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"Twenty Questions on Civil Liberties." 25 March 1955.

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The Temple Bulletin

OF
Congregation Emanu-El B'ne
Jeshurun

Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Vol. 22, No. 14

March 23, 1955

Adar 29, 5715

Sabbath Services

Friday Evening, March 25, at 8 o'clock

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

will speak on:

"TWENTY QUESTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES"

Friday Evening, April 1, at 8 o'clock

DEDICATION OF TORAH AND CROWN

In Memory of
Harry Hankin

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

will speak on:

"THE SCROLL AND THE CHAPLAIN"

Delegates to the J.W.B. Regional Convention will take part in the service

Sabbath Morning Services

11:15 a.m.

Saturday, April 2, at 11:15 o'clock

Bar Mitzvah of

HARVEY EDWARD MARKS

Son of

Dr. and Mrs. Stanley J. Marks

THE TEMPLE BULLETIN

Published by
Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun
2419 E. Kenwood Boulevard
Telephone — EDgewood 2-6960

Affiliated with the
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

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Kaddish List

(Taken from Memorial Tablets)

March 25

Abraham Carlsruh Rickchen Meissner
Herbert E. Hartstein Morris Miller
Emil Strauss

April 1

Flora Blade Bertha Glass
Laura Bloch Adelina Lipman
Robert Braunfeld Dora S. Levin
Joseph A. Cohen Fannie Oplatka
Anna Eckstein Louis Roos
Meyer Fein Jacob Sadek
Karl Feld Abraham D. Usow

In Memoriam

MICHAEL LORE

WILLIAM WEISKOPF

SERMON NOTES

"TWENTY QUESTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES"

March 25

These are tense and difficult times. The problem of our age is to walk the tight-rope between national security and individual freedom. Legitimate demands of national security may require some curtailment of civil liberties, it is argued. On the other hand can the freedom of the nation really endure if the freedom of the individual is invaded?

A simple test of twenty questions has been drawn up by the American Civil Liberties Union, an outstanding nonpartisan organization which has been in existence since 1920. The answers to these test questions indicate the general direction of one's thinking. We shall mimeograph and distribute this list to those who attend the service this Friday evening. It will be interesting and instructive to see how the members of our congregation would vote on these basic questions of civil liberty.

H.A.F.

"THE SCROLL AND THE CHAPLAIN"

April 1

This Sabbath evening an unusual event of great joy and significance will take place. The family of the late Harry Hankin will present to the Temple, in his memory, a new Sefer Torah. This does not occur very often in the life of a congregation. It is always an occasion of rare happiness, particularly when associated with the memory of a man who lived by the Torah and loved it.

Present at this service will be the delegates of the Jewish Welfare Board, who are gathering from the entire midwest to participate in a convention here in Milwaukee that same week-end. The JWB is responsible for recruiting chaplains to serve in the armed forces. The sermon will deal with the meaning of a scroll in the life of a chaplain, and will be based upon personal experience.

H.A.F.

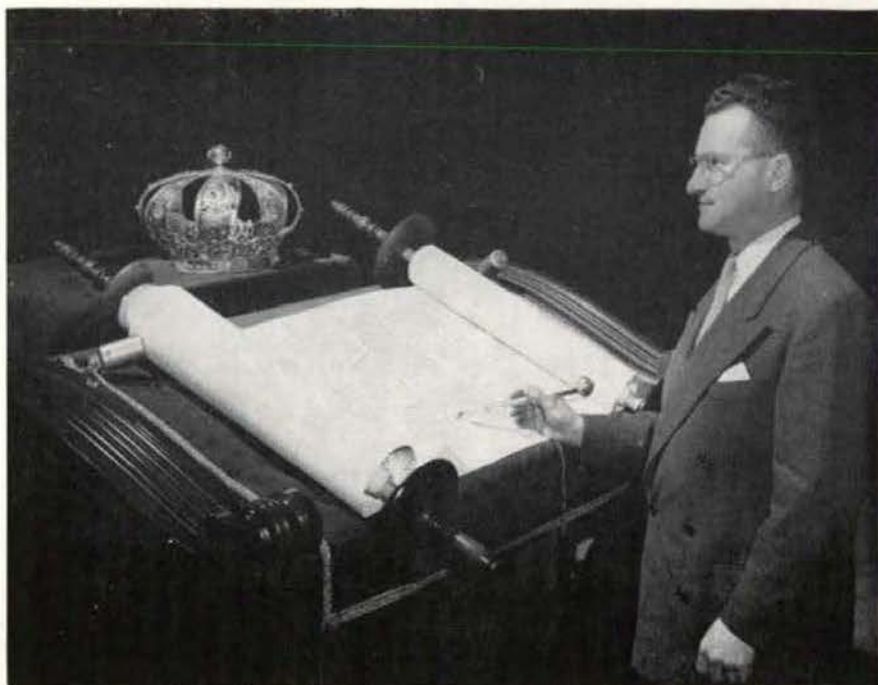
Reserve the Date!

