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Un-American Activities in Washington, 1947.

694
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON

The Investigation of the Film Industry and the Threat to
American Liberties

WRHS

By

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver



At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, November 2, 1947

Americans will recall that the Constitution of the United States would not have been adopted but for the agreement to submit to the people of the United States immediately after the adoption of the Constitution of a certain number of amendments which the people were demanding in order to make more explicit in the Constitution the rights of the individual as well as the rights of the states. They were pleased with the Constitution. But it was not enough. The liberties of the individual citizen were not specifically enough defined and safeguarded in the draft of the Constitution. And so, at the very first Congress of the United States, at its very first session, which met in the City of New York on September 25, 1789, it submitted to the states twelve proposed amendments, ten of which were adopted. And these amendments, which have come to be known as the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States. The first of these ten amendments reads as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Congress has no right to make any law respecting these rights of citizens of the United States which are theirs they inalienably and/are not subject to revision by any act or any legislative body.

This is the bulwark of what we call the American system, the American way of life. As you see, it is very precise, very categorical, unequivocal, as concise as the Ten Commandments. They knew exactly what they wanted -- these Founding Fathers of our country who fashioned our Constitution after a long and bloody revolution against tyranny and oppression, against an invasion of the rights of the individual.

All the other amendments which were adopted are very vital, as well as the many provisions of the Constitution itself, the original seven articles. But this first amendment, plus Article 6 of the Constitution which reads that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or

public trust under the United States" -- these are the very heart of American democracy.

Now from time to time in the last 158 years since the adoption of the Constitution, attempts have been made to circumvent this amendment to restrict it under one stress or another by one class or another, sometimes by sinister forces prompted by self-interest whose concern was not the preservation of American democracy, but the exploitation of American democracy for selfish interests.

But at other times, attempts to ignore, to circumvent the clear intent of this amendment were made by well-intentioned people and certain groups, forces eager to defend the American way of life by methods specifically prohibited by this Bill of Rights, the very bulwark of the American way of life.

At this moment, we are all living in the emotional backwash of a world war, in a world frightfully unsettled, disturbed, unhappy -- and we are afraid of many things -- the insecurity of life today, the mysterious forces which are swirling all around us. We feel that this war-weakened and war-ravaged world may be conquered by a political economic system which we dislike and distrust, a system which in so many ways seems to be opposed to our American way of life. We are afraid of the propaganda of that system, its propaganda not only abroad in other ranks, but here at home, and we would like to check this probe and neutralize it in some way.

And there are many patriotic American citizens who would like to check this Communist propaganda because of a real sincere concern of the survival of American democracy. And there are others, crypto-Fascists of one sort or another whose concern is not concern of American democracy but who would like to incite an anti-Communist crusade in this country to check not only communism but all forms of radical movements in this country in the hope of checking all progressive political and economic movements in America under the battle-cry of anti-Communism. This, you will recall, is a well known technique which for a time proved very highly successful on the Continent of Europe and led to the second world war in which

democracies strange enough found themselves fighting not against Communism but with Communists, against Fascism.

But even the well-intentioned and sincere Americans are unfortunately frequently led astray by their concern for the American way of life and resort to methods altogether Un-American and thereby endanger or defeat their own purpose.

But fortunately there are always present in American life countervailing forces, men and women who remain sober and first in their traditions and strong in their faith that the best way to serve the American way of life is to make it work, men and women who realize that the real danger to democracy is not cunning propaganda from the ~~part~~ of alien ideologies, but from the failure of the American democracy to make good on its promises and give its people freedom, security, equal opportunity.

Two events of recent days illustrate these two tendencies -- the right and the wrong way to defend the American way of life. The first is the probe which was carried on by the House Committee on un-American activities in Washington into so-called Communist activities in the Moving Picture Industry in Hollywood.

And the second is the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Now what was wrong with the probe of the Film Industry by the House Committee on un-American activities, the probe which was so noisily and highly publicized was essentially that it is a dishonest probe, a dishonest investigation, because there was no need for such an investigation.

