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American Civil Liberties Union, 1935-1936.

October 21, 1935.

Editor
San Francisco Daily News
San Francisco, Cal.

Sir:

The Hearst press all over the country has been recently kicking up a great to-do about the alleged Communism of the American Civil Liberties Union, parading the evidence in an editorial entitled "Unmasked".

That editorial makes two points; first, that the Civil Liberties Union defends the rights of Communists as it does all other citizens, which is admitted; and second, that the director of the Union, far from being an honest defender of free speech for all, is in fact a Communist, which is denied.

In regard to the first point, nothing need be said except that the American tradition of civil liberty demands its application to all groups, whatever their character, and to all utterances or publications, in the absence of acts of violence. The "Americanism" of the Hearst press would draw the line short of that historic concept by punishing certain utterances and by outlawing left-wing movements. That is thoroughly un-American.

As to the second point, I may be permitted to speak personally. I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party. My goal and method, political and economic, is based wholly on reducing and ultimately abolishing all violence in human relations. I am sympathetic with the economic system being worked out in Soviet Russia. I believe in the economic goal of communism - namely, sharing in common the world's wealth. To my mind there is no higher ethical principle than that which marks the ethics, not of political Communism as it is understood today, but of Communism in its early Christian sense, -- "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

The Hearst papers to prove me a political Communist, quote from an article I wrote for a private Harvard Class Book which in explaining my economic philosophy, used one phrase - "Communism is the goal". It was clear by its context that I used the word in its economic not political sense, for it was followed by a clear definition which the Hearst papers were careful to omit: "It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution by the most effective non-violence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."


Editor of the San Francisco Daily News

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I suppose anyone tempering his language to the winds of reaction these days should never have used "communism" in any sense, even in a private Harvard Class Book. But I am not given to being canny.

The main point that the American Civil Liberties Union stresses in answer to such critics as the Hearst press is that their conception of Americanism is disloyal to democratic processes. It smacks of the philosophy of the Fascist state, which suppresses all opposition. The American Civil Liberties Union has never failed to defend loyally the American tradition of freedom of agitation for all, without discrimination. We would even defend the right of the Hearst press to attack us, if that should conceivably be necessary.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)  Roger W. Baldwin

RNB/IE

Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord: and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?—Jer. 23:29

(The text for today was suggested by the Rev. Harry H. MacArthur, pastor of Fountain Avenue Baptist Church, Hollywood. The text for tomorrow will be suggested by the Rev. William E. Roberts, pastor of West Adams Presbyterian Church)

UNMASKED

WHENEVER a patriotic bill is introduced in Congress or in a state Legislature, the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION almost always pops up in opposition.

Whenever a movement is under way to REPEAL such a measure, the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION will usually be found vociferously DEMANDING repeal.

Whenever a deportable alien falls into Federal custody, and is likely to be shipped back where he belongs, the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION is generally discovered to be the "organization" that sends lawyers to his aid.

Rather recently, the American Civil Liberties Union published, in its quarterly report, a review of its own activities up to July 1, 1935.

At that time Professor Harry Elmer Barnes published, under his signature, a laudatory comment on these activities, with a sneering reference to "PATRIOTEERS."

We quote from the language of this socialistic sociologist, bemoaning a few of the Civil Liberty Union's FAILURES:

"Among the reverses to civil liberty in the last few months have been the few but menacing acts which were put through state Legislatures, many of them before an effective campaign of opposition could be organized by the Civil Liberties Union:

"1. The passage of bills barring from the ballot parties which advocate "force and violence," "sedition or treason" in four states—Indiana, Delaware, Arkansas and Tennessee.

"2. The passage of teachers' loyalty oath bills in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan and New Jersey.

"3. The passage of a sedition bill in Michigan, considerably emasculated and not much stronger than the present Criminal Syndicalism Act.

"4. The so-called Anti-Nazi bill in New Jersey, by far the most sweeping piece of repressive legislation yet adopted. It will be tested in the courts."

NOW, the purpose of all this legislation which the American Civil Liberties Union OPPOSED was to safeguard the states and the Nation against the subversive "isms" of Europe and of our alien-minded Americans—against FASCISM and NAZISM and COMMUNISM alike.

COMMUNISM—due mainly to the aid and comfort given by such disguised Communist organizations as the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION and the AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM—is A REAL PUBLIC MENACE.

Moreover, the Communists and Communist sympathizers HABITUALLY use the outcry against "war" and "Fascism" to PROMOTE COMMUNISM.

