three years these anti-democratic DP's—Eckhardt fraternizes with many of them and tacitly supports their activities—have become more and more overt in their anti-Semitism.

Eckhardt insists he is no political extremist, but "in the middle of the right side." He says General Zako stands there too. And if and when the Russians are

driven out of Hungary and Zako marches in with his veterans group to fill the void, it is Eckhardt's fond hope that he, too, will march—into the job of prime minister.

## Our Teachers Play It Safe

Continued from page 4

to minority group children." The answer was forthright and unhappy. "We wanted to," a teacher said, "but the principal was horrified by the idea. He said he wouldn't dare depart from the traditional program; that some of the town leaders would be upset; that he might even lose his job. So we gave up the idea."

IN SHORT, ALMOST everywhere I went I found fear. A fear that has already blacked out progress, that inhibits social reform, that threatens to hurl public education back to a less enlightened era.

These observations are not mine alone. Recently the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association, published a report on just this theme. It said, in essence, that too many educators are wetting a finger and holding it out the window to see which way the wind is blowing before taking a position on current topics. "But" the report adds, "the American people have a right to look to their teachers and educators for leadership. We have too many teachers playing it safe by teaching less well than they know how, and by hesitating to apply the method of intelligence. Such action is unworthy. . . ."

Amen. But how did we get this way? And where do we go from here?

For some years, particularly since 1950, the warning signals have been up. It was then that ADL, together with the National Education Association and other educational agencies, joined in common cause. Modern education had come under fierce attack by educational reactionaries, professional bigots, pseudo-anti-Communists, and plain know-nothings. They were aided by general ignorance of the values of modern education, by tensions of the cold war, by people's need to scapegoat in a complex, frustrating time of high taxes, atomic threats, Korea.

The specious charges of these coalitions of forces were repeated again and again. "Schools cost too much; they don't teach kids how to read or write; they're taking away the functions of the home; they're Godless." Other charges were directed at

Meanwhile, he carries on as a political adventurer, as a friend of important American politicians, as a benefactor of his fascist-minded countrymen and as a man of keen abilities with an ambitious mission.

And also—for 13 years now—as a guest of American hospitality.

more tangible targets: "Teachers are subversive; textbooks are red-tainted." And often the snarl at intercultural education: "It's a frill and fad; it's teaching our children alien ways."

The charges were answered, again and again, to the satisfaction of almost all honest critics. The cynical attackers were exposed: Allen Zoll, once a fascist propagandist, has been thoroughly discredited as a reasonable critic of the schools. Lucille Cardin Crain, whose Educational Reviewer sought to find subversion in some of the best, longest in-use textbooks in the country, this month closed down shop for lack of funds. But the truth has not yet caught up with the lie. The charges, now magnified, have become part of the collective unconscious of millions of Americans.

And our teachers are afraid.

IN MANY AREAS I found great reluctance on the part of teachers to mention even the existence of fascism or communism in the world. They are afraid to teach "controversial subjects" of any sorts—and it is a measure of our problem that teaching about race relations is usually considered a "controversial subject."

The suspicions generated against teachers are so great that in one community I found teachers who were afraid to play bridge together on a Saturday night. They feared being branded dissolute if they were found out!

This spectre of fear need not be eternal nor insurmountable. Granted, fear is something new in our land and we have not yet found an immediate, all-inclusive way of fighting it. But democracy has always overcome its ills; and there are communities and school systems that have licked the problem of fear, where teachers are not afraid to teach about race relations, attend intercultural education workshops, or play bridge if they choose. There are many cities and towns where local units of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools have stimulated an awareness among parents of what their schools are trying to do. But without the strength that comes from this kind of community support our teachers, underpaid and overworked in crowded classrooms, are weakened by fear.

And our children are the sufferers for it.

the ADL bulletin

212 5th Ave., New York 10.  
Entered as 2nd class matter.

WHICH WAY AMERICA, NEXT TUESDAY?

A Pre-Election Sermon

October 31, 1952

This sermon is presented with the election next Tuesday obviously in mind, and yet I want you all to understand that in my thinking this is not a partisan, political appeal. I have attempted to keep my thinking on as lofty and non-partisan a basis as possible, and I have attempted to concern myself rather with the moral and spiritual issues than with the immediate candidates. Because I have done this, I feel that there is no impropriety in my using the pulpit as a forum from which to direct to you these remarks.

I am a stranger to Wisconsin. Yet the famous tradition of this state is not unknown to me, or, for that matter, to any student of government in America. There was a time when this state led the nation in much of the social engineering that has so immeasurably benefited the life of the average citizen in America. There was a time when this state, once called by Lincoln Steffens, "the ideal commonwealth" actually gave its name to an idea - THE WISCONSIN IDEA - which we studied in the text books of political science as an exemplar of progressive government.

You know better than I the full meaning of THE WISCONSIN IDEA. It represented a combination of the best brains in the classroom of this time and in the seat of government in the State House. President Adams of the University said, in 1894, "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe

the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found." These are glorious words.

Governor LaFollette, as you know, took advantage of this attitude of intellectual freedom and constantly sought the advice of members of the faculty. In his "Autobiography", LaFollette recounted how an informal group of state officials, legislators and faculty members met regularly for lunch every Saturday to discuss the affairs of the State. It is curious to reflect that Franklin D. Roosevelt, 30 years later, adopted the same technique in his "brain trust". Thus, THE WISCONSIN IDEA "was the "joint effort of the politician and the professor to serve the common interest of all the people rather than the special interest of particular groups. This was democratic realism in practice."

And it really worked in this state. By the time LaFollette finished his governorship and went on to the United States Senate in 1905, if you please, Wisconsin had a state civil service law, a corrupt practices act, an anti-lobby provision, a railroad commission with full power to regulate not only railroads but other public utilities as well, a forest conservation program, advanced legislation in the field of social services, a workman's compensation law and many, many other things. This was the full flowering of the brilliant WISCONSIN IDEA - the recognition that democracy must be brought to life by such acts and measures as would constantly enhance the welfare of the citizenry. Wisconsin led the nation, quite literally, and other states, as well as the federal government,

came here in those days to look and be inspired.

Was all this possible simply because the University and the State House worked so well together? Obviously, one other ingredient was required and that was the cooperation and understanding of the voting public. LaFollette used to appeal for support to what he called "the intelligence and moral sensitivity of the people of Wisconsin". He was a very powerful orator, as you know, and he used to make the rounds on the old Chautauqua circuit explaining what he was trying to accomplish. In all these speeches he would pay his respect to the intelligent electorate as the firm foundation of democracy. This was the theme Thomas Jefferson stressed so often in the early days of the Republic.- and this was the fact that contributed so heavily to the success of THE WISCONSIN IDEA - the intelligent and morally sensitive citizenry.

What happened to this same citizenry of this same Wisconsin only seven weeks ago? On September the 9th, the people were given the opportunity to exercise intelligence and moral sensitivity with regard to the one man and the one issue now agitating the nation. Wisconsin was again in the position of offering moral leadership to the nation - and Wisconsin failed! The sons upheld not the arms of their fathers, for Joseph McCarthy was renominated to candidacy for office by an electorate so large as to be frightening.

There was no question of confusion as to the issue. The Milwaukee Journal had done a splendid job of reporting the record of McCarthy as a man, and pointing out the danger of McCarthy as an "ism". An excellent document had been produced by a group in Madison,

thoroughly reliable and factual called "The McCarthy Record". There was no dearth of out-of-state material, national journals and magazines, to illuminate the question. Yet, in the face of all this, the man was given an overwhelming vote of confidence by more than one-half million people of this State.

There are only two possible explanations. Either people understand what McCarthyism is and approve of it - or they do not yet understand it and must again be warned. As for the first alternative, I do think there is an element of our citizenry so morally insensitive as deliberately to want to use the tactics of McCarthyism. This mood is reflected in the remark made to me last Sunday by a fine lawyer who quoted his neighbor as saying "We need to have someone who can hit below the belt." This appraisal shows a fine appreciation of the unique talents of our junior Senator. It is shocking to think that an American, nurtured on the ideals of fair play, would deliberately want to violate that most sacred phrase. "Hitting below the belt" is a phrase which has come to mean everything foul, crafty, cheap, unfair. We teach our children to avoid such social behaviour and to boycott persons who employ it. Yet today, there are adults who consciously embrace this best practitioner of the art and applaud him for it.

If I thought that the number of persons in this category was legion, believe me, I would immediately begin to sound the alarm. For I would interpret such a conscious willingness to shelve ideals as a sign that democracy is crumbled and naked, ugly, brute-force fascism was on its way.

I still have enough faith in America to believe that the greatest number of McCarthy supporters are not the deliberate fascist type, but rather those who honestly have not yet come to sense the awful dangers with which this man and his method are so pregnant. Most of those who support McCarthy's goal - crusading anti-communism - feel that the communist menace is so acute and so severe that almost any method of extirpation is legitimate. And, herein, I submit lies the clue to the salvation of America, both from Communism and from McCarthyism. For if the people can only be convinced that Communism cannot be defeated by McCarthyism; but only free democracy can be destroyed by McCarthyism; and Communism can be checked and halted in other ways; then I think people would repudiate McCarthyism. I choose to believe that if the clear and present danger is pointed out, the good sense of the American people will ultimately prevail.

McCarthyism is a state of mind, it is an attitude, a type of thinking based upon the premise that any method employed in the ferreting-out of Communists is legitimate. It makes no difference whether half-truths or half-lies are spewed forth. Exaggeration, irresponsible accusation, sly implication, guilt by association, unfounded charges, quoting out of context, all these are the techniques of this method called McCarthyism. I really believe that these un-American devices which he employs will eat away at the vitals of our free democracy at least as quickly as the conspiratorial communism they are intended to eradicate.

Let me say that there may have been a certain softness in the past in recognizing the true nature of the conspiracy of

Communism, which could actually persuade men to be traitors. But this softness and the failure to recognize its true character were a result of the circumstances of the times. In the world-wide depression of the nineteen-thirties, many intellectuals felt that the Communist promise of equalitarianism was the only honest answer to the hunger and misery inflicted by the break-down of capitalism. In the world-wide war of the nineteen-forties, many staunch patriots prayed for Russia's strength, for the Eastern front was the other half of the vise in which we ground Hitler to defeat. Even General Eisenhower gave his word of testimony to the American-Soviet Friendship Committee, whose war-time purpose was to build good relations between war-time allies. In these tense atom-years of the nineteen-fifties, when some men are apparently willing to betray themselves and their countries, no softness is any longer possible or even permissible.

Conspiratorial Communism must be eradicated and members of the conspiracy must be exposed. But, by God, this must be done in accordance with due process of law. Vague accusation cannot take the place of legal indictments. Slander of character cannot substitute for factual evidence. Guilt by smear cannot replace our honored premise of innocence until proven guilty. These are the techniques, I repeat, which will more quickly destroy the precious rights and freedoms of democracy than they will ever uncover a Communist here and there.

I will tell you frankly that I am afraid of McCarthyism because I see in it the storm-trooper mentality. What manner of

man is this who says that if he were put aboard Governor Stevenson's campaign train with a slippery elm club he might "be able to make a good American out of him"? Do we teach Americanism with a club? Is there any difference between pounding sense with a club and plucking out toe nails or branding with hot irons or any of the other terroristic methods of the Nazis? What madness is abroad in the land that a man should seek to save America by handing her over to bestiality? The minute anyone starts pounding anyone else with a club we have surrendered democracy to dictatorship. And if we ever slide into that pit of hell, we will make the Hitler or Stalin dictatorships look infantile. Because with our genius in efficiency and machinery, our kind of police control, thought control, state control of an American dictatorship would be a thousand-fold more efficient than any of its European predecessors, and don't you forget it. Senator Lehman, one of the calmest and most respected elder statesmen of our country, describes McCarthyites as being "pseudo anti-communists for whom totalitarianism holds no horrors." For me, totalitarianism is the ultimate horror. No one is going to teach me Americanism with a club.

I'm afraid of McCarthyism, secondly, because I see it taking on all of the tricks of the demagogues, who seek to sway the emotions of men and to reduce the critical use of mind and brain. In the much heralded speech last Monday whose intent was to expose Stevenson's unworthiness and red associations, McCarthy attacked again on the front of patriotism. He waved the flag, figuratively speaking, by waving the letter-head of a world citizen's organization, whose purpose

apparently was to promote world government. After indicating that Stevenson was on the central committee of that organization, he asked, "now why is this significant? Simply because you are asked to elect a Presidential candidate who proposed to fly the flag of a super world-government above the Stars and Stripes."

As I read those words, my mind's eye flashed back to a scene in the Denver Auditorium several years ago, when Gerald L. K. Smith, then at the height of his popularity, was holding several thousand people spell-bound with similar demagoguery. Smith simply went one step further than McCarthy, who is pale by comparison - waving only a letterhead. Whipping an American flag from his pocket, he rhapsodized and eulogized over the purity of the white and the blood of the red. Then with a snarl he thrust forth a United Nations flag and brought his audience into foaming rage at the mere suggestion that any mongrel U.N. banner should ever wave above the Old Glory. Smith's purpose in this display was not to love America more, but to destroy the United Nations.

I do not say this is McCarthy's intent, nor is it relevant for the moment what one's personal opinion is on the subject of a world-government under world-law. The point I make and that which gives me fear, is that adopting the method of the demagogue will lead to the actual playing of that role. Wave the flag wildly, stir the crowd into a frenzy, establish a cause, find yourself a scapegoat - and before these four horsemen of the Apocalypse, reason will be the victim; the mind will fall before the whip.

And I'm afraid of McCarthyism lastly, because I sense that it has captured a large segment of the Republican Party. There was a certain nervousness on the Eisenhower train last Monday. There was a desire, I think quite genuine, to disassociate from the right wing elements sponsoring the McCarthy speech last Monday night. General Wood, of America First fame, was the chairman of the meeting in Chicago. Eisenhower, in whistle-stop speeches across Pennsylvania all during that day, promised that the innocent would not be hurt in the drive to get rid of subversives. I'm sure Eisenhower believes it. I'm sure there is no tendency on his part to compromise with democracy. But I am equally sure that he has made a compromise with a man whose concern for the essentials of democratic conduct is so far below the General's, that the association of the two men produced the first great shock of doubt about Eisenhower's much-vaunted independence.

And not only is it Eisenhower, but the Republican Party in many states of this Union, has felt it advantageous to invite McCarthy to speak on behalf of local or national candidates. Far from shunning him as a pariah, he has been solicited, invited, welcomed as an asset in these several campaigns. As a matter of fact, since his renomination in Wisconsin on September 9th, he has not made a single speech within this state, until just last night, but has been campaigning indefatigably in many states from one end of the nation to the other. This is serious, for it means that the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln is being replaced by a Republican Party of Joseph McCarthy. It has been said by the columnist Marquis

Childs that McCarthy wants to be President. If that is true, he would seem to be fashioning an instrument in 1952 for his further use in 1956.

The electorate of Wisconsin was once morally sensitive and supported a program of legislation which filled the needs, not only of this state, but eventually of the entire nation. If we were once called the ideal commonwealth, I ask that we become so again. I ask that we once again lead America in quelling the voice of hysteria and establishing the voice of reason. I ask that Wisconsin once again try to understand what America needs and offer leadership in the struggle toward those needs.

America needs calmness and sobriety with which to work out her delicate problems as the prime world power. She does not need the shrill voice of the demagogue.

America needs to speak in accents of clear truth as she carries her message to other peoples in this present world competition for the souls of men and nations. She cannot afford the luxury of permitting the voice of smear at home to becloud the voice of truth she is attempting to send abroad.

America needs a most disciplined sense of responsibility as she seeks to broaden her democracy at home. She cannot submit to irresponsibility which will weaken her moral fiber. The undocumented, capricious, untrue accusation cannot be permitted in a disciplined and responsible society.

America needs to protect her patriots and uncover her traitors. She cannot do either if the normal processes of investigation, careful search, conscientious sifting of evidence, are beclouded by the loud rantings of self-appointed crusaders.

America needs constantly and ever more quickly to find the highest level of mature and sober statesmanship. She cannot achieve this if even one of her Senators is a man of doubtful character, bent on sensationalism, guilty of reckless conduct. This is not statesmanship.

America needs more than anything else to regain the free enterprise of mind and spirit which have enabled her so brilliantly to provide nourishment for the free soul of man. She can ill afford to let this greatest asset wither under an attack which strikes fear into the heart, causes retreat of the college professor and civil servant, public speaker and common laborer. When men become afraid to talk, when untrammelled expression is inhibited by the fear of reprisals or attack, then it is only a short path to the barren and sterile field of stony silence. If men continue to be afraid to talk, for fear of being labeled this or that, I am sure America will die in the silence of her great cities and far flung plains. America will die and only the voice of McCarthy will then be heard in the land. And freedom will be dead.

I cannot tell you, nor do I presume to, what you should do with your precious right of ballot. I can only say that in loving America, you must love her in terms of her future and potential

capacity for good as much as for her present form. You must also love her for that which went into the making of her greatness. You must think of the Bible with its passion for justice; the Hebrew tradition of equality and righteousness which the Pilgrims brought here; the words of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, Roger Williams and Benjamin Franklin. These are the spiritual fathers of democracy as we understand it. I can only say that I would hate to see these men, these sources of ideals, and one hundred seventy-five years of fumbling but steady growth in this land toward greater freedom for all, betrayed by one man who is, in my judgment, a demagogue. Further, I would hope to see Eisenhower disown him before next Tuesday, so that McCarthy will stand in the isolation we usually provide for the very seriously and dangerously infected.

Amen

These things are said in the House of God. I hope they are said in the spirit of God.



Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President  
838 Fifth Avenue - New York 21, N.Y. - Regent 7-8200

April 6, 1954

*McCarthy reaction*

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Congregation Emanu-El B'nai Jeshurun  
2419 E. Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Herb

Inasmuch as I have been travelling almost continuously since you were good enough to send me your address on "Conform or Be Condemned" it was only this past weekend that I had the opportunity of reading it in such leisurely atmosphere as it deserved. You can assume, of course, without my even saying so, that I enjoyed it immensely. It is candid, courageous, consecrated, and I only hope that many others will stand up and be counted as you invariably do. Speaking, as you do, in the heart of our friend McCarthy's home territory it is especially a challenging piece of work, and I hope that you will have the opportunity of bringing this message to countless others. Thanks so much for letting me see it and do continue to send me other addresses along this line that you may be giving. Likewise I would like to be kept informed as to some of the reaction you are getting to this kind of address.

Hoping to see you again soon here in the East I am

As ever

*Maurice*  
Maurice N. Eisendrath

MNE:FS



UNION OF AMERICAN  
HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, RABBI JAY KAUFMAN,  
*Assistant to the President*

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

March 31, 1954

m-27  
Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emam-el B'ne Jeshurun  
2419 East Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

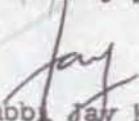
Dear Herb:

Just finished reading the copy of your sermon which appeared on the editorial page of the Capitol Times. It has a grandiloquent statement, but I hear much eloquence and read even more of it in this office and so am not usually swayed by it. More important, your statement is so lucid, so forthright, that I was chilled and thrilled as I read it. Frankly, I think it's the best statement on the subject that has come before me. Without waxing eloquently platitudinously, for you decry such practices, I will merely extend my sincere and admiring commendations!

Incidentally, the page was full of anti-McCarthyisms. The editorial that carried the title of Annie Lee Moss next to your Bar Mitzvah picture, with the kinky hair, made you look more like Annie Lee Moss than H.A.F.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
Rabbi Jay Kaufman

JK:FS

McCarthy talk reactions



Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York 21, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

805 Metropolitan Bldg.

~~100 NEW YORK LIFE BLDG.~~  
MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINN.

Geneva 9355



Date May 5, 1954  
From Samuel L. Scheiner  
MINNESOTA JEWISH COUNCIL  
To Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York 21, N. Y.

Can you make available to this office 60 copies of Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman's sermon entitled "Conform or be Condemned" for distribution to the members of the Minnesota Jewish Council?

Your attention to this request will be very much appreciated.

EP

S.L.S.

*Handwritten note:*  
Taken care of M-M



# Says Liberty Being Slain By Those Who Claim to Defend It

MADISON CAPITAL TIMES

OCT 19 1953

In his Rosh Hashanah Day (Jewish New Year) sermon at Temple Emanu-El For Jesurun in Milwaukee, Rabbi Herbert Friedman delivered an outstanding message on present-day threats to the liberties which always have been enjoyed by American citizens—freedom of speech, thought, and open discussion. Today The Capital Times is publishing a major portion of Rabbi Friedman's sermon in which he deals with these issues.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

By RABBI HERBERT FRIEDMAN

There are those in our land today who would smash forever the precious system of freedom in the name of defending it. There is no greater danger for the future of America—not even the danger of an armed attack by an external enemy.

This nation was born in revolution. The truth was held to be self-evident "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." On the basis of this theory we rebelled against the tyranny of England.

From that day to this, our genius has been a free advancement which permitted free inquiry, free thought, free political expression. We are a nation of dissenters whose clarity of thought has always been to strike out on new paths, to pioneer areas to allow ourselves to be hemmed in by rigid orthodoxies.

This tradition is the only tradition America has. We are the young, in terms of Europe's achievements, to have developed many traditions of art, culture, architecture. But the great treasure we do have is the freest spirit in the world, which permits every man to do and think and feel and say as he pleases—provided he represents no danger to the common welfare.

This liberalism is dying before our very eyes. It is being slain by a new orthodoxy which is establishing standards of what is right and what is wrong as they think. Confronted rather than dissent is the order of the day. Unpopular opinions expose one to criticism, ridicule, investigation. People are becoming afraid to talk, to join organizations, to protest, for fear of reprisals, loss of jobs, threat of being labelled.

In spite of the fact that Whitaker Chambers does not incl academic freedom is being threatened, Robert Hutchins does. "The massing of thought control that is now spreading over this country is the greatest menace to the United States since Hitler," Hutchins said.

An even stronger witness emerged recently in the person of George Kennan, our former ambassador to Russia. Kennan understood the menace of Communism. He was the father, "Mr. X," author of the policy of "containment" which led us to support Greece, Turkey, the Berlin Airlift, and thus stop the Soviet march of aggression after World War II.

In a speech at Notre Dame, he said: "I recall reading words of individuals who proclaimed that

if certain other people did not get up and join actively in the denunciation of communists, they would thereby themselves be suspect. What sort of retrograde is this?

"I have lived more than ten years of my life in totalitarian countries. I know where this sort of thing leads."

and so does Justice Robert Jackson of the Supreme Court know where this leads, for he sounded a warning recently.

"If we carelessly let liberty be abused in the name of preserving it from external danger, will we then suddenly become vigilant to rescue it from the internal danger of that very abuse?" Jackson asked us to develop "the foresight to forestall the first approaches of despotism." The first approaches are the most important. When liberty is already breached, and they are holding the machine gun at your head, there is very little left to do. It is already too late.

I think the first approaches have already occurred and I think the first abuses have already shaken liberty's foundation. I see four sure signs of this.

First, and most important of all, there has been an encroachment on the legal process. Our most treasured possession was the presumption of innocence until there was proof of guilt. Today this is reversed, and many a witness before a congressional committee labors to prove his innocence under an implied cloud of guilt. One is guilty in the public mind simply upon being summoned to testify. Charges are offered without proof—speculations made with insufficient evidence—the accuser may remain anonymous—innocence is accepted as evidence and often proof—political power is introduced into quasi-legal proceedings—and the list of abuses could be multiplied.

Second, beside legal rights there is being destroyed one of the most significant of social rights—the trust of man in his fellow man. People are genuinely afraid of being reported to the FBI, whose raw files contain every word of unsubstantiated gossip which any disgruntled person can insert into the record against his neighbor. Remember how horrible we thought it was when we learned that the Nazis encouraged children to spy on their parents?

The reverse of course is that under our government does not encourage this—let's not permit it, and the overzealous patriots take full advantage. Fear of one's neighbor is now a new element in American life, because there is an informant system.

Third, in addition to legal and human rights, we have invaded economic rights. For the vigilante attitude of investigating a man's ideas has cost many a person his job, his livelihood. I speak not now of union and student communists who have been dismissed from positions which might affect the welfare of our nation. Surely the duty of the government is to protect itself from espionage is axiomatic. I speak rather of countless innocent ideas and voices whose fate is typified by the experience of the popular superintendent of schools in Houston.

He was accused of being pro-communist. The school board decided to investigate, and hired a firm of former FBI men to do the job.

They report concluded that the man had never been a communist or affiliated to the United States. The man is named was Mr. J. V. C., a chairman of which he had been in 1947, he had failed to take a strong stand against the communist threat. That was the nature of his crime.