Of the tens of millions of Americans who weekly or monthly or yearly go to moving pictures, I don't recall a single one, and I imagine you can't recall a single one who ever complained that Hollywood was producing Communist pictures. There have been all kinds of complaints as to the kind of pictures produced, much of which is reasonable and justified. But that Hollywood was producing Communistic pictures -- I for one go to pictures pretty often. I have never heard that complaint. I have never seen a communist picture on the screen. If such pictures had been produced or were being produced which were

inspired by communist motifs, propaganda -- it would have been quite legitimate and proper for this committee to make a thorough investigation of it. For democracy ought not to be naive and sit by when forces intending to disrupt it and undermine it are utilizing this tremendous instrumentality for influencing public opinion -- the screen. But even the star witnesses who appeared in Washington for this committee failed to point to a single picture that could be called Communist. Some four pictures were mentioned. I had seen all of them. Many of you had seen those pictures. Four pictures were singled out as horrible examples as to how Communism had invaded the Film Industry. One was Mission to Moscow. The man who wrote the script, the book for that picture was not Karl Marx. He was one of the outstanding capitalists of the United States. He was U. S. Ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies. His book was highly praised at the time by every Government official in the United States, because at that time, Russia was our Ally and we needed Russia. And in fact that book was put on the screen in order to win friendship for an Ally that was about to sacrifice millions upon millions of lives in a struggle in which the U.S. had a stake of life and death. The American Government wanted that picture produced.

The second picture held up as a horrible example of what happened to the Film Industry in Hollywood is "Song of Russia." I saw that picture. I thought it pretty dull, but it certainly contained no propaganda. Russia at that time was fighting at Stalingrad. Our national leaders were pleading for all out support of our Ally. The picture was a musical boy and girl romance featuring a Russian setting with a background of music by Tchaikowsky. The nicest thing about the picture was the music of Tchaikowsky.

Many such pictures were produced during the war years as a tribute to our own fighting Allies. Pictures were produced as a tribute to the English. There were pictures about Norway, Poland. France was exalted in a picture about its underground movement. So a picture was produced about Russia. The star in it said last summer that he was forced to play the role. In Washington he

said he was not actually forced to play the role in that movie. He, in fact stated that the Government approved the picture and granted him a delay in his enlistment in the Navy (By Frank Knox) in order to complete the picture. That's how communist it was. In fact it was mentioned by someone in the testimony that the U. S. Army Signal Corps itself produced a picture -- "The Battle of Stalingrad." The prologue to this picture contained an endorsement by the President, the Sec'y of War, etc. Everybody thought it was wonderful.

There was another picture called "North Star." It was written by Lillian Hellman who wrote many fine plays exposing Nazism. Mr. Adolph Menjou, I imagine that's how you pronounce his name, testified that this picture was communistically tainted. Why? Because it depicted the Nazi attack on Russia.

And there was one more picture called "None But the Lonely Heart." I didn't see that picture. But the mother of an actress testified that this picture must be communistic in design. Why? Because it was full of despair and hopelessness. And I am quoting: "The music was moody and somber in the Russian manner." That is about all the inflammatory communist pictures that were held up as evidence to prove that the Moving Picture Industry had gone communist.

Of course there are communists in Hollywood. There are some communists everywhere in the United States. For there is a Communist Party in the United States. No one can be surprised that in our world today, as it is today, there will be found among writers, artists, actors, some people communistically inclined. But there is no evidence that their private political or economic views have influenced the pictures. A man may be a communist and yet write for movies scripts which have nothing to do with communism. It is clear that no writer by himself determines what a picture can be. Before a script is finally put into a picture it is checked, re-checked by producers, editors, directors, by numerous hands.

Now, an honest probe would have made a study of the net results, in terms of actual pictures produced to see whether communism invaded Hollywood. But to smear

a great American industry, an industry which may have many faults, but certainly not this one - because a few script writers or actors are un-American. Why some of the accusers, the star witnesses of this committee could not even testify whether the people accused were actually communist, or what methods were used to identify them as communists. The same Adolph Menjou when asked how he could spot a Red replied: "Anyone attending any meeting at which Paul Robeson appears, and applauds, can be condemned a Communist."....