Sunday Evening, May 22, 1955, 8 o'clock

ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATION

PRECEDED BY DINNER at 6 o'clock

NEW SEFER TORAH TO BE PRESENTED FRIDAY, APRIL 1



Mr. Bernard J. Hankin displays new Torah Scroll and Crown which will be presented to the Temple by the family of the late Harry Hankin.

The Scroll, written in Israel, has aroused the enthusiasm of all who have seen its beautiful script.

**A. RAYMOND KATZ ART EXHIBIT
AT JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER**

The paintings and art work of A. Raymond Katz, whose murals decorate the dome of our Main Sanctuary, are being exhibited at the Jewish Community Center presently under the co-sponsorship of our Religious School and the Center. Mr. Katz's works of art are travelling from coast to coast under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The collection of some 38 items of Jewish religious art will continue at the Center until April 10. It includes oil paintings, water colors, copies of murals, frescoes, stained and carved glass, mosaics, wood carvings and wrought brass.

**HAVE YOU PAID YOUR
TEMPLE DUES?**

The fiscal year of the Congregation will soon be drawing to a close. If you have neglected to pay your dues, won't you please send your remittance to the Temple office by April 10th.

**INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES
CONCLUDES SESSIONS MARCH 29**

The tenth and concluding session of lectures and discussions on "Immortal Jewish Personalities" will be held on Tuesday evening, March 29, at 8 o'clock.

The four instructors, Dr. Alfred Bader, Rabbi Herbert Friedman, Rabbi David Shapiro and Dr. Herman Weil will appear in an open panel discussing the subject "Are There Living Immortals?"

A coffee hour will follow the panel discussion.

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is pleased to announce the

ANNUAL PASSOVER SEDER

conducted by

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

and

Cantor Sol Altschuller

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 6, at 6 o'clock

at the Temple

Home cooked traditional Seder Meal

ADULTS—\$4.75

CHILDREN \$3.75 (under 12)

Chairmen—Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Marks

Reservations **MUST** be accompanied by check made out to TEMPLE SEDER FUND. Avoid disappointment—make your reservations early!

Kindly fill out and send your remittance to TEMPLE SEDER FUND, 2419 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee

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There was mood of hysteria in America
after World War I.

Organization was formed in 1920 to combat this.

"The American Civil Liberties Union is the only
permanent national non-partisan organization
defending the Bill of Rights for everybody. The ACLU
fights for the civil liberties even of those whose
anti-democratic opinions it abhors. In order to do so,
the ACLU bars from its governing councils all
totalitarians of right and left."

General counsels are such men as
Arthur Garfield Hays
Morris Ernst

The ACLU put out this quiz in order
to test attitudes on civil liberties.
How would you score?

(Go through twenty questions)

4 March 55

TI

LOYALTY SECRECY DEFENDED BY U. S.

Supreme Court Brief Argues
Confronting of an Accuser
Might Imperil Security

WASHINGTON, March 3 (UP)

The Eisenhower Administration told the Supreme Court today it might imperil the security of the country to give Government employees charged with disloyalty a chance to confront their accusers.

The Justice Department made the statement in a brief urging the court to uphold the dismissal of Dr. John P. Peters from the United States Public Health Service in 1951.

The Government said "vital sources of information * * * might well dry up to the detriment of the basic security of the country" if Government employees were allowed to cross-examine secret informants in security cases.

Dr. Peters, now senior Professor of Medicine at Yale University, was dismissed by the Public Health service after a loyalty board had found there was "reasonable doubt" of his loyalty. He contended he had had no chance to defend himself against "unsworn, second-hand statements to the F. B. I." He denied under oath he was a Communist.

U. S. Defends Practice

The Justice Department said the Government depended to a great extent in its security operations on "undercover agents, paid informers and casual informers." It said they "must be guaranteed anonymity."

"Evidence which would be rejected under established legal doctrine in a criminal proceeding could well be the compelling reason for the dismissal of an employee on loyalty grounds," the Government asserted.

Dr. Peters argued that "the issue is solely the use of star chamber methods to impose on nonsensitive employees the stigma of a dishonorable discharge and disqualification from Government service."

President Eisenhower said in a speech in 1953 that the right to meet one's accuser "face to face" was a basic American privilege that could not be taken away.