Before a packed audience, the seven members of the school board voted whether to ignore him. The vote was 3 to 3 and the chairman had to defer. Admitted that there were no charges against the superintendent, the politician nevertheless voted against him, so the "The community is already split when such men are in the position. I say only one further matter." The chairman was out of a job, and the school board chairman apologized America by his surrender to the atmosphere of the day.

Fourth, and last for this season, although the abuses are being done, we have been guilty of denouncing intellectual rights, as well as legal, moral, and economic. We have banned and/or burned books, although Mr. Eisenhower is now sure whether we did or we didn't.

And there seems to be some confusion as to whether the forbidden summaries were just stored in some makeshift cellar or were sold in a publishing company for new paper manufacture. In any case, say those who defend the action, we did nothing so barbaric as Hitler's book-burnings. But what is the difference? Freedom-loving people abroad watched us shut the lights of reason and justice and morality—and they grew sad. For they saw us reverting to the very methods we were supposed to be combating.

All these crimes against democracy are being committed not by mobs, fanatics or totalitarianism of whatever color. They are committed by 100 per cent Americans, the patriotism of whose patriotism is reflected in the strength of their intentions. This makes it all the more disturbing that they profess their innocence and claim that they are merely attempting to safeguard America.

# THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

October 20, 1953

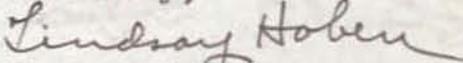
Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
Temple Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun  
2419 E. Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

I have read with interest your excellent New Year sermon as printed in the Madison Capital Times of Monday, October 19. Naturally, I find myself very much in agreement with it.

There is one, small correction I should like to call to your attention, however, so that Justice Robert Jackson is not credited with words he did not utter. I think if you will refer to the August 31, 1953, Milwaukee Journal editorial, entitled "Justice Jackson's Warning," you will find that one phrase you attribute to Justice Jackson was actually our comment, inspired by his speech. I refer to the last sentence of the third from the last paragraph: "If we carelessly let liberty be abused in the name of preserving it from external danger, will we then suddenly become vigilant to rescue it from the internal danger of that very abuse?"

Sincerely,



Lindsay Hoben,  
Chief of the Editorial  
Writers

LE:sg

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RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH

President, CCAR:  
RABBI JOSEPH L. FINK

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3017

# Union of American Hebrew Congregations Central Conference of American Rabbis

JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION  
838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • REgent 7-8200

3017

March 23, 1954



M-27

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun  
2419 East Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

I have just read the sermon entitled "Conform or Be Condemned" and I want to add my own congratulations to you on a magnificent statement. If, by any chance, you have had this sermon mimeographed, or have a quantity of reprints from the Capital Times, would you be good enough to send me as many as you can, so that I could distribute them to the members of the Joint Commission on Social Action, as well as to the national and local agencies affiliated with the NCRAC. In addition, I want to refer to this editorial in a forthcoming issue of Social Action in Review. It's a honey of a job.

Just as a matter of curiosity, what reactions have you had from your own congregants? Have there been any sour notes? As you know, the Joint Commission on Social Action is devoting itself to the stimulation of Social Action Committees in individual congregations throughout the country. On the basis of your deep interest in this area, I do hope that it will be possible for you to develop such a committee in your own congregation.

Again, my heartiest congratulations. I am passing the editorial around to members of the staff and to Dr. Eisendrath. I know they will be as impressed and gratified as I was.

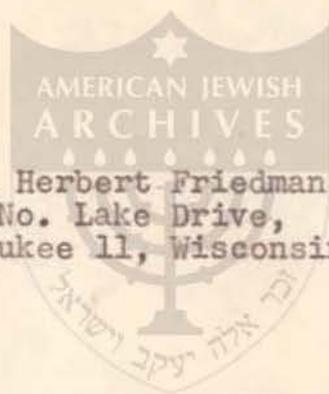
With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

*Albert Vorspan*  
Albert Vorspan  
Executive Secretary

AV:FS

Lt. Col. R.C.Dedi, Sr. AUS, ret.  
4233 W. Spaulding Pl.,  
Milwaukee 8, Wisconsin.



Rabbi Herbert Friedman,  
3431 No. Lake Drive,  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin.

4233 W. Spaulding Place  
Milwaukee 8, Wisconsin,  
27 Feb '54.

Rabbi Herbert Friedman,  
3431 No. Lake Drive,  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin.

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

After reading your published sermon, Journal, 27 Feb '54, I feel I would suggest that if I were a gentlemen of the cloth, I would refrain from allowing hate to creep into it for it may sway the audience in the wrong direction.

I feel that your sermon was prompted by the controversy between Senator McCarthy and Sec/Army Stevens due to the plain fact that Brig.General Zwicker, due to no fault of his own found himself in the ridiculous position of facing trial by General Court-Martial if he answered perfectly proper questions, or, on the other hand, facing contempt of Congress charges for failure to answer proper questions. It that hearing the question of testifying against himself as a witness did not enter the picture.

The press, radio and T/V chatter-boxes, blew the entire hearing out of proportion as they have in all hearings, before any Congressional investigating committee whenever the issue of sub-~~versive~~/activities versive activities became involved since the days of Congressman Martin Dies, Texas, in the 1930s. It takes strong men to withstand the constant attack from the "anvil chorus, and Martin Dies became ill finally and had to quit the House for several years.

As a soldier of Uncle Sam I know that Secretary Stevens was and is wrong. Those who occupied that position in the new Dept. of the Army and the former War Department, since the days of FDR were just as wrong in like cases due to the established unconstitutional "Gag" rule by depriving members of the Army (on active duty) of their (freedom of speech), see the 1st Amendment of the Constitution. Of course the right of free speech does not include the right to disclose military secrets, or speak treason, libel, etc, as any fair minded person knows. In the Peress investigation case however, no secret was involved. General Zwicker, as others before him through more that two decades found themselves in the same spot, long before Senator McCarthy entered the picture. All Secretary Stevens has to do to properly protect military personnel is to have the intestinal fortitude to lift the "Gag" rule.

As to the McCarthy hearings, the committee was established by Senate Resolution No.40, 83rd Congress. I have a large file of several like committees, and I would suggest that you obtain several copies, for first hand information is far better than second hand. Off hand, I pulled the following from my file: "Control pf Trade with the Soviet Block"-(part 1 and 2)- "State Dept-Student-Teacher Exchange Program" - "Communist Infiltration Among Army Civilian Workers"- "Transfer of Occupation Currency Plates-Espionage Phase". These, my friend, can supply you material for sermons and every word of testimony is under oath. By the way, Peress should NEVER have been commissioned. that was the first error, which led to the final "big fight" and protection of those who were careless.

Sincerely yours,

*Reinhold C. Dedi, Sr.*  
REINHOLD C. DEDI, Sr. Lt.Col.AUS,retired.

Feb. 1954

Showwood  
Mil. 11, Wis

Rabbi Freedman:

Your criticism of Senator McCaathy reflects the sentiment and attitude of all communistic element in this country + word over. You people have taught Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin well, and the wrath of God is now upon you because you would not listen to Gods commands read Book of Amos in the Bible even if you dont believe in God.

The A.C.F. Group proves you can not stand light

or truth always trying to  
cover up your actions; the  
Rosenbergs, Blochs, Goetzels,  
Shapiras and down to the  
peddler selling rotten fruit  
to public exemplifies  
communism to perfection and  
who else is so well versed in  
arson, tax dodging, draft  
dodging and deserting.

It also reveals your  
revengeful background at  
Nuremberg trials, rather than  
justice, with Morgenthau plan  
another added feature the world  
shouldn't forget because as you  
sow so shall you reap.

The day of reckoning has only  
begun, because there's no morale  
reprimand among yourselves, (and  
because it's called good business), no  
Godlines, the only morale

conception in signs are the  
\$ signs.

The worn out propaganda  
anti Semetic, has finally  
caught up with it's sponsors  
and since when have you the  
right to talk about liberty  
and Democracy when you're not  
part it. Mc Carthy, the people  
realize hasn't been tough  
enough in the present investigation  
because you can't stand light  
who do you think you are  
fooling. Even Communies define  
liberty in their own minds period.  
Sam Shohave

AFTER FIVE DAYS, RETURN TO

Sam Shohave  
Milwaukee, Wis



Rebbitz *Herbat* Friedman  
2419 - E. Kenwood Blvd  
Milwaukee, Wis

28th

*"Truly my soul  
waiteth upon God:  
from Him cometh  
my salvation."*

PSALM 62:1

AMERICAN  
ARCHIVE



Dear Sir:

4009. Enclosed are  
Marxism, Leninism  
Thursday, 28

Just a note of commendation on your  
fine article "Conform or Be Condemned"  
found in our "Capital Times" of the 15<sup>th</sup> of March.  
I am wondering if tyranny, totalitarianism  
and unitarianism are not all related - the  
first few verses in your, and my Old  
Testament all speak of a plural God: "Let us  
make" etc. When God, his Spirit, and his Messiah Son  
are disregarded then man soon elevates himself  
above, as ambitiously as at Babel above God's  
wishes & laws; & then above his fellow men, & soon  
the dignity of man is trampled upon in the mad  
rush for power, McCarthyism, Marxism,  
Communism



and I gave - If the republic was not established  
on the one, and coward will not preserve it"  
Kneel on the cowards but the Jews. Who are  
the communists in our country? Mostly  
Russian Jews. I don't recall two of them were  
executed and you know who they are.

I'm not a socialist and patriotic as you brag  
about - but you run for congressman or  
senator and prove your patriotism.



Sincerely yours,  
A patriotic citizen

1660 Norman Way  
Madison 5, Wisconsin

18 March '54

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Tempel Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun  
Milwaukee, Wis

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

The Capital Times here has just printed a sermon of yours. It is a magnificent sermon - extraordinarily good in spirit, outspoken, frank, courageous, and most ably expressed. I was greatly cheered by it. So extremely few people are willing to speak out as you have, even in the face of the great danger man now faces. And not too many of those few could speak with any such effectiveness as you were able to do.

There is a picture of you with the sermon. It seems to me that I have seen that face, though it was long ago, and it was an engineering student's face in those days. Of course I may be wrong. Still, thinking of this Rabbi as the grown up result of the young aspiring engineer has added to the stimulus it was to read this sermon. And even if that should be an error in identity, nevertheless the sermon would be all I've tried to say it was and more than I have been able to say.

The best of good wishes to you -

Sincerely

W. H. H.

*Rabbi Leon Kronish*

4144 CHASE AVENUE  
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

*Temple Beth Shalom*

March 26, 1954

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
2419 Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Herb:

It was a magnificent sermon which you delivered against McCarthy. I would like to see the others if you have them typewritten.

It is good to know we are not silent and that especially some one like you who is really in the ramparts by virtue of your location in McCarthy's home State, is so vocal and so lucid in your condemnation of this totalitarian trend.

Sincerely,

LK:rk

*Leo*



# THE TEMPLE BULLETIN

CONGREGATION BETH ISRAEL  
PORTLAND, OREGON



5714 — 1953-54

Vol. IV

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1954

No. 27

FRIDAY EVENING SERVICE

8:00 o'clock

**RABBI NODEL**

will speak on:

**"WHY A COMMUNIST CANNOT BE A JEW"**

This Service will be re-broadcast Sunday morning  
from 11:00 a.m. to 12 noon, over Station KGW.

The Public is Invited

To attend all Services at the Temple.

SABBATH MORNING SERVICE — CHAPEL MEMORIAL TEMPLE HOUSE  
10:30 A.M., SATURDAY

"The Jewish Faith" conducted by Rabbi Nodel  
every Sunday, 10:45 A.M., Station KOIN

A Community Program "Jewish Life" every Sunday.  
8:30 P.M. Station KPOJ.

#### SABBATH CANDLES

This Friday evening Mrs. Gilbert Schnitzer will recite the Blessings and kindle the Sabbath candles at the beginning of the Service.

#### USHER CORPS

The ushers for the Friday evening Service this week will be Adolph E. Landau and Richard S. Freidenrich.

## THE TEMPLE BULLETIN

Published weekly except during the summer by Temple Beth Israel, 1931 N. W. Flanders Street, Portland 9, Oregon.

### TEMPLE DIRECTORY

Rabbi ..... Julius J. Nodel  
Temple Study—Capitol 1069  
Executive Secretary ..... Mrs. Joseph Voremborg  
Religious School Principal ..... Irving N. Trachtenberg  
Musical Director ..... Prof. Arthur Hitchcock  
Rabbi's Secretary ..... Mrs. Doris Stoner

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Morris M. Israel ..... Jacob Weil

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Max S. Hirsch

President, Sisterhood ..... Mrs. Louis A. Lubliner  
President, Men's Club ..... Burton L. Lipman

Vol. IV FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1954 No. 27

### WE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

#### The Altar Flower Fund:

Dr. A. G. Bettman; Mr. and Mrs. Albert Simon; Mrs. Harry Gevurtz; Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence A. Rosenthal; Mr. and Mrs. Burton L. Lipman; and Mrs. Mae Rosenblatt.

#### Memorial Temple House Building Fund:

Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Gilbert in honor of the Bar Mitzvah of their son, Joel.

### RABBI IN THE COMMUNITY

March 6—Dedication American Legion Building, Oregon City.  
March 9—Temple Emanu-El, Spokane, Washington.  
March 15—Portland Symphony Guild.  
March 16—Camas Schoolmaster's Association, Camas, Washington.  
March 17—A.A.U.W. Mental Health Association.  
March 20—Portland Z.O.A. Purim Affair.

### TEMPLE CHOIR IN THE COMMUNITY

On Monday evening, March 15th, the Temple Choir, under the direction of Professor Arthur Hitchcock, gave a recital of Jewish liturgical music for the Portland Symphony Guild at the Hostess House of the Oregonian. A very large group of Portland music lovers attended this recital.

Rabbi Nodel introduced the general subject of Jewish music and provided explanations for each one of the numbers which the Choir sang. Mr. Roman Dukson, First Cellist of the Portland Symphony, played the "Kol Nidre," [the Max Bruch arrangement] and also "Prayer" by Ernest Bloch. Comments were many concerning the beauty and richness of our liturgical music by those who attended the recital and they indicated to Rabbi Nodel that they were eager to attend the Services at our Temple to become better acquainted with our rich heritage of Jewish music.

Members of the Choir are Helen McCartney, soprano; Eileen Acton, contralto; Mark Daniels, baritone; and Dean Lieber, tenor.

### MEMORIAL ANNIVERSARIES

The following names of loved ones whose Yahrzeit occurs this week will be read during the Kaddish Prayer at the Friday and Saturday morning Services:

Julius Goldsmith  
Frances Markewitz  
Max Friedland  
Morris Senders  
David Lipman  
Harry Lewis  
Caroline Morris  
Louis Rosenblatt  
Tillie Grossman  
Gerson Goldsmith  
Mark Goldstein  
Albert G. Caplan  
Dr. Harry Labby  
Bessie Schilt

**DON'T SAY "FRIDAY NIGHT," SAY "TEMPLE NIGHT"**

**RABBI NODEL'S "LETTER TO EISENHOWER"  
DRAWS NATIONAL COMMENT**

Rabbi Nodel's "Letter to President Eisenhower" which he sent to the White House and delivered as a sermon on Friday evening, March 5th, was immediately picked up by the Associated Press and radio news services, and during the past two weeks the Rabbi has been receiving letters, press clippings and editorial comment from all over the country as well as numerous telephone calls.

It was interesting to note that during the first week alone out of 54 responses, only 5 were critical of Rabbi Nodel's position regarding his warnings of the dangers of McCarthyism, and of these letters condemning the Rabbi, 4 were unsigned and obviously written by bigots.

Many of the voices endorsing the Rabbi were from prominent figures of press, pulpit, business and government. It was most gratifying to learn that the Sunday after Rabbi Nodel delivered his "Letter," Rev. Leonard Odiorne mentioned his name for blessing in a special prayer at Westminster Presbyterian Church, and a request for the reprint of Rabbi Nodel's statement has been made by the Portland Council of Churches so that it may be distributed to all of the Christian ministers of this area.

Following are excerpts of some of the letters of response:

"Perhaps the recent report to the press by the President regarding the McCarthy insults is the result of your, and I hope other letters he must have received . . . I admire your courage to write it publicly."—J. B.

"Just to let you know how my spirit was uplifted and strengthened. It was the most refreshing news of the long week."—M. M. G.

"I want to thank you for doing a courageous

deed that has needed doing for a long time. It will mean so much more coming from someone in your position."—M. M. S.

"Excellent . . . just right and most eloquent and impressive."—R. and M. N.

"I have just finished hearing the noon-day news and I hasten to write and once again compliment you upon the magnificent thing you did."—E. A. T.

"I wish to thank you for your forthright stand and action at a time when it is becoming increasingly more dangerous to do so. Your fearlessness will now lend courage to the common man to do the same."—P.M.

"Thank you for stepping out in behalf of the people to protect their Constitutional liberty."—M. E. S.

"Your timely protest is in harmony with the best traditions of the Jewish Faith and with the traditions of Temple Beth Israel, Portland. Rabbin Wise and Berkowitz would approve."—R. A. H. (Christian minister)

"I will make every effort to make others aware of your position in this matter, and I hope the strength of all our good wishes will help you to feel that the position you have taken is the right way."—R. T.

"No words have ever given me the courage that came to me from your letter . . . it has given me renewed hope that good will prevail over evil sooner than I expected."—B. S.

"I wish that more men of your standing in the community would have the moral courage to express themselves along these lines."—C. L. H.

"I sincerely hope that clergymen of all denominations will take courage from the example you have set."—G. H. H.

"Your fine statement on the antics of Congressional investigating committees should not pass without a compliment. I liked what you said, the way you said it, and I admire your courage."—R. Y. T.

"If you were looking for excuses for avoiding responsibility, you certainly could have found them. My heartiest congratulations and appreciation."—M.S.

"Thank God for people like you who have the courage of their convictions."—C. C.

Copies of Rabbi Nodel's complete statement may be had upon request by writing to the Temple Office.

**ANNOUNCING  
NEW ACCENT ON YOUTH**

Sure I'll be there on March 28th!  
In order to "schmooze" with kids of our Faith,  
With good entertainment and food piping-hot,  
I'd be foolish to miss it, so save me a spot.

The above "poetry" was included on the return card for reservations to the opening dinner meeting of the newly organized Alumni Association of Temple Beth Israel to be held Sunday, March 28th at 6:30 P.M. in Memorial Temple House.

On Friday evening, March 12th, a large group of young men and women, Confirmants and Graduates of our Temple, met after Services to formulate plans for the organization of an Alumni Association whose purposes will be to recognize the youth of our Congregation and provide them with a program of interests and activities within the environment of the Temple; to foster social relationships among the sons and daughters of our membership; to develop their qualities of leadership for service as future members of the Temple, and to contribute in any way to the good and welfare of our Congregation and the community.

At the dinner meeting, March 28th, a special committee consisting of: Paul Cohn, Bob Kramer, Geraldine Miller, Zelotta Murphy, and Anthony Polsky will bring in a report of aims and purposes. The election of officers will be held and a program of professional entertainment will be offered. The dinner arrangements under the supervision of Jerry Rosenkrantz, Linda Pallay, Carol Schnitzer and Larry Semler will feature Chinese and American food. Robert Mendelson is Chairman pro-tem of the Alumni Association. The age group of the Association is from Junior year in High School through age 21.

The organization of the Alumni Association is part of the new program of extension youth activities in our Temple inaugurated by the new Education and Youth Activities Commission. So keep your eye on the Temple Beth Israel Alumni Association and watch it grow.

**RELIGIOUS SCHOOL NOTICE**

**NO SCHOOL ON SUNDAY, APRIL 4th**

because of Pacific Northwest Region Union Conference

**CLASSES RESUMED ON APRIL 11th**

at which time we will return to our normal  
time schedule: 10:00 a.m. — 12:00 noon.

### OUTSTANDING PURIM PARTY HELD IN RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

On Sunday morning, March 14th, our Religious School held its annual Purim Party. This year's program was one of the finest ever presented in recent years.

There were Esthers and Hamans and Mordecais (and of course the ubiquitous "Hopalong Cassidys") marching around the auditorium as the pupils participated in the Annual Purim Parade. Prizes were awarded to the best costumes in each of the grades, Kindergarten through Sixth.

After a marimba and pantomime sketch provided by the Vines Sisters, Garry and Sidney Galton accompanied by Mrs. Herbert Galton delighted the audience with a vocal duet.

The special feature of the program was an original play "This is Your Life" written by Marilee Galton of Grade 5A and directed by Mrs. Bess Taub and Mr. Robert Mendelson, 5th Grade teachers. Participating in the play were: Martin Vidgoff, Tim Savinar, Jon Gilbert, Linda Sidell, Nancy Netboy, Karen Sue Sholkoff, Richard Enkelis, Jeffrey Brady, Sidney Cooper, Jr., Nancy Kaufman, Susan Kabin, Vivian Morris, and pupils of the 5th Grade.

After the play, a program of our Religious School talent continued to add to the festive occasion. There was a trumpet solo by Douglas Schwab; dance, Barbara Clement; guitar and song, The Miller Sisters; piano solo, Dick Friedman; song, Bryon Fendrich; and group singing by the entire assembly.

Refreshments consisting of ice cream and hamantaschen topped off a wonderful morning in our Religious School which the children will remember for a long time.

#### BABY-NAMING SERVICE

This Friday evening Marcie Jo, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Engleman will be named in the Temple.

May she so live as to be a blessing to her parents, to Israel and to mankind.

## "FIVE CHRONICLES OF FAITH"

The Last Lecture

in the

Book-Review Series

by

**RABBI JULIUS J. NODEL**

will be held

**Tuesday, March 30, at 10:30 A.M.**

in

**MEMORIAL TEMPLE HOUSE AUDITORIUM**

Coffee Hour at 10 A.M.

To be reviewed:

**"NOT AS A STRANGER"**

by Morton Thompson

[Faith in Human Life]

50c per lecture

Nursery for pre-school children

Open to the Public

Invite your Friends

### THE TEMPLE BULLETIN OF CONGREGATION BETH ISRAEL

Portland 9, Oregon

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Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emano-El B'nai Jeshurun  
2419 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

1425 Underwood Ave.  
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin  
March 21, 1954

Dear Rabbi Friedman,

I wish to offer my thanks for speaking out against the methods of Senator McCarthy and the conformity we find in American life today. I read a report on your sermon in The Milwaukee Journal and felt you did a masterful job in presenting the situation. I am sure that you would agree with Professor Eby of the University of Chicago that silence in the presence of evil is one of the worst sins in America today.

Recently while reading It Can't Happen Here by Sinclair Lewis, I ran across a passage that I think will be of interest to you. One of the characters comes to the conclusions that "he was afraid that the world struggle was not of Communism against Fascism but of tolerance against bigotry that was preached equally by both Communists and Fascists. But he saw that in America that the fight was befogged by the fact that the worst fascists were those who disowned the word Fascism and preached enslavement to Capitalism under the style of Constitutional and native American liberty. For they were thieves of honor and for their purpose could quote not only Scripture but Jefferson. But he saw now he must remain a liberal scorned by all the noisier prophets for refusing to be a willing dupe for either side."

I would be very interested to know what sort of mail you received. I have written several letters that were published in the Journal and the letters in reply were abusive to say the least. If there are any copies of your sermon left, I would like several to mail out.

*Dale Vinyard*

Herbert A. Friedman,  
Milwaukee, Wis.

3/19/54

Rabbi Friedman:

"Just finished reading your sermon  
"Conform or Be Condemned" and find  
I do not understand what you mean  
when you say "He can destroy an idea  
which has been 170 years in the building  
or 3000 years if you go to its Biblical  
source". What is this idea you speak  
of if I may ask? You see I haven't  
studied ancient history, nor much  
of the Bible - I am sorry to say.

Thank you very much if you  
will be so kind as to explain the  
above for me. (I found your talk  
quite interesting though I know  
little concerning politics.)

Mrs. Paul M. Batz

Rt # 1 Sun Prairie, Wis.

(over please)

I am enclosing a stamped  
addressed envelope for your  
convenience, and thank you  
so much.



# TEMPLE BETH EL BULLETIN

Member of the  
Union of  
American  
Hebrew  
Congregations



Rabbi Harvey E. Wessel

1102 S. Augusta

Tyler, Texas

No.  
425

## "LET'S BE DIFFERENT TOGETHER"

Refreshingly different in itself is the slogan of the 1954 Birthday Project of the Camp Fire Girls who will come once again in numbers next Friday evening to worship with us - and worship differently!

Coming for the fifth consecutive year, Camp Fire is more than ordinarily welcome this year because of its surprising recognition of difference at the very time when many of us were worrying about the exercise of pressure upon us all to be alike, to conform.