In this connection one must say there is something wrong with procedure of of the witnesses a probe when no cross-examination/is permitted. As a result a man may be smeared, lied about, defamed and injured because the witnesses are immune from questioning by counsel of the persons attacked. Their testimony cannot be refuted or their motives brought to light. A man can be defamed, smeared injured by such a probe without any protection for his defense.

And while this Committee, unintentionally, perhaps -- you will remember that the former chairman of this committee was a gentleman by the name of Rankin - now his name is Thomas -- while this committee, perhaps unintentionally seeks to muzzle the screen, in the United Nations, the American delegation was fighting an attempt by the Russian delegation to muzzle the American Press -- a very valiant one, a creditable one. The Russians are displeased and irritated by the attacks the American Press made and demanded that these attacks which they call war-mongering be stopped. It should be remembered that the same Press attacked their own government. That is the American tradition of a free Press. The American delegation was effective, and very clearly objected to this attempt to muzzle its Press. Now its defense of freedom at the U.N. was not as impressive as it might have been because at the same time an attempt was being made to muzzle free the/screen in Washington by intimidation.

There is this incongruity between profession and practise, this gap which exposes us very frequently to the ridicule of foreign nations. Now what is fine about the American tradition... is that the people will resist this un-American

attempt to muzzle their rights to a free screen and a free press. This probe in Washington seems to have collapsed rather ignominiously.

An indication of how the American people intends to proceed in its valiant effort to defend the American way of life is the report which was made a few days ago to the President of the United States by a committee which he appointed on Civil Rights. This committee was appointed last December to investigate the status of civil rights in the United States and to recommend more adequate ways of guaranteeing them and protecting them. The report is 178 pages. It is a most encouraging and inspiring report. It is an honest, forthright statement in the best American tradition of courageous self-criticism, self-criticism made in self-confidence. This report was concerned not with fighting communism. It was concerned with making American democracy work more efficiently, with making the American way of life stronger at a time when democracy seems to have collapsed in so many parts of the world. It points the accusing finger not at others, but at ourselves, which is the hardest thing in the world to do. It doesn't apologize for the American way of life. It knows its strength and nobility. It would like to make it stronger and more noble. It points to the great weaknesses, the inconsistencies, gaps between profession and performance. It analyzes the situation, calls attention to its deficiencies for three reasons (1) as a matter of conscience 2) as a matter of self-interest and 3) as a sure way of survival in a threatening world.

So this report in great detail points to the many unfortunate evidences of discrimination which still exist in our country against minorities, discrimination in the exercise of franchise, in the right to vote, discrimination in the matter of employment, economic remuneration, in education, in health services, in housing. It calls attention to the Poll Tax, to the frequent acts of intimidation. It points the finger at the persistence of segregation in many parts of the country -- whether negroes, Jews and in some instances Catholics by certain groups.

It calls attention to the situation in the District of Columbia which is

under Federal control and which should be a model of American Democracy. And it says:

"The District of Columbia should symbolize to our own citizens and to the people of all countries our great tradition of civil liberty. Instead, it is a graphic illustration of a failure of democracy. As the seat of our Federal Government under the authority of Congress, the failure of the District is a failure of the people."

"For the Negro, said the committee, Washington is where all public transportation into the South becomes 'Jim Crow,' where he is denied admittance to downtown movies, plays and hotels, and, with few exceptions, refused service in the restaurants.

"'Ludicrous extremes' were cited, such as at Constitution Hall, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, which admits Negroes in the audience but will not have Negro artists on its stage; and the commercial legitimate theatre, which has had Negro actors on its stage, but bars Negro patrons.

"In discussing 'the failure' of the dual school system, the committee said:

"'Negro schools are inferior to white schools in almost every respect. The white school buildings have a capacity which is 27 percent greater than actual enrollment."

This is the District of Columbia, which is similarly true of many other parts of the United States. And the Committee frankly and honestly calls attention to these lapses. I read from its report the following paragraph:

"The pervasive gap between our aims and what we actually do is creating a kind of moral dry rot which eats away at the emotional and rational bases of democratic beliefs. There are times when the difference between what we preach about civil rights and what we practice is shockingly illustrated by individual outrages. There are times when the whole structure of our ideology is made ridiculous by individual instances. And there are certain continuing, quiet, omnipresent practices which do irreparable damage to our beliefs."

