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Council for Democracy, 1941-1942.

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

MURRAY HILL 3-2465
285 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

July 9, 1941

Dear Rabbi Silver:

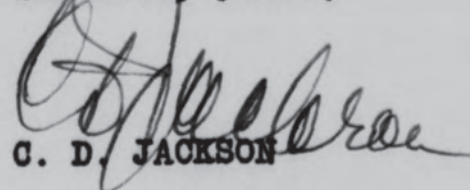
By the middle of July, I will have rounded out a full year as executive of the Council For Democracy. And, therefore, in accordance with original plans, the Board of Directors met last week to elect a new President.

Their choice was Mr. Ernest Angell, who has been on the Board of the Council since its earliest days, member of its Committee of Correspondence and able voice on its Executive Committee. It was our great good fortune to discover that he was prepared to give up his law practice to devote his full time to the Council.

Although I will no longer be able to devote my full time to the Council's activities, you may be sure that my new designation as Chairman of the Board is no empty gesture. I shall still spend many hours and much thought on the Council, and so will Mr. Swing, as Chairman of the Council. I believe in the organization, and in the importance of what it is doing. That is why I am especially anxious that your relations and cooperation with Mr. Angell be as cordial and faithful as they have with me.

With sincerest thanks and greatest hopes, I am

Sincerely yours,


C. D. JACKSON

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th and Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

MURRAY HILL 3-2465
285 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

October 2, 1941

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The Council is launching a new series of "Speaking of Liberty" programs on WEAU and the National Broadcasting Company Red Network October 9. The first series ran through the Spring and Summer and there was strong evidence of audience interest in these informal radio discussions of the major issues facing American Democracy today.

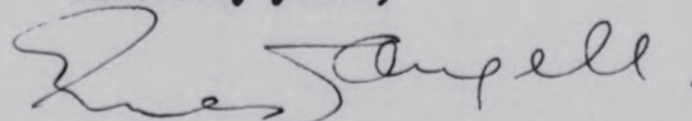
The Cleveland station WTAM carried the programs in the earlier series and we are hoping that they will schedule the new one. We should appreciate it very much if you would be willing to get in touch with WTAM about these broadcasts which are to be on Thursdays, 6:30 to 6:45 EST for ten weeks.

Rex Stout serves as master of ceremonies, interviewing a noted guest author or some other distinguished person each week. Among those scheduled for the new series are Carl Carmer, Sigrid Undset, Pearl Buck, Carl Sandburg, Walter Millis, and Thornton Wilder.

The Council, as you know, has used various channels to broadcast its message but radio is probably the most effective mass medium and we are putting special effort into this field in developing plans for the coming year. The Public Service Division of the National Broadcasting Company here has felt that the "Speaking of Liberty" series has genuine educational and morale value during this crisis period.

With our thanks in advance for your assistance,

Sincerely yours,



Ernest Angell
President

MG

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *Chairman* ERNEST ANGELL, *President* C. D. JACKSON, *Chairman of the Board*
CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *Chairman, Executive Committee* EVANS CLARK, *Secretary* PERCY S. BROWN, *Treasurer*
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M. HARRISON, C. D. JACKSON, WALTER MILLIS, GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RAYMOND GRAM SWING, ROBERT J. WATT

NEWS AND FEATURES

Released Monthly Council For Democracy, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City November 4, 1941

A Creed For Americans

By STEPHEN VINCENT BENET
Written for the Council For Democracy

WE believe in the dignity of man and the worth and value of every living soul, no matter in what body housed, no matter whether born in comfort or born in poverty, no matter to what stock he belongs, what creed he professes, what job he holds.

WE believe that every man should have a free and equal chance to develop his own best abilities under a free system of government, where the people themselves choose those who are to rule them and where no one man can set himself up as a tyrant or oppress the many for the benefit of the few.

WE believe that free speech, free assembly, free elections, free practice of religion are the cornerstones of such a government. We believe that the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights of the United States of America offer the best and most workable framework yet devised for such a government.

WE believe in justice and law. We do not believe in curing an evil by substituting for it another and opposite evil. We are unalterably opposed to class hatred, race hatred, religious hatred, however manifested, by whomsoever instilled.

WE believe that political freedom implies and acknowledges economic responsibility. We do not believe that any state is an admirable state that lets its people go hungry when they might be fed, ragged when they might be clothed, sick when they might be well, worthless when they might have work. We believe that it is the duty of all of us, the whole people, working through our democratic system, to see that such conditions are remedied, whenever and wherever they exist in our country.

WE believe that political freedom implies and acknowledges personal responsibility. We believe that we have a great and priceless heritage as a nation—not only a heritage of material resources but of liberties, dreams, ideals, ways of going forward. We believe it is our business, our right and our inescapable duty to maintain and expand that heritage. We believe that such a heritage cannot be maintained by the lackluster, the selfish, the bitterly partisan or the aimlessly doubtful. We believe it is something bigger than party, bigger than our own small ambitions. We believe it is worth the sacrifice of ease, the long toil of years, the expense of our heart's blood.

WE know that our democratic system is not perfect. We know that it permits injustices and wrongs. But with our whole hearts we believe in its continuous power of self remedy. That power is not a theory—it has been proven. Through the years, democracy has given more people freedom, less persecution and a higher standard of living than any other system we know. Under it, evils have been abolished, injustices remedied, old wounds healed, not by terror and revolution but by the slow revolution of consent in the minds of all the people. While we maintain democracy, we maintain the greatest power a people can possess—the power of gradual, efficient and lawful change.

MOST of all, we believe in democracy itself—in its past, its present and its future—in democracy as a political system to live by—in democracy as the great hope in the minds of the free. We believe it is so deeply rooted in the earth of this country that neither assault from without nor dissension from within can ever wipe it entirely from that earth. But, because it was established for us by the free-minded and the daring, it is our duty now, in danger as in security, to uphold and sustain it with all that we have and are. We believe that its future shall and must be even greater than its past. And to the future—as to the past of our forebears and the present of our hard-won freedom—we pledge all we have to give.

Stephen Vincent Benet, noted American poet and short-story writer, wrote this creed for the members of the Council For Democracy, a national, non-political organization. But he wrote it, too, for 132,000,000 Americans, expressing the belief in their minds and the faith and courage in their hearts. Mr. Benet is the author of "The Devil and Daniel Webster," and of "John Brown's Body" for which he won the Pulitzer Prize in 1928. Mr. Benet is a member of the board of directors and the executive committee of the Council For Democracy.

—EDITORIAL—

Free Press and Free Men

IT was no accident that the men who made the American Constitution singled out just one private business—the press—to guarantee it freedom.

They knew that the truth makes men free. The revolution which is now tearing the world from its civilized roots is a crisis in journalism. The murders and concentration camps of dictatorships are unspeakable, but what makes Nazism and its friends truly unspeakable is their corruption of the minds of men from within.

By lies and frauds they lead men to agree to their own enslavement. By the destruction of free journalism, they lead men even to desire their own enslavement. Because the press is dead in Europe, its people are slaves. This is the real poison of our times. The only antidote is truth. Truth, however unpalatable. Truth, not in a time capsule, but in the ears of the people.

Unless they know the truth, the people cannot govern themselves. And if they cannot govern themselves, dictatorship and slavery are inevitable.

That is why the men who made the American Constitution gave the people the right to know the truth. They guaranteed a free press and charged that press with the responsibility of presenting the truth. A fighting right and a fearful responsibility.

The American press is free—free from the choking hand of government control, free to buy

THE INVASION OF AMERICA



(The above cartoon is reprinted by the Council for Democracy with the kind permission of Mr. Skewmaker.)

BOMBER!

Commentary for the Defense Film, "Bomber," Produced by the Office for Emergency Management

BOMBERS

One American factory—one of many—
One bomber—thousands on the way.
An angel of death—
Death to those who mock at free peoples,
Death to those who fill the world they are out to
wreck the American democratic system.
Hundreds here—thousands—tens of
thousands on the way.

TEST FLIGHT

Every part tested—every piece of metal tested—
Every bolt, rivet and welded seam—tested under the pressure of
combat conditions.

Off the ground now—for the first time as a complete fighting unit.

Power—power to travel far, dump her bombs and return.
Power to say, "I cap outflank and outfight any pursuit ship now fight-
ing over Europe. I am the strength of the people of the free
world!"

MEN, MACHINES, AND MATERIALS

Here, you get her insides—aluminum alloy—light and strong—
Steel, copper, brass—a dozen other metals
Put together like a fine watch.

Wings made strong to hold her high in the air while she delivers—
Each wing built to take all the pounding a super-powered motor
can give it.

Here is the fire bath, where the bombers begins to grow.
Born in fire to fight fire with fire.

She is going to have the guts, wind, stamina, to fight and deliver
death—a bellyful of it—to those who are asking for it.