For instance, the Rabbi of a large congregation in Milwaukee announced two weeks ago that he would speak on, "Conform - or Be Queer." He explained his choice of subject in this way, "We are becoming a nation of conformists. Americans were once highly individualistic in their thoughts and deeds. The frontiersman was a unique man. His virile figure is now being replaced by a sheep-like character who thinks and acts as part of a herd, not as an individual. Such a condition," concluded this Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, "is very serious. It creates the political climate in which demagogues can find a toe-hold. It creates the emotional climate in which prejudice can flourish. The right to dissent and be different must never disappear."

How exciting is this week's reassertion of the genuine American character! While we witness the apparent beginning of the end of that demagogic influence which has induced a temporary conformity, we gladly join the Camp Fire Girls in raising the needed patriotic cry, "Let's be different together."

NOTABLE QUOTE:

(from "The Camp Fire Girl," Birthday Project, Dec 1954)

"We cannot live without the four foundations of life - food, clothing, shelter and the 'human plus.' We want our girls to discover the ways people throughout the world satisfy these needs. In the process they, too, may find their own 'human plus' and help it grow. Our girls will discover that many people still face tremendous difficulty in obtaining even one meager meal a day.

"The 'Human Plus' is a special something - something which only we can discover for ourselves. It is our sense of beauty that helps us create and admire other people's creative abilities. It is all around us, in the music and games we play and sing, the pictures we draw, the poems, stories, essays and plays we write, in thoughts we think. All we experience, every impression made upon us has an effect. We change as we absorb these sensations."

THE BOOK RACK IN FABER HALL

Most of the best books of current Jewish interest are now on display and available to borrowers in the newly reconstructed and refinished former magazine rack. Especially recommended is reading in American Jewish history in preparation for the open meeting of the Kallah on March 23. Two volumes to be had are by Dr Jacob R Marcus who will lecture that evening on "The Romance of American Jewry - 300 Years of Adventure."

This mention of Jewish reading offers occasion to urge all members of the Congregation - men, woman and children - not to neglect the periodicals that come to their homes regularly: American Judaism, National Jewish Monthly, American Zionist, Hadassah Newsletter, and World Over. Carelessness and indifference toward Jewish reading are seriously undermining American Jewish life.

"ASK THE RABBI - OR TELL HIM"

An intimate get-together with the Rabbi will feature the next meeting of the Men's Club - next Wednesday evening. Late refreshments will take the place of early dinner, while talk goes on as at the recent special meeting of the Temple board about what Jews can and do believe today - or about anything of mutual concern.

### CALENDAR FOR THE WEEK

March 12

FRIDAY

8 p.m. SERVICE AND HOSPITALITY  
Hostesses: Mrs Sam Kaiser,  
Mrs Herbert Frapart, Mrs Abram  
Scheuer, and Mrs R A Fiegel

SUNDAY

9.30 a.m. RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

TUESDAY

10 a.m. MOTHERS' MEETING: Faber Hall  
Rabbi will discuss religion

WEDNESDAY

8 p.m. MEN'S CLUB: March Meeting  
"Ask the Rabbi - or Tell him",  
giving promise of lively talk

Coming Events: March 19, Purim Supper-Party  
March 23-24, Texas Kallah

### ITEMS OF INTEREST:

Camp Fire Girls will be served Friday night by double force of hostesses - plus large congregation...Marjorie Ann Stamm and Alan Joseph Rosenfeld will be married Sunday at home, ceremony to be followed by reception...Note carefully pair of meetings next Tuesday morning and Wednesday evening...Next week should also be busy in preparation for Purim, especially in planning and making costumes...Mrs Jack Berry underwent an operation Wednesday...Dr & Mrs Irving Brown and Martin are going to Houston for celebration Saturday of 25th anniversary of Mr & Mrs Harry Passman, 5202 Dewberry...Mr & Mrs Silas Golden left to attend wedding in Chicago and remain two weeks...Mr & Mrs Osher Goldsmith were in Austin last weekend...Sisterhood nominating committee, named by Board: Mrs Albert Brown, Mrs Arthur S Urbach, Mrs Tony Spitzberg...Hadassah officers-elect: Mrs Lionel W Eltis pres, Mrs Sidney Waghalter 1 vp, Mrs Joseph Perlman 2 vp, Mrs Louis Glasser rec-sec, Mrs Wiley Roosth cor-sec, Mrs Ralph Berger treas, Mrs Marcus Strum parl...Rabbi Wessel is speaking Thurs at college in Commerce, Mon at Baylor, Waco.

*Remember the Sabbath*

Religious Services

Friday Evening, March 12, 1954, at 8  
Shabbat Vayikro

Rabbi Wessel will preach on

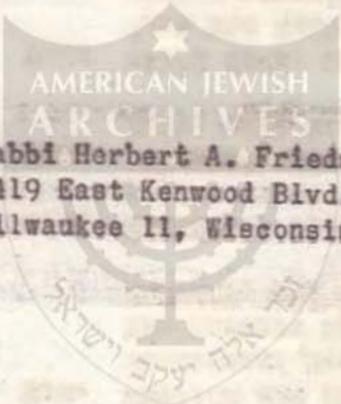
"THE HUMAN, - PLUS JUDAISM"

In tribute to  
visiting Camp Fire Girls  
and their 1954 Birthday Project

**Temple  
Weekly**

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ARCHIVES

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
2419 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

# THE CONGREGATION MISHKAN ISRAEL

FOUNDED 1840

ROBERT E. GOLDBURG, *Rabbi*

ORANGE AND AUDUBON STREETS  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

March 24.

Dear Herb:

Congratulations on "Conform or Be Condemned" -  
an excellent sermon and a magnificent  
service to the cause of Civil Liberties & freedom.

I met a young lady from Denver, who was  
visiting here for a day - and she kept singing  
your praises. Keep up the good work - kindest  
personal regards to you and Elaine -

Sincerely  
Bob.

*Congregation Emanu-El  
of the City of New York  
Fifth Avenue at Sixty-fifth Street*

*Office of the Senior Rabbi*  
REV. DR. JULIUS MARK  
1 EAST 65<sup>TH</sup> STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

March 24, 1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
2419 East Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee 11, Wisc.

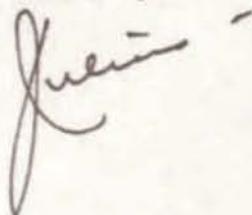
Dear Herbert:

I want to thank you for mailing me a copy of your sermon "Conform or be Condemned", which you delivered on Friday evening, February 26, 1954.

It is a magnificent discourse which evidences the courageous integrity of the preacher. Attacks on Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism are more or less taken for granted in New York. In the home State of the Senator it is like preaching against segregation in the South.

Congratulations and good luck. I was particularly pleased to note that you have the encouragement of your congregation.

Yours sincerely,



JM/k

THE TEMPLE

*Isaiah Israel*

1100 HYDE PARK BOULEVARD • CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

STUDY OF THE RABBI

March 25, 1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emani-El B'ne Jeshurun  
2419 East Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

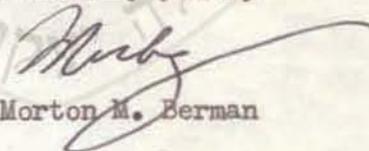
Dear Herbert:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your anti-McCarthy sermon. It comes up to your usually excellent preaching, marked by its directness and forthrightness.

Have you seen my article and opinion on McCarthyism? In any case, I am going to send you a copy.

I trust that you will return well and hearty from your trip. With affectionate greetings,

Sincerely yours,



Morton M. Berman

MMB:ptg

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSON  
TEMPLE ISRAEL  
BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

March  
23rd  
1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
2419 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin

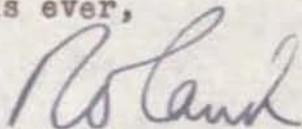
Dear Herb:

Just a brief note to thank you for the copy I received today of your sermon on McCarthyism and to congratulate you on the fact that you have been consistently emphasizing this theme.

Despite the fact that this is my first year in a new pulpit, I too have found two recent occasions to tackle the problem of McCarthy in the course of sermons. I quite agree with you that we in responsible positions of religious leadership are at least as guilty as the rest of the population if we do not exercise every effort we possibly can to stop this evil thing. It is good to know that there are others among our colleagues who are doing the same thing.

Ruth and I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at the Conference in June. Meanwhile, we join in sending best wishes from house to house.

As ever,



Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn

b/

LOUIS I. NEWMAN  
NEW YORK  
271 Central Park W.  
March 22, 1954

My dear Colleague:

Let me thank you for sending to me your anti-McCarthy sermon. All power to you as you strike good blows in the very heart of the adversary's country.

Sincerely,

*Louis Newman*

1819 to Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

From the Desk of  
DR. NELSON GLUECK  
President

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Herbert:

Just read your "Conform  
or be Condemned" sermon. Excellent!

Keep up the good work!

Best regards

H.G.

3906 Council Crest

Madison 5 Wis - Mar 16, 1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman,

Milwaukee, Wis

Dear Sir: I have read with thankfulness for your ability to say much that many of us in Wisconsin and in our United States cannot say so well as you said it ~~in~~ your sermon to your congregation, ~~as set down on~~ the editorial page of Madison's Capital Times, Mar 16. I do not always agree with The Times' violent disagreement columns with Mr McCarthy, for more fuel is <sup>thus</sup> added to a fire that Mr McCarthy longs above all else to keep going. But to have freedom to disagree is what is precious. I cannot understand or know how to try to persuade many otherwise intelligent friends of mine, for not seeing it is that freedom that Mr McCarthy <sup>is like</sup> would finally completely strangle, if he is allowed to go on.

I have followed legislation in past years, - a great many sessions - and the willingness of people to let others legislate for them was a very educating experience. It is easy to act like a sheep + conform -

Why people don't see the real dangers to all of us, as a nation, in fulfilling our duty + obligation in world affairs, and take up our job there + forget this very little man and all he represents, one cannot understand. Probably his methods are as old as Time, itself + have caused serious troubles for many in times past - and people learn little from lessons of history. If so - we only need all the more to know how to <sup>make</sup> people.

I looked at the enclosed Gallup poll lists with much hope,

(over)

for some of the "negatives" are changing to "unfavorables."  
Please continue to serve as you are in awakening people.  
There will be some who will say of your work that it is  
completely negated by others of your faith who have served  
communism in our Country - Again - so far - we are  
all individual Americans and stand before our fellow  
citizens, still, as such, if we have the courage to speak -

I am praying that there be more courageous thinking  
& acting from Pres. Eisenhower on down, such as Sen-  
Flanders displayed last week on the floor of Senate - I have  
been saying as sincerely as I know how what I believe  
McCarthy & his like are doing to us, - here & among our  
foreign friends - Thank you again for sitting down  
some of my deepest convictions so I can perhaps have  
a better way of saying them -

Very sincerely yours,  
Mrs. D. W. Nelson -

## The Gallup Poll

# Popularity of McCarthy In Downward Trend, Poll Finds

By GEORGE GALLUP

(Director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

PRINCETON, N. J.—Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy has lost ground with the American public over the last two months.

An upward trend in his popularity, reported in January by the Institute, has been reversed, with latest survey figures showing 46 per cent approving of the Senator today compared to 50 per cent two months ago.

At the same time, there has been a marked increase in the disapproval vote—from 29 per cent in January to 36 per cent today.

During this two-month period, the most important event undoubtedly has been McCarthy's row with Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens.

To sound out the public's views on Senator McCarthy today, the American Institute of Public Opinion assigned members of its field staff to interview typical voters from coast to coast.

In measuring the Senator's popularity, a new technique which makes possible the measurement of intensity of opinion was employed. This is the Stapel Scale, developed by Jan Stapel of the affiliated Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion.

A representative sample of voters, including Republicans, Democrats and Independents, was handed the Stapel Scale and asked to indicate their opinion toward McCarthy.

The trend since August, 1935:

	Aug. '35	Jan. '54	TODAY
Favorable	34%	50%	46%
Unfavorable	42	29	36
No opinion	24	21	18
	100%	100%	100%

One interesting aspect of the Institute's continuing audit of

A recent survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion finds 46 per cent of the nation's voters approving of the controversial Wisconsin Senator today, a drop of 4 points since January.

At the same time, the dis-

approval vote has gone up from 29 per cent to 36 per cent.

Eighteen per cent expressed no opinion.

McCarthy's popularity has been the steady decline in the no opinion vote.

In August, 1951, the Gallup Poll reported that 63 per cent of all persons interviewed in a national sample didn't know who Senator McCarthy was or had no opinion about him.

Today this figure is down to 18 per cent. In other words, 82 per cent—or approximately 82,000,000 adults in the U. S.—have an opinion about the Senator. Few persons in politics have ever attained such a position.

Analysis of the survey results brings out these additional facts about the Wisconsin Senator:

Since January, the greatest increase in the disapproval vote of Sen. McCarthy is found among voters in the South, among manual workers and among persons of the Jewish faith reached in the survey.

The increase in the disapproval vote is relatively uniform in all other segments of the population with one exception.

Among the nation's farmers, the Senator has gained in popularity. Fifty-three per cent of the nation's farm families approve of McCarthy today, compared to 48 per cent two months ago. At the same time, the disapproval vote among farmers has dropped from 29 per cent in

January to 26 per cent today.

The survey also finds a 6-point increase in the disapproval vote today among both Republicans and Democrats and a 9-point increase among Independent voters.

Here is how various groups in the population rate McCarthy today:

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opin.
College	42%	50%	8%
High School	48	36	16
Grade School	45	28	27
Protestants	45%	36%	19%
Catholics	56	29	15
Jewish	12	83	5
Democrats	36%	44%	20%
Republicans	61	25	14
Independents	46	37	17
Prof. & Bus.	45%	45%	10%
White-Collar	45	41	14
Farmers	53	26	21
Manu'l Wrk'rs	45	34	21
East	50%	35%	15%
Midwest	50	34	16
South	37	41	22
Far West	42	38	20

## INSURANCE

"For travel or domestic insurance"

7th  
NEC

MA

612 Clark St  
Stevens Point, Wis.  
March 16, 1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emanuel B'ne Jesurun  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

My dear Rabbi Friedman,

I read with a great deal of interest a reprint of one of your recent sermons in the Capital Times of Madison, March 15, 1954.

I think you are dead right in your analysis of the greatest problem of our times.

This writer spent considerable time in Germany during and after WWII and I am convinced that what Hitler did to Germany, others might do to these United States.

It takes courage and the will to fight to eliminate the scourge that hangs over Americans today.

God bless you in your fight,

*Jonathan H. McMurray*  
Jonathan H. McMurray

Watrous  
2809 Sylvan  
Madison 5, Wis.



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emanuel B'Ne Jeshurun  
Milwaukee, Wis.



WILLIAM T. EVJUE  
EDITOR & PUBLISHER  
GEORGE R. STEPHENSON  
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

# THE CAPITAL TIMES

MADISON, WISCONSIN

MEMBER  
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS  
THE UNITED PRESS  
THE NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE ASS'N  
THE AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATION

March 16, 1954

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Temple Emanu-El  
2419 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

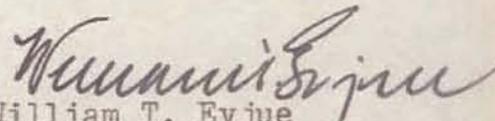
Under separate cover I sent some copies of The Capital Times to you yesterday containing your recent sermon on the subject of liberty and freedom. I hope that you like the prominence which we gave it. It was a fine plea for the preservation of those liberties on which the whole structure of a representative form of government must be built. I presume you are aware that Bob Hess of Milwaukee sent the sermon to us.

I still have pleasant memories of my visit at Temple Emanu-El. It was refreshing to find so many people who sense what is at stake in America today.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

THE CAPITAL TIMES



William T. Evjue  
Editor and Publisher

WTE:dc

ROBERT A. HESS  
PLANKINTON BLDG.  
MILWAUKEE 3, WIS.

March 16, 1954

My very dear Rabbi:

Herewith is an original letter from Lindsay Hoben which speaks for itself.

I have already indicated to you the result of Mr. Evue's long distance call the other day. This, just to keep you current.

My best and I am

Very sincerely yours,

RAH:esg

ROBERT A. HESS

P.S. This morning comes the editorial page of the Capital Times containing among other things a reprint of your sermon with editorial comment by Bill Evue. I have ordered 25 copies and if you need any for distribution, please notify me.

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
Temple Emanu-El B'nai Jeshurun  
2419 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

# THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

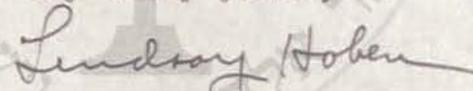
March 12, 1954

Attorney Robert A. Hess  
Plankinton Building  
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Hess:

Since your phone call this morning, I have talked with Mr. Ferguson again about the sermon by Rabbi Friedman. We both feel that in view of the coverage we gave it on February 27, and in view of the way things have been moving in the last few days, that it would be best to let the matter ride just now. I explained to you some of the problems in connection with radio, also at the moment, the radio stations are pretty much occupied with this subject on the national level.

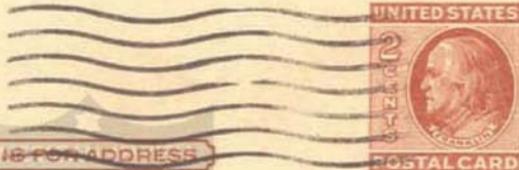
Very truly yours,



Lindsay Hoben,  
Chief of the Editorial  
Writers

LH:sg

LANCASTER BON  
1904 COTTON



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Rabbi Herbert Friedman

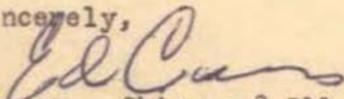
Congregation Emanuel B'ne Jeshurun

Milwaukee Wisconsin

Rabbi Friedman:

I was glad to read that you had spoken out against  
McCarthyism. We must fight this Fascist menace if we  
are to keep Democracy alive in the United States.  
McCarthy defended the Nazis guilty of the Malmedy  
Massacre on the floor of the United States Senate.

Sincerely,



Ed Connors 2013 Washburne Ave. Chicago 8 Ill.

Mer Art ?

(Alimony)

anti-semitic  
telephone conversation  
after McCarthy sermon -

- 1) anyone vs. McCarthy = communist
- 2) "white Jews"

Jim Pollock

+

Byron



Kinlaw

both called to

give encouragement

---

WOMEN'S GUILD  
PLYMOUTH CONGREGATIONAL  
CHURCH

Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
March 3, 1954

Dear Rabbi Friedman,

Thank you for talking to our Guild on March 1. It was one of the most outstanding meetings of the year. Aside from your forceful dealing with a pertinent subject, it was a great pleasure to have some of the members of your Congregation with us. We hope that we can again share the friendly spirit that prevailed.

Sincerely,

Betty B. Pohl  
Secretary

# THE WAUWATOSA ROTARIAN

Next meeting at  
UNDERWOOD COURT, 7405 Harwood Avenue  
Wednesday, March 3, 1953, at 12:15 P.M.

---

WE COULDN'T HAVE HAD a better speaker for Brotherhood Week than the one we enjoyed last week, Rabbi Friedman of Temple Emman-El B'ne Jeshurun. His presentation of the meaning of democracy in everyday life and the current dangers to its continuance was one of the best things we have heard in a long time. We are all of us too prone to take many of the most cherished of our advantages for granted, and it isn't a bad idea at all for someone to give us a jolt once in a while. We are all too much imbued with a belief that "it can't happen here". On the other hand, it very well might, and only constant awareness is going to prevent some very serious inroads in our inalienable rights. Thanks for coming, Rabbi Friedman, and we hope you'll be with us again, very soon.

NEXT WEEK we stay closer home and have as our speaker John Bell, the secretary of the local YMCA. Of all the secretaries we have had at our local branch John has, it seems to us, done the finest piece of work. His development of the Indian Guide program alone, is an outstanding job of real worth and we're looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to his coming to us.

VISITORS at the last meeting: From Milwaukee - Charles Wesley and George Moss. From West Allis - George Leaf and Ray Comstock. From Hastings, Michigan - Don Gill.

MAKE-UPS - Clint (Jim) Carter at Atlantic City February 16, 1954. Walter Mettelman at Waukesha, February 15, 1954. John Cremer at Mayville, Wisconsin, February 18, 1954, and our travelling representative Erv Artz, at sea aboard the S. S. Lurline on February 11, 1954 and at Honolulu on February 16, 1954. Erv gives his longitude and latitude on board ship but when he gets back here his L and L we feel sure will be behind the speaker's table. Program chairman please note.

ABSENTEES at the last meeting: Erv Artz, Charles Auchter, Jim Carter, John Cremer, Stan Ells, Doug Irwin, Louis Wrasse.

TWO NEW MEMBERS, Max A. Brackett and Paul Lawler, M.D., will be installed at the luncheon next week, thus maintaining our object of having, not the biggest, but the best club.

ROTARY as usual has responded promptly and adequately to the appeal for help at the post-prom party for the local high school students. One additional job needs to be done. At least one man is needed to help park cars. See Larry Paape.

OUR ATTENDANCE record for December was 80%. This is listed as just in the good category which covers the eighties.

IF YOU'RE going to throw dirt around, you're going to lose ground.

SOMEONE has defined a pessimist as a man who finances an optimist.

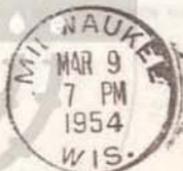
THERE are seven women for every man at eighty-five, but it's too late then.

"IF GOD would concede me His impotence for twenty-four hours, you would see how many changes I would make in the world," said the great orator, Monsabre, one day. Then he added: "But if He would give me His wisdom, too, I would leave things as they are."



Mrs. Carl T. Kayser  
2975 So. Shore Drive  
Milwaukee 7, Wis.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



Rabbi Herbert Friedman,  
3431 No. Lake Drive,  
Milwaukee,  
Wis.

MRS. CARL T. KAYSER  
2975 SO. SHORE DRIVE  
MILWAUKEE 7, WIS.

Mar. 9. 1954.

My dear Rabbi Friedman: -

I was so shocked and amazed at your intemperate language, used in addressing your Congregation service weeks ago. That I had to wait until I calmed down, for fear of being guilty of the same intemperance, to address you.

You are so far off the beam as regards Senator Mc Carthy that you are pathetic - he is doing the work he was asked to do by the United States Government. However it is your right to disagree and that I grant.

MRS. CARL T. KAYSER  
2975 So. SHORE DRIVE  
MILWAUKEE 7, WIS.

When you undertake to state that those of us who support Senator McCarthy are Un-American etc. - you are going just too far. This incident is a perfect example of why your people are disliked and pushed aside - you make too many insulting blunders of this kind. How do you think we all regard the fact that most of the known Communists are bearers of Jewish names? We know this is true, both of us, but

MRS. CARL T. KAYSER  
2975 SO. SHORE DRIVE  
MILWAUKEE 7, WIS.

I don't go around accusing  
my good Jewish friends of  
being Communists or fellow  
travelers, neither do I say that  
for any of their beliefs they  
are "Anti American".

It might interest you to  
know that many of your  
own Congregation have  
questioned your right to make  
such statements.

Sincerely

May Seck Kayser.

Sh. 4 - 2534.

2324 E. Bennett Ave  
Milwaukee Wis.  
2-27-54.

Herbert Friedman.

If you say Sen. Mc Carthy is a coward you  
are a damned liar,

Only traitors and fools want any one to  
fight against Mc Carthy. Intelligent people  
fight with Mc Carthy, for the purpose of getting  
communist traitors out from our army and  
State Dept and Voice of America,

If you fight against Mc Carthy you fight  
for communist murderers.

If you say Mc Carthy is against liberty  
for honorable American citizens you are a  
damned liar.

If you say men who love American liberty  
should fight against Mc Carthy to save  
it you are a damned liar.

Your statement that it is American tradition  
to fight against men like Mc Carthy, is a lie.  
We real American fight with him and against  
people like you. You are helping to spread  
Communist murderer propaganda.

There is no departure from American tradition  
by people doing as Mc Carthy is doing. He is strictly  
patriotic in removing traitors. The communist  
gang wants to shut up Mc Carthy. You want the  
same. The Communist murderers should pay you a fee.  
If you say Mc Carthy is sheeting citizens out of their  
rights in trying to catch traitors you are a

2- Dammed liar. He gave every person he questioned all the rights the law says he should have. You can't show one case where he cheated one person.

You said "agreement with Mc Carthy is the worst kind of betrayal of American liberty" You are

a DAMMED LIAR

That kind of talk is the lowliest kind of traitor propaganda the kind communist murderers want you to spread. They should pay you a salary for traitor talk.

If you say Mc Carthy's conduct is pathetic and wrong you LIE.

~~You said again with you said that disagreeing with Mc Carthy and fearing to do anything about it chokes out freedom. That is a LIE.~~

You said people of U.S. feel engulfed and helpless because of what Mc Carthy is doing to remove communists. You are a dammed liar.

You said the real danger of Mc Carthyism is "sworn blight of anti intellectualism." You are a dammed liar.