WHENEVER you hear a prominent American called a "Fascist" you can usually

make up your mind that the man is simply a LOYAL CITIZEN who stands for AMERICANISM; that the Communists hate him for that very reason; and that the name-caller is either an AVOWED Communist or a SNEAK Communist—which really amount to the same thing.

Example: The Communist party newspaper in New York City refers to Representative Hamilton Fish as "That pioneer American Fascist."

How ridiculous—and how mendacious!

Of course, however, the SNEAK Communists will and do DENY that they are Communists.

And thus we find Roger N. Baldwin, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union DENYING that his organization is a COMMUNISTIC organization.

Mrs. Robert Low Bacon of Long Island, N. Y., wife of the distinguished member of Congress, had accused Baldwin of being a Communist in a letter published over her signature in the New York Herald-Tribune.

And so, here comes the revealing part of the story.

In Brookline, Maine, lives—or sojourns—Donald Parson, an alumnus of Harvard University, as is Roger N. Baldwin himself.

And Mr. Parson, having read Roger Baldwin's DENIAL of Communism in the Herald-Tribune, felt it to be his duty TO SHOW ROGER BALDWIN UP in the columns of the same publication, and IN ROGER BALDWIN'S OWN PHRASES.

WE QUOTE verbatim a letter written by Mr. Parson and published in the Herald-Tribune on October 8, 1935:

"In your issue of October 2, Roger N. Baldwin, as director of the American Civil Liberties Union, signs a statement replying to Mrs. Robert Low Bacon, containing these words:

"Her assertion that the Civil Liberties Union is a Communist organization is utterly untrue."

"Now what is truth? Pilate made the inquiry, and Mr. Baldwin, although a graduate of Harvard, whose motto is 'Veritas,' seems likewise doubtful of the correct answer.

"It happens that your correspondent was A CLASSMATE OF MR. BALDWIN, and in April of this year the usual class book was published, giving IN OUR OWN WORDS AN ACCOUNT OF OUR ACTIVITIES.

"Here is Mr. Baldwin's description of himself:

"I HAVE CONTINUED DIRECTING THE UNPOPULAR FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF AGITATION, AS DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. I HAVE BEEN TO EUROPE SEVERAL TIMES, MOSTLY IN CONNECTION WITH INTERNATIONAL RADICAL AC-

TIVITIES, CHIEFLY AGAINST WAR, FASCISM AND IMPERIALISM; AND HAVE TRAVELED CONSTANTLY IN THE UNITED STATES TO AREAS OF CONFLICT OVER WORKERS' RIGHTS TO STRIKE AND ORGANIZE.

"MY CHIEF AVERSION IS THE SYSTEM OF GREED, PRIVATE PROFIT, PRIVILEGE AND VIOLENCE WHICH MAKES UP THE CONTROL OF THE WORLD TODAY, AND WHICH HAS BROUGHT IT TO THE TRAGIC CRISIS OF UNPRECEDENTED HUNGER AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

"THEREFORE, I AM FOR SOCIALISM, DISARMAMENT AND, ULTIMATELY, FOR ABOLISHING THE STATE ITSELF AS AN INSTRUMENT OF VIOLENCE AND COMPULSION.

"I SEEK THE SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY, THE ABOLITION OF THE PROPRIETED CLASS AND SOLE CONTROL OF THOSE WHO PRODUCE WEALTH.

"COMMUNISM IS THE GOAL." "This accurately describes his activities. His DENIAL of them is EYE-WASH."

When a university graduate finds it necessary to rebuke and to expose a college classmate in words as severe as that, not much remains for anybody else to say.

ONE point more, however—a method of the American Civil Liberties Union, like its bed brother the American League Against War and Fascism, is to obtain the use of schools and other public buildings as meeting places to spread propaganda.

THIS IS GOING ON CONSTANTLY ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.

Last December, the American Civil Liberties Union sought the use of a city school building at San Diego, California, plausibly reciting that "it was proposed to have speakers representing different viewpoints address the meeting upon the general subject of 'Constitutional Rights in California.'"

The San Diego Board of Education investigated, and denied the application.

Then the local branch of Roger Baldwin's Civil Liberties Union went to court about it.