The report also calls attention to the effect which these numerous lapses will have, to the harm which it does to our position as a moral leader: "Our position in the postwar world is so vital to the future that our smallest actions have far-reaching effects. We have come to know that our own security in a highly inter-dependent world is inextricably tied to the security and well-being of all people and all countries. Our foreign policy is designed to make the United States an enormous, positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world. We have tried to let nothing, not even extreme political differences between ourselves and foreign nations, stand in the way of this goal. But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle."

"We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics. The world's press and radio are full of it. This Committee has seen a multitude of samples. We and our friends have been, and are, stressing our achievements. Those with competing philosophies have stressed -- and are shamelessly distorting -- our shortcomings. They have not only tried to create hostility toward us among specific nations, races, and religious groups. They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people. This may seem ludicrous to Americans, but it is sufficiently important to worry our friends."

"The international reason for acting to secure our civil rights now is not to win the approval of our totalitarian critics. We would not expect it if our record were spotless; to them our civil rights record is only a convenient weapon with which to attack us. Certainly we would like to deprive them of that weapon. But we are more concerned with the good opinion of the peoples of the world. Our achievements in building and maintaining a state dedicated to the fundamentals of freedom have already served as a guide for those seeking the best road from chaos to liberty and prosperity. But it is not indelibly written that democracy will encompass the world. We are convinced that our way of life -- the free way of life -- holds a promise of hope for all people. We have what is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever placed upon a people to keep this promise alive. Only still

greater achievements will do it.

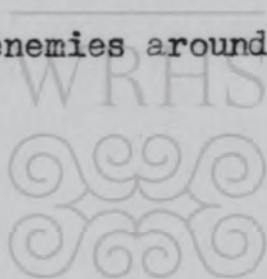
"The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."

These are profound thoughts here expressed. This committee, after making this survey, this honest appraisal of the status of the civil rights of our country, proceeds to make definite recommendations. For example: The establishment of permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission; the establishment of a Fair Educational Practices Commission to ~~combat~~ combat discrimination in schools and the granting of federal aid to public and private institutions. It recommends the certain passage of State laws outlawing real estate covenants which bar/citizens from living certain sections of our community....It recommends the modification of federal Naturalization laws to permit the granting ~~of~~ of citizenship without regard to race, color ~~or~~ or national origin. To check Facism and Communism it recommends the enactment of federal and state laws requiring all groups which attempt to influence public opinion to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves, disclose the names of their officers, their sources of financial support. They should be exposed to the light of day... The Committee recommends the abolition of the Poll Tax as a voting prerequisite. It recommends a law by Congress protecting the right of qualified persons to vote in federal elections against interference by private persons.

In other words, friends, for a full program of public education and legislation to strengthen democracy in the United States, to make it work more and more, better and better. And all of these recommendations will be adopted quickly, I am sure. There will be resistance in Congress undoubtedly. All forms of filibustering will take place to defeat federal legislation. But as long as this will is there on the part of the American people to express itself, to improve democracyas long as that spirit dominates the American people, American democracy is bound to move forward, bound to advance, bound to triumph.

There is moving across the country the "Freedom Train." The man who thought of that idea had an inspiration of genius. This Freedom Train will carry to every nook and cranny of our country the sacred documents of our freedom -- the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, many other immortal proclamations of this people...Think of mankind bringing those documents to every village and hamlet in the United States, to every man, woman and child. This is America. This is glorious vision and hope. This is what has made this country of a century and half the greatest and most prosperous country on earth. Protect the spirit of these documents. Live your lives by the inspiration of these documents and America will have nothing to fear as it moves into the future.

America at work is far more promising than America in a fearful panic mood looking for dangerous enemies around the corner. America at work is America in its finest tradition!