If you say people who praise Mc Carthy are "eggheads" you are a dammed liar. I am one who praises

Mc Carthy and will vote for him for Secretary of State if I have a chance. See Dulles keeps communist traitors in his dept and in the Voice of America.

If you say people who praise Mc Carthy are "empty heads" you are a dammed liar. The great majority of voters of Wisc. voted for Mc Carthy.

If you say Mr Carthy<sup>3</sup> is acting like a dictator  
you LIE,

If you say Mr Carthy is like Mussolini or  
a dictator, you are a damned liar.

If you say Mr Carthy is unfair and cruel  
like Hitler you are a damned liar.

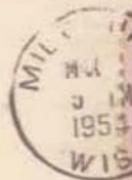
If you say Mr Carthy is like ~~Hitler~~ Stalin,  
and would be cruel and slave driving you are a  
damned liar

You said Mr Carthy wants to teach  
democracy with a club. You are a DAMNED  
LIAR.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

I haven't more time to answer the  
rest of you damned traitor liars.  
so will say in closing that when you  
die, if there is a hell, I hope you  
will roast in it a million years.

Fred C Lindsey,  
definite supporter of the very honorable  
and capable Senator Joe Mc Carthy,  
and 100% American like the  
Texas oil men, and the million  
voters in Wisconsin who voted for  
Mr Carthy. I despise all  
people like you, I don't hate all  
Jews, only Damned Traitor Jews,



Herbat Friedman

Congregation Emanuel B'nai Shalom  
2419 E. Kenwood Blvd  
Milwaukee  
Wisconsin

MRS. BARNEY LAKAM  
818 E. PORTAGE ROAD  
MILWAUKEE 11, WIS.

Sunday, Feb. 28, '54

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun  
Milwaukee, Wis.

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

Congratulations on your sermon  
last Friday. We were unable to attend, but were  
pleased to read it in the Saturday "Journal".

Your courage to speak up loud  
and clear on the McCarthy menace is heartening.

My own fear has grown so that I  
expect a spy to jump out of my own book shelves. And  
yet, I feel like a wee small lonely voice against  
a community full of McCarthy sympathizers.

Even if I could be heard, who  
would pay me heed. Only men of your stature and  
importance can dent the apathy of a complacent  
public drugged into a false security by their newly  
acquired wealth.

Sincerely,

*Anne LaKam*

Writw. Feb. 28. 1954

Dear Sir!

My husband, my children and I were present when you delivered your sermon on Conformity. We all were deeply moved to see, that there is a man who has the courage to get on a pulpit and say what you said. My husband and I are Hitler refugees. And all these years we felt, that somehow all of us were to a certain extent responsible for what happened in Europe, because ~~if~~ we let it happen and did nothing to prevent it.

And now we feel, that we are watching a similar spectacle un-  
derstanding it better and again

we do nothing about it. And  
this time our children will be  
the ones to suffer. If we only  
knew how, we would like to help.

Your sermon certainly was a step  
in the right direction. Many Thanks!

Yours truly

Isidore Dubman

and all the other Dubmans

March 6-1954.

Dear Rabbi Friedman:—

Revering your fine article in the Milwaukee Journal recently I have wondered a number of times why our educators and clergy never done anything about those corny and meaningless signs reading "Vote-Vote-Vote" and no one ever adds the two great Laws upon which the Creator founded this World and which we are subjected to all of our lives. The Laws of Construction and Truth. As one who followed last Presidential Election closely I believe it greatly leaned towards Destruction and the Big Lie.

I am sure if we lay stress in 1954 and 1956 on Vote Gods way, Vote for Truth and Construction and we will soon eliminate the Demagog and Small Minded ones from our Elections and will also bring about a fine increase in Voting from people who do not vote at all.

I am sure if we start an Advertising campaign ~~on~~ along said line we will soon have better politicians.

Yours very truly,  
Businessmen.

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO \_\_\_\_\_



AMERICAN  
ARCHIVES

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
2419 E Kenwood Blvd  
Milwaukee  
Wisconsin



# Arizona Biltmore

PHOENIX

March 5, 1954

Rabbi H. Friedman  
3431 N. Lake Drive  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

My dear Rabbi Friedman:

Allow me to congratulate you on the splendid discourse you delivered last Friday evening in our Temple, pertaining to Senator McCarthy. This was the most constructive criticism I have read thus far in connection with our Senator from Wisconsin. It is about time that someone who enjoys the reputation you do would deliver a talk which has been given as much publicity as the Milwaukee Journal could give.

Needless for me to tell you, Rabbi, it was a pleasure for all of us here in Phoenix to read it. I have turned it over to some of our good friends from Boston, who are here at the Biltmore at the present time, and they felt about it the same as we do.

I was very glad to receive your nice note several days ago and I hope that Mrs. Friedman, as well as your children, are all in the best of health and comfort. We love our home here very much, and should you have an opportunity to visit us in Phoenix, you may consider this an invitation to be our guests in our home. We will be very happy to have you.

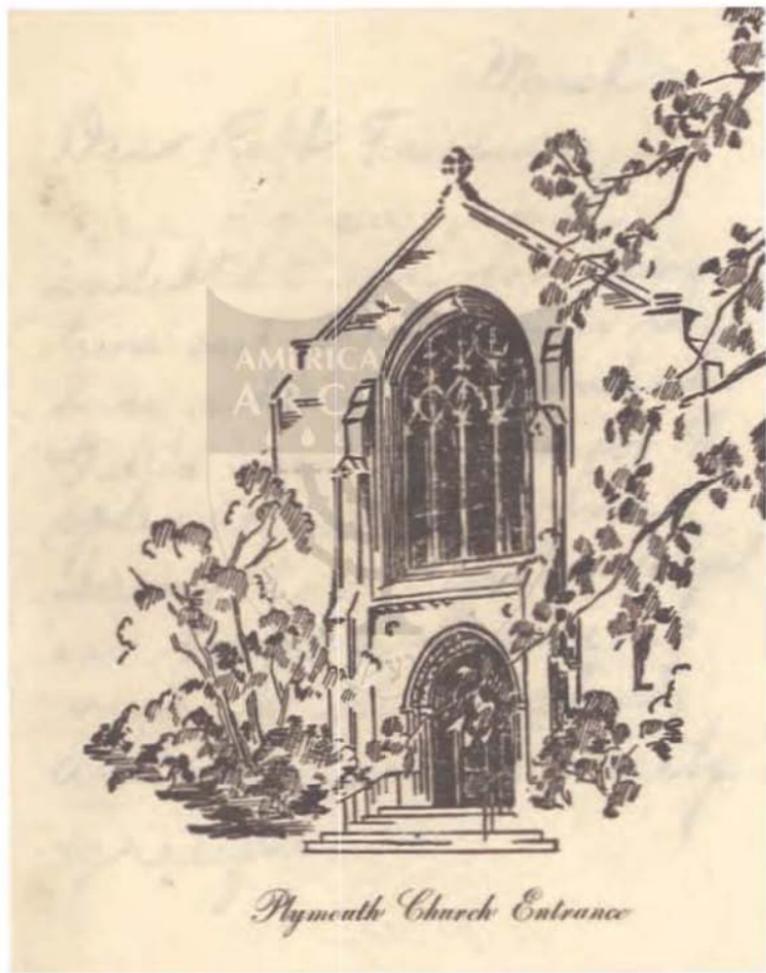
With my kindest regards to you, your lovely wife and children, in which my wife joins me, I am,

Most cordially yours,

*Benjamin Adelman*

Benjamin Adelman

BA:bt



*Plymouth Church Entrance*

March 2.

Dear Rabbi Friedman, —

We are much indebted to you for taking time out from your very busy schedule, to attend our Guild meeting, and for the splendid message you brought us. You enlarged our vision and gave us much to think about, and we are sincerely grateful.

And too, it was so  
pleasant to meet  
Mrs. Friedman and the  
others who came from  
your congregation.

Am inclosing a copy  
of the letter from last  
Sunday's Journal, which I  
spoke of just before you  
left. Mrs. Price is one of  
my most valued friends.

Sincerely,  
Marybrie Jewett.  
(Mrs. M. S.)

## Who Can Beat McCarthy?

To The Journal: I doubt if we ever had a public leader with more dictator methods to fight dictator threats to our government than Senator McCarthy. Many good people say, "I don't like his methods but his objectives are all right."

Are good objectives ever attained by bad methods? I don't like his methods and I wonder what his real objectives are. He barges into the affairs of our present state and justice departments. He conducts fantastic publicity stunts, such as the recent avalanche of mail he foisted upon the White House. And this turned out, after all his fury, to be a little more than 50% in favor of his idea!

Nobody can investigate as efficiently as he can, so he often reinvestigates all by himself, when the other members of his committee can't or won't come to the meetings. I don't think he really needs any of the other members anyway. His active and caustic tongue is no respecter of persons and so he has somebody "vehemently and indignantly denying" something or other all the time. He is the final and infallible authority to judge important policies of government, both at home and abroad. His overweening lust for publicity and power seems to threaten at times to put even President Eisenhower in second place in the party. How high are McCarthy's ambitions?

These sweeping and God almighty judgments are making Democrats by the thousands. And the ironic thing about it is that he is being financed by the national GOP committee and no doubt has the blessing of our Wisconsin state committee. That organization has consistently shown a marked preference for him over Senator Wiley, who has been President Eisenhower's loyal supporter at all times and who must be returned to congress next fall. It makes me wonder what kind of Republicans we have in our state

organization. Are they really Eisenhower Republicans or some other brand?

Well, what are we going to do about McCarthy? His present term expires in 1958. If no one can reduce him to his proper dimensions soon, maybe we ought to be thinking of somebody in his place in 1958. Aren't there enough just ordinary Republicans like myself who can raise their voices effectively enough to retire him? That is, I admit, a very naive idea straight from the grass roots. But big changes have often come from small beginnings. We have several outstanding Republicans in Wisconsin who can serve the country efficiently, with much less noise and more light, and with more credit and honor to our beloved state.

MRS. W. HOWARD PRICE.

Route 1, Box 134, Waukesha, Wis.



Mrs. Maurice G. Jewett  
2718 North Farwell Avenue  
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
3431 N. Lake Dr.  
Milwaukee 11  
Wisc.

**LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND**  
**926 NORTH JACKSON STREET**  
**MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN**

Monday January 17, 1955

Dear Friend:

**SPONSORS**

A. W. Bauer  
Salesman  
Sauk City

Ray W. G. Bayley  
Minister  
Prairie du Sac

August Derleth  
Author  
Sauk City

Herbert Friedman  
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Earl C. Hall  
Druggist  
Sauk City

Robert J. Hudson  
M. D.  
Sauk City

Ralph R. Marquardt  
Realtor and  
Insurance Agent  
Sauk City

Leonard Zubrensky  
Attorney  
Milwaukee

**TREASURER**

Angeline Vail  
Housewife  
Milwaukee

Much of the credit for the decline in Joe McCarthy's political fortunes belongs to you and the thousands of others who supported the Joe Must Go movement. Nevertheless, while Joe McCarthy may be a political ghost, there is no question that McCarthyism is still alive and kicking.

In helping to discredit McCarthy, consequently, Leroy Gore and the Joe Must Go Club are now faced with serious trouble. In the short space of ten months since the recall started, the Club has been forced to spend over \$2,000 on legal fees to defend itself against pseudo-legal harassment. Its records were subpoenaed. Leroy Gore was forced to testify in secret without either an attorney or other witnesses present; several active workers in the campaign lost their jobs, Republicans and Democrats alike. Leroy Gore faces serious financial difficulty, his personal property has been defaced and damaged and his health is failing. Furthermore, his nine year old daughter developed a heart condition during the campaign.

Now the Club is broke, just when it is faced with the most costly legal fight of its short-lived career. A legal defense fund of at least \$5,000.00—maybe more, is needed to take an appeal to the Wisconsin Supreme Court in the case of the alleged technical violations of the corrupt practices act and to defend the five officers, including Leroy Gore, against the charge that they have each committed a crime by serving as officers of the corporation. If convicted of the charge of felony, they will lose their citizenship rights including the right to vote and to hold public office. Each of these five officers has already contributed \$200.00 to retain an attorney.

The Joe Must Go Club of Wisconsin, Inc., became a corporation solely to protect its treasurer and other officers from personal liability which might arise during the campaign. It incorporated with the full knowledge that the corrupt practices act has been a Wisconsin law for two generations, and that over the past 45 years some two dozen political corporations have been and still are functioning—without legal or political harassment. None of them, however, was incorporated for the sole purpose of recalling Senator McCarthy. The club's articles of incorporation and by-laws clearly stated its purpose of recalling Sen. McCarthy, and the Secretary of State issued it a charter with full knowledge of the purpose of the corporation. Our position is that it was both necessary and proper to incorporate.

Consequently, as personal friends of Leroy Gore, some of whom are businessmen and residents of his community, we have formed a committee to defend Leroy Gore, a courageous American, his friends now being prosecuted, and the movement he started. We are writing all circulators of petitions and contributors to the recall effort, asking them to send \$25, \$10, \$5, or even \$1 to the Leroy Gore Defense Fund. We also ask each petition circulator to solicit contributions from those who signed his petition.

The right to recall elected officials as an expression of the inalienable rights of citizens must remain unfettered, whether that official is Joe McCarthy or not. The reputation of the leaders of the recall are at stake. This appeal to help them cannot be ignored. Do not rely on the other fellow to contribute. YOUR help, as well as his, is needed, URGENTLY. This is a contribution to afford legal defense.

Sincerely,

  
August Derleth  
Chairman

**LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND  
926 NORTH JACKSON STREET  
MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN**

January 30, 1955.

**SPONSORS**

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Salesman  
Sauk City

Ray W. G. Bayley  
Minister  
Prairie du Sac

August Derleth  
Author  
Sauk City

Herbert Friedman  
Rabbi  
Milwaukee

Earl C. Hall  
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Robert J. Hudson  
M. D.  
Sauk City

Ralph R. Marquardt  
Realtor and  
Insurance Agent  
Sauk City

Leonard Zubrensky  
Attorney  
Milwaukee

**TREASURER**

Angeline Vail  
Housewife  
Milwaukee

To the Sponsors of the Leroy Gore Defense Fund and the officers of the Joe Must Go Club of Wisconsin, Inc.

This is to inform you that the Leroy Gore Defense Fund has received 1572 contributions totalling \$8151.98. We anticipate that approximately another \$1000 will be received during the coming week.

Thank you letters have been addressed to all contributors and about 800 have already been mailed. The rest will be sent during the coming week.

Expenses incurred will amount to about \$700 for postage, \$500 for printing, \$100 for telephone, \$150 for office help, and \$50 for miscellaneous expenses. Hence the total expenditure will amount to about \$1500, perhaps \$1600.

The bank requires a revised form be signed by the sponsors since Rabbi Friedman does not wish to share in the responsibility of handling the funds. Rabbi Friedman has made it clear that he wishes to serve as a sponsor of the fund by lending his name but that he does not want to have any control over the funds. I have sent this form to Mr. A. W. Bauer so that he may obtain the signatures of those sponsors who live in Sauk City and return it to me for the Milwaukee signatures.

I have also sent Mr. Bauer a statement to circulate authorizing me to make the necessary disbursements as noted above to meet anticipated expenses of the Leroy Gore Defense Fund.

Sincerely,

*Angeline Vail*  
Angeline Vail.  
Treasurer.

FIRST CLASS

Permit No. 9160

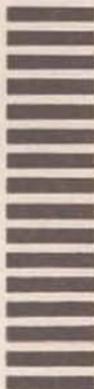
Milwaukee, Wis.

**Business Reply Envelope**

**No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States**

4¢ POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ---

**LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND  
926 NORTH JACKSON STREET  
MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN**



**MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND.**

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND, 926 N. Jackson St., Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin. This money is to be used to defend the Joe Must Go Club and its members, including Leroy Gore, in the legal fight in which they are engaged. This is not a contribution to a political movement, but is to be used to defend the constitutional right of recall as this right has been threatened in the case of the Joe Must Go movement.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY AND STATE: \_\_\_\_\_





THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

HERBERT FRIEDMAN

RABBI (D)

% LEONARD ZUBRENSKY

606 W. WISCONSIN

MILWAUKEE, WIS

YOU ARE A DISGRACE TO THE YIDDISH RACE

**DESTROY**

*All Communists*

**IN AMERICA**

*It's Either*

**THEM OR US!!**

**LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND  
926 NORTH JACKSON STREET  
MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN**

February 19, 1955.

**SPONSORS**

A. W. Bauer  
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August Derleth  
Author  
Sauk City

Herbert Friedman  
Rabbi  
Milwaukee

Earl C. Hall  
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Robert J. Hudson  
M. D.  
Sauk City

Ralph R. Marquardt  
Realtor and  
Insurance Agent  
Sauk City

Leonard Zubrensky  
Attorney  
Milwaukee

**TREASURER**

Angeline Vail  
Housewife  
Milwaukee

To the Sponsors of the Leroy Gore Defense Fund and the officers of the Joe Must Go Club of Wisconsin, Inc:

This is to inform you that the Leroy Gore Defense Fund has received 2135 contributions totalling \$11,216.02.

Thank you letters have been addressed and mailed to all contributors. In addition a duplicate set of envelopes have been addressed to all contributors and set aside for a future mailing.

777 contributions were received from Wisconsin; they totalled \$3,531.98.

Because of the tremendous and prolonged response to the appeal, expenses will run about \$200 higher than was originally estimated. Total expenses will therefore be in the neighborhood of \$1800.

Sincerely,

*Angeline Vail*  
Angeline Vail,  
Treasurer.

**LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND**  
926 NORTH JACKSON STREET  
MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN

SPONSORS

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Salesman  
Sauk City

Ray W. G. Bayley  
Minister  
Prairie du Sac

August Derleth  
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Ralph R. Marquardt  
Realtor and  
Insurance Agent  
Sauk City

Leonard Zubrensky  
Attorney  
Milwaukee

TREASURER

Angeline Vail  
Housewife  
Milwaukee

Dear Friend:

This is to express our heartfelt gratitude for your generous contribution to the Leroy Gore Defense Fund. The response to the appeal so far has been very encouraging. To make absolutely certain, however, that we raise our goal, we would like you to ask your friends to contribute also. Won't you ask them to contribute whatever they can, too?

Again, all the sponsors of the Leroy Gore Defense Fund wish to acknowledge your help in continuing the battle against McCarthyism in his home state. Not only will your support aid in the defense of Leroy Gore and the officers of the JOE MUST GO CLUB, but we feel confident that it will ultimately help to discredit McCarthyism as a political ideology among those who still cling to this anti-democratic philosophy.

Sincerely,

*Angeline Vail*

Angeline Vail  
Treasurer.

P.S. Duplication in our mailing list was unavoidable because of the short amount of time we had to get out an appeal for funds. Consequently, if you receive more than one letter from us, we sincerely hope that you will pass it on to a friend.

**LEROY GORE DEFENSE FUND**  
926 NORTH JACKSON STREET  
MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN  
February 4, 1955.

SPONSORS

A. W. Bauer  
Salesman  
Sauk City

Ray W. G. Bayley  
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Author  
Sauk City

Herbert Friedman  
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Robert J. Hudson  
M. D.  
Sauk City

Ralph R. Marquardt  
Realtor and  
Insurance Agent  
Sauk City

Leonard Zubrensky  
Attorney  
Milwaukee

To the Sponsors of the Leroy Gore Defense Fund  
and the officers of the Joe Must Go Club of  
Wisconsin, Inc.

This is to inform you that the Leroy Gore Defense  
Fund has received 1854 contributions totalling  
\$91,98.00. We anticipate that approximately  
another \$500 will be received during the coming  
week.

Thank you letters have been addressed to all  
contributors and have already been mailed.

717 contributions were received from Wisconsin,  
and they amounted to a total of \$31,198.

Sincerely,  
*Angeline Vail*  
Angeline Vail,  
Treasurer.

TREASURER

Angeline Vail  
Housewife  
Milwaukee

Your friend in South Bend,  
Henry Tofferman, sent us a  
check for \$17

WILLIAM T. EVJUE  
EDITOR & PUBLISHER  
GEORGE R. STEPHENSON  
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

# THE CAPITAL TIMES

MADISON, WISCONSIN

MEMBER  
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS  
THE UNITED PRESS  
THE NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE ASS'N  
THE AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATION

February 10  
1954

M-13

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

First out, may I tell you of my great appreciation of the cordial hospitality that was extended to me at Temple Emanu-El yesterday. It was one of the finest audiences that I have spoken to in some time and it was made all the more inspiring by the fact that I could seem to sense that a big part of the audience was in sympathy with what I was saying. It was an afternoon that I shall long remember.

I want to thank you, too, for the delightful lunch and the opportunity afforded to exchange views with a present day Stephen Wise.

As promised, I am enclosing herewith a skeleton outline of my speech of yesterday. I think that from it you can gain the general purport of my talk. I want to call your attention to paragraph 7 of the talk in which I mentioned public figures who were in the news 40 years ago, before you were born. Along about 1912, William Lorimer of Illinois was elected to the United States senate by the legislature of Illinois,--United States senators were elected by legislatures instead of by direct vote of the people at that time. The Chicago Tribune began a fight against the seating of Lorimer in the United States senate on the ground that he was an unfit person to hold such a high office because he had been elected through corruption in the Illinois legislature.

Sen. Foraker was a member of the United States senate from Ohio. The Hearst press spent \$20,000 to obtain evidence to show that Sen. Foraker was accepting money from the Standard Oil Co. at that time. Foraker was driven into political oblivion because of the Hearst expose.

2.

Rabbi Friedman

Newberry was elected to the senate from Michigan and, believe it or not, the Scripps press of that day held that Newberry was unfit to be a member of the United States senate because \$127,000 had been spent to bring about his election. Newberry was driven from the United States senate because of this charge.

Vare was a Republican political boss in Pennsylvania against whom charges of corruption were made.

My purpose in resurrecting these figures of 40 years ago was to show that the very papers which had a sense of public consciousness 40 years ago and which were always quick to attack corruption in government are today defending those whom they would have denounced 40 years ago.

I feel that I talked too long yesterday. No one should subject an audience to a talk lasting nearly one hour. I was so inspired by the audience' response yesterday that I continued to stray from the set feature of my speech and this, obviously, prolonged my talk.

It was a great pleasure to meet you and to learn that you "belong to my lodge", politically and philosophically speaking. I was tremendously interested in your portrayal of the free spirit that characterized the life of Rabbi Stephen Wise. He was a gallant figure in American life,-- the type so sorely needed today.

In order that you may get the "feel" of The Capital Times, I am going to send to you, with my compliments, the weekly Monday issue of the paper which carries the radio speech which I make over 17 radio stations each Sunday and which is printed in full in the Monday edition. The Monday edition also carries many other special features and articles. We are trying to make this weekly Monday edition a substitute for the people out in Wisconsin who would like to take the daily Capital Times but cannot afford to take two dailies,-- their home town daily and a Madison daily. At the end of the six months period I hope that you will want to continue as a subscriber to this issue.

If you and Mrs. Friedman ever come to Madison, I hope that you will come in and give us a call.

Sincerely yours,

*William W. Egan*  
Editor and Publisher

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
2419 E. Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee, Wis.

OUTLINE OF SPEECH DELIVERED BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE  
at Congregation Emanu-el B'ne Jeshurun,  
2419 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Feb. 9, 1954

I want to talk to you tonight about the fear prevalent in the American scene and which should have the deep concern of every good American. (May I say that I speak out of an experience of 50 years in the field of journalism).

More than 40 years ago the University of Wisconsin class of 1910 left a memorial:

"Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great state University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

Today there is fear and timidity over the campus.

COPY

In a recent article in the New York Times magazine, William O. Douglas, associate justice of the United States supreme court said:

"There is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new approaches. Orthodoxy normally has stood in the path of change. Orthodoxy was always the stronghold of the status quo, the enemy of new ideas. This is alarming to one who loves his country. It means that the philosophy of strength through free speech is being forsaken for the philosophy for fear through repression."

Judge Learned Hand, one of America's greatest jurists, sounded this warning recently:

"I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose."

COPY

On the jacket of a book recently published there appeared these statements:

"Just about the time that families in America began to view television--and to attain the world's highest living standard--the United States succumbed to a dangerous disease. It went to bed with one of the severest cases of hysteria any nation ever suffered. In this present state of American democracy's ill health hallucinations abound. Every government office, scientific laboratory, labor union and academic cloister is accused of harboring godless plotters against the democratic way of life. Never in our lifetimes have American citizens spewed such virulence against American citizens or shown such terror-stricken eagerness to shelter themselves behind barricades from the oft heralded wickedness of their own fellow countrymen. Today we find that, not communism, but the FEAR of communism is the prime enemy of our country,--an enemy insidiously undermining the most cherished democratic institutions. The moral attack on civil liberties is made through operation gag, already successfully choking the inherited freedoms of millions of timid Americans. The greatest danger that threatens us today is the absence and fear of thought."