The Justice Department, in its 120-page brief signed by Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, said Government employees were not entitled to a judicial review of the merits of their dismissals. It said the stigma of a dishonorable discharge did not give the employee any right to an appeal that were not applicable to other dismissals from the Government.

Stain of Dismissal

"It might be equally difficult for one dismissed for the acceptance of bribes, theft, sex offenses, or even incompetence to obtain suitable employment elsewhere," the Government said.

The department conceded that "the stain of a dismissal on loyalty grounds is a deep one which 'has become a badge of infamy.'" But it said the power of Congress and the Executive to dismiss Federal employees was unrestricted.

The Supreme Court soon will schedule oral arguments on the case. It probably will hand down a decision later this term.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Engineers and Scientists of America, representing 40,000 professional and technical workers, have urged the Supreme Court to uphold Dr. Peters.

Dr. Peters' case was accepted for review by the Supreme Court last November after the United States Court of Appeals here had voted 2 to 1 to sustain the dismissal of his job suit. He had been employed as a special consultant in the Health Service, now a part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

I said the purpose of this quiz was to test attitudes.

That has been done recently in a very scientific poll conducted by the Gallup Poll under the direction of Prof. Samuel Stouffer of the Department of Sociology at Harvard. The results will be published in a forthcoming book to be entitled "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties."

Look magazine This week carries some preliminary findings.

"Americas community leaders are firmer about basic civil liberties than the public at-large and they are showing awareness of their duty to protect the national heritage."

Some of the answers are encouraging, such as giving a man the right to speak, even if he is an admitted communist.

"Suppose a man who admits he is a communist wants to make a speech in your community, should he be allowed to speak or not?"

		PUBLIC	LEADERS
YES	_____	27%	51%
NO	_____	68%	47%
DON'T KNOW	_____	5%	2%

But on other matters there are some disturbing signs:

"Which of these two is more important?"

	<u>PUBLIC</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>
To find communists, even if some innocent people should be hurt?	58	42
To protect the rights of innocent people, even if some communists get by?	32	52
Don't know	10	6

"Do you or don't you think the government should have the right to listen in on people's private telephone conversations in order to get evidence against communists?"

	<u>PUBLIC</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>
YES	64	62
NO	27	33
Don't know	9	5

These signs show that people are still fearful even leaders — and require constant bolstering.

A fine example of leadership is the recent action of the Milwaukee Bar Association. The House Committee on Un-American Affairs is today hearing in Milwaukee this coming Mon-Tues-Wed. (Tell little bit about background).

Milwaukee Bar offered legal counsel to all witnesses.

Lawyers Offer Aid at Hearing

Red Probe Move

Legal service will be available to all witnesses at a hearing before a subcommittee of the house committee on un-American affairs next week in the federal building. A total of 14 persons presumed to know something about Communist activities in Wisconsin have been subpoenaed for the hearing.

The offer of legal service was made Wednesday by the Milwaukee Bar association. The association has prepared a panel of 9 or 10 attorneys who will be available to represent those subpoenaed.

Names of the attorneys can be obtained from the association office by would-be clients.

Resolution Adopted

The reason for the association's action was expressed in a resolution adopted Tuesday by the association's executive committee. The resolution said:

"Under our system of justice every person is entitled to the benefit of adequate legal counsel in any situation affecting his legal rights; the representation of such persons is a proper duty of members of the bar; there are no adverse inferences or unfavorable implications to be made or drawn against any attorney for the proper and vigorous representation of any client in any situation, nor does such representation bear any stigma or constitute any evidence of the personal opinions or beliefs, political or otherwise, of the attorney so engaged; but is instead to be construed as an honorable discharge of his duties in the administration of law and justice."

11 More Subpoenaed

Legal service will not be free unless the client is indigent, an association spokesman said. But the plan will make it possible for all who wish to be represented by

an attorney, he said. There have been cases where lawyers have been stigmatized for representing clients popularly considered undesirable, and it is this that the association wants to avoid, he said.

The names of 11 more witnesses who have been subpoenaed to testify before the subcommittee were announced in Washington, D. C. Tuesday.

The additional witnesses are: James De Witt, international representative of the United Electrical Workers' union; John J. Kullian, former trustee and chairman of the union's local 1111 at the Allen-Bradley Co.; Alfred H. Hirsch, former editor of the CIO News here; Mortimer Altman, James R. Eggleston, Merle Snyder, Sidney Berger, Mark Berman, Murray Wolfson, George L. Sommers and Harry Virgil. All are from the Milwaukee area.