1/ Amer. will recall that Constitution - would not have been adopted ~~but~~ but for the agreement to submit to the people immediately after the adoption, the Con. a number of amendments which would make more efficient the rights, the individual and state rights:

First Congress, U.S. at its first session, City, N.Y.
Sep. 25, 1789 - submitted to States 12 proposed amendments
(a Bill, Rights) → 10 were adopted. First -

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Govt.

for a redress of grievances

2/ This is the benchmark, what we call the Amer. way of life. It is very precise, categorical ^{as 10 amendments} ~~summarized~~ ^{is 10 amendments} all the other amendments are vital and the provisions of the Const. itself - the original 7 articles - but this plus Article 6 - the Const - that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States" is the heart of Amer. democracy.

3/ But frequently the well-intentioned people are led astray by their very concern for Am. by / of the most to methods - altogether un-American - & defied. For finally there are always in an un-American country people who remain sober firm in their positions, and they in their faith that the best way to save our way, life is to wait it out!

→ Who realize that the real danger is not from the un-American people, but from the farther Am. demon to get make and it promises - to give people freedom, opportunity and security.

6/ Two events & recent steps illustrate these 2 tendencies - the report of the Ways and Means to defend the Am. way / life. (1) The fight, the House Comm. on Un-American Activities with communist activities in the motion picture industry in Hollywood. (2) Report, the Purdum Comm. on Civil Rights.

7/ What was wrong with the Prote - which collapsed after 2 weeks of moving, highly publicized, and glorified in two Hollywood style - was that it was essentially a dishonest prote. There was no need for that kind of the prote, unlike - you can see it in the

who complained that 16th. are producing even 14
pictures — I have seen hundreds — so have you —
Do you recall a rough picture?

① I / such pictures ~~to~~ ever being produced —
systematic —

② But not even the star witnesses — 4 pictures
were mentioned — among the hundreds ① Mission to
Moscow — Joseph E. Davies — ^{acting as a} highly praised —
an ally —

② 'Song, Russia' — Russian men fighting at
Stalingrad — "our nat. leaders were pleading for all-
out support for our ally" — "a musical by-
& find romance featuring a Russian sitting
with music / Tchaikovsky" —

Other such tickets — pictures to France —
Norway — Iceland — England — Poland etc.

Mr. Robert Taylor — "Fred" — was granted
a delay in his entertainment in the Navy — by Frank
Knock — to complete this picture —
And our first ~~of~~ Mr. Taylor stated,

an am U.S. Army Signal Corps produced (5)
in 1943 - "The Battle of Stalingrad" - produced by

(3) "North Star" - William Hollman - key
depicted Nazi attack on Russia

(4) "Now let the Lonely Heart" - Mrs. Rogers
"full of despair and hopelessness" with more
moody + somber - in the Russian manner

(5) This is about all the information I can
provide. Yes, another "Brotherhood!"

8/ I know there are some Comm. in Hollywood - There are
some everywhere. There is a Comm. Party in U.S. -
which has what it takes - There is no surprise
that among writers, etc. - there is some Communist -
But there is no evidence that their front pol. or
econ. views have influenced the pictures -

(a) A man may be a Comm. & yet work for movies
scripts which have nothing to do with C.

(b) Further - no writer alone determines what
pictures will be. The script is checked & checked
by readers, editors, producers & directors -

9/ An honest folk would have ~~studied~~ the mind a study of the net results, in terms of pictures produced, of this suspected belly and blue world.

To mean a part Am. institution - which may have many other faults - but clearly not the one - be. a few script-writer a actors ~~may~~ ^{are} come - and many, the ~~accusers~~ ^{is} on American. Some, the accusers could not even testify whether the people whom they accused were actually Can - & what their method / identity was -

① Morgan asked how he could tell a lie
"Anyone attending any meeting at which Paul Robeson appears, and applauds, can be considered a Can"

② Rupert Hughes: "You can't keep smiling them"

10/ There is something wrong with procedure of folk - ~~without~~ ^{in a future} no cross-examination, ~~is permitted~~ ^{is permitted} witnesses are immune from questioning by counsel of persons attacked. Their testimony cannot be refuted or their motives hot to by it. A man can be sworn, defamed and injured.

11/ - Editorial. N.Y. Herald-Tribune -

12/ And what we seek to muzzle screen - At UN -
our delegation is hyping the Russians - muzzle
the Comm. Press - Curb our press for alleged war-crimes
& demand punishment.