COPY

1. These words come from a book, "Civil Liberties Under Attack." The book sounded a warning on the present day attack on civil liberties--the chapters were written by professors from Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard and Williams college,--all privately endowed institutions. This is in contrast to the ominous silence which too often prevails in tax-supported state universities on the present estate of civil liberties.

2. I believe one of the big problems facing the country today is the attempt being made to impose a system of thought control on the American people by branding as subversive, disloyal and un-American those who hold views contrary to the views of those who are entrenched in power. George Kennan, in N. D. speech, said that the spirit of totalitarianism--the very thing Americans fought in Hitlerism and are fighting in communism--is gaining ground in this country. All ingredients which were present when Hitler began his rise to power in Germany are present in this country today.

~~(Refer to Bob Allen on Hintonberg)~~

3. I am particularly disturbed over the way in which the mass media of communication, on which the people must depend for facts and information--the press, the movies, radio and television--are being reduced to a level of conformity and are being used to condition the people to a level of fear and acquiescence.

COPY

4. Ours is a representative form of government. Obviously, representative government cannot function properly if the people do not get the facts on which to base an intelligent public opinion. Can the people get the facts where the press, the movies, the radio and television are so overwhelmingly at the service of concentrated finance and economic power and so little to the public welfare?

5. What has happened to the press? Tell of survey made by American Association of Teachers of Journalism under Dr. Raymond V. Nixon:

A. There were 1394 cities in the U.S. having daily newspapers and in each of 1103 of these cities, there was only one newspaper. Milwaukee had seven papers: Every small town had its Republican and Democratic papers.

B. There are 10 states in the United States in which there is not a single city having more than one daily newspaper.

C. From 1930 to 1944, the total daily newspaper circulation rose from 39 million to 46 million,-- a gain of 17 per cent, while the number of dailies dropped more than 10 per cent,--a decrease of 2200 papers.

COPY

6. What happens when publishers become smug and comfortable? Under one newspaper setup newspapers become valuable properties. Naturally, they are satisfied with things as they are. They become adverse to change because they are the beneficiaries of the status quo. They become willing accomplices in the game of placing the label of subversiveness on those who advocate any changes in our social order and seek to make life better for more people. The press has played a big part in reducing the people to conformity and acquiescence.
7. Tell of decline of sense of public morality in One Party Press:
- A. Chicago Tribune fight on Lorimer
  - B. A Hearst press expose of Sen. Foraker
  - C. Scripps-Howard press. Difference between social-minded Scripps and dollar-minded Roy Howard. Newberry and Vare.
8. Today the same press that denounced senators like Lorimer, Foraker, Vare and Newberry and said that they were unfit to hold seats in the United States Senate are now defending those who would today be denied seats if we still had the political conscience and sense of public morality that prevailed decades ago. Let's look at the record of our junior senator?

COPY

9. Let's look at the record.

- A. The man who today presides over the United States senate was, while a United States senator, a beneficiary of an \$18,000 fund set up by wealthy men in California interested in legislation before the senate.
- B. A senator from Indiana received \$12,000 in military disability pay to which he was not entitled while a member of the United States senate. He is the man who led the fight to open the records of those on relief.
- C. A mysterious lobbyist who has since served time in jail was the go-between in carrying \$5,000 for the campaign fund of a senator in North Dakota and \$5,000 for the campaign fund of a senator in California.
- D. A Texas oil multi-millionaire contributed \$53,000 to the campaign funds of 10 candidates for the United States senate and 12 members of the house in 1952.

COPY

10. Let's take a look at the record of our own junior senator from Wisconsin.

- A. In 1941, he was denounced by the Wisconsin supreme court for destroying notes in the Quaker dairy case that should have been a part of the record sent up to the supreme court on appeal.
- B. While sitting on the circuit court bench and while he was at the same time a candidate for the United States senate, he handed down quickie divorces to political friends in this city.
- C. He failed to report \$42,000 of income on his '43 tax return and he failed to pay a dime on a total income of \$66,000 in state income taxes in the four years, '46 to '49.
- D. State board of bar examiners recommended that he be disciplined for running as candidate for United States senator while still sitting on the circuit court bench. Our state constitution provides that votes cast for a supreme court or circuit judge running for an office other than that of judge shall be declared null and void.
- E. The Wisconsin supreme court denounced him on the charge that he had violated his oath as an attorney and as a judge.

10. McCarthy and these senators voted for the tidelands oil bill, the oil depletion bill and the natural gas bill. Natural gas bill importance to Wisconsin.

11. Show how the movies no longer dare to produce pictures of any social significance -- afraid of investigating committees descending on on Hollywood. Elmer Rice, playwright.

12. Show how television is becoming a One Party television

A. Of the first 108 licenses granted, only three

had any coloration of liberalism, - *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, The Louisville Courier-Journal and The Milwaukee Journal*

B. The present trafficking in television licenses:

1. Radio Cincinnati, owned by Taft family, purchased television station WTVN, Columbus, for \$1,500,000. The president of the Cincinnati station is a cousin of Sen. Taft. Television license big consideration.

2. The General Telerado, owner of WOR-TV, New York, merged with Thomas Lee Enterprises. It was announced that the deal had the effect of placing control of the Mutual Broadcasting System to the General Tire & Rubber Co.

The Macey store was paid \$3,850,000 in the deal.

(12 Cont)

3. The Meredith Publishing Co. bought a television property in Omaha for \$2,525,000 and one in Phoenix, Ariz., for \$1,500,000. Five stations.

4. Tell about the \$900,000 deal in Albuquerque and the part played by Wayne Coy.

5. Tell of \$6 million Paramount ABC deal.

C. I believe the present trafficking in television licenses at prices running into the millions of dollars is against good public policy -- I do not believe that anyone who is fortunate enough to be granted a television license should be permitted to take it out in the open market and knock it down to the highest bidder, running into the millions -- I believe that the Communications Commission should not approve the sale of any television station where it is evident that the television license is a primary consideration in the deal. Local \$200,000

COPY

13. I believe that the One Party press, the One Party movies, and One Party radio and television constitute a menace to the spirit of free inquiry and free discussion on which our American way of life is based. I repeat,--we cannot have a representative form of government unless the people have facts and information on which to base an intelligent opinion.

A. Press, movies, radio and television being used to instill fear in people and reduce them to conformity and acquiescence.

14. People will return to the moorings of sanity and reason.

A. Three score and 10.

1. Strike at Merrill -- Socialism -- Fear
2. Convention of 1912 -- Suffrage -- Socialism -- Fear
3. 1917 -- La Follette -- Progressivism -- Fear
4. Al Smith -- Romanism -- Fear
5. Communism

COPY

I stand by the traditional American principles of freedom  
voiced by Walt Whitman, who said:

"I say discuss all and expose all. I am for every  
topic openly. I say there can be no safety for  
these states without free tongues and ears willing  
to hear the tongues. I announce as a glory of  
these states that they respectfully listen to  
propositions, reforms and fresh views from  
successions of men and women. Each age with its  
own growth."

COPY

SAMUEL GOLDENBERG

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW

735 NORTH WATER STREET

MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN

MARQUETTE 8-5171

December 2, 1953

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
c/o Congregation Emanu-El-B-ne Geshurun  
2419 East Kenwood Boulevard  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

Enclosed are the following articles which I thought you would be interested in.

1. Address by Supreme Court Justice Douglas delivered on November 24, 1953.
2. The statement by President Eisenhower on November 23, 1953.
3. The very interesting article by Lillie Shultz on Return to Israel dated November 13, 1953.
4. One of the most interesting as well as scholarly articles on the Right to Counsel by Charles Alan Wright, Professor of Law at the University of Minnesota.
5. A Boston churchman challenges the witch-hunters.

Respectfully yours,

*Samuel Goldenberg*

Samuel Goldenberg

SG:hgh  
Enclosures

people—a tax burden necessary to build up our defenses. They were in effect signing the draft call for the hundreds of thousands of young men who have been called to military duty. They were setting the stage for future wars and were signing the death warrants of unknown numbers of Americans. Therefore, practically every issue which we face today from high taxes to the shameful mess in Korea is inextricably interwoven with the Communist issue.

Democrat office seekers from the Atlantic to the Pacific have been proclaiming that McCarthyism is the issue in this campaign. In a way, I guess, it is, because, Republican control of the Senate determines whether I shall continue as chairman of the investigating committee.

Therefore, if the American people agree with Truman, they have a chance to get rid of me as chairman of the investigating committee next fall by defeating any Republican up for election.

If the American people, on the other hand, believe in the necessity of digging out and getting rid of the type of Communists who have been before our committee, if they believe, as I do, that treason, dishonesty and stupidity should be exposed, wherever and whenever found, regardless of the party label, then their answer is to keep the Republicans in power so we may continue to clean out the Aegean stables.

But now let us take a look at the Republican Party. Unfortunately in some cases our batting average has not been too good.

Before looking at some of the cases in which our batting average is zero, let me make it clear that I think the new Administration is doing a job so infinitely better than the Truman-Acheson regime that there is absolutely no comparison.

For example, the new Administration in the first 10 months in office has gotten rid of 1,456 Truman holdovers who are all security risks and over 90 per cent of the 1,456 security risks were gotten rid of because of Communist connections and activities or perversion; 1,456. I would say an excellent record for the time President Eisenhower has been in office.

## FAILURES OF REPUBLICANS

However, let us glance at a few cases where we struck out. For example, we still have John Paton Davies on the pay roll after 11 months of the Eisenhower Administration. And who is John Paton Davies? John Paton Davies was (1) part and parcel of the old Acheson-Lattimore-Vincent-White-Hiss group which did so much toward delivering our Chinese friends into the Communist hands; (2) he was unanimously referred by the McCarran Committee to the Justice Department in connection with a proposed indictment because he lied under oath about his activities in trying to put Communists and espionage agents in key spots in the Central Intelligence Agency. The question which we ask is, why is this man still a high official in our Government after 11 months of Republican Administration?

Let us examine the failure of my party, if we may, to liquidate the powerless bankruptcy of the Democrat Administration. On Sept. 12, 1953, the Chinese Communists announced that they would not treat as prisoners of war American fliers who were shot down during the Korean war, over Manchuria. On Sept. 10, 1953, the Army announced that some 900 American young men known to have been prisoners of the Communists in Korea were still unaccounted for. Unaccounted for as of tonight, my good friends.

Well, why do I bring this situation up tonight in talking about the Republican Party? The Republican Party did not create the situation, I admit. We inherited it. But we are responsible for the proper handling of this situation as of tonight. And what are we going to do about it? Are we going to continue to send perfumed notes following the style of the Truman-Acheson regime? Or are we going to take the only position that an honorable nation can take—namely,

that every uniformed American packed the pride, and the honor and the power of this nation on his shoulders?

Millions of people in my radio and television audience tonight will recall that even in grade school your hearts beat a bit faster and you felt a great surge of pride when you heard in song, "This is the land of the free and the home of the brave." But let me ask you, how free are we? How free are we when American aviators fighting under the American flag at this very moment, on Nov. 24, 1953, are being brain washed, starved or murdered behind a bamboo curtain? How brave are we when we do not use all the power of this nation to rescue those airmen and the 900 other military men who have been unaccounted for for months.

I realize, of course, the low ebb to which our honor has sunk over the past 20 years. It is time that we, the Republican Party, liquidate this bloodstained blunder of the Acheson-Truman regime. We promised the American people something different. It's up to us now to deliver. Not next year, next month. Let us deliver now, my good friends.

## BRITISH TRADE WITH ENEMY?

How are we going to do it? Once a nation has let itself be reduced to a state of whining, whimpering appeasement, the cost of regaining national honor may be very high, but we must regain our national honor, regardless of what it costs. Now, I know it is easy to talk in general terms about what can be done. Let's be specific.

As you know, we have been voting billions of dollars each year whereby our allies build up their military and economic strength so that they can help in this day-to-day struggle between the free half of the world and the Communist slave half. If that money we give them is being used for that purpose, then it is well spent. If not, then those allies are defrauding us. How does that affect you? As of today, Britain used that money from your pay check to pay for the shipment of the sinews of war to Red China. What can we do about that?

We can deal a death blow to the warmaking power of Communist China. We can, without firing a single shot, force the Communists in China to open their filthy Communist dungeons and release every American. We can blockade the coast of China without using a single ship, a single sailor or a single gun.

In this connection, I ought to point out that Lloyds of London, the outfit that keeps track of shipping—according to their records, the shipments to Red China for this year have increased over 1,500 per cent over what they were last year. But what can we do about it? We can handle this by saying this to our allies: "If you continue to ship to Red China while they are imprisoning and torturing American men, you will get not one cent of American money."

If we do that, my good friends, this trading in blood money will cease, no question about that. But I see time is running out. Let me remind you that, when the smoke screen of false political righteousness is raised against McCarthyism by Harry Truman or anyone else singing in his choir of deceit, remember that he, Truman stands on his record as an individual and as a President.

He promoted Harry Dexter White, Russian spy. He fired Gen. Douglas MacArthur, one of the greatest living Americans. In conclusion, I'd like to quote, as well as I can remember, Abraham Lincoln, who, in discussing the only way this nation could ever be destroyed, said: "All the armies of Europe and Asia combined with all the wealth of the world in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander and a trial of a thousand years, could not place one foot upon the Blue Ridge Mountains, could not take one drink from the Ohio River." As Lincoln said: "And whence then will danger come? If this nation is to be destroyed, it will be destroyed from within; if it is not destroyed from within, it will live for all time to come."

# COMMUNISTS HERE AND ABROAD

by Supreme Court Justice Douglas

Here is an attack by a Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court on some of the methods now being used to combat Communism.

Justice William O. Douglas, who has traveled widely in Asia, gives his reasons why

Communism is succeeding there, and decries the "witch hunts" and "hysteria" at home.

His speech before the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Philadelphia is presented here in full text.

*Following is the full text of an address by William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, before the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1953:*

I was reading the other day an account of the trial of William Penn in London in 1670. His meeting house on Grace Church Street had been closed by the police. So he held the service in the street before its closed doors. William Penn was arrested and charged with a crime. The charge was that he made such a tumult in preaching that he caused a breach of the peace. But the only evidence of disorderliness was the force used by the police to break up the meeting. The jury refused to convict. The judge threatened the jury, first locking them up without food, heat, or drink, and in the end fining them and putting them in jail. But his coercive tactics were to no avail. Finally the judge, bemoaning the jury's obstinacy and the unbending attitude of this sturdy Quaker, said:

"Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us till something like unto the Spanish Inquisition be in England."

Thereupon the judge put William Penn in jail over the good man's strenuous objections that he had been acquitted by the jury. The judge took a short cut. Disregarding law and legal procedure, he committed Penn to jail for contempt of court! Penn's only contempt was his protest against the injustice of the trial. Thus passion and hysteria seized a court and brought the full power of government against an unpopular minority in the dark days of Charles the Second.

Today we are taking short cuts as dangerous as the one taken against William Penn.

We are condemning men and women on the basis of hearsay, innuendo, and guilt by association. We do not, of course, take this short cut to send people to death. But we use it for purposes almost as devastating—to ruin the reputations of citizens and to deprive them of their livelihoods.

We put a cloak of anonymity over a growing underground of informers. Men are adjudged on the whispered accusations of faceless people not known to the accused.

Reports whose sources are kept secret and never disclosed are used publicly to condemn and destroy people.

The privacy of the home is increasingly invaded by wire tappers whose footsteps are never heard, who do not unlock a door but who search the place as effectively as though they were present in person.

## 'WITCH-HUNTING'

A Communist, one with Communist affiliations, one with leftist tendencies, a socialist, a liberal, or just a plain Yankee

who does not like this business of the witch-hunt and who shouts his protest—these are all put in the same classification.

Anxieties and suspicions are aroused until a community does not know what to believe or whom to trust, until even old neighbors suspect one another. More and more people conclude that the only safe thing to do is to conform: either to stand silent or to join the hunt.

Many of these practices have unfortunately been held to be within the letter of the law. But even when lawyers and judges justify them, they violate, I submit, the ideals of freedom which we profess. They repudiate the standards of decency, fair play, and tolerance which are the fundamentals of our tradition.

The moving declaration on the "Dignity of Man" made by the Roman Catholic Bishops the other day, the ringing reaffirmation of the rights of man issued by the General Council of the Presbyterian Church a few weeks ago, the Quakers' recent plea for freedom of conscience and liberty under law—these are the true articles of the American faith. And though the law may not always reflect those principles, it will in time respond to them. Merchants of hate do not represent the conscience, the soul, the tolerance of Americans, our faith in the dignity of man, our belief in fair play. Any witch-hunt bothers the conscience of America. That is why our people will soon have done with these short cuts and not let the fever of passion and distrust possess us for long.

Meanwhile this decline in our respect for the Bill of Rights at home is having serious effect both abroad and at home. It is making us suspect abroad. At home it is depriving us of the perspective, the balance, the wisdom, and the tolerance that are necessary if we are to help enlist the peoples of the world on the democratic front and work with them in the cause of peace.

## PROBLEMS OF ASIA

Illustrations could be drawn from any one of the continents where the free world has acute problems. Perhaps Asia is as good as any place to start.

Asia is in great turbulence. She is churned with unorthodox ideas. The peoples there are on the march under various banners. The slogans, campaign speeches, and political pronouncements take forms that to the West often sound strange, if not bizarre; disquieting, if not alarming.

To understand the political climate of Asia, four influences or factors must be kept in mind.

First. The peoples of Asia have long suffered from an inequality of status. For centuries they were governed by white men who did not give them equal rights. Discrimination on account of race or color was long practiced. "Natives

Not Allowed" was the sign seen at clubs, golf courses, and the like. The peoples of Asia are proud and sensitive. These indignities cut deep and left scars that will be manifest a long time.

**Second.** The peoples of Asia look on capitalism as an instrument for the exploitation of the multitudes for the benefit of a few. They have never known free enterprise as we know it. Here we look with pride on a capitalistic system which has unleashed the inventive genius of men, brought prosperity to whole communities, given labor as well as management and investors a fair participation, and raised the standard of living of the entire nation. Asia knows only an exploitive capitalism that returned 25 per cent, 50 per cent, or even 100 per cent a year to the investors. Little was returned to the community where the money was made. Labor standards were kept low. Unions were outlawed. Profits were not used to build schools or hospitals nor to raise the standard of living of the people. Asia's experience with capitalism is one reason why Asia is predominantly socialist today.

**Third.** Asia—a continent exploited and looked down on by the West—for centuries suffered from poverty, misery, misgovernment, and denial of civil rights. The injustices Asia has suffered are greater than any we have ever known. In the last few decades a complex of forces produced powerful revolutions. These were in part revolutions for independence; in part, revolutions against landlords and other powerful interests; in part, revolutions against political controls that kept generation after generation in poverty and subjugation. The ideas of Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt supplied some impetus to these revolutions. But their main inspiration came from the success of the Russian Revolution and from the growing power of the Communists in Red China. Moreover, these Asian countries lay close to Russia and Red China. Communist propagandists were ready with revolutionary literature. We of the West had one of the most glorious of all revolutions. But we had no Thomas Paines in Asia during the twentieth century.

**Fourth.** Many of the intellectuals of Asia became steeped in the Marxist creed as they searched for ways and means of conducting their own revolutions. But though many turned to Marxism for study, few actually embraced it as a political creed. Most of them indeed developed an aversion for the techniques and tactics which Communism employs. Violence, terror, gun play, the big lie, and other similar political tactics run against the grain of most people. The Asians are no exception. As a result there are not many Communists in the free countries of Asia. In India there are probably not over 40,000 out of nearly 400 million people. Yet even Asians who reject the political tactics of Communism have a tolerance for Marxist theory not known in the West. While they fear Russian imperialism, they believe that all Communist governments will eventually go the way of Yugoslavia and develop indigenous socialist regimes that are more respectful of the rights of man than Russia has ever been under either the Czars or the Kremlin.

These four factors have produced in Asia attitudes that the Communist regimes of that continent—oppressive as they are—are not wholly evil. Let me illustrate.

An Indian who visits a Russian city in Central Asia sees it through different eyes than we probably would. His starting point is not the towns or cities of Europe or America, but the typical Indian village of mud huts, poverty, and disease—a place that has no hospitals, doctors, or clinics, no sanitary water supply, no schools, no playgrounds or parks. The Indian sees the Russian city as something that is a great advance over what Central Asia has ever known. He rejects the political tactics of the Communists and their godless creed. Yet he gives Russia credit for raising the standard of living of the men and women at the bottom of Asian society. He points out that the infant-mortality rate in Central Asia has dropped markedly. He knows Commu-

nism is cruel. Yet he points out that the poverty of Asia's villages also exacts a heavy toll in human life through the babies that die of dysentery and malnutrition. He concedes that we Americans would not get a fair exchange if we surrendered our freedom for Communism. But the villagers of Asia, he says, do not yet have the freedom to eat. Those who do not have that freedom may not be so discriminating.

This "leftist" talk sounds "subversive" and downright dangerous in the environment we are creating in this country. Those who do not inveigh as loudly against Russia and Red China as we do must be secretly on the other side and against us. Those who embrace socialism and denounce capitalism must be part of the world conspiracy to destroy America and American free enterprise. Those in Asia who think that creeping socialism is too conservative and that only galloping socialism will save the day are men to suspect and avoid.

So it is that we are more and more inclined to think of Asians as Americans who have gone wrong. We look for more congenial allies. They are easy to find—the colonial French, Chiang Kai-shek, and others who represent Asia's *status quo*. These are safe allies because they are not "leftist" or "subversive." The unorthodox peoples of Asia are far more "leftist" in their politics than many whom we pillory at home.

So it is that in Asian eyes we become more and more identified with the *status quo*. So it is that in our eyes Asians who demand their revolutions their own way become more and more the dupes of the Communists or even their undisclosed agents or spokesmen.

## EAST-WEST GULF

The gulf between us and the Asian people continues to widen. Misunderstandings multiply. Asia does not get to know either the warm heart and the bright conscience of America or our great capacity for friendship. We in turn fail to realize that beneath the unorthodox talk and "leftist" political creeds of Asia, there are democratic ideals as vital and enduring as those we know in America. The parliamentary traditions which Burma, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines have developed in the few years of their independence should be evidence enough.

I have said enough to indicate the gulf between the two continents. Though our basic values are, I think, the same, there is no real intellectual nexus between us. We speak different languages with different overtones and emphasis. At the present rate the oncoming generation in Asia and the oncoming generation in the West will be farther apart than their fathers and mothers presently are.

There is no one way in which this trend can be reversed. The answer of course does not lie wholly on this side of the Pacific. But this is the place where we can start, where we must start.

We need not, we should not adopt Asia's political creeds as our own. Nor need we agree with Asia in her philosophy or approach. But we must have understanding and tolerance. We must become as generous in our tolerance for the unorthodox ideas of Asia as we have been generous with our fortunes and with our military commitments. Only a tolerance for a host of unorthodox creeds will give us the wisdom to solve the political problem on which the chances of peace turn. Unless we develop that tolerance we will be driven more and more to a lonely isolationism.

## WINNING THE PEACE

This problem of foreign policy therefore starts at home with our Bill of Rights. The decline in our prestige abroad can indeed be correlated to the disrespect we have shown the rights of man here at home. We cannot blanket this coun-

try with fear and suspicion and at the same time be tolerant abroad. We have frightened people here at home so that they fear the unorthodox idea.

As the Presbyterians recently stated: "Treason and dissent are being confused. The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has the right to enter, is being invaded." An ominous silence has settled on many campuses of the country. Professors and students alike are afraid. Who next will be pilloried as a "subversive"? When will the lights of television be cast on him who espoused a "leftist" cause? Who next will be banished to the outer darkness?

A nation in this frame of mind, officials who are on a witch-hunt, men, women, and children who are suspicious of each other cannot be tolerant abroad. They will fear abroad what they fear and suspect at home. Those who are intolerant of minorities at home will not be tolerant of those who embrace unorthodox views abroad.

We may win the war even though we continue to practice and preach hate and suspicion at home. But if we continue those practices, we will never win the peace. For we cannot win the peace unless we maintain a position of moral

authority in the world. To do that we must have done with the witch-hunt and the merchants of hate.

We will not lose the peace because the Communist opposition is strong and formidable. Communism is not strong either as a secular religious faith or as a program of political action. In no free election in any country has it ever won.

But we will lose the peace if we continue to emulate the judge in William Penn's case and sacrifice our ideals of liberty for a miserable political advantage which a campaign of hate and suspicion temporarily gives.

The peace can be won only if we respect our fundamental principles:

(1) Those who are for the rights of man have the real, the enduring strength in the world.