Start on Monday

The subcommittee will hold hearings Monday through Wednesday. The announcement brought the total witnesses known to have been subpoenaed to 14.

Those who it was previously learned had been subpoenaed were Sigmund Elenscher, former Milwaukee county Communist party chairman; John Gilman, executive director of the Wisconsin Civil Rights congress, and Jerry Rose, who has been named as south side Communist leader here.

The investigation was prompted by disclosures of Michael J. Ondrejka, jr., who testified in a Chicago trial that he had been a Communist party member at the request of the FBI for five years. Ondrejka is a production worker at the Allen-Bradley plant and also an attorney.

A committee investigator, W. Jackson Jones, was to come to Milwaukee Wednesday. The subcommittee chairman, Representative Doyle (Dem., Calif.) said Jones would be at the Schroeder hotel to interview persons who have information for the subcommittee.

This is in the best tradition of John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., two young lawyers who defended Capt. Russell and the British soldiers who participated in the Boston Massacre. They were recognized patriots, but they responded to a call for their services because they felt the liberty of every man should be defended as well as possible.

The back of Melanthism seems to be broken.

Methods of congressional committees are improper.

We will watch this closely and suggest certain precautions in mind of committee members and general public:

Let it be remembered:

1. That not every witness who invokes 5th amendment is a communist (Biswold's position)
2. That not every government witness is impeachable. Informers are a peculiar breed - Mathews.
3. That not every question can be answered "yes" or "no".
4. That non-conformity is not treason.
5. That the truly treasonable and conspiratorial must be ferreted out - not merely the dissenters.

The evils of communism are great — the disregard of civil rights is no less dangerous to freedom.

People must not be afraid. "Anticipatory self-restraint must be avoided. If every time you start to think, you stop to think (that you may be wire-tapped or summoned) — the ~~whole~~ ^{essence} of freedom is cut."

Keep thinking — and slowly the balance of sanity will return.

TWENTY QUESTIONS
ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. Government employess accused of disloyalty should have the right to know the sources of information against them and to cross-examine their accusers. Y ☒ N
2. Police and other censors should be allowed to ban books and movies such as "Studs Lonigan" or "The Miracle". Y ☒ N
3. Personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job, regardless of his race, religion or national origin. Y ☒ N
4. The teaching of sectarian religion should be permitted in public schools. Y ☒ N
5. The right to vote should be restricted by poll taxes, white primaries and other such devices. Y ☒ N
6. State universities are justified in using a quota system to limit enrollment by members of certain racial and religious groups. Y ☒ N
7. Gerald L. K. Smith and William Z. Foster should have the same right to make public speeches as other political leaders. Y ☒ N
8. Trade unions are entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion or national origin. Y ☒ N
9. Any private individual should have the right to criticize any government or government official anywhere in the world. Y ☒ N
10. Police officials should have the right to listen in on private phone conversations. Y ☒ N
11. Employers should be permitted to state their views regarding labor unions to their workers. Y ☒ N
12. Movies, plays and books should be suppressed if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group. *Oliver Twist* Y ☒ N
13. The federal government should intervene to prosecute lynchers when states or local communities fail to act. Y ☒ N
14. Labor's right to picket includes the right to deny access to struck plants by force of numbers. Y ☒ N
15. Citizens of all nations should be permitted to immigrate into the U. S., subject to quota limitations, etc. Y ☒ N
16. The Attorney General is justified in issuing his list of "subversive" organizations without granting them prior hearings. Y ☒ N
17. Congress should investigate individuals' political beliefs in order to determine whether they are "un-American". Y ☒ N
18. The government is justified in barring temporary foreign visitors because of their political principles. Y ☒ N
19. Tests of government employees' loyalty should be confined to jobs where national security is involved. Y ☒ N
20. Public school and college teachers should be required to sign a special non-Communist loyalty oath. Y ☒ N

YES

23 March 55

THE

CELLER ASKS CURB ON ALL WIRETAPS

Would Limit the Practice to
Federal Judges' Orders—
F. B. I. Defends Policy

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 23 — Representative Emanuel Celler called today for an end of Justice Department wiretapping on its own authority.

As chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, the Brooklyn Democrat opened hearings on five wiretap bills. He declared that all taps should be outlawed except those ordered by Federal judges.

Under present practice the Federal Bureau of Investigation installs wiretaps when J. Edgar Hoover, its director, obtains personal permission from Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. Warren Olney 3d, Chief of the Justice Department criminal division, testified that this was the procedure.

Mr. Olney defended the practice. He said Mr. Brownell thought wiretapping was "a good thing" in fighting crime and subversion. In practice, Mr. Olney said, the F. B. I. made relatively few taps.