Our defense of freedom at UN - is not as
unprepared - in light of attempt of a Comm. Gov.
to muzzle, by interventions, the free press.

13/ The Am. people will resent - our country - Reb
collapsed.

(1) Pres. Comm. on Civil Rights - last Dec. - 10. Nov. 1958

"to investigate status, Civil Rights in U.S. & recommend
new adequate way guaranteeing them"

(2) Am. people, for the right - in best Amer. tradition - self-an

(3) Concerned not with hyping Comm. but making
Am. times more efficient, & stronger -

(4) It points the accusing finger not at others
but at ourselves -

(5) It knows our strength - not apologize

(6) Grave weakness - inefficiency - gaps between
profession & performance

(6a) - Call attention to Russians (1) Comm. (2) def. action (3) Survival in

⑦ Points to discrimination of Uninited - ^{2/8} in franchise 1/8
employment, education, health nurses, in housing -
- to Poll Tax - to Segregation - Jews -

(8) Interest, Columnar (Guth)

14/ Let me read - (Inte)

17). Recommendations

① Establishing permanent Fair Supply Practice Committee

② " Fair Educational Practices Comm.

combat discrimination in schools - granting federal aid to public & private w/ conditions

③ Passage of State laws violating real estate covenants

(36) - banning weapons, guns of the municipality
Smaller laws eg. decrements in funeral & public health partly @

④ Underpinning federal Naturalized Laws to permit
granting citizenship without regard
to race, color or nat. origin.

(5) Enactment of federal & state laws requiring all groups which attempt to influence public function to disclose the personnel and all sources of financial support

- ① Abolition, Poll Tax as a voting prerequisite
- ② Law by Congress ~~prohibiting~~ right of qualified person to vote in federal primary election against interference by public officials & private person.
- 16/ Legislation + Education - slow - steady
- 17/ Freedom Train
- 18/ This is America at WAC!



crous to Americans, but it is sufficiently important to worry our friends. The following United Press dispatch from London proves that (*Washington Post*, May 25, 1947):

Although the Foreign Office reserved comment on recent lynch activities in the Carolinas, British diplomatic circles said privately today that they have played into the hands of Communist propagandists in Europe * * *

Diplomatic circles said the two incidents of mob violence would provide excellent propaganda ammunition for Communist agents who have been decrying America's brand of "freedom" and "democracy."

News of the North Carolina kidnapping was prominently displayed by London papers * * *.

The international reason for acting to secure our civil rights now is not to win the approval of our totalitarian critics. We would not expect it if our record were spotless; to them our civil rights record is only a convenient weapon with which to attack us. Certainly we would like to deprive them of that weapon. But we are more concerned with the good opinion of the peoples of the world. Our achievements in building and maintaining a state dedicated to the fundamentals of freedom have already served as a guide for those seeking the best road from chaos to liberty and prosperity. But it is not indelibly written that democracy will encompass the world. We are convinced that our way of life—the free way of life—holds a promise of hope for all people. We have what is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever placed upon a people to keep this promise alive. Only still greater achievements will do it.

The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record.

the report said:

"The District of Columbia should symbolize to our own citizens and to the people of all countries our great tradition of civil liberty. Instead, it is a graphic illustration of a failure of democracy. As the seat of our Federal Government under the authority of Congress, the failure of the District is a failure of all of the people."

Where "Jim Crowism" Begins

For the Negro, said the committee, Washington is where all public transportation into the South becomes "Jim Crow," where he is denied admittance to downtown movies, plays and hotels, and, with few exceptions, refused service in the restaurants.

"Ludicrous extremes" were cited, such as at Constitution Hall, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, which admits Negroes in the audience but will not have Negro artists on its stage; and the commercial legitimate theatre, which has had Negro actors on its stage but bars Negro patrons.

In discussing "the failure" of the dual school system, the committee said:

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vidual instances. And there are
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present practices which do irrepa-
rable damage to our beliefs.