(2) The unity of a religious faith and the democratic political theory offer a universal fraternity and supply a force that no power can ever destroy.

*The Catholic Bishops' statement referred to by Justice Douglas appears on page 114. The Presbyterian statement was published in U. S. News & World Report for Nov. 13, 1953.*

## SENATE HEARING: WHO RECEIVED FBI WARNINGS?

*Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary, met at 2:15 p.m., Nov. 23, 1953, in the Old Supreme Court Room, the Capitol, Washington, D. C., Senator John M. Butler (Rep.), of Maryland, presiding.*

*Present also: Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director.*

### TEXT OF HEARING FOLLOWS:

**Senator Butler:** The committee will come to order.

**Mr. Morris,** will you please proceed?

**Mr. Morris:** Mr. Chairman, in connection with the meeting today, this committee has asked the Attorney General to supply information on the dissemination of security reports on the following:

Harold Glasser, Frank Coe, Victor Perlo and Solomon Adler.

I am prepared, Mr. Chairman, today, to read a letter from the Attorney General, at least from the Attorney General's office, on the dissemination of security reports on Harold Glasser.

**Senator Butler:** Will you please proceed, Mr. Morris?

**Mr. Morris:** We have been promised that the documentary records on Mr. Coe, Mr. Adler and Mr. Perlo will be forthcoming, but they are not complete enough for me to report on today, sir.

This relates to dissemination of letter of Nov. 8, 1945, the report of Nov. 27, 1945, and memorandum of Feb. 1, 1946. That is the preface, Mr. Chairman.

"The letter addressed to General Vaughan by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Nov. 8, 1945, set forth in the testimony of the Attorney General to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on Nov. 17, 1953, was not given any further dissemination by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"The report of Nov. 27, 1945, by the Federal Bureau of Investigation entitled 'Summary of Soviet Espionage in the United States,' to which the Attorney General also referred in the same testimony, was disseminated on Dec. 4, 1945, to Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, then Military Aide to the President; James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State; Tom Clark, then Attorney General.

On Dec. 7, 1945, copies were also sent to James V. Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy; Spruille Braden, then Assistant Secretary of State. Copies of the report bearing the date of Dec. 12, 1945, were furnished to Admiral William D. Leahy, then Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the White House, on Feb. 20, 1946; Lieut. Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, then Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, War Department, on Feb. 26, 1946; Fred M. Vinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, on March 5, 1946; Fred Lyon, then Chief, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State, on March 15, 1946; and to the then Attorney General, Tom Clark, on July 24, 1946.

"Copies of the memorandum of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of Feb. 1, 1946, on Harry Dexter White, were delivered on Feb. 4, 1946, to Brig. Gen. Vaughan for the information of the President, and to Mr. Frederick B. Lyon, Division of Controls, Department of State, for the immediate attention of Mr. James Byrnes, Secretary of State. A copy of this memorandum was sent to Attorney General Clark on Feb. 6, 1946.

"The report of Nov. 27, 1945, to which the Attorney General referred in his testimony of Nov. 17, 1953, contains references to Solomon Adler, Harold Glasser and Victor Perlo. Dissemination of this report has been separately indicated.

"The data regarding the dissemination of reports mentioned herein were furnished to the Attorney General by the Federal Bureau of Investigation by memorandum dated Aug. 4, 1948. The FBI has been requested to furnish any dissemination additional to the foregoing which may be contained in its records and these will be furnished to your committee as soon as received from the Bureau."

Mr. Chairman, that would show that the dissemination of the report of November 27, which contained the name of Harold Glasser, was furnished to officials in the State Department and the Secretary of the Treasury. And you will notice that Mr. Glasser was promoted subsequent to the time of this report, and in addition he was recommended by the State Department to accompany Secretary of State Marshall to attend the Foreign Ministers Council conference in Moscow in 1947.

# PRESIDENT DEFENDS RIGHT TO 'MEET ACCUSERS FACE TO FACE'

*Following is the text of the address by President Dwight D. Eisenhower after receiving the America's Democratic Legacy Award at the annual dinner of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Washington, D. C., Nov. 23, 1953:*

For such an award, from such a group, I shall ever be grateful. No matter how unworthy any individual may be, no matter how much he may appreciate his own shortcomings in attaining the ideals in which he himself believes, it is still a moment of the most intense satisfaction when some organization standing as it does—as this one does—for the great human rights, chooses to present its annual emblem to that individual. So I thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, for many years I have been served by able staffs, in war and in peace. I have a staff now of which I am intensely proud. It is composed of individuals who are capable, efficient and they are dedicated to my welfare, and to my success. They are always anxious that I do well, no matter where I appear. And tonight was no exception. I have been briefed and briefed—and briefed. I have heard more lectures on civil liberties, the people who have stood for them, the dangers to them; and what I should say to you.

Now, from the beginning, I was aware of one thing—possibly two, I should say. First: Any man who has been served by staffs, no matter how dedicated he is, must learn when to say, No. And secondly: I knew that I was appearing before a body of experts, and I was not going to talk about something of which they knew a lot more than I do.

And so, with your indulgence, I want to tell you about an idea that came to me as I was sitting here this evening. When I saw the array of artists appearing on the stage, there suddenly came back to me an old Fourth of July statement—all the speeches that men used to make on the Fourth of July. Now I am not going to take up your time with the two hours that they used to spend in getting to the only punch line that they had: I am proud to be an American.

As you looked at that array of artists, weren't you proud that a man's ability, or a lady's ability, entitled them to appear before such a body as this?

Now, why are we proud? Are we proud because we have the richest acres in the world? I have heard that the Nile Valley is one of the richest places in the world—now it has a great nation; but do you want to give up your citizenship for that of a nation that has merely the richest ground, the richest minerals underneath its soil? I have heard that the European annual production on its acres is about double that of ours, by reason of their devoted work—hand work on their farms. But we don't want to be citizens of Europe. We don't want to go any place, even if their buildings are older than ours, or their culture is older, or they are more sophisticated. We love America.

Why are we proud? We are proud, first of all, because from the beginning of this nation, a man can walk upright, no matter who he is, or who she is. He can walk upright and meet his friend—or his enemy; and he does not feel that because that enemy may be in a position of great power that he can be suddenly thrown in jail to rot there without

charges and with no recourse to justice. We have the Habeas Corpus Act, and we respect it.

I was raised in a little town of which most of you have never heard. But in the West it is a famous place. It is called Abilene, Kans. We had as our marshal for a long time a man named Wild Bill Hickok. If you don't know anything about him, read your Westerns more. Now that town had a code, and I was raised as a boy to prize that code.

It was: Meet anyone face to face with whom you disagree. You could not sneak up on him from behind, or do any damage to him, without suffering the penalty of an outraged citizenry. If you met him face to face and took the same risks he did, you could get away with almost anything, as long as the bullet was in the front.

And today, although none of you has the great fortune, I think, of being from Abilene, Kans., you live after all by that same code, in your ideals and in the respect you give to certain qualities. In this country, if someone dislikes you, or accuses you, he must come up in front. He cannot hide behind the shadow. He cannot assassinate you or your character from behind, without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose.

Now, you know, I must go back for a moment to what I said a while ago. I picked up my own subject as I came here. The only responsibility I have is to watch some individual in front of me, who has cards after I have used up all my time [television prompter]. I just notice he says, "Go ahead, it's all right."

I would not want to sit down this evening without urging one thing: If we are going to continue to be proud that we are Americans, there must be no weakening of the code by which we have lived; by the right to meet your accuser face to face, if you have one; by your right to go to the church or the synagogue, or even the mosque, of your own choosing; by your right to speak your mind and be protected in it.

Ladies and gentlemen, the things that make us proud to be Americans are of the soul and of the spirit. They are not the jewels we wear, or the furs we buy, the houses we live in, the standard of living, even, that we have. All these things are wonderful to the esthetic and to the physical senses.

But let us never forget that the deep things that are American are the soul and the spirit. The Statue of Liberty is not tired, and not because it is made of bronze. It is because, no matter what happens, here the individual is dignified because he is created in the image of his God. Let us not forget it.

I am not going to try to be spectacular and ask you all to rise in imitation of the allegiance to the flag, which inspired the old Fourth of July statements, as I once did when I was 6 years old in the McKinley campaign. A good Republican won that year. We all said, after the speaker, "I am proud to be an American."

But if I could leave with you one thought, you not only will repeat it every day of your life, but you will say, "I will do my part to make it always true, for my children and my grandchildren."

# CATHOLIC BISHOPS OBJECT TO 'DEPERSONALIZING' THE STATE

## Call for New Concept of Human Dignity and Freedom

**What can religion do to help put the world in order? Can government, politics, social theories benefit from religious thought?**

**Here, in full text, are answers from the Catholic bishops of the United States. They tell**

**their views on socialism, Communism, collectivism, as well as individual rights.**

**The statement of the bishops, entitled "The Dignity of Man," was issued after a meeting of the Catholic bishops in Washington, D. C.**

*Here is the full text of the statement issued by the Catholic Bishops of the United States at the close of their annual meeting November 18-20, at Washington, D. C.*

*The statement was signed by the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, whose members are: Edward Cardinal Mooney, Detroit; Samuel Cardinal Stritch, Chicago; Francis Cardinal Spellman, New York; James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, Los Angeles; Karl J. Alter, Archbishop of Cincinnati; John J. Mitty, Archbishop of San Francisco; Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston; Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington; John F. O'Hara, Archbishop of Philadelphia; John F. Noll, Archbishop-Bishop of Fort Wayne; Emmet M. Walsh, Bishop of Youngstown; Thomas K. Gorman, Coadjutor Bishop of Dallas; Matthew F. Brady, Bishop of Manchester, and Michael J. Ready, Bishop of Columbus. The statement follows:*

Every man knows instinctively that he is, somehow, a superior being. He knows he is superior to the land he tills, the machine he operates or the animals which are at his service. Even when unable to define this superiority in terms of "honor and dignity," if a man enjoys the fruits of his nobility, he is content and accepts that status as his due; lacking honor and dignity for any cause, a man is restless, depressed, even rebellious because something proper to him, as a man, is withheld or denied.

The Catholic Church has always taught and defended the natural dignity of every human being. She has preached the burden of individual responsibility and has insisted upon the importance of personal conscience. She has reminded mankind that there is a great division between "things" and "men." She has never forgotten that "things" were made for men and that "men" were made for God.

In thus holding up a mirror to men that they may see their own greatness and realize their personal dignity, the Catholic Church has taught that man's true honor is from God, has been enhanced spiritually by divine grace and is preserved without degradation only when the honor and dignity of God Himself are first maintained.

Often in times past men have failed to live up to the honor of their state. They have degraded their dignity in many ways. But, always till now, violence and vice, injustice and oppression or any other assaults on human dignity were recognized as abominations and were so abhorred. It has remained for our day to attempt to disregard human personality and to fortify such disregard with the force of legislation or the approbation of custom, as if a man were only a "thing." The present has been described as a rationally established inhumanity working with all the expedients of administrative

and mechanical techniques. Our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, in his 1952 Christmas allocution, gave warning of the attempted mechanization of mankind and protested the stripping of personality from men by legal or social devices. The Bishops of the United States, conscious of the growing depersonalization of man, reaffirm man's essential dignity and reassert the rights which flow from it.

Man's essential worth derives from a threefold source: from the fact of his creation, from the mode of his existence, and from the nobility of his destiny.

The mere fact that any creature exists at all requires the creative and sustaining power of God. When God exercises this power to summon any possible reality into actual existence, that reality is thereby sealed with value from within. Such a dignity man shares with the animal and material world around him.

But his special type of existence confers on man a special claim to honor. Though immersed in a universe of fleeting and random sensations, he is endowed with an intellect able to pierce the flux of passing images and discover beneath them enduring patterns of truth. Though subjected to the pressures of his environment, and a prey to unthinking appetites, he is endowed with a self-determining will capable of choosing wisely within the framework of law.

Intellect and will, then, are man's distinctive adornments. It is their distinctive role to allow a finite creature to grasp truth consciously and to choose goodness freely, and thus to mirror the Infinite Creator Who is conscious Truth and absolute Goodness.

Man's natural honor, however, has been enhanced by grace, conferred at creation, lost through sin, but restored through the Incarnation and Redemption of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. When the Son of God took human flesh as an instrument of salvation, all human flesh was honored by His association with it. Through His death and resurrection Christ demonstrated the role and destiny, the honor and dignity of every man for whom He lived and suffered. Since those days of Christ on earth, no man lives by his body alone, nor by the natural powers of his soul alone; every man is sanctified, made holy, made more worthy and more honorable by the enjoyment of the special spiritual life which flows from the Cross, or by the possibility that this life will one day be his, to raise him above the limitations of nature, to honor him in unending union with the God Who became man.

Such is the triple fountain of man's dignity. To the extent these truths cease to energize the sense of reverence in every man, assaults upon the majesty of the human person must increase and intensify. Heedless that his nature has God for

# BRITISH PLOT

## Return to Israel . . . by Lillie Shultz

*United Nations, November 13*

TO THE plot and counter-plot against peace in the Middle East must now be added that perennial trouble-maker—the search for an outlet to the sea, this time by Britain. Britain needs a permanent replacement for its largest base in Egypt, which would simultaneously allow it to garrison troops, provide an outlet to the eastern Mediterranean, and give easy access to its bases in Tripoli, Libya, Jordan, Iraq, Cyprus, and Kenya. Standing between Britain and this desire is Israel.

Since Britain's ultimate departure from Egypt is inevitable, where is the substitute for Suez? Jordan seemingly is the natural place for a number of reasons. The country is almost completely a British protectorate. Created by Britain in 1922, it was administered under the Palestine mandate until 1946 when Britain granted it "independence." Britain supplies two-thirds of the £14,000,000 budget of the country. Its funds maintain the Arab Legion, British led and British trained. Even today Jordan depends almost entirely for its foreign currency on the British subsidy, the openly acknowledged part of which is about £9,000,000, and on the funds brought in by the United Nations Works and Relief Agency. Moreover, Britain already has three bases in Jordan, at Amman and Mafrag in the north, now being expanded, and in the south at Aqaba, with its outlet to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. But Jordan does not have an outlet to the Mediterranean.

How is Britain to get that outlet? Two possibilities exist. The first is to obtain access to Haifa in Israel. To achieve this, it needs: (a) permission from Jordan to move its forces into the Nablus triangle, the area of former Arab Palestine annexed by Jordan in April, 1950, a move which would bring the British within twenty-four miles of Haifa; (b) consent from Israel.

But there are obstacles. First, Britain must create the conditions under which

consent could be obtained from both parties. To be sure, the Anglo-Jordanian treaty of March, 1948, provides that in the event of war, "or of a menace of hostilities, each High Contracting Party will invite the other to bring to his territory or territory controlled by him the necessary forces of all arms." When Jordan annexed Arab Palestine on April 24, 1950, Britain immediately thereafter announced that the Anglo-Jordan treaty applied to this area as well. But the British government also said that it had "no intention of requesting the establishment of military bases *in peace time* within the area of Palestine now united to the Kingdom of Jordan." So to move into this territory Britain requires the absence of peace.

Britain's second possibility for obtaining a Mediterranean outlet is to establish a new base in the Gaza strip, which is on the Mediterranean coast. It was at Gaza-Rafa during the mandate that the British had their largest Palestine garrison. But here too obstacles exist. Gaza belongs to Egypt. The Egyptians, it is believed, would give up Gaza in exchange for British evacuation of the Canal Zone. Even if this were to happen, Britain would still need an inland route both to its bases in northern Jordan and Iraq and to its southern base at Aqaba. And here Israel is involved again. For the route from Gaza to Amman and Iraq is through Jerusalem, while that from Gaza to Aqaba is through the Negev. Both routes cross Israeli territory; so Israel's consent is necessary.

How to create a situation which is not peace, and to utilize it to produce an invitation from Jordan to move into Arab Palestine? How to soften up Israel to the point where consent from that quarter might be possible? That was the British dilemma.

Kibya presented an opportunity to resolve it. Backed by the ruling of the chairman of the Truce Commission that Israeli military forces were responsible

for the Kibya incident, Sir Gladwyn Jebb could emphasize that the situation was "fraught with dangerous possibilities," but at the same time refuse to advance the logical proposal that there be a discussion of a permanent peace settlement. In this way Jordan's fears of further incidents could be fanned, Israel's desperate desire for peace could be denied, and the door thus kept open for the achievement of Britain's ultimate military objectives.

HERE IS unquestionably the explanation for the crack-down on Israel by Anthony Eden in the House of Commons. It makes understandable the harsh statement of the Archbishop of York. It explains the insistence of the British in every public utterance that the incident was planned and carried out by Israeli military forces, despite the denial by the Prime Minister of Israel. It explains also why the London *Economist* on October 24 could say in a lengthy article discussing pacification of the area that "only force applied from the outside can achieve it." This, says the *Economist*, was "the only recipe for quiet living throughout the years of the British mandate; and so it remains today." Insisting that bitterness of feeling between Jew and Arab is greater than it has ever been, this influential paper put forward the idea that the Anglo-French-American declaration of May, 1950, be strengthened "to dictate, if necessary themselves to man, a permanent frontier line. Unless they do so, grave consequences will follow."

Were such a policy adopted, Britain could hope to be named as the representative of the Big Three, since it is the only country with forces in the area. What this means is British forces on the long frontier between Israel and Jordan and in former Arab Palestine.

The British plan is not new. At the height of the Palestine war the Arab Legion, under the command of Glubb Pasha, then still an officer of the British

army, was permitted by the British to enter Palestine at Jericho with the aim of capturing Jerusalem as a bridgehead for opening a corridor to Gaza. This would have given the two Hashemite kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan, both heavily allied to the British, their much-desired outlet to the Mediterranean, and the British their inland route to Jordan and Iraq.

Anticipating departure from the Canal Zone, the British at this period hoped to make Gaza and Aqaba principal bases and put strong pressure on the State Department to influence the Israelis to yield the Negev and their port of Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba. The maneuver failed; the Egyptians captured Gaza and have held it, and the State Department was unable to force Israel to give up any part of the Negev.

The plan called for careful preparation—the accentuation of border tension between Israel and Jordan to the point where Britain could step in and offer its services as the guardian of peace to both sides, at a price. From Jordan the price would be permission to move into

the Nablus triangle; from Israel, access to the sea.

The first outlines of this maneuver became visible early this year. On January 31, 1953, according to the Arab News Agency, the Defense Minister of Jordan, Nuseibeh, acting in behalf of the Premier, requested the chargé d'affaires of the British legation in Amman to implement the treaty protecting Jordan from aggression on the basis of Jordan allegations that its territory had been repeatedly violated by Israeli forces.

At the end of June, 1953, three and one-half months before Kibya, detailed plans were drawn up at a secret meeting for the movement of British troops to the frontier bordering Israel in the event of Israeli "aggression." Participating were Jordan's Deputy Chief of Staff Jundi, Major General A. D. Hull, Chief of Staff of British forces in the Middle East, and Neville Captain, commander of the British air force in the area.

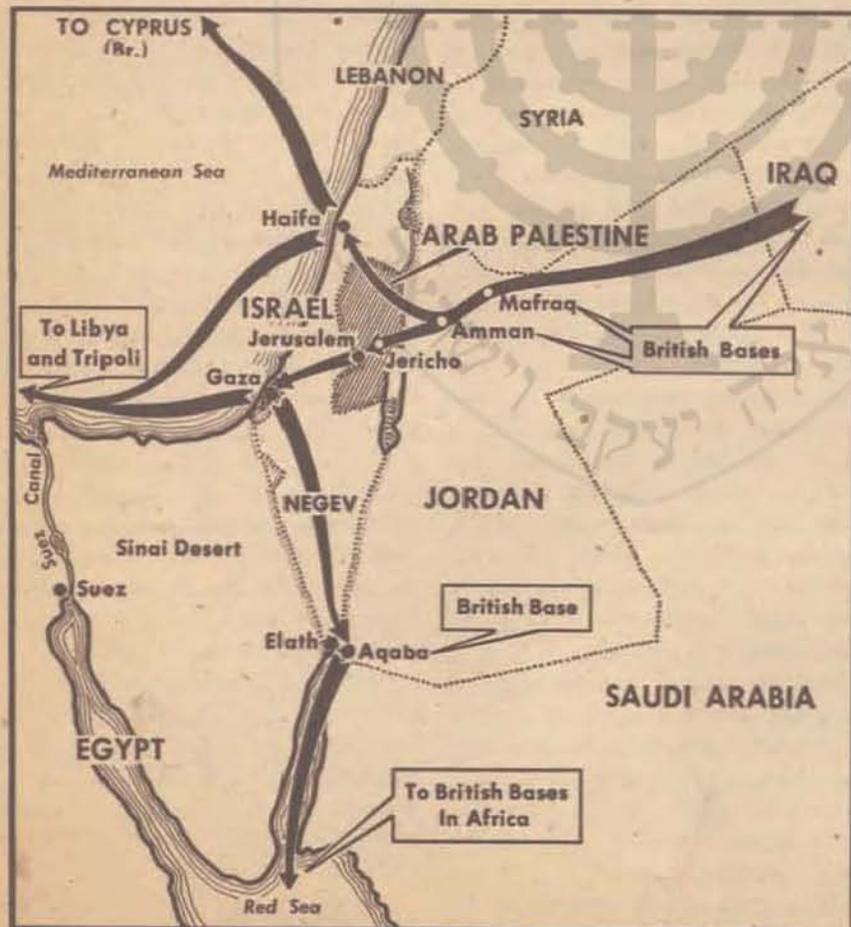
On November 11 a dispatch from Amman to the *New York Times* reported that "the Premier of Jordan said that Jordan would invoke the Anglo-

Jordanian treaty and request Britain to send more troops here if Israeli forces launched another attack like the October 14-15 assault on the village of Kibya." The same dispatch said that "British forces would be prepared to comply with such a request in the event of another major frontier outbreak." Moreover, said the report, "Lieutenant General John Bagot Glubb, British commander of Jordan's Arab Legion, and other military authorities here believe a substantially larger British force in Jordan would act as a deterrent to Israeli militarists and would relieve some pressure on the Legion and Jordan's National Guard."

WHETHER or not this plan could ever achieve its objective is problematical as far as Israel is concerned. Israel has given sufficient indication of its pro-Western orientation to leave little doubt of where it would stand in an East-West war of principle. But to provide bases for its allies during a war is one thing. To expect it willingly to acquiesce in becoming a British base during peace time, at a moment when its Arab neighbors are in revolt against foreign occupation, is another. That explains why the "softening-up process" was embarked upon by both Britain and the United States.

Into this plot Israel threw its own monkey wrench last Thursday with its proffer of immediate and direct negotiations with Jordan at the U. N. on armistice problems and the prevention of border incidents, and with its bold challenge to the Security Council to declare the existing tension "in truthful terms as a threat to security arising from the absence of peaceful relations between Israel and the Arab states," and in this sense to call upon each of the signatories to the armistice agreements "to enter into direct negotiations with a view to the replacement of the armistice agreements by final peace settlement."

The story of pillage, murder, and boycott directed against Israel on all its frontiers by Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon; of the flouting of the armistice agreements by the Arab states; of the rejection of every unilateral approach by Israel for amicable solutions, carefully documented from official U. N. reports and Arab government statements, was so convincing that it required no underscoring by Israel's representative to show



*Israeli Territory Which British Forces in the Middle East Must Cross to Reach the Mediterranean*

that the Big Three, in seeking to charge Israel with breaking the armistice agreements, were guilty of discrimination.

How real is the power of the Security Council to bring about a discussion which could lead to peace and how impressive was Israel's presentation were forcefully demonstrated in the same session by the violent reaction of the delegate of Lebanon. In a series of contradictory statements aimed at limiting Security Council action to branding Israel on the Kibya incident, Dr. Malik first charged Israel with having deliberately staged the Kibya incident and conspired with the Big Three to show that the

Arabs do not want peace. In the next breath he gave Britain a chance to attain its objective by accusing Israel of a plan to annex both Jordan and the Old City of Jerusalem. And, finally, he warned the principal powers that if they yielded to Israel's call for peace they would lose the friendship of the Arab world.

What will happen now? Dr. Malik and the Arab League will be pacified by being spared a call to peace. Israel will be censured. Jordan will undoubtedly refuse to negotiate with Israel as long as Kibya is on the agenda.

The Security Council, if it fails to call now or in the immediate future for

permanent peace, will stand self-condemned for failure to perform on a clear obligation—in the certainty, moreover, that once it took the initiative in insisting upon peace discussions, the Arab countries could not flout its decisions. Failing such action, the British will be encouraged to persist in their drive, *sub rosa* or otherwise, for new outlets to the eastern Mediterranean. There is still the role of the Secretary General. With or without a resolution he has the power to push for peace. The least he can do is to bring about pacification of a border situation between Jordan and Israel by negotiation at U. N. headquarters.