"I know of no instance," he said, "when any unauthorized tap by an F. B. I. agent ever came to light." He said he was sure Mr. Brownell "would prosecute any F. B. I. agent who wiretapped without the specific approval of the Attorney General. And I'm sure," he added, "that you'd see Mr. Hoover in his office insisting that he do so."

Under interpretations of the Federal Communications Act, wiretapping is not deemed illegal unless the results of the tap are divulged.

"This," commented Representative Laurence Curtis, Republican of Massachusetts, "strikes me as similar to a law which would make bank robbery legal so long as the thief did not spend the proceeds."

Celler Would Limit Taps

Mr. Celler is the author of one of the bills before the committee. His bill, like the others, would outlaw wiretapping except in national security investigations and felonies such as kidnapping.

The Representatives and the Justice Department were in agreement that unauthorized tapping, like that exposed in the recent New York City wiretap scandal, should be outlawed.

Mr. Celler described this brand of activity as "a vicious cancer" that "must be cut out."

Mr. Olney said that Mr. Brownell "detests the practice and thinks it should be made illegal." At issue between the Representatives and the Justice Department, however, is the more delicate question of how free a hand Federal law enforcers should have in using the wiretap.

Last year Mr. Brownell asked Congress to authorize court use of intercepted information. This is still forbidden.

In fact, Mr. Olney testified, the F. B. I. uses its taps only to develop leads. When it appears that an investigation may develop into a court case, he said, "they have to pull them all out so they won't be in a position of having used taps to develop a criminal case."

The wiretap information stays within the F. B. I., Mr. Olney said, and is never seen by the Justice Department's prosecutors.

Keating Gets Delay

General Sessions Judge Jonah J. Goldstein yesterday gave William J. Keating until Tuesday to start serving a five-day jail sentence for contempt of the court and a grand jury.

Judge Goldstein had ruled Mr. Keating in contempt on Tuesday for refusing to give the grand jury the sources of information on the basis of which he brought the wiretapping scandal into the open on Feb. 17. He said the police had hushed up for six days the facts of a raid on an East Side center for illegal wiretapping. Judge Goldstein had ordered Mr. Keating to start serving his sentence tomorrow.

Mr. Keating, retiring staff counsel to the New York City Anti-Crime Committee, is seeking a review by the Appellate Division of his conviction. His attorney, James D. C. Murray, asked Judge Goldstein to stay execution of sentence until Tuesday, when the Appellate Division is scheduled to sit.

*How the people
feel about*

Communism and Civil Liberties

By SAMUEL A. STOUFFER Professor of Sociology at Harvard University

America's community leaders are firmer about basic civil liberties than the public-at-large and they are showing awareness of their duty to protect the national heritage

SEVERAL times in American history, movements have risen to attack the foundations of our freedom. Only ten years after the Constitution was signed, the Alien and Sedition Act made it possible to throw into jail an editor who criticized the government, or a bystander at a political meeting. The Know-Nothing party and the Ku Klux Klan—these were manifestations of ignorance, intolerance and hysteria in American life. But, in the long run, sensible opinion, led by sensible men, superseded outbursts of anger, anxiety or fear. American demagogues and extremist movements fall when the “sober second thought of the people” prevails.

Let us examine American opinion today on some basic questions of freedom—those civil liberties imbedded within the Bill of Rights. Our sample is 5,000 Americans and 1,500 of their community leaders.

“If a person wanted to make a speech in your community favoring government ownership of all the railroads and big industries, should he be allowed to speak or not?”

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	58%	84%
No	31%	14%
Don't know	11%	2%

54% of the public (and 47% of local leaders) said an advocate of government ownership should *not* be allowed to teach in a college.



35% of the public favored removing from the public library a book favoring government ownership; only 18% of the community leaders agreed.

“If a person wanted to make a speech in your community against churches and religion, should he be allowed to speak or not?”

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	37%	64%
No	60%	34%
Don't know	3%	2%

60% of the public would favor removing a book “against churches and religion” from the public library; only 34% of the community leaders would do this.

84% of the public would not allow an opponent of religion to teach in a college or university; neither would 71% of the community leaders.

This very strong expression of views against critics of religion is the more striking if we compare it with answers to this question:

“Consider a man whose loyalty has been questioned before a Congressional committee, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist. Should he be allowed to make a speech in your community or not?”