In upholding the action of the school board, Superior Court Judge Arthur L. Munday wrote:

"All of the members of the Board of Education testified that they had read Pages 56 and 57 of the report of an investigation of Communist propaganda made by a committee of the House of Representatives, which report is commonly known as the Fish report; that they had read this report prior to any action taken upon petitioner's application and that their decision was in part BASED UPON THE STATEMENTS MADE THEREIN

BY MR. ROGER N. BALDWIN, national director of the A. C. L. U. These statements were:

"THE CHAIRMAN: DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF A CITIZEN OR ALIEN—IT DOES NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE WHICH—TO ADVOCATE MURDER?"

"MR. BALDWIN: YES."

"THE CHAIRMAN: DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TO ADVOCATE FORCE AND VIOLENCE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT?"

"MR. BALDWIN: CERTAINLY, INsofar AS MERE ADVOCACY IS CONCERNED."

"THE CHAIRMAN: DOES IT UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF AN ALIEN IN THIS COUNTRY TO URGE THE OVERTHROW AND ADVOCATE THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE?"

"MR. BALDWIN: PRECISELY ON THE SAME BASIS AS ANY CITIZEN."

"THE CHAIRMAN: YOU DO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF AN ALIEN TO ADVOCATE THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE?"

"MR. BALDWIN: SURE; CERTAINLY. IT IS THE HEALTHIEST KIND OF THING FOR A COUNTRY, OF COURSE, TO HAVE FREE SPEECH—UNLIMITED."

"The board knew OF THEIR OWN KNOWLEDGE that members of the American Civil Liberties Union, on October the 15th, 1934, had appeared before them PROTESTING THE ACTION OF THE BOARD IN BARRING COMMUNISTS FROM SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

"They knew, AS A MATTER OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE, that in March of the same year the American Civil Liberties Union had ARRANGED MEETINGS in Imperial Valley where ORGANIZERS OF AN ADMITTEDLY COMMUNISTIC ORGANIZATION spoke and urged the agricultural workers TO JOIN A UNION SPONSORED BY THE COMMUNISTS."

WHAT San Diego did LET EVERY OTHER AMERICAN COMMUNITY DO!

Keep Roger N. Baldwin's American Civil Liberties Union and ALL OTHER COMMUNISTIC ORGANIZATIONS and ADVOCATES OF "FORCE AND VIOLENCE" against the Government OUT OF and AWAY FROM the public schools!

And let us PUT all Communists and KEEP all Communists out of the country.

World Opinion Split

KEEP OUT, SHAW
ADVISES BRITAIN

(Continued From Page Six)

the collision between tribalism and capitalism in Abyssinia?

As to Russia, the Soviets stand at present for Socialism in a single country; and that country is not Ethiopia. Nobody could do Russia a worse service just now than to drive Italy into the arms of Germany and implicate the Soviet Government in war when it is of vital importance to it to concentrate on home affairs and to be very glad to have Italy's hands full of a job irrelevant to Communism.

The situation is hard on the Negus; but it is kinder to tell him the truth. Only, will it be easy to make his people believe it?

They have defeated the Italian Army before. Why should they not do it again?

The next great civilization may be a Negro civilization, for there isn't the smallest scientific ground for the notion that pink or olive men are any better congenitally than brown, yellow or black men.

The Mahdi annihilated the disciplined force under Hicks, took Khartoum, slew Gordon and en-

abled his son to hold out for ten years before his brave Dervishes, charging gloriously in their white gimbahs, fell dead on the sands at 800 yards before Kitchener's rifles. Even Cetywayo had his triumphs at Isandhlwana.

If such feats were possible when the black man had only assegais and leather shields to oppose martinis, what may not happen when weapons and discipline are equal on both sides? Did not Faisal's Arabs cut Turks to pieces in spite of the Turkish army being the reputed best in Europe?

In short, isn't Negro and Arab history fully as glorious as Italian or British history when it is written in the same way, that is, by dwelling dithyrambically on all the victories and saying nothing about the defeats?

As against this heroic material for the jingo journalists and the Crusader priests, the Addis Ababa Negus may remember how Faisal was thrown out of Damascus by the French in spite of British promises by which Lawrence induced him to help us in our big war. He has seen Abdul Krim after an inspiring

victory over the Spanish troops crushed by the French and sent to, the latest substitute for St. Helene.

Abdul Krim's talent and courage and Faisal's modern culture availed as little as Cetywayo's personal force and military ability in the clash of African and Arabian tribal civilization with the bourgeois civilization.

Pink bourgeois may wither and become sterile under the African or Arabian sun in a few inbred generations but that does not alter the fact that men organized in big capitalist states inevitably conquer men who are organized tribally.