## ALAS, POOR ENGLAND!

### Commercials Are Coming . . . by Milton Moskowitz

*London* AFTER a tremendous fuss and vigorous debate the Tory government is apparently going to win its fight for commercial television in Britain. A White Paper setting forth its plans was presented to Parliament last week. A number of prominent Conservatives—Lord Halifax, Randolph Churchill, Lord Brand the banker—are opposed to commercial TV, but the leaders have decided to make it a matter of party policy. The "whip will be on," and a straight party vote approving the White Paper can be safely predicted. Labor is definitely against the change.

The government proposes to set up a public-utility corporation to build transmitters which will be leased to station-operating companies. These companies will produce programs and sell time to advertisers. At the best, commercial TV will not be in effective operation until 1955.

Commercial broadcasters in the United States may regard this British development as a victory for their system, but actually Britain has emphatically rejected the American form of broadcasting. In fact, the campaign for and

against commercial TV has been featured by a point-to-point indictment of American radio and television. Opponents have emphasized the overbearing advertisements and low cultural level of American broadcasting. Advocates reply: "British programs would be different. The British people would never put up with the American kind and the advertisers here know this. The important thing is to end the B. B. C. monopoly."

To avoid the "American" label the commercial TV forces sedulously avoid the phrase "sponsored television." They insist that the commercial operation planned for Britain will be sponsorless. What they mean is that the British system will separate programs completely from advertisers and advertising agencies. The stations alone will be responsible for the production of programs. The advertisers will merely be offered time slots—and *between* programs only;

there will be no interruptions of shows.

The position of the advertising fraternity in the dispute is interesting. The agencies, as a whole, are not in the forefront of the battle for commercial TV. In fact, a poll conducted by *Advertiser's Weekly* showed that most advertising executives were personally against commercial TV. As a result, the official advertising associations have maintained a hands-off attitude. But they have issued two memorandums to the Postmaster General proclaiming the industry's "honorable intentions" in the event commercial TV is approved. These statements assured one and all that British advertising people, unlike their American counterparts, are not planning to go into the entertainment business; they will leave that job to the stations.

Some of the big advertising com-



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panies, however, particularly American-owned agencies, such as the J. Walter Thompson Company and Young and Rubicam, have not been too shy about showing their enthusiasm for a commercial system. The reason is perfectly obvious. With the advantage of the experience and backlog of their parent firms in America, these agencies will have a jump on their competitors here. Most of the British agencies are not too happy about the prospect of coping with a completely new medium, especially since it will require a considerable outlay.

Christopher Mayhew, a radio-TV actor who is also a Socialist M. P., and Sir Alexander Korda, the film producer, have both warned that commercial TV carries the threat of an American invasion. Old films, already used in the United States, may be dumped on the British market. The giants of American radio-TV—Procter and Gamble, Lever, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, Ford, Kellogg—are also giants in the British marketing field. Why should they pay for new shows if they can use these old films? British actors and writers, well aware of United States dominance in the movie and record industries, fear that their television system may be the next dollar conquest.

At the present moment Britain has

about 2,500,000 television sets. Since this is only a 16 per cent coverage of private homes, the B. B. C. still has a long way to go before matching the saturation in the United States. The initial buyers have been mainly low-income families, and the business of British pubs and movie theaters has already dropped off. J. Arthur Rank, the chief figure in the British movie industry, recently reported that 236 of his 550 theaters operated at a loss in 1952.

THE INADEQUACY of the B. B. C. television service—so far it has offered only one program—has undoubtedly aided the commercial-TV forces. Even the opposition has admitted this inadequacy, although it claims there is nothing wrong with the B. B. C. that a bigger appropriation would not cure. Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of *Punch*, has used his magazine to spearhead the fight for commercial TV and has hammered away at the point that the B. B. C., as a monopoly, is forced to toe a circumspect, namby-pamby line which robs programs of their vitality and shuts out real controversy. He has contrasted the lack of choice provided by the B. B. C. with the variety available on American radio and television. A more telling argument perhaps has been the fact that some of the

B. B. C.'s most successful TV programs are American imports.

The formidable opposition to commercial TV includes the Labor Party, the Trades Union Congress, the National Council of Churches, the National Union of Teachers, the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Sunday Observer*, Bertrand Russell, and a host of leading educators. Their objections were reinforced last June by the advertisements inserted by American stations during showings of the Coronation film. The British people were infuriated by this action. Originally, the White Paper on commercial TV was to be submitted to Parliament in late June or early July, but the outcry forced a change in the timetable. The Coronation fervor has died down now, and the Conservatives expect to steer the White Paper through Parliament without too much difficulty.

Clement Attlee has warned that if the Tories establish a commercial TV system, the Socialists will undo it when they return to power. This, however, was more of a debating point than a pledge. Future Labor policy will depend on the accomplishments or failures of the new system. In any case it will be extremely interesting to see whether British television can go commercial without going American.

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## RIGHT TO COUNSEL

### And Counsels' Rights . . . by Charles Alan Wright

I WAS in a Milwaukee barber shop a few hours before the Rosenbergs were executed. The radio reported a last-minute plea for clemency by Emmanuel Bloch, lawyer for the convicted atom spies. With a sound of disgust the barber turned off the radio. "They ought to electrocute that guy Bloch too," he said; "anybody that would try to save those — is as bad as they are."

The Sixth Amendment to the United

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States Constitution guarantees "the assistance of counsel" to persons accused of a crime. The spirit of this guaranty is clear: the accused should have the benefit of a good lawyer, making the most vigorous defense possible, before he is brought to judgment for his acts. Yet the public attitude toward lawyers who represent unpopular defendants, and particularly those accused of disloyalty, is so hostile that such defendants frequently find it difficult to persuade reputable lawyers to take their cases.

When the so-called "second-string Communists" were indicted, they ap-

proached approximately 200 lawyers in the New York City area, over a period of months, before obtaining counsel. Many of the lawyers who refused the case had legitimate reasons for doing so. It was obvious that the trial would last some months, and some lawyers could not give that much time. Other lawyers were accustomed to receive larger fees than the amount the Communists could pay. But in many cases the lawyers refused to represent the defendants, as a number of them admitted, because they did not want the reputation they would thus acquire.

At the time this case was in the news,

Whitney North Seymour, president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, denounced as "false Communist propaganda" the belief that "Communists could not get non-Communist trial lawyers to represent them for fear of social or economic reprisals." Mr. Seymour's charge was reflected in a later resolution of the New York State Bar Association which said that Communists "have always, in fact, been able to get competent counsel." In contradiction to this, the *New York Times*, surely no Communist propaganda medium, has asserted editorially that the constitutional guaranty of counsel "is in danger of disappearing into thin air," and that "lawyers are beginning to shy away from such cases for fear that they too may be tarred with the Communist brush."

Furthermore, Federal Circuit Judge Charles E. Clark noted in a judicial opinion that "it is no secret that the difficulty of securing counsel to defend adequately unpopular minority groups is great, and indeed acute in non-metropolitan districts." While some lawyers may have refused to represent Communists because the latter insisted on imposing terms which no self-respecting lawyer could accept—a charge made by Mr. Seymour and immediately denied by several reputable lawyers who have agreed to act in cases of this sort—it is quite clear that it has been the fear of social and economic reprisals which has deterred many lawyers from taking such cases.

Indeed, just in the last month the lawyer who reluctantly agreed to represent Robert Thompson, the fugitive Communist leader recently arrested in the Sierras, told the court that Thompson had previously consulted "about twenty lawyers," all of whom had refused to take his case "because of fear that to do so would affect their business relationships or would encourage government reprisals."

THE BAR has a splendid tradition of assisting even the most hated defendants. Persons who have committed the most shocking crimes, for which they have been rightly despised by the public, have appeared in court with the greatest lawyers of the day at their side. Generally speaking, lawyers have been able to take such cases because the

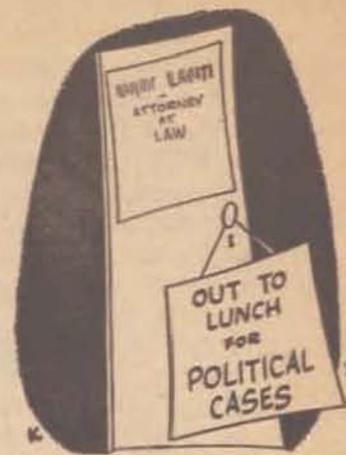
public has not imputed to them the crimes of their clients. No one has ever supposed that a lawyer who has represented a murderer or a tax evader has himself killed in cold blood or cheated on his taxes. But when the crime of which the prisoner is accused stems from a repugnant ideology, it is easy to suppose that all those who defend him share that ideology. Anyone who would defend people who are so disloyal to this country as to give away atom-bomb secrets, we are tempted to think, must be himself disloyal. The Milwaukee barber is not the only person to have reasoned in that fashion.

*Item:* Charles J. Margiotti, Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, wrote a letter to the Allegheny County District Attorney urging that official to fire one of his assistants on the ground that the assistant's "communist associations" were such as to make her "dangerous to the security of our people in Pennsylvania." The principal facts on which the chief law-enforcement officer of Pennsylvania rested his damning conclusion were that the assistant in question had acted as counsel for a distributor of Communist pamphlets who was tried for handing out this literature without a permit, and that she had sat with lawyers defending the secretary of the Pittsburgh branch of the Communist Party when he was tried for inciting to riot.

*Item:* Whittaker Chambers says that Lloyd Paul Stryker was apparently in line for a federal judgeship until the White House was convinced that appointment to such a position of a person who had represented Alger Hiss would leave "an unhappy impression" on the nation and that the Senate might refuse to confirm.

*Item:* Only last June Senator William Jenner announced that he planned to discuss with Senator McCarthy "a possible inquiry into the status of lawyers who have defended alleged Communists or former Communists."

*Item:* A committee of the American Bar Association, under the chairmanship of Mr. Seymour, reported this summer that excellent anti-Communist lawyers who have represented Communists out of a sense of public duty have been subjected to "severe personal vilification and abuse. . . . Important legal business has been taken elsewhere."



*Item:* The Hoffman committee of the House of Representatives, in the course of stormy hearings about public housing in Los Angeles, slapped subpoenas on lawyers representing witnesses who refused to tell whether they were Communists, and asked the same question of the lawyers.

THE DIFFICULTY of obtaining counsel for supposedly disloyal persons has not been lessened by the recent action of the American Bar Association, calling for disbarment of Communists, or by the proposed listing of the National Lawyers' Guild as a "subversive" organization. The lawyer who is most likely to take on the distasteful duty of defending the Smith-act case is the one with a lifetime record of devotion to civil rights and other liberal causes. This lawyer, already in danger of disbarment if he has belonged to the Lawyers' Guild, is likely to consider a long time before doing anything more that will bring suspicion upon him, particularly when he thinks that such men as Attorney General Margiotti, who regards the defense of a Communist as proof that the lawyer is a security menace, may be sitting on the Bar Association committee which reviews the lawyer's fitness to continue in practice.

The hard fact is, that with public opinion such as it is today it takes great courage and a high sense of duty for a loyal lawyer to represent a defendant accused of disloyalty. And even if such a lawyer is found, the defendant is still not sure that he will have that effective defense to which he is entitled.

Justice Jesse W. Carter, of the Supreme Court of California, commented last winter that it is becoming increas-

ingly difficult for lawyers properly to defend persons accused of subversive activities. This is largely a result of the famous trial of the eleven Communists before Judge Harold Medina. The behavior of the lawyers in that case became a national scandal, and since that time the view of the legal profession has been that while such persons should have lawyers, still the trial must not be turned into a circus, nor must the defendants be allowed to use it for political propaganda. These warnings to future lawyers have been highlighted by the unprecedented punishments visited upon the erring lawyers in the celebrated case. Judge Medina himself imposed fines and prison terms upon all of them, and was sustained in this action by divided votes in the Court of Appeals and Supreme Court, though scholarly comment has been almost uniformly critical of these decisions. But now it appears that this is not the end of the matter, and that a further example is to be made of these lawyers by disbarring them. Such action has already been taken against two of the five and is pending against a third.

THE MOST recent case is that of Harry Sacher. Sacher practiced for twenty-four years without a blemish on his record before he entered into the case of the eleven Communists. For his misbehavior in that case he was given a six-month jail sentence, the maximum penalty which the law allows. Since serving his sentence, he has appeared as counsel in other cases involving Communists, and in such cases the court has praised his work as "able and industrious" and referred to his "vigorous and able argument." His conduct, so we are told, has been "uniformly courteous and dignified." Indeed, in dissenting from the judgment of disbarment against Sacher, Judge Clark wrote: "Were we to select a public defender, we could hardly do better than seek respondent's services in cases of this type where it is difficult to secure able representation and will undoubtedly become more so in consequence of decisions such as this."

It is probably of interest only to historians that these proceedings against the lawyers who appeared before Judge Medina seem to be the first recorded instances of disbarment of lawyers merely because they had been in con-

tempt of court. Surely it is extraordinary, however, to find an opinion permanently barring a man from the practice of his profession which reads like a letter of recommendation. Yet the court which disbarred Sacher points out that it found in his conduct no taint of "venality or lack of fidelity to the interests of his clients" but only an "excess of zeal in representing his clients." It went on to suggest that his qualities would be "unobjectionable in commercial fields" and that "in negotiations . . . he would be a trustworthy and highly effective representative."

Of course lawyers may let their zeal for their client's interests cause them to behave in such an unseemly manner that the court must restrain them or, failing that, impose punishment upon them. But surely it is a topsy-turvy world in which the canons of a profession call for "entire devotion to the interest of the client, warm zeal in the maintenance and defense of his rights," while at the same time a man is said to be disqualified from membership in the profession because of too much devotion, too warm a zeal.

In our history books we read with pride of the trial of John Peter Zenger, the young New York printer who dared to publish criticism of the colonial governor, and who was acquitted of sedition when the jury found that the criticisms were truthful. The real hero of the case is not Zenger but Andrew Hamilton, an old Philadelphia lawyer who came to New York to defend Zenger after the governor had so intimidated other lawyers that they would not take the case. The trial judge, quite correctly under the law of the day, told Hamilton that he should say nothing about the truth of Zenger's criticisms, since they were a crime even if they were true. The judge warned, he threatened, he ordered Hamilton to say nothing about truth. In the face of all this, Hamilton continued to argue to the jury that his client should not be convicted for printing the truth. The jury's verdict of acquittal changed the law and established the foundation on which rests our precious right to speak and to know the truth about our high officials, no matter how distasteful that truth may be to them.

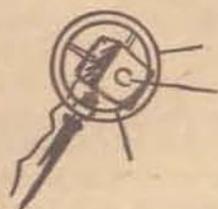
Harry Sacher is no Hamilton, and his boisterous courtroom conduct contributed

nothing to an effective defense of his clients. But tomorrow's lawyer may be a Hamilton; tomorrow's case may be one in which it is necessary to ignore courtroom proprieties and the orders of the judge to defend a person wrongly accused. When such a case arises, it can only be hoped that the lawyer will have the courage to ignore all the warnings against rocking the boat which are now so in vogue.

DESPITE all this, the situation is not so bad that hysterical pronouncements about the right of counsel being at an end are as yet in order. Persons like Alger Hiss and Owen Lattimore, who have denied the charges of disloyalty against them, have been able to retain some of the best lawyers in the country. The bar in some cities has been more conscious of its obligation than in others: thus while the New York second-string Communists were having such trouble, persons charged with similar crimes in Los Angeles were able to obtain reputable counsel fairly readily. And in the last month the Philadelphia Bar Association has announced that the chairman of its criminal-law committee, an excellent lawyer, will defend persons recently indicted there for violation of the Smith act.

Most encouraging of all is the recognition given this problem at the August convention of the American Bar Association, where resolutions were adopted pointing out the duty of the bar to assist the most unpopular defendants, and promising the support of the bar to any lawyer who is criticized or attacked for acting in such a capacity. It is appropriate that the Bar Association should act in this matter, for it is the lawyers, not the Communists, who will suffer from the present difficulties. In the great bulk of cases against admitted Communists, the result must be the same whether they are represented by the greatest lawyer in the country or by a young man just out of law school. But the result will not be the same to the legal profession. If the profession is derelict in its responsibility to these accused persons, if it allows public acceptance of the view that the beliefs and wrongs of the client may be imputed to his counsel, it is the freedom and integrity of the bar which will be the loser.

# A Boston Churchman



## Challenges the Witch-Hunters

By Donald G. Lothrop

*[This is The Nation's own "Voice of America," an occasional feature bringing to our readers condensations of important speeches or public communications which have received little or no notice in the press. The Reverend Donald G. Lothrop, minister of the Community Church in Boston, addressed this letter to the "clergy, the lawyers, and the professors of Massachusetts" shortly after H. L. Philbrick, the F. B. I. informer, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, accused him of "operating under Communist Party discipline."]*

**Y**OU who are the most articulate and competent supporters of what is the essence of our American way of life, namely, the Anglo-Saxon form of democracy, jurisprudence, and culture, have at present a great responsibility and opportunity. The time has come to speak out with a clear and courageous voice for those canons of law and customs of due process which have so long characterized our great tradition and which have served as an exemplar lighting up all the dark corners of our world. These canons and procedures are now being destroyed before our eyes. If they are not used they will die of disuse, and the "treason of the intellectuals" will cause the destruction of all our cherished values. A great Boston institution, the Community Church, has been attacked, and I as well as other ministers have been slandered by a process which has no reference to our Constitution or judicial procedure.

The testimony of one H. L. Philbrick has been spread upon the public record without any safeguards of competency or regard for truth. He and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have by-passed that "due process of law" which is fundamental to our American system. Referring to me, Philbrick said on July 9, 1953, "He is one of the individuals who, I am sure in my own mind, is operating under Communist Party discipline." But he prefaced this testimony by stating that he had no legal evidence which would stand up in court.

To release this admittedly irresponsible testimony was a violation of a trust on the part of the House committee: To place credence in Philbrick without a check, without asking me to interrogate or reply, was a violation of "due process" and a by-passing of the judicial process.

The dubiousness of Philbrick's purely and consciously imaginative testimony is brought out clearly by the following

excerpt from the record of his appearance before the same committee on July 23, 1951:

*Mr. Tavenner.* Don't you know how many [clergymen] were in that group?

*Mr. Philbrick.* My best guess is that in the Boston area there were perhaps between six and twelve people in that particular cell.

*Mr. Tavenner.* Can you identify any of the individuals in that group?

*Mr. Philbrick.* No, I can't, not by direct legal evidence.

How can Philbrick state in 1953 what he could not state in 1951? Has his memory been tampered with by the compulsion to pull yet more rabbits out of his hat? The questionableness of Philbrick as a "witness" was adequately exposed and explained by the Harvard Corporation when, as reported in the *New York Times* of September 1, 1953, it announced:

"The Harvard Corporation had been urged to give little or no weight to the testimony before the Jenner subcommittee on the ground that there had been no cross-examination and that since Mr. Philbrick earned money from writing and lecturing on Communist activity, he must keep producing *new* evidence in order to prosper and that hence he tends to distort the truth; that his testimony is largely if not wholly hearsay."

On the basis of "hearsay" I have been slandered and the Community Church of Boston has been attacked. Yet this church for thirty-three years, seventeen of which I have been minister, has been the classic example of the democratic polity of the ancient New England church and the embodiment of the Boston tradition of Theodore Parker. Its pulpit has been occupied by some of the finest preachers, theologians, statesmen, scientists, and jurists which this country has produced, and to it have come tens of thousands of persons from every walk of life, of every color, creed, political and religious background.

The Community Church of Boston, on its record, has served the community as a center of the brotherhood of man. As a center of freedom of speech, press, and assembly it has been without peer. By maintaining a program of education in the fields of religion, psychiatry, and the application of religion to social issues, it has set a standard which has stimulated other institutions. As a pioneer in marriage-problem consultation and group psychotherapy under religious auspices it has lifted the sights of church service to the community. By sponsoring a Sunday School rooted in non-sectarian religion, it has supplied a greatly felt need in a community of diverse religious cultures.

To threaten with false testimony and unfounded rumor, and to bless baseless accusations with government credentials, is to replace American democracy with totalitarianism and to undermine the foundations of this Republic. The Community Church, its members and its minister alike, has acted upon the most profound faith in democracy, the Constitution of the United States, and its Bill of Rights.

The future of that faith and of our Republic is in danger. Let your voice be lifted up in the pulpit, in the hall of justice, in the classroom, in all the places where the culture of our people is cherished, glorified, perpetuated, and enhanced.

# BOOKS

## Visions of Great Spirits

*THE VOICES OF SILENCE.* By André Malraux. Doubleday and Company. \$25.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE final, and 642d, page of this magnificent book records the date span, 1935-51. It was first published in 1949-50 as a three-volume work under the general title "Psychologie de l'art," the third volume containing three supplementary studies as a long appendix. An English translation, by Stuart Gilbert, was published by Pantheon Books in the Bollingen Series at a total price of \$37.50. The current single-volume edition, considerably revised, appeared in Paris in 1951, and Stuart Gilbert has again made the translation.

While the work is essentially the same but a little more accessible in format and price, certain important changes may be noted. The over-all title, which was very misleading, has been enormously improved. For this is a book about the visions of great spirits, from the dawn of history to our own age, from Europe to the Far East, from a Celtic coin to the Sistine ceiling. Its theme is powerfully stated in this passage:

The artist has "an eye," but not when he is fifteen; and how long it takes a writer to learn to write with the sound of his own voice! The greatest painters' supreme vision is that of the last Renoirs, the last Titians, Hals' last works—recalling the inner voice heard by deaf Beethoven: that vision of the mind's eye whose light endures when the body's eyes are failing.

And later in this one:

Feeble indeed may seem that brief survival of his [man's] works which does not last long enough to see the light die out from stars already dead! Yet surely no less impotent is that nothingness of which he seems to be the prey, if all the thousands of years piled above his dust are unable to stifle the voice of a great artist once he is in his coffin.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., *The Nation's art critic, is chairman of the Department of Art at Williams College.*

Like the original text, the translation has been perfected, especially in the titles of what were the separate volumes. The first part still challenges the reader with the phrase Museum Without Walls. The second, consisting primarily of the long supplementary essays, is called The Metamorphoses of Apollo. The third, once clumsily rendered as The Creative Act, is now The Creative Process. The fourth, too Spenglerian in overtone as The Twilight of the Absolute, is now The Aftermath of the Absolute—an improvement but still wide of the mark from the probably untranslatable original, *La Monnaie de l'Absolu*. Small Change of the Absolute would be more accurate, no doubt, but wrong in verbal tone.

To keep down the poundage to the portable, the format is smaller and the type denser, though perfectly legible. Color plates have been reduced to fifteen—a serious curtailment of the book's value—but the plates are of the same high standard. The superb black-and-white heliogravures are slightly reduced in size with little loss of impact, and though there are fewer of them, they number 450. Thus the extraordinary range of Malraux's reference is still wonderfully illustrated. There is a welcome seven-page synopsis of the contents at the end of the book, but no index, though one appeared after the final volume of the Bollingen edition. This is a serious loss: Malraux's thought darts so rapidly and with so many unexpected returns to the same theme that one would like to collate everything he says about a given artist or picture. The French edition, "Les Voix du Silence," is likewise without index. I sometimes think the notorious resistance of the French to indices proceeds from the same frame of mind that makes this great people resist a stable form of government.

In reviewing the earlier edition (*The Nation*, May 27, 1950, and September 15, 1951), I said that this monumental and profound apostrophe to the arts lacked clarity of structure. In the new edition the focus has been sharpened.

While the argument proceeds substantially as before, whole sections have been fitted into new contexts. Many pages have been rewritten, sometimes to provide more adequate transition from idea to idea, sometimes to perfect and develop the thought. The book is still longer than it need be, and it is still marred by repetitions. Nevertheless, its brilliance and resonance are hardly to be matched in the literature of art. Who, among living writers at least, combines such qualities of mind and poetic insight with such command of the written word, such knowledge, and such a comprehension of man and of history as to be able to embark, à la Toynbee, upon a broad appraisal of man's visions made visible?

AS BEFORE, Malraux's most far-reaching idea is that the museum of today, while it has contributed to the destruction of all absolutes save art itself, has opened up the possibility of a new worldwide culture. The anthropocentric humanism of Greece and Rome, which Western civilization since the Renaissance has thought indispensable, is found wanting by modern man. We can no longer believe that the sculptures of Olympia are art and that the heads of Ife and Benin are not, or even that these Negro images are inferior to the Greek ones in any fundamental respect. In a Gandharan head of the fourth century we recognize an artist incredibly similar to the sculptor of the Rheims angels. The feet of Christ crucified in Grünewald's great altar seem to grow from the same body as Christ's dead hand projected by the anonymous painter of the Villeneuve-les-Avignon Pietà. The Museum Without Walls, aided by the infinite wealth that photography has made available to us, trains us to look at each work on its own merit; we refuse to accept the idea that an abstract superiority of conception, even if it exists, can produce a particular work of art that is automatically superior to one evoked by a theoretically inferior conception.