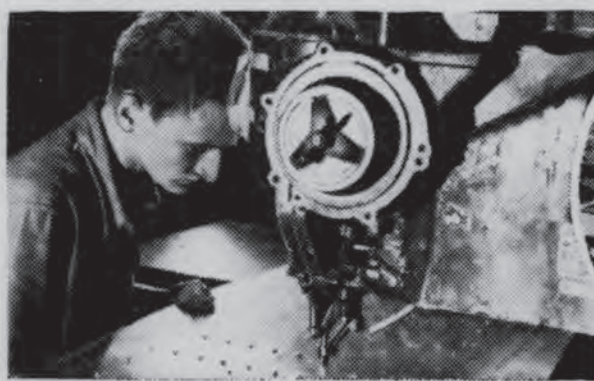
Made of metals tempered and strong—

Woven together—strong—
American mass production, American knowhow.....

Hands with knowhow..... minds with American knowhow.....
These workers—these riveters, welders, drillers—
All these craftsmen have pride, a genuine pride in their share—
their participation in the titanic job we call "National Defense
Production."

ASSEMBLY

Parts—more than twenty-five thousand for each ship.



Parts stacked up, waiting to be assembled and woven into a living
destroyer traveling the sky.



We are taking these parts—weaving
them into a thing that
breathes and lives....
Breathes with the Spirit of America
That says, "Don't tread on me."

Made to stand heavy toil and struggle—
Made to stand shock and storm
and heavy travel.
Ready to flank and outflank the enemy.
Packing enough power to climb over
the highest anti-aircraft barrage.

Everything under control.
From hundreds of sub-assemblies—
From scores of major assemblies—
sections roll into final assembly.

These precision-built

Day and night.... Twenty-four hours a day.... Seven days
a week....

Three hundred and sixty-five days a year....
Body, bones and wings roll and join into the form
of a finished breathing bomber.

Bombers..... thousands in the air now.....
Tens of thousands on the way.

The motor—raw, naked power—a Niagara of horse power—
John Henry on one wing—Paul Bunyan on the other!

Wires—miles of wires link the nerve centers of the ship.
A giant wing spar protects the cables from enemy gun fire.

She packs guns—so many guns the Army won't let us tell about it—
A flying arsenal—she's the toughest, tightest ship of her size
in air.

Here is America strong-hearted—
Keen—aware—alive.

Massive—honest—this wing seems to say,
"You can count on me!"

DAWN FLIGHT

Dawn.... daylight. Over Europe, over Asia—night, black night.
America flies into the dawn.

Bombers for a new day.

"Humanity with all its fears, with all its hopes of future years,
is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

THIS ISN'T THE SAME WAR

Author and Journalist Contrasts 1914 and 1941

Walter Millis, New York editorial writer, is the author of "The Road to War" and "Why Europe Fights." Although "The Road to War" was written about the last war, Mr. Millis has received many letters from readers who are using his book to interpret the present crisis. He does not believe that this war can be interpreted in terms of the last war. He has written this article especially for the Council For Democracy to make his position clear, to caution readers of "The Road to War" that the book was written about the years 1914 to 1917 and does not apply to what is happening in the world today.

BY WALTER MILLIS

Many people are trying so desperately to stay out of the last war that they never really look at the actual crisis presented by this one. Some of these people quote a book which I once wrote, "The Road to War," which, unfortunately, seems to have become almost a bible for groups that believe in peace at any price.

Now I wrote the book in 1935, long before I had any idea of what the world was going to look like in 1941. I wrote about the road this country travelled from 1914 to 1917, the hesitating, tumbling road along which we blundered into the last war. My book applied to 1914, but it most certainly does not apply to 1941, because this isn't the same war.

We are facing a very different challenge today from the one we faced twenty-five years ago; different in degree and profoundly different in kind. As I see it, in August 1914, the United States was suddenly confronted with a kind of European family quarrel or civil war. What we are facing now is a vast moral, political and social revolution. We might conceivably have stayed out of the First World War. Whether or not it comes to a declared war, we cannot conceivably dodge the Second World War or its consequences.

The statesmen on both sides in 1914 were much the same sort of people. They came from the same sort of background, and broadly speaking, they had the same moral and cultural standards. They didn't think they were beginning a long war. Each side hoped to arrange matters so that it would achieve a more dominant, or a more secure position in the world; but they thought the world after the war would be essentially the same kind of world as it had been before.

I wrote in "The Road to War" that the United States blundered into the last war without knowing clearly what it was doing. I wrote, and I still believe, that it might have been possible, if the United States had used its influence more wisely, to secure the "peace without victory" for which Woodrow Wilson hoped in 1916.

But that was the last war! When people say we are travelling down the same road to war as in 1914, it seems to me they are simply incapable of seeing the facts before their eyes. Twenty-five years of passion, bitterness, bloodshed, and breakdown of our political and social order have altered the whole situation profoundly. They have put any genuine peace without victory, any negotiated peace, utterly beyond question today.



Walter Millis

The years following the Treaty of Versailles were years of progressive breakdown, until finally Hitlerism, building itself around all the worst elements in that history, arose as a deliberate revolution against world society. Its methods were admittedly those of lies and treachery, violence and oppression. It made war the central institution of the state, and conquest its only end. It deliberately challenged, not merely the geographical boundaries of the European system, but much more important, the whole system of laws and standards by which the people of the world had been slowly and painfully learning to live and work and trade together.

A Hitler Europe, with the new weapon of the airplane, with its colossal naval and industrial strength and manpower, could unquestionably undertake an invasion of the Western Hemisphere, and ultimately of the United States—as even a victorious Hohenzollern Germany could never have dreamed of doing!

That is the military threat. There is much more to it than that. The economic stranglehold with which a Hitler Europe could grip American trade and industry and living standards is hard to picture now. Back in 1939 it was so hard to picture what the situation would be like, if France should fall, that we in this country hardly troubled our heads about the possibility. Then suddenly France did fall, and we

NOTE TO THE EDITOR:

We cannot take democracy for granted. We know the price with which those precious rights were won. We have seen in Europe how easily they were lost. And we propose to see what happened there can't happen here, whether by neglect, default, or through destructive forces within and without.

This is the work to which we have dedicated ourselves.

The Council For Democracy is a national, non-political organization, headed by Raymond Gram Swing, noted radio commentator.

The Council's annual report of the Council's activities is now available upon request at 285 Madison Avenue, New York.

NEA Union Print, New York

were appalled by what resulted. But that was not one-tenth so appalling as the purely economic problem would be, if Britain and Russia should go down, and the United States should face—alone—a Hitlerism, master of the entire outer world.

But if a German airplane never crossed the Atlantic and if our foreign trade were never troubled, I still do not believe that American democracy could live for five years after a Nazi triumph in Europe. We here in America would not be tolerated by a master-race which declares brutally and openly: "It is a matter of indifference to Germany if tens of thousands of Norwegian men, women or children starve and freeze to death...."

And again, "The 1,500,000 Serbs who live within our borders must adapt themselves to new conditions or disappear...." And yet again, "Our colonists are coming to fight the Polish peasant without mercy. If God exists, he has chosen Adolf Hitler to chase this rabble out of here...."

That is a challenge of which we knew next to nothing a quarter of a century ago. A challenge to our standards, our ideas, our whole system of laws, the imponderables by which our society has lived.

The past has been destroyed. The one question is who is to build the future—we or they? The age minds which are now spreading barbarity through a continent? Or men who still hold to some such concept of human life and welfare as we in this country have tried to live by?

That is the question; we can't escape it. The future must come on the one basis or the other; we and our children must live in it. No effort and no sacrifice on the part of the United States will be too great, if they help to win the victory that will shape that future to a tolerable end.

Divided They Fall

In order to win the peace, "the will for peace must be as dynamic in peace-lovers as the will for power is dynamic in dictators," according to Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., whose "Plea for Unity" has just been published in a slim but vital volume, "Divided They Fall" (Harper, \$1.00).

Discussing the post-war world, Mr. Scandrett writes: "We must be prepared to make great sacrifices not only to defeat Hitler but as a price of preserving peace after he has been defeated. At the conclusion of the last war we were unwilling to make such sacrifices. We were unwilling to surrender an iota of our complete national sovereignty as the price of future world peace."

"This war has in itself torn aside the mirage with which our own isolationists helped to befuddle our own people and the peace-makers at Versailles. Neither isolationists nor dictators can be permitted to frame the 'new world order.'"

"Divided They Fall" is a confession of faith in the "dynamics, the survival value, and the modernity of democracy," addressed to those Americans who are still confused about the present crisis and America's role in it.

Mr. Scandrett is a New York lawyer, a nephew of the late Dwight Morrow and a cousin of Anne Morrow Lindbergh. (CFD).

+ America Speaks +

Freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus; and trial by jury impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation.
—Thomas Jefferson.

Let us recollect it was liberty, the hope of liberty for themselves (our forefathers) and us, and ours, which conquered all discouragements, dangers and trials.
—John Adams.

The right of voting for representatives is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right is to reduce a man to slavery, for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another.
—Thomas Paine.