It is piteous and unromantic to see the statuesque warriors of the tribes, who are a credit to nature, slaughtered by the lowest category of slum products who have no right to exist; but such things must happen so long as this lowest category has a huge organization behind it and the warriors have only their war drums and the sort of pluck that means suicide in mechanized warfare.

We brought Cetywayo to London to let him see our resources for himself. He went back to Africa and died of discouragement.

I suppose the Negus must fight because if he doesn't the tribes will, possibly after killing him for cowardice. But in the long run the bourgeois will win; what is more, the European pow-

ers must take the bourgeois side and put pressure on the Negus even whilst they profess to put it on Il Duce.

They must willy nilly be loyal to their civilization, such as it is. The Italians must allow us to slaughter the nomads because, if we don't kill these warlike hill-men, they will kill us, and we must allow the Italians to slaughter the Danakils for the same reason.

Meanwhile, Chinese good manners and what is called British hypocrisy, always so touching in its perfect good faith, demand that we shall stand like rocks by the covenant and by Sir Samuel Hoare and by one another. The plighted word of England must be kept however heartily Irishmen all over the globe may laugh at that way of putting it.

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NOMALETTES

We cannot, of course, act alone; it would be treachery to the League to do so; but we shall go to war unhesitatingly in the interests of peace the moment all other League powers do the same.

To prepare for that contingency we shall arm ourselves to the teeth with all possible haste. Vickers and Sir Basil Zaharoff will flourish; employment will increase; and I shall get doubled

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interest on my little savings.

Meanwhile the Lion of Judah can depend on us to give Il Duce a very severe lecturing from Geneva if he persists in following our example rather than our precepts. This will be our official attitude.

Our real attitude is summed up

in Lady Huston's thrilling "damn the League of Nations." That is almost unladylike; but it is thoroughly sound.

The League will have to be born again, and born differently, before it can deal with resolute men who know its present impotence.

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MR. MEEHAN, MY SISTER BETTY WANTS SOME INSIDE DOPE ON FOOTBALL!

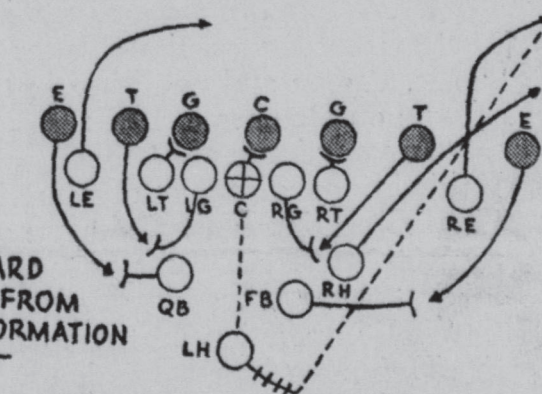
I'LL BE GLAD TO OBLIGE—COME UP IN THE STANDS AND WE'LL WATCH THIS PRACTICE GAME

WHAT A PERFECT PASS THOSE TWO MEN MADE!

IT TOOK ELEVEN MEN TO MAKE THAT PASS PERFECT! LOOK AT THIS CHART!

WHAT BETTY SAW—AND WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED

FORWARD PASS FROM PUNT FORMATION

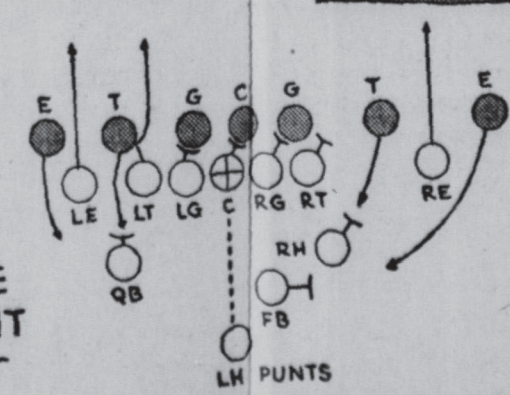


LE RUNS STRAIGHT, SWERVES TO RIGHT—LT BLOCKS GUARD—LG BLOCKS TACKLE—C BLOCKS C—RG BLOCKS TACKLE—RT BLOCKS GUARD—RE RUNS DOWN FIELD, SWERVES TO RIGHT—RH FAKES BLOCK, SWERVES TO RIGHT—FB BLOCKS END—QB BLOCKS FOR PASSER—LH FADES BACK AND SHOOTS PASS TO RE WHO IS SPRINTING TO RIGHT—

NOW WATCH THIS PUNT FROM THE SAME FORMATION!