We believe, then, that the artist, no matter what his time and place, is the true communicant of basic values. All art is one. As Malraux explicitly puts it, art is at once a revolt against man's fate, that is, death, and the most living assurance of man's hope, that is, glory.

LOOKING BACKWARD - TO THE 1950'S

The New York Times Magazine, assuming that an eminent philosopher in his eighty-first year must have a knack for the long view, recently asked Lord Russell to speculate on how the present era might shape up to a future historian. When the article printed on these pages arrived the editors were divided over how seriously the author might have intended his rather gloomy observations of America from abroad. In response to a query, Lord Russell replied:

"None of my readers will like what I have written but they cannot dislike it more than I do. It is not, of course, intended as a firm prophesy. Nobody can predict the future, and any prediction is almost sure to be wrong. One can, however, say what would be the result of various trends if unchecked. In what follows, I have worked out what might happen if a certain trend, which at the moment seems to me to be increasing in power, were to achieve complete success."

Convinced, the editors of The Times Magazine decided to print Lord Russell's article as an indication of the way American actions sometimes appear to those overseas.

By

BERTRAND RUSSELL

We, from the secure haven of the dawning twenty-first century, can see what was less obvious at the time: that the Nineteen Fifties saw the beginning of the new trend which has transformed the world. There were certain problems of which at that time foresighted people were conscious. One of these was that in every civilized country, industry was favored at the expense of agriculture, with the result that the world's food supply was diminishing. Another was the rapid growth of population in backward countries, which

resulted from advances in medicine and hygiene. A third was the chaos that was in danger of resulting from the collapse of European imperialism.

Such problems, which were in any case difficult, were rendered totally insoluble by the East-West conflict. During the years after 1945 this conflict had grown continually more menacing, not only through political developments but also through the prospect of hydrogen bombs and bacteriological warfare. On each side no solution of the conflict was offered, except to make one's own side so strong that the other would not dare to attack. Past experience suggested that this was not a very hopeful method of averting war.

It was in 1953 that the first beginnings of a new hope became visible. When Malenkov succeeded Stalin two main dangers troubled him. On the one hand there was widespread discontent in Russia. On the other hand, it was to be feared that China might before long become as powerful as Russia and capable of challenging Russian supremacy in the Communist world. To meet the first of these dangers it was necessary to increase very largely the Russian production of consumer goods, which could only be done at the expense of armaments. To meet the second danger it was necessary to diminish the risk of world war, which was also necessary if it was to be safe to slacken the pace of rearmament.

Meantime the change to Republican government in America had brought a new emphasis. Many people in both America and in other countries had failed to note that, in a conflict between President and Congress, the victory was likely to go to Congress owing to

the power of the purse. This might have been inferred from the history of the conflict between King and Parliament in England in the seventeenth century. But it was not thought by most Americans that anything could be learned either from the past or from foreign countries. Many of those who had voted for Eisenhower imagined that if he were elected his policy would prevail. They did not reflect that in electing him they were giving control of Congress to Taft and McCarthy. It was in fact these two men who controlled United States policy during Eisenhower's Presidency, and of the two, McCarthy gradually became increasingly dominant.

Average Americans were oppressed by two fears, fear of communism and fear of the income tax. So long as the Democrats remained in power these two fears worked in opposite directions. But McCarthy discovered how to reconcile them. The real enemy, he said, is the Communist in our midst, and it is very much cheaper to fight the Communist in our midst than to fight Russia. So long as Americans are loyal and united - so he told the nation - they are invincible and have no need to fear machinations of alien despotisms. If we purge our country of disloyal elements we shall be safe. But, in order by this policy to slake the popular thirst for combating communism, it was necessary to discover continually new internal enemies. By acquiring control of the F.B.I. and by the help of a band of subservient ex-Communists, McCarthy succeeded in spreading the dread of internal treachery to a point where every prominent member of the Democratic party was thought to be a traitor with the exception of a tiny virtuous remnant consisting of such men as Senator McCarran. Under the cover of this policy, it became

possible to save enormous sums which in the time of Truman had been spent in aiding foreign countries. The resulting spread of communism in France and Italy was held to show that it had not been worth while to spend money on such undependable allies.

Eisenhower, though he disliked this policy, found himself powerless to combat it. He had wished to strengthen NATO and to make it possible to defend Western Europe against a Communist onslaught. But Western Europe was expensive to defend. It contained many Communists and still more Socialists, who were almost equally objectionable. It was ungrateful and not adequately aware of its own inferiority. It was always clamoring for a lowering of the American tariff, and it did not love Chiang Kai-shek. On such grounds, Eisenhower was always defeated in Congress.

McCarthy's policy had two results: on the one hand, it greatly diminished the grounds of external conflict and made relations with Russia less precarious; on the other hand, it made it clear that no American could hope to save his own skin if he opposed McCarthy. In the Presidential election of 1956 McCarthy was triumphantly elected by an even greater majority than that of Roosevelt twenty years earlier.

It was this overwhelming success which enabled McCarthy to crown his labors by the McCarthy-Malenkov Pact. By this pact the world was divided between the two Great Powers: all Asia and all Europe east of the Elbe was to be the Russian sphere; all the Western Hemisphere, all Africa and Australia and all Europe west of the Elbe was to be in the sphere of the United States. There

was to be no trade whatsoever between the two groups and no intercourse except for such rare diplomatic meetings as might be absolutely inevitable, which should place in Spitzbergen. Outside the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. industry should be kept at a minimum by control of raw materials, and by sterner methods if necessary. Western Europeans should retain nominal independence and might, if they chose, preserve their Old World system of party government, free speech and free press. But they should not be allowed to travel in the United State for fear of infecting virtuous citizens with their antiquated heresies.

Certain features of the Russian system were adopted in America. Only one party, the Republican party, was henceforth to be tolerated. The press and literature were subjected to a rigid censorship. All political criticism was held subversive, and exposed the critic to penalties. Indoctrination became the main aim of education. There were, no doubt, some who regretted these changes; but it must be conceded that by means of the pact the danger of world war was averted, and it became possible to cut down armaments drastically both in America and in Russia.

There had been some difficult points in negotiating the pact. One of these was Japan. America had re-armed Japan in the hope that that country would be an ally against Russia, but if Russia and the United States jointly were to dominate the world no strong independent power could be tolerated. Japan was forced to disarm. The island of Okaido was assigned to the Russian sphere, and the remainder of Japan to the sphere of the United States.

There were of course provisions about propaganda. There was to be no anti-American propaganda in Russia, and no anti-Russian propaganda in America. No one in Russia should be allowed to question the historical truth that Peter the Great was an American. No one in America should be allowed to question the historical truth that Columbus was a Russian. No one in Russia should mention the color problem in the Southern states; and no one in America should mention the forced labor in Russia. Each should praise the achievements of the other and hold out for all future time the benefits of their eternal alliance.

The pact was not popular in Western Europe because it relegated that region to the unimportance to which it had doomed itself by internecine wars. It was difficult for West Europe to acquiesce in its loss of status, since it had for centuries dominated the world both politically and culturally. Many Americans, from deference to the traditions which it was admitted had helped to build American civilization, were prepared to treat Western Europe with a consideration which, in the actual state of the world, came in time to seem excessive. It was clear that war would ruin what remained of West European civilization even if in the end Russia were completely defeated, and it was not clear that war could be averted by any effort or sacrifice short of the pact. On these grounds, when the pact was concluded, the feelings of Europeans were ignored.

There were of course on each side people who thought that the other side had got the best of the bargain. Some Russians pointed out that, with the help of China, they could before long

have acquired Australia, and that they had considerable hope of acquiring Western Germany by peaceful penetration. They also argued that Africa, even if not acquired by Russia, could have been cleared of white men if the energies of America and Western Europe had continued to be absorbed in combating Russia. On the American side there were also grave misgivings. It was a wrench to sacrifice Malayan tin and rubber, but synthetic rubber and Bolivian and Australian tin afforded adequate substitutes. More serious was the loss of Middle Eastern oil. To make this endurable it was at last agreed that Indonesia should be in the American bloc.

There were some in America who were genuinely persuaded that communism is an evil thing with which peace ought not to be made. These, however, were few, and mostly Democrats, so that their opinion carried little weight. To the Russians, apart from secure peace, the most important gain was the possibility of keeping China in a subordinate position by preventing its industrial development. In both camps, white imperialism was once more made secure.

Apart from the preservation of peace, the pact had other advantages. The dissensions among white nations had shaken the dominion which, during the nineteenth century, they had acquired in Asia and Africa. Owing to the pact, white supremacy was soon re-established. The Russians conquered India and Pakistan without much difficulty; and in Africa, where outbreaks of ferocious barbarism supported by Communists had threatened the civilizing work of British and French imperialism, this work was resumed under the aegis of American investors and quickly brought to a successful con-

clusion. The problem of over-population, which it was thought immoral to deal with by diminishing the birth-rate, was made manageable by forbidding all medical instruction of Negroes and all white measures for improving their sanitary conditions. The resulting increase in the death rate enabled white men to breathe freely once more.

In spite of all these benefits, there will still some grumblers. There were people who thought it regrettable that no work by a Jew could be published anywhere. There were people in America who wished to read poets who praised Liberty, such as Milton, Byron and Shelley. For a time such poets could still be read in Western Europe. But when it came to the knowledge of Congress that they were distributed in cheap editions in these retrograde nations, it was decided that economic sanctions must be imposed until their works were placed upon the index. In the new world brought about by the pact there was much material comfort, but there was no art, no new thought, and little new science. Nuclear physics of course was wholly forbidden. All books dealing with it were burnt, and persons showing any knowledge of it were condemned to forced labor. Some misguided romantics looked back with regret to the centuries when there had been great individuals, but, if they were prudent, they kept their regret to themselves.

There were doubts at first as to whether the pact would be observed, but McCarthy and Malenkov found each other so congenial and so united in their aims that they had no difficulty about genuine cooperation. Each designated as his successor a man with

the same aims, and the remaining years of the twentieth century persuaded all but a peevish minority that the pact is as permanent as it is beneficent. All honor to the memory of the two great leaders who brought peace to the world!



M-13

RISK FOR RISK

by Judge Learned Hand

Our nation is embarked upon a venture, as yet unproved; we have set our hopes upon a community in which men shall be given unchecked control of their own lives. That community is in peril; it is invaded from within, it is threatened from without; it faces a test which it may fail to pass. The choice is ours whether, when we hear the pipes of Pan, we shall stampede like a frightened flock, forgetting all those professions on which we have claimed to rest our polity. God knows, there is risk in refusing to act till the facts are all in; but is there not greater risk in abandoning the conditions of all rational inquiry? Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust, which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only insofar as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion. I do not say that these will suffice; who knows but we may be on a slope which leads down to aboriginal savagery. But of this I am sure, if we are to escape, we must not yield a foot upon demanding a fair field, and an honest race, to all ideas. "Blame not before thou hast examined; understand first and then rebuke. Answer not before thou hast heard; interrupt not in the midst of speech." Those words were written nearly 2000 years ago; they came out of an experience already long, and refined in the fires of passion and conflict; they are the product of a wisdom, bought by ages of bitter trial; and by that wisdom alone shall we be saved, we who boast ourselves to be the apostles of a faith in the eventual triumph of wisdom.

Extract from speech of Judge Learned Hand  
at the University of the State of New York,  
October 24, 1952 - reprinted by permission

Nobel Prize-winning novelist William Faulkner took special pride in delivering the Commencement Address at Pine Manor Junior College this past June, for among the graduating class was his daughter Jill. As in his speech at Stockholm in 1949, when he accepted the Nobel Prize, Mr. Faulkner again strikes a note of faith and affirmation: "It is man's high destiny and proof of his immortality too, that his is the choice between ending the world, effacing it from the long annal of time and space, and completing it."

### FAITH OR FEAR

by William Faulkner

What's wrong with this world is, it's not finished yet. It is not completed to that point where man can put his final signature to the job and say, "It is finished. We made it, and it works."

Because only man can complete it. Not God, but man. It is man's high destiny and proof of his immortality too, that his is the choice between ending the world, effacing it from the long annal of time and space, and completing it. This is not only his right, but his privilege, too. Like the phoenix it rises from the ashes of its own failure with each generation, until it is your turn, now in your flash and flick of time and space which we call today, in this and in all the stations in time and space today and yesterday and tomorrow, where a handful of aged people like me, who should know but no longer can, are facing young people like you who can do, if they only knew where and how, to perform this duty, accept this privilege, bear this right.

In the beginning, God created the earth. He created it completely furnished for man. Then He created man completely equipped to cope with the earth, by means of free will and the capacity for decision and the ability to learn by making mistakes and learning from them

because he had a memory with which to remember and so learn from his errors, and so in time make his own peaceful destiny of the earth. It was not an experiment. God didn't merely believe in man. He knew man. He knew that man was competent for a soul because he was capable of saving that soul and, with it, himself. He knew that man was capable of starting from scratch and coping with the earth and with himself both; capable of teaching himself to be civilized, to live with his fellow man in amity, without anguish to himself or causing anguish and grief to others, and of appreciating the value of security and peace and freedom, since our dreams at night, the very slow evolution of our bodies themselves, remind us constantly of the time when we did not have them. He did not mean freedom from fear, because man does not have the right to be free of fear. We are not so weak and timorous as to need to be free of fear; we need only use our capacity to not be afraid of it and so relegate fear to its proper perspective. He meant security and peace in which to not be afraid, freedom in which to decree and then establish security and peace. And He demanded of man only that we work to deserve and gain these things -- liberty, freedom of the body and spirit both, security for the weak and helpless, and peace for all -- because these were the most valuable things He could set within our capacity and reach.

During all this time, the angels (with one exception; God had probably had trouble with this one before) merely looked on and watched -- the serene and blameless seraphim, that white and shining congeries who, with the exception of that one whose arrogance and pride God had already had to curb, were content merely to bask for eternity in the reflected glory of the miracle of man, content merely to watch, uninvolved and not even caring, while man ran his worthless and unregretted

course toward and at last into that twilight where he would be no more. Because they were white, immaculate, negative, without past, without thought or grief or regrets or hopes, except that one -- the splendid dark incorrigible one, who possessed the arrogance and pride to demand with, and the temerity to object with, and the ambition to substitute with -- not only to decline to accept a condition just because it was a fact, but to want to substitute another condition in its place.

But this one's opinion of man was even worse than that of the negative and shining ones. This one not only believed that man was incapable of anything but baseness, this one believed that baseness had been inculcated in man to be used for base personal aggrandizement by them of a higher and more ruthless baseness. So God used the dark spirit too. He did not merely cast it shrieking out of the universe, as He could have done. Instead, He used it. He already presaw the long roster of the ambition's ruthless avatars -- Genghis and Caesar and William and Hitler and Barca and Stalin and Bonaparte and Huey Long. But He used more -- not only the ambition and the ruthlessness and the arrogance to show man what to revolt against, but also the temerity to revolt and the will to change what one does not like. Because He presaw the long roster of the other avatars of that rebellious and uncompromising pride also, the long roster of names longer and more enduring than those of the tyrants and oppressors. They are the long annal of the men and women who have anguished over man's condition and who have held up to us not only the mirror of our follies and greeds and lusts and fears, but have reminded us constantly of the tremendous shape of our godhead too -- the godhead and immortality which we cannot repudiate even if we dared, since we cannot rid ourselves

of it but only it can rid itself of us -- the philosophers and artists, the articulate and grieving who have reminded us always of our capacity for honor and courage and compassion and pity and sacrifice.

But they can only remind us that we are capable of revolt and change. They do not need, we do not need anyone to tell us what we must revolt against and efface from the earth if we are to live in peace and security on it, because we already know that. They can only remind us that man can revolt and change by telling, showing, reminding us how, not lead us, since to be led, we must surrender our free will and our capacity and right to make decisions out of our own personal soul. If we are to be led into peace and security by some individual gauleiter or gang of them, like a drove of sheep through a gate in a fence, it will merely be from one enclosure to another, through another fence with another closable gate in it, and all history has shown us that this will be the gauleiter's enclosure and fence and his hand which closes and locks the gate, and that kind of peace and security which a flock of sheep deserve.

So He used that split part of the dark proud one's character to remind us of our heritage of free will and decision; He used the poets and philosophers to remind us, out of our own recorded anguish, of our capacity for courage and endurance. But it is we ourselves who must employ them. This time it is you, here, in this room and in all the others like it about the world at this time and occasion in your lives. It is us, we, not as groups or classes but as individuals, simple men and women individually free and capable of freedom and decision, who must decide, affirm simply and firmly and forever never to be led like sheep into peace and security, but ourselves, us,

simple men and women simply and mutually confederated for a time, a purpose, an end, for the simple reason that reason and heart have both shown us that we want the same thing and must have it and intend to have it.

To do it ourselves, as individuals, not because we have to merely in order to survive, but because we wish to, will to out of our heritage of free will and decision, the possession of which has given us the right to say how we shall live, and the long proof of our recorded immortality to remind us that we have the courage to elect that right and that course.

The answer is very simple. I don't mean easy, but simple. It is so simple in fact that one's first reaction is something like this: "If that's all it takes, what you will get for it can't be very valuable, very enduring." There is an anecdote about Tolstoy, I think it was, who said in the middle of a discussion on this subject: "All right, I'll start being good tomorrow -- if you will too." Which was, wit, and had, as wit often does, truth in it -- a profound truth in fact to all of them who are incapable of belief in man. But not to them who can and do believe in man. To them, it is only wit, the despairing repudiation of man by a man exhausted into despair by his own anguish over man's condition. These do not say, The answer is simple, but how difficult, instead these say, The answer is not easy, but very simple. We do not need, the end does not even require, that we dedicate ourselves from this moment on to be Joans of Arc with trumpets and banners and battle-dust toward an end which we will not even see since it will merely be a setting for the monument of martyrdom. It can be done within, concomitant with, the normal life which everyone

wants and everyone should have. In fact, that normal life which everyone wants and deserves and can have -- provided of course we work for it, are willing to make a reasonable amount of sacrifice commensurate with how much it is worth and how much we want and deserve it -- can be dedicated to this end and be much more efficacious than all the loud voices and the cries and the banners and trumpets and dust.

Because it begins at home. We all know what "home" means. Home is not necessarily a place fixed in geography. It can be moved, provided the old proven values which made it home and lacking which it cannot be home, are taken along too. It does not necessarily mean or demand physical ease, least of all, never in fact, physical security for the spirit, for love and fidelity to have peace and security in which to love and be faithful, for the devotion and sacrifice. Home means not just today, but tomorrow and tomorrow, and then again tomorrow and tomorrow. It means someone to offer the love and fidelity and respect to who is worthy of it, someone to be compatible with, whose dreams and hopes are your dreams and hopes, who wants and will work and sacrifice also that the thing which the two of you have together shall last forever; someone whom you not only love but like too, which is more since it must outlast what when we are young we mean by love because without the liking and the respect, the love itself will not last.

Home is not merely four walls -- a house, a yard on a particular street, with a number on the gate. It can be a rented room or an apartment -- any four wall which house a marriage or a career or both the marriage and career at once. But it must be all the rooms or

apartments; all the houses on that street and all the streets in that association of streets until they become a whole, an integer, of people who have the same aspirations and hopes and problems and duties. Perhaps that collection, association, integer, is set in the little spot of geography which produced us in the image of, to be the inheritors of, its problems and dreams. But this is not necessary either; it can be anywhere, so long as we accept it as home; we can even move it, providing and demanding only that we are willing to accept the new problems and duties and aspirations with which we have replaced the old ones which we left behind us, will accept the hopes and aspirations of the people already there, who had established that place as an integer worthy of being served, and are willing to accept our hopes and aspirations in return for their duties and problems. Because the duties and problems were already ours; we merely changed their designations; we cannot shed obligations by moving, because if it is home we want, we do not want to escape them. They are in fact still the same ones, performed and solved for the same reason and result: the same peace and security in which love and devotion can be love and devotion without fear of violence and outrage and change.

If we accept this to mean "home," we do not need to look further than home to find where to start to work, to begin to change, to begin to rid ourselves of the fears and pressures which are making simple existence more and more uncertain and without dignity or peace or security, and which, to those who are incapable of believing in man, will in the end rid man of his problems by ridding him of himself. Let us do what is within our power. It will not be easy, of course:

just simple. Let us think first of, work first toward, saving the integer, association, collection which we call home. In fact, we must break ourselves of thinking in the terms foisted on us by the split-offs of that old dark spirit's ambition and ruthlessness: the empty clanging terms of "nation" and "fatherland" or "race" or "color" or need only work for what we want and deserve here. Home -- the house or even the rented room so long as it includes all the houses and rented rooms in which hope and aspire the same hopes and aspirations -- the street, then all the streets where dwell that voluntary association of people, simple men and women mutually confederated by identical hopes and aspirations and problems and duties and needs, to that point where they can say, "These simple things -- security and freedom and peace -- are not only possible, not only can and must be, but they shall be." Home: not where I live or it lives, but where we live: a thousand then tens of thousands of little integers scattered and fixed firmer and more impregnable and more solid than rocks or citadels about the earth, so that the ruthless and ambitious split-offs of the ancient dark spirit shall look at the one and say, "There is nothing for us here," founded like fortresses about the whole inhabited earth, and say, "There is nothing for us any more anywhere. Man -- simple unfrightened invincible men and women -- has beaten us." Then man can put that final signature to his job and say, "We finished it, and it works."

# Battle McCarthyism, Save Liberty, Is Plea

## Rabbi Friedman Says in Sermon Republic Must End Cowardice and Fight Back

"This republic was not established by cowards and cowards will not preserve it." That challenge was issued Friday

night by Rabbi Herbert Friedman of Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun in a sermon. He called for a courageous fight against McCarthyism and conformity in order to preserve liberty in the United States. The time has come when men who love liberty must "fight back" in order to preserve liberty here, the rabbi declared. Such a fight is in the true American tradition, he said.

The country has seen a departure from the early American tradition of the frontiersman, the pioneer and the man who thinks for himself, the rabbi said. Instead, we have a mass of "conformists," with those who do not think and act as individuals branded as radicals or un-American, he said.

There are two kinds of conformity existent here, the rabbi said. The first is agreement with the aims and methods of Senator McCarthy, he said.

### End Justifies the Means

"When we begin to agree with McCarthyism—'root out Communists even if you have to hurt innocent people'—we are conforming to the concept that the end justifies the means," Rabbi Friedman said.

As for himself, the rabbi said he would stand with Judge Learned Hand in maintaining that: "Risk for risk . . . I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection rather than spread about a spirit of general suspicion and distrust."

Agreement with McCarthy is

"the worst kind of betrayal of American liberty," the rabbi said. The second kind is "not so hideous as pathetic," he said.

"When we disagree with McCarthyism but are afraid to do anything about it, we are conforming to the miasma of fear which spreads like a thick fog to choke out freedom," he declared.

### Engulfed by Trend

It is as a result of these two kinds of conformity that people in America feel engulfed by the trend and helpless to do anything about it, he said.

But the real danger of McCarthyism is what Senator Fulbright (Dem., Ark.) called "the swinish blight of anti-intellectualism," Rabbi Friedman said. It is the struggle, unleashed by McCarthy and exploited by other forces, between "primitives and intellectuals," he said.

"In America it takes the form of 'the clean muscled athlete against the eggheads' or the 'clear eyed cheerleaders against the longhairs,'" he said. "Their slogan might be: 'Keep an empty head in a healthy body; play golf, make money and don't have any dangerous ideas.'"

A native American dictatorship is a possibility, the rabbi said.

"Mussolini taught fascism with castor oil," he said. "Hitler taught nazism with rubber truncheons. Stalin taught communism with slave labor camps in Siberia. McCarthy wants to teach democracy with slippery elm clubs."

[This was a reference to a wish expressed publicly by McCarthy in 1952 in regard to Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for president.]

"You can't teach democracy that way," said the rabbi. "You only kill it."

### Like Soviet Saboteur

The schools, churches and government itself are under attack by McCarthy; the foreign information service is destroyed and the state department demoralized; the chief justice of the United States is "smeared" and now "the army has surrendered" to McCarthy, Rabbi Friedman said.

"What Soviet saboteur could do more to wreck our country?" he asked.

Rabbi Friedman listed three

things that could be done to fight for liberty. To do these things is the moral duty of the free man he said.

"Do not become frightened," he said. "Secondly, each man must define liberty in his own mind and understand when it is being infringed upon. Thirdly, he must fight back."

About 600 persons heard the sermon. The temple is at 2419 E. Kenwood blvd.



Rabbi Friedman