For our own part we approve, we applaud, we would consecrate, if we could, to universal honor, the conduct of those who led in this gallant defense of the freedom of the press. Whether they erred or not in their opinions, they did not err in the conviction of their right as citizens of a democratic government to express them, nor did they err in defending this right with obstinacy which yielded only to death and uttermost violence.
—William Cullen Bryant

NATION DEBATES POST WAR WORLD ON ARMISTICE DAY

NEW YORK—This year Armistice Day will be celebrated in thousands of cities and towns throughout the country as "World Government Day." Under the auspices of the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, discussion groups, public rallies and special radio programs on November 11 will inaugurate a national campaign "for America's active participation in a constitutional world order to prevent a Third World War."

Many other national organizations are co-operating with the National Peace Conference in planning "World Government Day." They include the Council For Democracy, Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and Friends of Peace Committee. They represent all shades of opinion but are united in their determination to bring about a permanent world order guaranteeing security for all people, according to Vernon Nash, director of the Conference and of the "World Government Day" program.

In announcing sponsorship of "World Government Day," the Conference issued this statement: "The day on which we hold our World War dead in special remembrance is a most appropriate time in which to consider together how we may yet insure that they shall not have died in vain.

A Substitute for War
"War must and can be eliminated. This can only be done by providing a substitute for war, a better method of righting injustices, of settling disputes, of maintaining rights between nations. The choice lies between total war and organized peace. Organized peace requires world government. "People can endure strain and they will make sacrifices, if they feel that the goal is worthwhile. And adequate world government would be worth many sacrifices. To make sure that an adequate world government is worked out there must be preparation. It will be too late to start at the peace conference. We must prepare now for the peace we hope to win."

In its campaign to rededicate Armistice Day to the ideal of world government, the National Peace Conference will not attempt to endorse any specific plan for the reorganization of the post war world, Mr. Nash explained. It hopes to make America "world government conscious" by discussion of an international and interdependent world.

Churches, schools and patriotic organizations have been advised that a kit, containing material on world government, prepared by the National Peace Conference, is available to discussion groups for ten cents each. (CFD).

New Argentina Sport
"Knights of the Pickaxe," a new organization in Buenos Aires dedicated to the sport of exposing Fifth Columnists, has just published a small book which tells "what every innocent passerby should know about the Fifth Columnist."

He invariably bears the facial characteristics of the "double-crocker," the book warns. "He is always denying, speaking ill of someone, always destroying.... He thrives in cafes, cocktail parties, clubs, cinemas and in front of newspaper bulletins."

"United We Stand," a ten-foot red-white-and-blue streamer, is the newest thing in government posters for display in defense plants. It has just been issued by the Division of Information of OEM.

EAVESDROPPING ON AMERICA



(Courtesy Council For Democracy)

Scene: The Doe Home, Every Town, U. S. A.
John Doe: Better count on a couple extra tomorrow night, Jane.
Jane Doe: What! Tomorrow's stew day. You know by the end of the week my housekeeping money gets low. You told me I had to economize. And I told you I didn't want any of your buddies for stew night. And if—
John Doe: Hold your horses, Jane, these guys'll think your stew's swell. Stew and one of your home-made pies.
Jane Doe: When can I bake it? Tomorrow's club day and—
John Doe: It's a heck of a time since these kids ate home cooking.
Jane Doe: Kids? What are you talking about?
John Doe: Kids from the army camp. Swell kids away from home and—
Jane Doe: Oh... why didn't you say so!
John Doe: Met 'em bowling. I asked if they'd like some home-cooked grub and you shoulda seen their faces! Gee, soldiers! Maybe I kin go to the camp and—
Jane Doe: Look, John... They get stew every day... maybe a nice chicken or steak or something...
John Doe: That's the stuff! Those kids are training to be soldiers, to defend this country of ours in case any tough guy thinks he can kick us around! So I thought—
Jane Doe: YOU thought! The Thursday Club has been thinking about those draftees for a couple of weeks. We're each going to ask two boys to dinner every week. And one night a week, we could have a dance for the camp—in the school—bring a lot of cakes and things.
John Doe: Swell! We got the camp here and it's a defense job everybody in town can do. A lot of those kids have never been away from home before. It's up to us to keep 'em happy, give 'em the recreation they need after slugging at the camp. That's what I told Pop down at the bowling alley, and he said he'd maybe let in a dozen of the boys free every night.
Jane Doe: It's the least we can do. Some day maybe Johnny...
John Doe: Exactly. If every woman in town stopped to think it might be her son... For that matter, plenty of 'em have got sons drafted—in other camps. What they're doing for some other mother's son here, that mother may be doing for their sons somewhere else. That's how it should be.
Jane Doe: Gee, mom, kin I stay up late? I wanta ask 'em—
John Doe: Not too many questions, Johnny. Let 'em have fun—
John Doe: Yeah, and fill themselves full of mom's steak and pie!

Note to Editor: "Eavesdropping on America" is a regular feature. Please keep mat or cast of standing head on file.

NEWS AND FEATURES

Released Monthly

Council For Democracy, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City

December 4, 1941

WAR SCENE MOVES INTO MIDDLE EAST

BY FRANK GERVASI
Written for Council For Democracy

THE eyes of the world are on the Middle East. Certainly, the Nazis have their eyes on that section of the globe. They want the oil of Iraq and Arabia. They want the Nile valley with its big stores of cotton, wheat and grain. And they want to open routes for the coming battle of Asia, which is the biggest objective of all.

I believe that the battle of Asia is coming. It is forecast in "Mein Kampf," which is still Hitler's bible. It explains among other things why he attacked Russia. He wanted the Russian resources, of course, but even more than that he wanted to be able to use Russia as a great forward base for the advance on Asia.

The Middle East is the route to Asia. What about the people of the Middle East? What are they thinking and feeling at this time? Let me try to answer these questions from the perspective of eight months and 36,000 miles around the world, a trip from which I recently returned.

Frank Gervasi, foreign correspondent for Collier's Magazine, has covered nearly every battlefield of the war. In recent months he has visited London, Capetown, Cairo, Rangoon, Bangkok, Singapore, Manila, and points north, east, south and west. In this article written especially for the Council For Democracy, he writes about the Middle East as the next critical theatre of war. "War Has Seven Faces," Mr. Gervasi's new book, will be issued soon.

It was Colonel Lawrence who said that Arabs could be swung on an idea as on a cord. And right now, the whole Arab world—the Moslem world—is motivated by the idea of freedom and independence. Or perhaps I should say that the little people of the Moslem world are devoted to the idea of democracy. Because the upper classes, particularly in Turkey, are appeasers; they want to try to do business with Hitler.

Hitler's ambassador, Franz von Papen, has promised the Turks very large rewards after the war, so many of the politicians and upper classes—even the middle class—are inclined to favor the Axis. But the little people—the peasants, and the soldiers of the Army, including the officers—know that they will lose their freedom if Germany wins, and they are willing to fight to defend their homes.

Would Die for Freedom
All through the Middle East and Europe, the common people are willing to die for freedom. They are more than willing to fight, but they must have help. Courage isn't enough these days. The Moslem world has the idea of freedom and independence, but it is waiting for practical help, for tanks and planes and guns.

If it is true that the Moslem world can be swung on an idea, it also respects power. Particularly in Turkey, if the little people at the moment of decision see powerful British forces to the south, ready and able to bring them aid, they will fight against the Nazis.

I have been asked if the people of the Moslem world really have a feeling for democracy, for what we mean by democracy. And the answer is—not as we know it. The Moslem world is politically immature. Except for Egypt and Turkey, where the spirit of nationalism is very strong, our notion of democracy is respected but not completely understood.

But America has a tremendous influence and prestige all through the Middle East. It is partly due to the work of American missionaries and doctors; and partly to the graduates of such famous American schools as Robert College in Constantinople, and the American College in Beirut. They have

FOUR FREEDOMS

By Raymond Gram Swing

Chairman of the Council For Democracy

Our Heritage and Our Goal

THE Bill of Rights is a hundred and fifty years old, which is a natural occasion for retrospect. But it is a minor reason compared with the peril which must be surmounted if these rights are to be preserved.

Rights that have been safe for a hundred and fifty years are not for that reason safe for two hundred years.

It took sacrifice and heroism to establish them. Through the recurring crises of a century and a half, they have been kept intact in the letter, and most of the time in the spirit.

Today these rights are the essence of a world struggle, which will decide whether the current of the future turns sharply against individual rights. A review of the hundred and fifty years of cherished freedoms should spur the inheritors to as great endeavor to maintain them.

President Roosevelt's four freedoms are more than a summary of the Bill of Rights. Freedom of worship and expression are there explicitly. Freedom from fear is there as regards domestic tyranny, with security against the suspension of legal safeguards. Fear of a foreign tyrant, or a foreign doctrine of tyranny, could hardly be guaranteed in such a document. Neither could the freedom from want. These are the goals which a long-free America is now dedicated to attain.