I DIDN'T KNOW EACH MAN HAD SUCH A DEFINITE JOB!

THE PUNT



LE RUNS DOWN UNDER BALL—LT CHECKS TACKLE AND THEN RUNS DOWN UNDER BALL—LG, C, RG, AND RT HOLD LINE—RE RUNS DOWN FAST UNDER PUNT—RH BLOCKS TACKLE—FB BLOCKS END—QB BLOCKS TACKLE OR END—GIVING LH TIME TO PUNT

and this is how it was done

BETTY LEARNS THESE PLAYS—AND MANY OTHERS—

WELL, BETTS, DID YOU LEARN SOMETHING?

DID I! I CAN'T WAIT TO SEE THE BIG GAME!

REMEMBER, WATCH THE LINEMEN

BETTY SEES A BACK GET OFF A 60-YARD SPIRAL PUNT!

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

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October 23, 1935.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

You may have seen the recent attack on the Union in the Hearst press all over the country in a display editorial entitled "Unmasked". Our board feels that a reply to such charges should be widely published by other papers in cities where the Hearst press circulates, in order that our position may be made clear.

Would you be willing to be one of the members of the Union to sign the enclosed communication? Your prompt reply by air mail or wire collect will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Harry F. Ward
Chairman.

HFW/IE
Enc.

October 30, 1935

Mr. Henry F. Ward, Chairman,
American Civil Liberties Union,
31 Union Square West,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ward:

I did not reply to your letter of October 23 sooner because I have been away from Cleveland most of the time.

I did not see the article in the Hearst press which attacked the American Civil Liberties Union. I am therefore in no position to say whether the draft which you submitted to me is an adequate reply to the charges. Furthermore, I do not think that the sentence in the first paragraph of the draft beginning "If it were not for the alleged evidence, it would be unnecessary" etc., should be included. Not being a steady reader of the Hearst press, I am not in a position to declare, over my signature, that the Hearst papers have been "notorious for their false conception of Americanism; for their championship of gag legislation; and for their attacks upon every progressive cause."

I should be glad to sign a re-drafted statement but I should like to see the new draft before it is issued.

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

DRAFT

In a recent display editorial in the Hearst press all over the country, headed "Unmasked", the American Civil Liberties Union is made to appear a Communist organization. The professed documentary character of the misrepresentations may easily confuse and mislead friends of free speech. Therefore the undersigned members of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, responsible for its policies, reply to the charges. If it were not for the alleged evidence, it would be unnecessary to make any answer whatever to newspapers so long notorious for their false conception of Americanism; for their championship of gag legislation; and for their attacks upon every progressive cause.

The documents marshalled by the Hearst press consist of --

- (1) quotations from an article by Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, citing the Union's recent opposition to sedition and other gag legislation;
- (2) a quotation from an article written by the director of the Union for a private Harvard Class Book in which he explained his economic and political philosophy;
- (3) a quotation from the report of the so-called Fish Committee in Congress in which Mr. Baldwin was made to appear to champion advocacies of murder and assassination.

As to opposition to gag legislation, the record speaks for itself. The Civil Liberties Union always opposed all forms of legislation punishing mere utterances or publications in the absence of acts. That is the traditional American doctrine of free speech. The Civil Liberties Union applies it without discrimination.

The quotation from Mr. Baldwin's article in a Harvard Class Book uses one phrase, among others, "Communism is the goal". Mr. Baldwin is thus made to appear a Communist, although he had said in the same article (composed from replies to a questionnaire) "I am for socialism and disarmament". He used the word "Communism" in an economic not political sense, defining it in a phrase which the Hearst papers were careful to omit: "It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution by the most effective non-violence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth." Mr. Baldwin is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party. His whole philosophy is based upon reducing and ultimately abolishing violence

in all forms of human relations. But whatever his views, the Union is bound only by its own declarations. The officers and members of the Union differ widely in their economic and political views.

The quotations from the Fish Committee report have long since been discredited. They were made to say precisely the opposite of Mr. Baldwin's testimony, which reaffirmed the American tradition of free speech as including all language not associated with overt acts. By the unscrupulous device of selecting and running together unrelated portions of the testimony, the impression was conveyed that the Union encourages advocacies of murder and assassination.

The purpose of the Hearst editorial was to paint the Union as an agency almost exclusively for defense of Communists. The picture is wholly false. Only a small proportion of the Union's work deals with defense of the rights of Communists. Its program covers a wide variety of issues which has no relation to Communist propaganda. It has defended the rights of the Ku Klux Klan and of Nazis, of pacifists, educators, American Indians, and a whole host of comers which have no relation to radical philosophies.