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	70%	87%
No	21%	11%
Don't know	9%	2%

In other words, a man accused of being a Communist is granted a greater degree of freedom to talk than is a man opposed to religion (70% as against 37%). Notice how 1,500 community leaders voted on this:

continued

The accused gets a break from the public

WILLING TO LET HIM SPEAK

Mayors	88%
Presidents, school boards	87%
Presidents, library boards	89%
Chairmen, Republican county central committees	86%
Chairmen, Democratic county central committees	89%
Presidents, Chambers of Commerce	88%
Presidents, labor unions	87%
Commanders, American Legion	86%
Regents, DAR	84%
Chairmen, community chests	88%
Presidents, bar associations	87%
Newspaper publishers	93%
Presidents, women's clubs	81%
Presidents, Parent-Teacher Assns.	86%

It is interesting to note that the leaders of the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution, like all other leaders, were far more "liberal" in their vote than the public-at-large on this, as on questions involving basic civil liberties.

Further answers, concerning a man whose loyalty has been questioned but who swears he is not a Communist, reveal that:

71% of the public, and 88% of the community leaders, oppose removing from the library a book written by such a man.

69% of the public, and 80% of the leaders, would not fire such a man from a high-school teaching job or a college teaching job.

72% of the public, and 82% of the community leaders, would not fire such a man from a defense-plant job.

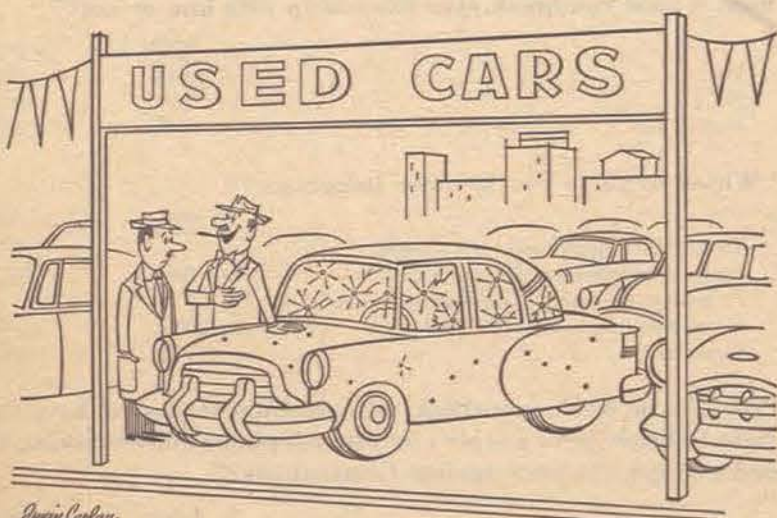
86% of American Legion commanders and 84% of DAR regents support the basic American idea of letting a man exercise his right to free speech (the man in this case being one whose loyalty was questioned but who swears under oath that he never was a Communist); only 70% of the public-at-large would let him speak.

In all these questions, the majority of the American people do not regard an accused man as automatically guilty and are willing to accept his denial under oath. . . . And on all these issues, the local community leaders rally much more firmly to the principles of civil liberties than does the public-at-large. Now let us test the extreme case:

"Suppose a man who admits he is a Communist wants to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak or not?"

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	27%	51%
No	68%	47%
Don't know	5%	2%

Who among the 1,500 community leaders themselves were willing to let a Communist talk?



Marvin Kaplan

LOOK

"Only been driven three miles. Belonged to a couple of old bank robbers."

You're looking at the famous
WEAREVER Pennant fountain pen

WEAREVER Pennant is
America's leading pen value—

With your choice of five
Hardaloy-tipped, inter-
changeable points that
promise years of smooth,
carefree writing—

With C-Flow feed that
insures instant starting
and shows when to refill—
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ink capacity.

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that suits you best.
(Point includes sac)

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POLL continued

A majority would jail all admitted Reds

Mayors	39%
Presidents, school boards	40%
Presidents, library boards	67%
Chairmen, Republican county central committees	59%
Chairmen, Democratic county central committees	56%
Presidents, chambers of commerce	46%
Presidents, labor unions	45%
Commanders, American Legion	47%
Regents, DAR	39%
Chairmen, community chests	62%
Presidents, bar associations	63%
Newspaper publishers	73%
Presidents, women's clubs	39%
Presidents, Parent-Teacher Assns.	43%

Note that every category of leadership is substantially more liberal on free speech for an admitted Communist than the general public. Tolerance is never absolute. All of us have some limits beyond which we cannot be permissive. In the minds of most people, general public and leaders alike, Communists have forfeited their right to hold sensitive jobs.