It is clear, the Bill of Rights would be lost in a world subject to tyranny. It also is clear that without the freedom from want, men will be tempted to forego other freedoms in the pursuit of economic security. So the sesqui-centennial of the Bill of Rights calls for more than reverent gratitude toward the past. It must be the reassertion of its bold spirit. It must carry forward the achievement of pioneers.



FREEDOM OF RELIGION



FREEDOM OF SPEECH



FREEDOM FROM WANT



FREEDOM FROM FEAR

Top photos by Struelli, Scherzberg, T. S. Conner, Milwaukee Journal.

DEMOCRACY HAS WHAT IT TAKES

Author of "Our Town" Describes the English at War

Thornton Wilder, noted American author who has twice been awarded the Pulitzer Prize, describes his impressions of life in the Fortress of Britain in this article especially written for the Council For Democracy. He has just returned from a tour of England where he was American delegate to the 17th Annual Congress of the P.E.N. Club. Mr. Wilder received Pulitzer Prizes for his best-selling novel, "The Bridge of San Luis Rey," and for his play, "Our Town."

By THORNTON WILDER

THE inevitable question people ask when someone returns from England is "What was your most striking impression?"

A number of things struck me in quick succession: the fact that there was less destruction in London than I had feared. The eagerness, almost possessive pride, with which the English wished to show the damage and discuss it. The wonderful nightly experience of the blackout—pin-point spots of red, green and yellow light moving about in darkness—nothing groping about it, nothing furtive or alarming; I can only describe it by saying that suddenly a great city feels like a forest.

During my visit, I made a brief tour of England with other representatives attending the P.E.N. Congress in London. The authorities arranged for us to go where ever we wanted. We visited some of the places that had suffered most; various headquarters for civilian defense; an airplane factory; the headquarters of the Free French; and a bomber command.

All the striking impressions of that tour could be summed up for me in one: I felt that very suddenly I was obtaining a larger view of the whole war and its meaning. I thought when I went to England that I was completely convinced of the fact that the whole world had this one task before it—to collect itself toward the elimination of dictatorships. But the trip through England showed me that I realized only a small part of that necessity. My conviction in regard to the kind of resistance that had to be made was nowhere near deep enough nor lively enough.

When I saw the destruction in England I was completely convinced that a great deal of it had been clearly directed against the civilian population. But if Hitler imagined that it would be quicker and easier to demoralize the civilian population than to accomplish a widespread destruction of industrial and military objectives, he guessed wrong. Instead of demoralization, what I found everywhere was heightened effectiveness and heightened morale.

Most effective, for example, was the work of the Home Guard. The Home Guard began under ridicule, drilling with broomsticks and founded by civilians. By the time I saw it, the Home Guard of Britain had grown to an immense thing, two million strong, organized and trained with extraordinary skill. And, as I was told many times, by enthusiastic guardsmen, armed with rifles from the United States.

Late afternoons, after work, and Saturdays and Sundays, these men below or above military age are out in the fields, defending bridges, shooting imaginary parachute troops, and progressively educating themselves through a series of disciplines, exercises and problems in strategy. I was deeply impressed by this Army of the people.

I knew, of course, that the English had undergone their ordeal



Thornton Wilder

with extraordinary courage; but I wanted to know what kind of courage it was; was it mere stoic fortitude and endurance? Or was it defiance, a sort of exalted defiance? Or was it grim resolution to wait and retaliate?

The complete answer would take many more months than I had among them; but here are some of the elements of the answer. In the first place, no one talks cant; no emotional jargon; no patriotic rhetoric. The Britishers discuss all the danger they have been through and all the lives and destinies that are at stake—they discuss all this in the same even tone of voice and unemphatic way with which we discuss the ordinary events of daily life.

Imagine, for a moment, hearing a woman say things like this, in the same tone of voice with which she would describe transplanting tulip bulbs in the garden: "My elder son was reported dead in Libya, but we have just received word from him in Italy where he is a prisoner. He has just undergone his tenth operation, and writes that if they take any more of his uniform out of him, he will have enough to make a pair of trousers."

They talk about the enemy without rhetoric too. The German is merely Jerry, and Hitler is in the same tone of voice—Hitler. This doesn't mean that there is any condoning of the enemy's crimes. It is as though they had attained some large historic viewpoint, and regard these as ordeals that have been laid on their shoulders by destiny itself.

One might call it a guarded equanimity. It seems to come from a powerful sense of community responsibility—the responsibility of each individual to his neighbor. Each one conceals his or her own trepidation or concern in order to protect the welfare of the group.

Here is an example. During those ninety successive nights when the greater part of the pop-

ulation of London took shelter underground, the inhabitants of that prosperous part of London which is Mayfair remained in the city. They are people who could easily have gone into the safer provinces, but they chose to remain where they were and show that they would suffer these things shoulder to shoulder with the whole city's population. It is characteristic of England today, where all classes, all types have been drawn together by what they are going through.

It seems to me that so deep and so mature and so unified an attitude on the part of the English people could only have been produced by a realization of the extent of the enemy's conception of war. The Nazis first showed us what "total war" can be. They have arranged a world in which they try to harness every energy of every citizen to some aspect of war activity. That is total war. What began as a sense of grievance was whipped up by government authorities into crusade and hysteria, and finally directed by force and coercion.

How can a democracy oppose such methods without stooping also to hysteria and finally to brutal coercion? The English have shown that a democracy can collect itself into one mind and one will—and that one will is not imposed upon it from the governors, and is not maintained through either oratorical hypodermics or through police.

The English have shown that in a democracy of such liberties, the rise instinctively from the people. That deep sense of responsibility, from neighbor to neighbor, is the finest thing that a democracy can show. It is wonderful in wartime; it would be still more wonderful in peace.

A democracy has greater things to do than to organize itself towards a total war. But when it sees itself threatened by extinction, it can do that too, as England has done it. Our great danger is that we may underestimate the power that drives the Nazis on. They are in a condition which in the days of witchcraft they used to call "a state of possession." It may still have a long cruel course to run. To oppose it, the rest of the world must also present a unified state of mind—as formidable in degree, even though it is different in kind.

It is hard in a democracy for individuals to abandon temporarily some of those liberties which they have taken five thousand years to acquire. But when the extinction of democracy itself is threatened, democracy, too, can collect itself to make a total war. When democracy has been saved from this menace, we shall have learned better how to apply it in our own country.

Public Will Get Facts

"The essential difference between a democracy and a despotic form of government is that a democracy is based upon a complete trust in the people and a democratic information service must necessarily reflect that trust," according to Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress who has just been appointed director of the Office of Facts and Figures.

Accepting the appointment, Mr. MacLeish stated, "The Office of Facts and Figures is established, as I understand it, upon the assumption that the people of a self-governing country are entitled to the fullest possible statement of the facts and the figures bearing upon conditions with which the government is faced."

Americans Under The Skin

BY PEARL BUCK

Written for the Council For Democracy

WE Americans have always preferred democracy. We prefer it because we have an instinct about it—a very simple instinct which perhaps is nothing more than a desire to manage ourselves. That is why our ancestors came here in the first place. But where freedom comes from, and how to get freedom, and how to keep freedom, are things we know very little about. The actual sources of freedom we do not know.

Of those sources, I am chiefly concerned with one—equality between the races. It is the most primary of all the sources of freedom. For until we see the end of race prejudice we shall not have democracy triumphant in the world.

The Nazis have given us a perfect demonstration of the value to tyranny of race prejudice. In the tyranny of Nazism one of the easiest ways to divide human beings into the ruler and subject peoples is to use race prejudice as a basis of the discrimination.

Here in the United States, we can make our own peculiar contribution to the solution of the world problem. As believers in the democratic system, we hate tyranny and all its attributes, but the fight for freedom can't be won until we recognize the fact that democracy in its true meaning involves not only lip-service to the doctrine that all men are created equal but a real change in our attitude toward the colored American.

Weakens Our Cause
First we must recognize prejudice for what it is. We must realize that when prejudice against some people exists because of their skins, or because of their creeds, it cuts at the very tap-root of democracy, which gives equal opportunity to every individual. That's the glory of democracy, and we weaken our own cause when we refuse to face those prejudices in ourselves which deny it.

It is my experience that ignorance, and not unwillingness to change, is at the root of race prejudice. Many a white American working ardently and with patriotism for the cause of democracy in the world and the overthrow of tyranny abroad, undoes his own work by his attitude toward colored Americans—by his actions toward them, by his continued ignorance of the share which thirteen million Americans of one race alone have in our democracy.

There are thirteen million colored Americans today who are being told to fight for liberty and equality. Who could blame them if they asked, "Whose liberty? Whose equality?" Our colored Americans are not alone. There are the millions of India and China. The millions of India, without being given the right to choose for themselves, have been forced to support a democratic government which has not given them democracy. The millions of China, the peasants and little farmers, have been oppressed for years by their own warlords, by the rich, by the educated of their own race.