The concept of Americanism voiced by the Hearst press is disloyal to democratic processes. It smacks of the philosophy of the Fascist state, which suppresses all opposition. The American Civil Liberties Union has never failed to defend loyally the American tradition of freedom of agitation for all, without discrimination. It would even defend the right of the Hearst press to attack it, if that should conceivably be necessary. No more exacting test of its loyalty to principle could be demanded.

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Oct. 31, 1935.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am very appreciative of your letter
of Oct. 30th in regard to that proposed reply to
the Hearst editorial. I enclose copy of the editorial
and a revised draft of our reply. What do you think
of this?

Sincerely yours,

Harry F. Ward

HFV/IE

REVISED DRAFT

In a recent display editorial in the Hearst press all over the country, headed "Unmasked", the American Civil Liberties Union is made to appear a Communist organization. The professed documentary character of the misrepresentations may easily confuse and mislead friends of free speech. Therefore the undersigned members of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, responsible for its policies, reply to the charges on its behalf.

The documents marshalled by the Hearst press consist of --

(1) quotations from an article by Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, citing the Union's recent opposition to sedition and other gag legislation;

(2) a quotation from an article written by the director of the Union for a private Harvard Class Book in which he explained his economic and political philosophy;

(3) a quotation from the report of the so-called Fish Committee in Congress in which Mr. Baldwin was made to appear to champion advocacies of murder and assassination.

As to opposition to gag legislation, the record speaks for itself. The Civil Liberties Union has always opposed all forms of legislation punishing mere utterances or publications in the absence of acts. That is the traditional American doctrine of free speech. The Civil Liberties Union applies it without discrimination.

The quotation from Mr. Baldwin's article in a Harvard Class Book, so used as to make him appear a Communist, deliberately omitted a phrase explanatory of his views:

"It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution by the most effective non-violence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

Mr. Baldwin is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party.

But whatever his views, the Union is bound only by its own declarations. The officers and members of the Union differ widely in their economic and political views. Of the eighty-five members of the Nation-

alCommittee and Board of Directors, a recent survey of their political affiliations and preferences shows that 22 of them are members of or sympathizers with the Democratic Party; 3, the Republican Party; 28, the Socialist Party, 4 the Communist Party (as sympathizers) and the remaining 28 are non-partisan, except for a few favoring other minority parties.

The quotations from the Fish Committee report have long since been discredited. They were made to say precisely the opposite of Mr. Baldwin's testimony, which reaffirmed the American tradition of free speech as the antidote to violence. But the unscrupulous device of selecting and running together unrelated portions of the testimony, the impression was conveyed that the Union encourages advocacies of murder and assassination.

The purpose of the Hearst editorial was to paint the Union as an agency almost exclusively for defense of Communists. The picture is wholly false. Only a small proportion of the Union's work deals with defense of the rights of Communists. Its program covers a wide variety of issues which has no relation to Communist propaganda. It has defended the rights of the Ku Klux Klan and of Nazis, of Pacifists, educators, American Indians, and a whole host of causes which have no relation to radical philosophies.

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Nov. 7, 1935.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you for your letter of Nov. 4th. I agree with you that the explanation of Mr. Baldwin's article is unconvincing, but the members of the board who criticized our draft all felt that it would be unwise to go into an explanation of the economic or political philosophy of any of our officers other than to enter a denial of the specific charge of communism in its political sense. The Union would not maintain the position that its director could properly belong to a political party and be actively identified with it. Our non-partisanship would be seriously affected. Sympathy with an economic movement is another matter.

Mr. Baldwin explains his economic and political views in the letter attached. Members of the board felt it better not to go into these points, since they would only be confusing. What is your view?

Sincerely yours,

Harry F. Ward

HFW/IE
Enc.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Metropolis Building, 31 Union Square West
NEW YORK CITY



Jan. 7, 1936.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I was awfully sorry to have to cancel the appointment with you, but the demands of a convention in which I was playing a responsible part kept me right at it until the last moment.

I trust to have the pleasure of seeing you when I am in Cleveland during February.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

RNE/IE

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June 10, 1936.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Since your questionnaire is the only
one which has not been returned to us, won't
you do so now. We are holding up printing
of the pamphlet for this.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille B. Miller
Per Rec

Secretary.

LBM:RW
Encs.