Should a Communist be fired from his job as:

	A H. S. Teacher?		A College Teacher?		A Store Clerk?	
	PUBLIC	LEADERS	PUBLIC	LEADERS	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	91%	89%	89%	86%	68%	51%
No	5%	9%	6%	11%	26%	45%
Don't know	4%	2%	5%	3%	6%	4%

63% of the public, 48% of the leaders, think a Communist should be fired as a singer on a radio show.

36% of the public, 27% of the leaders, would boycott a commodity whose manufacturers used a singer on a radio show who was an admitted Communist.

77% of the public said an admitted Communist should have his American citizenship taken away; 66% of our community leaders agreed.

51% said an admitted Communist should be put in jail! Only 27% of the community leaders held this view.

"Suppose a man says he refused to answer certain questions about communism because he does not want to be forced to testify against his former friends. Should he be punished very severely, severely, not too severely or not at all?"

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Very severely	6%	6%
Severely	23%	33%
Not too severely	34%	32%
Not at all	22%	18%
Don't know	15%	11%

"Suppose you discovered that one of your friends today had been a Communist ten years ago, although you are sure he is not now. Would you break your friendship with him or not?"

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	14%	7%
No	78%	89%
Don't know	8%	4%

"Which of these two is more important?"

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
To find the Communists even if some innocent people should be hurt?	58%	42%
To protect the rights of innocent people even if some Communists are not found out?	32%	52%
Don't know	10%	6%

"Do you or don't you think the government should have the right to listen in on people's private telephone conversations, in order to get evidence against Communists?"

	PUBLIC	LEADERS
Yes	64%	62%
No	27%	33%
Don't know	9%	5%

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POLL continued

A word of caution: Although this survey is one of the most painstaking ever made, the reader must not take the percentages too literally. As we saw in our first article, these opinions do not reflect deep personal anxiety or concern. The American people do not lie awake at night worrying about either communism or civil liberties. Every poll shows that a great many Americans are poorly informed about political problems. They do not follow the news. Consider, for instance, this fact: Our poll was begun while interest in the Army-McCarthy hearings was at its height, when headlines and television coverage seemed to be monopolized by the dramatic daily battle. We asked:

"Do you happen to know the names of any of the senators or congressmen who have been taking a leading part in these investigations of communism? Who are they?"

The answers seem incredible: 30%, nearly one third of our sample of the American population, could not come up with a single correct name of an investigator of communism—not even the name of Sen. Joseph McCarthy!

What, then, do opinions like these represent? They represent a mental "set," a tendency to act. They are no guarantee of action. If a man says he favors purging a "dangerous" book from the library, he is probably more likely to support such an action in his community than a man who says he does not favor purging a "dangerous" book. But his future action will depend on many things—above all, on the action, advice or example of those people whom he respects. That is one reason why I regard the poll of community leaders as so revealing.

It is extremely important, nevertheless, to chart the mental "sets" of the American people, and especially to know what kinds of people are most likely to take that "sober second thought" which has always been the bulwark of our freedom.

Let me now draw some conclusions on tolerance in the United States. By tolerance, we do not mean approval of "offbeat" ideas. We mean, rather, willingness to protect the rights of people who hold such ideas. Very specifically, we mean respect for the rights of four types of non-conformists we specifically asked people about: an advocate of government ownership; a man who wants to make a speech against religion; a man whose loyalty has been questioned in a Congressional committee but who denied under oath that he was a Communist; and an admitted Communist. We constructed a careful statistical "scale," based on 15 separate questions, to measure "more tolerant" or "less tolerant." The results are very interesting:

- 1 Community leaders are more tolerant than the public-at-large.
 - 2 Younger people are more tolerant than older people.
 - 3 The better the education, the higher the degree of tolerance. Percentages with high tolerance scores:
- | | |
|------------------------|-----|
| College graduates | 66% |
| Some college training | 53% |
| High-school graduates | 42% |
| Some high-school study | 29% |
| No high-school study | 16% |
- continued



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American women are more intolerant than American men

4 Heads of patriotic groups (like the DAR and the American Legion) tend to be less willing to tolerate nonconformists than other community leaders (lawyers, publishers, political leaders). But DAR regents and commanders of Legion posts score much higher in the "more tolerant" group than the general population does.

5 Veterans in our cross section are found in the "more tolerant" group more often than the average person: 43% as compared with 31%.

6 Veterans who are members of the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars are somewhat less tolerant than those associated with no organization.

7 World War II veterans are more likely to be tolerant than World War I veterans.

8 Rural people are less tolerant than city people—even when of the same age and schooling.

9 The Far West is more tolerant than the East and the Middle West. The South is least tolerant.

10 Rural Midwesterners are not less tolerant than rural people in the rest of the country; they are less tolerant than city people. The Midwest is less tolerant than the East or the West because such a large proportion of Midwesterners live in small towns and on farms.