Facing the Facts
Unless we are willing to face this full front of battle at home, we shall lose, even though Hitler himself is defeated. And we cannot evade by refusal to speak to each other of our weaknesses. The American must not fear to speak of India to the Briton, nor of China to the American. And neither he nor the Briton must fear to speak with candor to China about her own Chinese.

There are those who think this is not the time. Not while China is fighting for her life and when even Gandhi avows the prior necessity of destroying the Nazis. They will tell you that if the house is on fire, we had better put out the fire before we start repairing the furniture. I don't agree. Democracy can't win while these contradictions remain unchanged. We shall lose from within.

This war is more than a material war. It is a war which, if the democracies are to win, they must win by clear conviction. We won't get an all-out effort even



Pearl Buck

in 1938. Her new novel, "Dragon Seed," will be published soon.

for defense unless the moral issue is clear for all honest people.

This is what I deeply believe myself. Millions upon millions of people at this hour now approaching crisis wait for leadership toward freedom. Millions, ready to follow, wait for the sign. What better sign could there be than that the enslaved within the democracies themselves shall be free? Nothing and no one could prevent victory then!

Editorial

Give Them Jobs!

WHEN a Fifth Columnist is found sabotaging defense, we pull no punches in disposing of him. But when we sabotage defense production ourselves, few voices are raised in protest.

How are we sabotaging defense? By refusing jobs in defense industries to workers because of their color, creed or national origin. By refusing even to train these men for jobs. This senseless discrimination against Americans is not very bright in a democratic America faced with the greatest peril in its history. It is not only bright; it isn't the American Way.

Today America needs all of its manpower. It needs the skill and talent and the democratic faith of all of its people, whether their names be Schmidt or Smith, Caruso or Cohen. It takes more than a Presidential order to stop discrimination in defense industries against Negroes, against those of German or Italian origin, against Jews. We have found that out. What it takes is 132,000,000 people wholeheartedly convinced that democracy is the way of life they are out to defend. What it takes is 132,000,000 Americans who know that America must be defended by all and for all or it is not going to be saved for any of us.

If we say to anyone: "We don't need your brain and your hands to make our machines," we hit America in two places where it hurts. First, we cut production of material essential to beat the enemy. Second, we divide and alienate Americans in just the way that Hitler has boasted he would tear us apart and make us weak. Every time we discriminate against a fellow American, Hitler can laugh and say: "I told you so."

We are engaged in a titanic struggle to preserve democracy. We can't fight for our life and engage in suicidal activity at the same time.

ARMY PLANES ARE SAFER

In spite of intensified training in the Army Air Corps, the accident rate for the past year is lower than the three years preceding the defense emergency, according to the War Department.



(Courtesy Council For Democracy)

Scene: Doe home, Every Town, U. S. A. Homework time.
Johnny: Dad, what do they want to put guns on American ships for? Not just battleships, but freighters—
John Doe: So our ships can go anywhere in the world.
Johnny: But we ain't fightin' nobody! Why do they need guns?
John Doe: Ask Mister Hitler that one. What you doing, son, learning about Freedom of the Seas? Back in 1812—
Johnny: I know, Dad—the British an' French were fightin' and they jumped on our ships an' we had t' fight.
John Doe: Yes, we had to fight. We didn't have much of a Navy, and President Jefferson thought we could keep out of it—like some people think today. So he kept American ships home, wouldn't let 'em buck the blockade. Then, what happened, Johnny?

Johnny: We had a scrap with the British.
John Doe: Not so fast, son. Jefferson saw the Embargo didn't work, finished our trade with the rest of the world, crippled the whole country. So we had to keep the seas free for our ships. We didn't want war, but when they attacked our ships we had to defend them. Our ships have got to have the right to go anywhere in the world.

Jane Doe: But, John, seems to me if our ships are going to have guns now, we're just asking for trouble.
John Doe: We're not. But believe me if anybody else asking for trouble tries to stop our ships, they'll get it! What do you think'd happen to us if we let that guy Hitler chase us off the seas?

Jane Doe: Yes, I know. But all the same if—
John Doe: No "busts" and "ifs"—not when you're talking about trust! Keeping this country the way we want it! That mug over in Germany can't dictate to us like he's trying to dictate to the whole darned world! The British and Russians are fighting to stop him and the people of this country decided to send 'em guns and tanks and planes. Well, we got to see they get there! And anyway, even if we didn't have to get the stuff out of the country, there's plenty of stuff we got to get into the country. stuff we need to build ships and planes to defend America, rubber and tin—things we ain't got in this country, things we got to import, got to have to keep defense production going. And that's another darned good reason, son, why American ships are gonna be armed!

THE UP-TO-THE-MINUTE MAN



(Courtesy Chicago Daily News)

(The above cartoon is released to you by the Council for Democracy with the kind permission of Mr. Shoremaster.)

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COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

285 MADISON AVENUE • MURRAY HILL 3-2465 • NEW YORK

January 27, 1942

Rabbi Abba Hillelsilver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Hillelsilver:

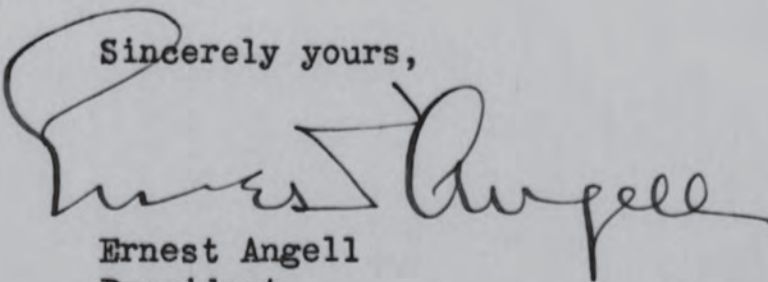
On January 17th I sent an urgent telegraphic appeal to some of the directors and close friends of the Council, urging them to help tide us over the period when the bulk of our energy was devoted to organizing "Citizens For Victory."

My telegram brought many warm expressions of interest in our work. A fair proportion of directors and friends responded up to the measure of their means, and the total thus received has helped us materially to meet the immediate financial crises. A considerable number, however, have failed to make any response. Perhaps the telegram did not reach them, or perhaps they may not have realized the urgency of my appeal.

Our responsibilities for the future, however, are so grave that I feel compelled to bring this matter to your attention again. If civilian morale was important before the war, it is crucial today. I assume you realize the government cannot do this job alone. This is total war; our government has its hands full in directing the most gigantic war effort in history; we need all the energies of every man, woman and child among us; unless we use all our resources, public and private, we are courting disaster.

To meet these responsibilities the department heads of the Council are even now hard at work on the intensified program outlined in the enclosed memorandum. The funds for continued operation of these projects will be raised through public subscription, but I am appealing to you as a staunch friend of the Council for immediate financial assistance which will enable us to launch them at once.

Sincerely yours,



Ernest Angell
President

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *Chairman*

CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

ERNEST ANGELL, *President*

EVANS CLARK, *Secretary*

C. D. JACKSON, *Chairman of the Board*

PERCY S. BROWN, *Treasurer*

Executive Committee: ERNEST ANGELL, STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, PERCY S. BROWN, LYMAN BRYSON, CASS CANFIELD, JOHN FARRAR, GEORGE M. HARRISON, C. D. JACKSON, ARTHUR S. MEYER, WALTER MILLIS, GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RAYMOND GRAM SWING, ROBERT J. WATT

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

285 MADISON AVENUE • MUrray Hill 3-2465 • NEW YORK

February 11, 1942

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you for your prompt and generous answer to our request. It is indeed heartening to receive such evidence of your continued interest in our work.

Sincerely,

Ernest Angell
President

PS. I was "born or raised" in Cleveland - lived there until 1919.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *Chairman*

CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

ERNEST ANGELL, *President*

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To Win The War . .

A FIGHTING FAITH



COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

heard these voices praising the material and military successes of totalitarianism and mocking the mistakes and the shortcomings of Democracy as it moves toward its as yet unattained goal. They are stilled now, but if the fortunes of war do not favor us, you will hear them again.

All we need now to do to win our propaganda battle among our own people is to tell our own story and to prove it is true. As propagandists in our own behalf we have open to us the greatest channels, in number and importance, of any country in the world. There are 2,216 daily newspapers in the United States, nearly twelve thousand weeklies, and all but an infinitesimal fraction are willing weapons. We have fifty-two million radio sets and seventeen thousand theaters through which the story of America's greatness can be told.

They are being used now by an important civilian organization, the Council for Democracy, whose board of directors includes scores of Americans notable in education, religion, journalism, labor, law, business, social welfare, and entertainment. The Council for Democracy is moving on a dozen fronts. It utilizes the radio for stirring programs in Americanism, and the press for the publication of its pro-Democracy news and features and for advertising its purposes. More than three hundred contributors make possible the publication of a series of pamphlets, *Democracy in Action*, discussing leading issues of the day. The council fosters town councils for the propagation of Democracy, furnishes speakers and discussion leaders, and maintains an information and consultation service for community groups. One of its most stimulating products is the guidebook, *Defense on Main Street*, a guidebook for local activities for defense and Democracy which answers the individual's question, "What can I do?"