As examples of "moral erosion"
there are the consequences of suf-
frage limitations in the South. The
fact that Negroes and many whites
have not been allowed to vote in
some states has actually sapped
the morality underlying universal
suffrage. Many men in public and
private life do not believe that
those who have been kept from
voting are capable of self-rule.
They finally convince themselves
that disfranchised people do not
really have the right to vote.

Wartime segregation in the
armed forces is another instance
of how a social pattern may wreak
mortal havoc. Practically all white
officers and enlisted men in all
branches of service saw Negro mil-
itary personnel performing only
the most menial functions. They
saw Negroes recruited for the
common defense treated as men
apart and distinct from them-
selves. As a result, men who might
otherwise have maintained the
equalitarian morality of their fore-
bears were given reason to look
down on their fellow citizens. This
has been sharply illustrated by the

ample of inequity.

It is impossible to decide who suffers the greatest moral damage from our civil rights transgressions, because all of us are hurt. That is certainly true of those who are victimized. Their belief in the basic truth of the American promise is undermined. But they do have the realization, galling as it sometimes is, of being morally in the right. The damage to those who are responsible for these violations of our moral standards may well be greater. They, too, have been reared to honor the command of "free and equal." And all of us must share in the shame at the growth of hypocrisies like the "automatic" marble champion. All of us must endure the cynicism about democratic values which our failures breed.

The United States can no longer countenance these burdens on its common conscience, these inroads on its moral fiber.

tence.

THE INTERNATIONAL REASON

Our position in the postwar world is so vital to the future that our smallest actions have far-reaching effects. We have come to know that our own security in a highly interdependent world is inextricably tied to the security and well-being of all people and all countries. Our foreign policy is designed to make the United States an enormous, positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world. We have tried to let nothing, not even extreme political differences between ourselves and foreign nations, stand in the way of this goal. But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle.

In a letter to the Fair Employment Practice Committee on May 8, 1946, the Honorable Dean Acheson, then Acting Secretary of State, stated that:

*** the existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. We are reminded over and over by some foreign newspapers and spokesmen, that our treatment of various minorities leaves much to be desired. While sometimes these pronouncements are exaggerated and unjustified, they all too frequently point with accuracy to some form of discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin.

counterparts overseas are numbered in hundreds of millions. Throughout the Pacific, Latin America, Africa, the Near, Middle and Far East, the treatment which our Negroes receive is taken as a reflection of our attitudes toward all dark-skinned peoples.

Impact on World Politics

In the recent war, citizens of a dozen European nations were happy to meet Smiths, Cartiers, O'Haras, Schultzes, di Salvos, Cohens, and Sklodowskas and all the others in our armies. Each nation could share in our victories because its "sons" had helped win them. How much of this good feeling was dissipated when they found virulent prejudice among some of our troops is impossible to say.

We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics. The world's press and radio are full of it. This Committee has seen a multitude of samples. We and our friends have been, and are, stressing our achievements. Those with competing philosophies have stressed—and are shamelessly distorting—our shortcomings. They have not only tried to create hostility toward us among specific nations, races, and religious groups. They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people. This may seem ludi-

By The United Press.

DETROIT, Oct. 29 — While tobacco-hating Henry Ford was alive, no employee of the Ford Motor Company, not even vice presidents, ever smoked on the job.

Today, Henry Ford 2d, who smokes cigarettes, announced the scrapping of his grandfather's thirty-four-year-old rule.

Starting Nov. 15 on a trial basis, smoking will be permitted in Ford plants and offices throughout the country. Women office workers will not be allowed to smoke and the ban against men will remain in force in certain hazardous areas.

"A no-smoking rule will have to be imposed if the privilege is abused," Mr. Ford said.

BRITISH BLOC HELD WORLD PEACE AID

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McNeil, Minister of State, Says
Commonwealth Cooperation
Is a Stabilizing Influence

Hector McNeil, British Minister of State and acting head of the United Kingdom delegation to the United Nations, predicted yesterday that the difficulties besetting British business men would disappear.

"While I cannot tell you that Britain can produce all that you can sell and all we need to sell, have no doubt that conditions will improve," he told 250 members of the British Empire Chamber of Commerce in the United States. They met at a luncheon in the Hotel Roosevelt.