11 Women are less tolerant (of nonconformists) than men—regardless of area and at all educational levels.

12 Women are less interested in politics. (And less interested people are generally less tolerant.)

13 Women who are gainfully employed tend to be less tolerant than men in the same occupations.

14 Housewives are less tolerant than men in occupations like their husbands'.

15 Churchgoers are less tolerant towards nonconformists (or suspected nonconformists) than nonchurchgoers—even on issues not involving religion.

How can we summarize our findings? Our first article showed there is no evidence that the country suffers from an anxiety neurosis about the internal Communist threat. If there is a sickness, it is more like dietary deficiency.

People have fed upon vague and distorted information about Communists. Many show little or no awareness of the harmful effects upon our own freedom of measures taken in response to the Communist issue. On point after point, local community leaders are clearer and firmer about basic civil liberties than is the public-at-large—even though the leaders' indifference to certain aspects of our freedom may be surprising in some cases. Perhaps our leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the need to protect the American heritage.

Some people fear the effects of education precisely because it does challenge tradition (religious and political) and does stimulate independence of thought. Yet public-opinion polls also find people almost unanimous in saying they want their children to get a better education than they had—this is part of the "American dream."

Our people are moving around increasingly. And, like education, new environments expose people to values different from those they learned at home, and teach them that what is different is not necessarily "bad."

Nobody could read through the long and detailed answers to the questionnaires in our study—especially the spontaneous comments recorded verbatim by our interviewers—without coming to the conclusion that most of the seemingly intolerant people are good, wholesome Americans. Many of them simply draw normal inferences from premises which are false because the information on which their premises are based is false. (For example, the premise that "freethinkers" are Commu-

nists.) They have not yet given a "sober second thought" to the broader, long-range consequences of specific denials of freedom. And here the leaders of American communities have a direct and important civic duty.

Most Americans subscribe to certain values which they learn in childhood. One is a basic sense of fair play—a dislike of the bully who pushes other people around. Second is a respect for the truth and for the right to hear the truth spoken. Third is a concern not to be played for a sucker. Fourth is a deep patriotism which opposes policies believed to be harmful to the nation. These values can be enlisted in the cause of free speech.

The very remoteness of the problems of civil liberties from personal experience makes the problem of free speech in a time of crisis difficult to convey to the popular mind. We have seen, in the first article, that some Americans called "Communist" such things as taking pictures of bridges with a foreign camera, favoring the U.N., "not seeming interested in money" or having a map of Russia in the home. Most Americans were far more concerned about the spread of Communist ideas, as on religion, than about actual sabotage or espionage.

Because of the subtlety of a slow erosion of civil liberties, dramatic presentation is difficult—as difficult as it was for years to dramatize the erosion of American topsoil. A few handfuls of loam here, a few there, washed down our rivers do not make headlines.

America's religious leaders must bear an especially heavy obligation. We cannot deny that, on the basis of our intensive poll and figures, a considerable element in American anti-intellectualism is religious in origin. And not without some justification—since education often does result in a chipping away of faith in some traditional religious tenets.

The evils of communism are great; the disregard of civil rights is no less dangerous to our freedom; the two are so intertwined that their disentanglement cannot be easy. Yet disentangled they must be if our people are to understand what Americanism really means: that freedom lies precisely in defending the rights of people whose views we may hate or fear; that there is an enormous difference between unorthodox ideas and treasonable acts; that dissent is not synonymous with disloyalty; that only through criticism and controversy can freedom really be preserved; that to restrict the legal freedom of one person (even of a man whose ideas we detest) is to strike a secret blow at the freedom of all of us. The Founding Fathers knew all this and put it squarely into the Bill of Rights. How many of us have forgotten it?

This article is based on one of the most searching surveys of public opinion ever conducted in the United States. The study was planned by Prof. Samuel A. Stouffer, Harvard; Frank Stanton, president, CBS; Logan Wilson, president, University of Texas; Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune; Porter Chandler, New York attorney; Prof. Paul Lazarsfeld, Columbia University; Prof. Alexander Leighton, Cornell. Responsibility for this article is, however, assumed by Professor Stouffer alone.

Identical questions were asked by two leading organizations (the American Institute of Public Opinion—"The Gallup Poll"—and the National Opinion Research Center), who worked independently. Each conducted interviews, which lasted well over an hour, with its own carefully selected sample of approximately 2,500 Americans. At the same time, 1,500 community leaders were interviewed.

The results of the survey will be explained in a forthcoming book by Professor Stouffer called *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (Doubleday).

—THE EDITORS



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