There is no scarcity of materials or of workers for this kind of defense production. If the United States were to turn

From CIVILIAN DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES, by Col. R. Ernest Dupuy, G.S.C., and Lieut. Hodding Carter, F.A.

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

WANTED—

A FIGHTING FAITH

This war can be won if — and only if — we make it a people's war —

If the American people know exactly what they are fighting for —

If the man in the street and at the cross-roads, the woman in the home, every man in the fighting forces, realizes that defeat will mean a world run from Berlin and Tokyo —

If we all realize exactly what the American way of life is, and that it is in mortal danger —

If we stop thinking "Let the Government do it" —

If every last one of us burns with a fighting faith in American democracy.

You know that our victory must come from such a fighting faith. But what are you doing to arouse the American people?

* * * * *

What about Bob Murphy, whose machine is punching out cotterpins for machine guns now instead of Buicks? Sure, he know's he's got to make them for the Army, but he's still plenty sore that "we're being suckers again for those slick English who have at last got us to fight their Empire-saving war for them."

What about Joe Reeves, who had just gotten the promotion to the Purchasing Department he and Betty had been waiting for when his number came up and he was gone with the draft?

Sure, it's a war and sure, he has to fight for his country . . . but sometimes when the Sergeant bawls him out or when he's standing a lonely sentry watch, he thinks long, strange thoughts about why little people have to be pushed around.

What about Alec Johnson from Alabama, who figures as how this is a white man's war, and who doesn't want anyone to start telling him big words about the Negro's Great Stake in American Democracy?

What about Pietro Pantalini, who has his own private reservations about dying for a system that puts him through high school and then lets him kick around on a \$35 a month relief job for long, demoralizing years — until *they* finally need him and his pals to go out and defend *them*?

America is made up of a lot of Bob Murphys and Joe Reeveses and Alexander Johnsons and Pietro Pantalinis . . .

And of a lot of other Americans, who are shaking their heads about our not being "all-out" and who are getting a little fed up with our "inefficient, democratic, individualistic way of doing things."

* * * * *

The Council For Democracy is working —

To inspire the American people with a fighting faith;

To help them understand the difference it will make to every one of us if we let the Axis take over the world;

To combat the weaknesses of our democracy — intolerance, discrimination in any form, every violation of civil liberties, subversive and defeatist propaganda;

To stimulate and guide practical aid by groups and communities to an all-out war effort and to the defense and strengthening of democracy on the home front.

* * * * *

The Council was founded in 1940 by a widely representative group of American men and women who saw in pre-Pearl Harbor America the same apathy, confusion and ineffective muddling that brought the downfall of France. They realized that only unity within could repel attack from without — the attack they foresaw.

The Council's founders recognized that many Americans were either shockingly complacent about democracy, taking its values for granted, or had lost faith in democracy

altogether — for the obvious defects in its working. Only a fighting faith in democracy, expressed in action, could rally Americans of every class and group.

Accordingly, they went to work through every modern means of communication, — the radio, mass meetings, pamphlets, the press, the lecture platform — to drive home the basic truths about the present war, to draw every individual and community into the defense effort, to increase the vigor of democracy at home.

During the past year the Council For Democracy has built up an audience of millions for its radio features, its pamphlets, and its news releases. It has established effective working relations with leading national organizations in many different fields. Government departments and agencies frequently ask the Council to take on specific jobs, either independently or in cooperation with them. The public demand for its many services has constantly grown.

The Council For Democracy can make a vital contribution to the most urgent need of the hour — full mobilization for victory.

' THE COUNCIL AT WORK '

"We're on the Air"

Time on the air sells for prices that seems fabulous to the lay mind. But keen advertising brains know there is no better way of reaching the millions. The Council gets radio time free and gets

lots of it, because of the quality of its programs.

Variety Magazine's 1941 Radio Award "For Patriotic Leadership" went to the Council For Democracy — the only organization so honored.



The NBC Red Network carried the Council's *Speaking of Liberty* for 29 weeks during 1941. In a series of brilliant informal discussions on vital issues, Rex Stout interviewed such distinguished guests as Pearl Buck, Douglas Miller, Eve Curie, Clifton Fadiman, Edmond Taylor, Jay Allen.

No spot programs in 1941 were more impressive than those produced by the Council. Each celebrated an occasion: "They Shall Rise Again" was an Easter Roll-Call of the Axis-subjugated nations; "Nightmare at Noon" was Stephen Vincent Benet's poem dramatized for Flag Day; "Listen to the People" was specially written by Mr. Benet for the Council's Fourth of July broadcast. Hundreds of grateful letters from all over the world poured in after each of these programs.

Speaking Freely tackles radio from another angle. This weekly bulletin supplies brief democratic news items to hundreds of radio news commentators. Written with humor and human interest, they are timed from five to sixty seconds and designed for use as "fillers." So enthusiastic was

the response that the project has been expanded to blanket the entire country.

Taking the War of Ideas to the Enemy

The Council's German short-wave broadcast, in collaboration with WRUL, Boston, is on the air thirty minutes a day, six days a week. A program from the American people to the German people, it describes the strength of our war effort and our determination to wipe Hitlerism from the face of the earth. What better proof of its effectiveness than the angry official replies from Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry!

In the Press

There is no force so powerful — and few so responsible — as the 19,000 daily and weekly newspapers in the United States. America's editors are anxious to do their job, inform public opinion, strengthen America's morale. And they are eager for material that helps them do it. The Council



For Democracy is supplying that material today.

News and Features, the Council's seven column "clip-sheet", carries news, articles, cartoons, and photographic features which editors reprint in the columns of their papers. The material in *News and Features* is varied. Factual, objective articles signed by foreign correspondents, authors, prominent government officials. Inspirational features, editorials, poetry. Homely stories and humorous anecdotes, but always with a democratic lesson at the core.

Famous contributors to *News and Features* include Carl Sandburg, Dorothy Thompson, Raymond Gram Swing, Jay Allen, Thornton Wilder, Walter Millis, Louis Adamic, Carl Crow. Recently outstanding was a specially written signed article by Joseph E. Davies, former United States ambassador to Russia.

Eight and a Half Million

News and Features started from scratch a year ago. Today it goes to 1116 newspapers in 48 states

at their request. There's no overlapping — only one paper in each locality can receive the clip-sheet. Clipping returns show that it reaches an audience of more than eight and a half million readers. Every month editors ask for more material, new editors ask to be served.

Write Now, a letters-to-the editor project, is the Council's newest method of reaching the press. Every week a regular bulletin goes to hundreds of carefully selected correspondents in strategic centers. It suggests themes for letters to the editor, includes concise reference material, indicates some possible tie-in with local conditions.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
20th Century

Pamphleteers

Sam Adams and Tom Paine did the job with pamphlets in Revolutionary days. Through Committees of Correspondence they told Maryland and Virginia about Massachusetts and Vermont, until thirteen quarreling Colonies united to become a Nation.



There is a job for pamphlets today: welding the plain people together for victorious war effort, for the preservation of democracy on the home front, and for the ultimate making of a workable, constructive peace. The man in the street must know the basic issues and the hard facts if he is to do his level best at these crucial tasks.

To do this job the Council has built a modern "Committee of Correspondence" — 300 top-flight specialists who furnish the basic material for its pamphlets. Nine major pamphlets have already been distributed to tens of thousands of key editors, educators, public servants, and organization officials throughout the country. They give the facts about such critical subjects as "The Public and Strikes", "Financing Defense", "How We Can Destroy Hitler's Propaganda Against the Jews," "Freedom of Assembly". "The Negro and Defense" encouraged official condemnation of the discrimination only too widespread in defense industries. "The ghosts of Tom Jefferson and Ben Franklin might be saying, 'Nice work, boys'," wrote Carl Sandburg about these pamphlets.

"The best thing of its kind that has been done since the start of the Defense Savings Program" — that's what the Treasury had to say about the first draft of the Council's forthcoming Defense Savings pamphlet. The Treasury Department is anxious to use the

prospective pamphlet as widely as possible both in print and on the air.

"The Last Best Hope of Earth"

The Council has been the means of distributing 650,000 copies of a little pamphlet by Harry Scherman, "The Last Best Hope of Earth", which brings into startlingly clear focus what this war is all about. All the diverse peoples on this planet, says Mr. Scherman, are now bound together, indivisibly, by the very conditions of modern civilization, into an economic world-union. Political world-union has lagged; but the economic interests of all mankind now demand that this lag shall cease. The question that this war will settle is whether this world unity will be achieved through a military world-state run from Berlin for the benefit of the Nazis or through peaceable and equitable collaboration among the peoples of the earth for the mutual benefit of all.

At the core, this is the issue on which the American people are fighting the Axis. The Council intends to get this crucial truth over to the people.

"What Can I Do?"

Defense on Main Street, prepared with the cooperation of the National Federation of Business

and Professional Women's Clubs, is a guidebook for local activities for defense and democracy. It answers the question being asked by thousands: "What can I do to help the victory program?" The pamphlet presents dozens of simple down-to-earth suggestions for practical community activities. Carl Sandburg describes it as "88 pages close packed with common sense" and adds that it "ought to be on sale at every news-stand and cigar store." *Defense on Main Street* has gone into three editions, reaching a distribution among community and organization leaders of some 20,000 copies.

The Council conducted in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, a laboratory experiment in the stimulation of community organizations. It made a community survey — organized a leadership training institute in which 50 community leaders analyzed three pressing problems of health, recreation, and housing. Continuing groups for coordinated community action at these strategic points resulted.

Of highest importance was the Council's service in guiding the organization of the West Side Defense Council in New York, covering the area from 59th Street to Columbia University, from Central Park to the Hudson River. This experiment in bringing civilians into the war effort bids fair to become a model for similar community organization all over the nation.

These are concrete examples of

page nine

practical ways in which the Council is helping Americans in groups and in communities to shoulder the growing responsibilities of democracy in wartime.

In Schools

and Colleges

In the field of organized education, the Council acts as a clearing-



house and distribution center: It distributes outstanding examples of teaching for democracy; reading lists on democracy's history and meaning, problems and successes; detailed instructions for democratic teaching. The Council plans to send democratic posters and recordings of significant material on democracy into thousands of classrooms throughout the country. This new educational method bears the highest promise for teaching the facts of democracy and democratic ideals effectively.

On the Platform

The Council has held large public meetings under its own auspices in Carnegie Hall and

Madison Square Garden, New York, in addition to an open-air



community rally in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Tens of thousands present at these meetings, and millions of radio listeners, heard such speakers as Supreme Court Justices Roberts and Reed, the Attorney General of the United States, Dorothy Thompson, Admiral Byrd, Carl Sandburg, Alfred Landon, and Raymond Gram Swing. In addition to these rallies, the Council's speakers bureau placed its vigorous speakers before hundreds of meetings of other organizations throughout the country.

Working Together

A common practice, when there is a job to be done, is to start a new organization. The public, sometimes confused, asks, "Why

don't these organizations get together?" As a practical contribution to this end the Council serves as a general clearing house for exchange of information and the promotion of cooperative effort. The Round Table, organized by the Council, is a group of organization executives in this field, meeting every two weeks to consider new activities and future plans. The organization best fitted is selected to carry out these plans, with cooperation from the other Round Table members.

Aiding Government

Departments

Federal, state and local offices of government continually ask the Council's help in carrying out innumerable projects. Within the recent past the Council has aided the War Department in its morale and education program for the army; provided much information to the Office of Government Reports and the Office of Facts and Figures; supplied study materials to the Office of Education; worked with the Office of the Coordinator of Information on foreign



short-wave broadcasting and other forms of communication to the occupied countries; rendered valuable consultant service to the Office of Civilian Defense and the

Department of Agriculture; and undertaken special projects for the Treasury and Justice Departments. For these purposes the Council maintains a Washington office.

ONE PURPOSE, MANY MEANS

Because the Council's program must be kept flexible and keyed to the demands of the moment, we cannot tell now everything we shall be called upon to do as the year goes on.

But we shall produce more and even better radio shows — the networks want them and we are ready to provide them.

We shall get out our news sheets and features more often and get them to every editor that asks for them.

We shall tackle a new field of free pamphlets — brief, factual, aimed at the millions.

We intend to intensify our effort to deal with the acute problem of discrimination against the Negro in war production and anti-democratic agitation among the Negro population.

We shall do something practical about the dangerous practice of discrimination against non-citizens in industry — many of them refugees from Axis tyranny, others citizens of nations allied with us against the common enemy.

We shall expand our corps of speakers and send them out to carry a vigorous democratic message of inspiration and practical suggestion to grass-roots organizations throughout the country.

We shall continue to stimulate and guide community activities for putting the united energies of the local citizenry into high gear for victory, and the insuring of a just democratic peace.

We shall meet the occasion as it arises. We shall keep our eye on the ball. We shall use the vigilance, the inventiveness, and the wisdom of our members, our consultants, and our staff to devise practical means to advance the Council's purpose of making democracy stronger for victory by making it work better.

YOU CAN HELP DO THIS JOB

The Council For Democracy is a flexible, tempered instrument to get across to other people your conviction that America's one hope for total victory and a just, secure peace is a fighting faith. Your resources, your time, your efforts are needed to make the Council's program a reality in America's most critical year.

Based on its 1941 experience, the Council For Democracy needs \$300,000 in 1942 to do the work outlined below. This budget, small though it is in view of the war's total cost, may well do the work of many times its weight in munitions. The Council can leaven American democracy with the basic "yeast ideas" that can keep it vigorous and growing. Within the limits of *present* anticipation, the specific Council departments will require:

1. PRESS SERVICE

To continue, improve, and expand the service to the daily and weekly press of the country through *News and Features*, *Write Now*, and specific releases on news occurrences related to the defense of democracy. \$36,000

2. RADIO SERVICE

(1) To provide *Speaking of Liberty* programs, spot programs, and *Speaking Freely*, in order to carry the democratic idea in its relation to war and peace into the homes of the country. \$30,000

(2) To support the Council's program of shortwave German broadcasts to take the war of ideas to the enemy. \$7,000

3. PAMPHLETS

To provide the necessary research, writing, editing, production, and

distribution of successive numbers of the Council's series *Democracy in Action*; production and distribution to a continually wider audience of *The Last Best Hope of Earth*; preparation, production, and distribution of pamphlets and leaflets on specific and timely phases of the democratic idea. \$45,000

4. THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

To continue and amplify the Council's service, in the field of organized education, to schools, colleges, teachers — and through them to the youth of the country. \$22,000

5. RELIGIOUS COLLABORATION

To continue the Council's cooperation with organized religious forces of the country, in stimulating and leading straight thinking

and constructive action on the spiritual connotations of the democratic idea. \$18,500

6. CLEARING HOUSE

To continue the Council's functioning as a clearing house for exchange of information, the coordination of activity and promotion of cooperative effort among organizations and groups concerned with specific aspects of the democratic idea. \$25,500

7. THE NEGRO AND DEMOCRACY

For the dissemination of information about and constructive action against tendencies and specific instances of racial discrimination and injustice to Negroes in industry and the public services. \$24,000

8. COMMUNITY SERVICE

For the production and wider distribution of *Defense on Main Street*, for cooperation with community groups in the solution of their common problems involving

the democratic idea, and laboratory experiments in the coordination of community activities.

\$18,000

9. PUBLISHERS

To continue and expand the Council's service to authors, editors, and publishers; to provide material for and encourage writing and publication of books and articles with vigorous pro-democratic content. \$14,000

10. SPEAKERS

To reorganize and expand the Council's speakers' bureau; to secure, develop, and provide material for a corps of hundreds of speakers over the country; and to stimulate opportunities for their placement. \$16,000

11. SPOT PROJECTS

A flexible fund to finance quick-on-the-trigger projects to meet sudden demands created by swift changes in public opinion and the war picture. \$44,000

DEMOCRACY COULD LOSE —

BUT DEMOCRACY CAN WIN

Without a fighting faith, democracy can lose this war.

Unless we Americans replace passive complacency by dynamic conviction, we can lose our liberties, our rights, and all the fundamental decencies of our common life.

Democracy can win if we keep it worth fighting for.

With your moral support and material assistance, the Council For Democracy will drive home these truths, and do its part in inspiring the fighting faith that will make America invincible.

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Interviewed by

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY, 11 WEST 42ND ST., NEW YORK

To assist the Council For Democracy to carry out, through its 1942 program, the purposes stated on the reverse of this card,

I (We) subscribe the sum of \$....., payable as follows:

Cash — Check herewith

Before December 31, 1942 in the following manner:.....

.....

.....

My name may (may not) be announced publicly as a contributor.

(Signed) Date

(Address)

Payments should be made to Percy S. Brown, Treasurer — and sent to him at the address shown above. Contributions to the Council For Democracy are deductible in establishing taxable net income.

(over)

THIS IS OUR ANSWER

This is the crisis of our world. We have answered wanton attack by our declaration of war. We mean to see that war through to a finish. But the attack upon us is not just an attack by a single nation. It is part and parcel of a ruthless, world-wide pattern of conquest. It means that the democratic way of life we have cherished and the totalitarian way of life proclaimed by the Axis leaders cannot live together anywhere in the same world.

It isn't easy for peaceable Americans to believe that. But now we belong to all free mankind. If the world itself is to be a place where a free man can hold up his head, we have to help make it so, with our own blood and sweat and tears.

We have tried to solve a specific problem between two nations by peaceful negotiation. That was right and just. But the bombs on Pearl Harbor are the final answer to all those who ever believed that tyranny and democracy can share the same seas, can breathe the same air.

Remains the vast task for all Americans. We stand united today, every man and woman. This is the end of

appeasement, of disunity, of tolerance of the pro-Fascists in our midst. Yet we shall preserve our democratic ways at home.

Where is our essential strength? It is in the very factors that seemed, at times, to be our weakness. Because we all spoke our minds, we were thought divided. Today is the answer. The resolution that moves the American people today was not handed down from above by any one man. It is the groundswell of all the people—it comes from the grass-roots and the alleys and the houses of little towns. It comes and it keeps on coming. That is our huge weapon.

The long struggle will be the giant testing ground for all we believe and love, for all we have built for two centuries, and for the future we mean to build. We shall not abandon our democratic faith, either during this war, or when this war is done. No matter what we must face, we mean to see that democracy shall live and grow. The issue is grimly plain. But we shall go forward—not in vengeance, not merely to destroy, but to build a free world for all men.

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

285 Madison Avenue, New York City • RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *National Chairman*

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FEATURES for DEFENSE

285 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Published Monthly For House Magazines
BY THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

No. 8.

A Creed For Americans

By STEPHEN VINCENT BENET
Written for the Council For Democracy

WE believe in the dignity of man and the worth and value of every living soul, no matter in what body housed, no matter whether born in comfort or born in poverty, no matter to what stock he belongs, what creed he professes, what job he holds.



WE believe that every man should have a free and equal chance to develop his own best abilities under a free system of government, where the people themselves choose those who are to rule them and where no one man can set himself up as a tyrant or oppress the many for the benefit of the few.

WE believe that free speech, free assembly, free elections, free practice of religion are the cornerstones of such a government. We believe that the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights of the United States of America offer the best and most workable framework yet devised for such a government.

WE believe in justice and law. We do not believe in curing an evil by substituting for it another and opposite evil. We are unalterably opposed to class hatred, race hatred, religious hatred, however manifested, by whomsoever instilled.

WE believe that political freedom implies and acknowledges economic responsibility. We do not believe that any state is an admirable state that lets its people go hungry when they might be fed, ragged when they might be clothed, sick when they might be well, workless when they might have work. We believe that it is the duty of all of us, the whole people, working through our democratic system, to see that such conditions are remedied, whenever and wherever they exist in our country.

WE believe that political freedom implies and acknowledges personal responsibility. We believe that we have a great and priceless heritage as a nation—not only a heritage of material resources but of liberties, dreams, ideals, ways of going forward. We believe it

is our business, our right and our inescapable duty to maintain and expand that heritage. We believe that such a heritage cannot be maintained by the lacklustre, the selfish, the bitterly partisan or the amiably doubtful. We believe it is something bigger than party, bigger than our own small ambitions. We believe it is worth the sacrifice of ease, the long toil of years, the expense of our heart's blood.

WE know that our democratic system is not perfect. We know that it permits injustices and wrongs. But with our whole hearts we believe in its continuous power of self remedy. That power is not a theory—it has been proven. Through the years, democracy has given more people freedom, less persecution and a higher standard of living than any other system we know. Under it, evils have been abolished, injustices remedied, old wounds healed, not by terror and revolution but by the slow revolution of consent in the minds of all the people. While we maintain democracy, we maintain the greatest power a people can possess—the power of gradual, efficient and lawful change.

MOST of all, we believe in democracy itself—in its past, its present and its future—in democracy as a political system to live by—in democracy as the great hope in the minds of the free. We believe it so deeply rooted in the earth of this country that neither assault from without nor dissension from within can ever wipe it entirely from that earth. But, because it was established for us by the free-minded and the daring, it is our duty now, in danger as in security, to uphold and sustain it with all that we have and are. We believe that its future shall and must be even greater than its past. And to the future—as to the past of our forebears and the present of our hard-won freedom—we pledge all we have to give.

Stephen Vincent Benet, noted American poet and short-story writer, wrote this creed for the members of the Council For Democracy, a national, non-political organization. But he wrote it, too, for 132,000,000 Americans, expressing the belief in their minds and the faith and courage in their hearts. Mr. Benet is the author of "The Devil and Daniel Webster," and of "John Brown's Body" for which he won the Pulitzer Prize in 1928. Mr. Benet is a member of the executive committee of the Council For Democracy.

No More Glitter

SHINY chromium fixtures are to be stripped from our cars. Cellophane won't shimmer this year on Christmas gifts. Aluminum has left the kitchen for bomber wings. The surface glitter is going out of American life.

America has a job to do and she is stripping off the unnecessary trimmings—for action.

It's time to reef our sails to ride out the storm. How long the storm is going to last and how many luxuries we shall have to throw overboard, nobody knows. We have set a course and accepted a challenge—the defeat of Hitlerism. Whether our adventure succeeds or fails is going to depend on the crew.

The sacrifices we shall have to make won't stop at the chromium on our cars or the silk stockings on our feet. Those items are the strip tease of defense. This is a dirty, costly, necessary job. The sacrifices ahead of us will hit us hard where it hurts—at home, at business, in the shop and on the farm. They are the price of the victory we are aiming at—the freedom to live our own lives in our own way.

We are, as President Roosevelt said recently, "pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

Our collision with Hitlerism and its threat to American independence was unavoidable. Hitler saw that. It was not our fault but our destiny. If the collision hadn't happened, we would not be in the middle of the greatest defense program of all time.

Once more we have the job of proving that the way of life we have worked out for ourselves has the strength and the courage to survive on this planet. The kind of life that prefers peace to war, freedom to slavery, democracy to tyranny.

Freedom has one more battle—the battle for a free world. It will win on one condition: that we believe freedom itself is more important than the gadgets and luxuries that freedom has given us.

This is a tough job. It's time to get tough about freedom.

Boys to Salvage Waste Paper

The Boys' Clubs of America are enlisting their 400,000 members in 360 cities and towns in the National Waste Paper Salvage Campaign. Waste paper can be turned into boxes and wrappings for defense products.

Army Planes Safer

Army training planes are safer than they used to be. In spite of intensified activity, the accident rate for the past year is below that of the three years preceding the defense emergency, according to the War Department.

+ America Speaks +

Freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation.

—Thomas Jefferson.

Let us recollect it was liberty, the hope of liberty for themselves (our forefathers) and us and ours, which conquered all discouragements, dangers and trials.

—John Adams.

The right of voting for representatives is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right is to reduce a man to slavery, for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another.

—Thomas Paine.

I am the inferior of any man whose rights I trample under foot. Men are not superior by reason of accidents of race or color. They are superior who have the best heart—the best brain.

—Robert Green Ingersoll.

Conserve Farm Machinery

A NATION-WIDE program to keep farm machinery in good repair is now under way. State and County Defense Boards are asking farmers to check their machinery and make needed repairs at once.

The program, as announced by Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard, is designed to help farmers meet reductions in new farm machinery in 1942 in order to make more steel available for other defense needs.

"A democracy is based upon a complete trust in the people and a democratic information service must necessarily reflect that trust," according to Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, just appointed Director of the Office of Facts and Figures.

THE INVASION OF AMERICA



(Courtesy Chicago Daily News)

Note to the Editor:

The above cartoon is released for reproduction in your publication by the Council For Democracy with the kind permission of Mr. Shoemaker. Since clipping bureaus do not cover house magazines, we find it difficult to get a complete picture of how this clip-sheet is being used. We would appreciate it, if you would send us clippings or copies of your publication, containing our material. Thank you.

Council For Democracy - 285 Madison Avenue - New York

General Robert E. Wood
National Chairman, America First Committee
Chicago, Illinois

Dear General Wood:

The statement issued recently by the America First Committee supporting Mr. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech marks the adoption by your Committee of the Nazi technique of dividing this country by fostering prejudice on the part of one group of Americans against another. Mr. Lindbergh did foster that prejudice in his speech. Your Committee's statement fails to repudiate his anti-democratic incitement to bigotry and division.

The Nazis have used this device again and again with alarming success in every country which was the object of their covetousness. Every man in some interest is a member of a minority group. Yesterday's attack upon the Jews leads to tomorrow's attack upon the Catholics, the Masons, the Negroes, the bankers, the trade unions, the foreignborn. To accuse any group as such is a strategem of fear, terror and defeat. The attack upon any group is a menace to the whole.

Your Committee, which has a clear right to advocate a certain foreign policy for this country, should have seized this occasion to repudiate an irrelevant and anti-democratic issue injected into this debate by one of your distinguished members. Your evasion ranges you, whether deliberately or unwittingly, on the side of the Nazis who work to destroy democracy at its very roots. Unless you promptly and completely disavow the use of this anti-democratic technique, henceforth you will be known as enemies of the democratic spirit in America.

The Council For Democracy supports the declared national policy of resistance to the aggressors. The Council also supports your right freely to express your views on foreign policy. But it joins with the vast majority of Americans in condemning any attempt to split our country into warring factions which would be unable to unite in the face of common danger.

Very truly yours,

Ernest Angell
President
For Council For Democracy