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59

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Drifting into dangerous seas, 1951.

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DRIFTING INTO DANGEROUS SEAS

November 25, 1951

We are rounding out today our Thanksgiving weekend. During the last few days we have been reminded in many ways of how much we have to be thankful for. In material blessings, in free institutions, in opportunities for an even more abundant life. In the midst of a hungry world, of mounting austerities and deprivations everywhere, our people have not gone hungry. Our national wealth has increased and so has the average income of the American family. Whereas two-thirds of the world's population has an income of less than \$100 a year.

We have, of course, not reached the optimum in housing and clothing, in shelter and security, in education or recreation, but we have certainly made steady progress; we have certainly reached level heretofore unattained by any people in the whole history of mankind. In the midst of a world of crumbling free governments and institutions, and the spread of tyranny and dictatorship, we have shielded and preserved our precious freedoms, and we have even assumed leadership in a global defense of it.

So that most assuredly we have grounds for thanksgiving in spite of inflation, in spite of Korea, in spite of patent and manifold national shortcomings and imperfections.

But my dear friends, the whole point of this beautiful holiday would be missed by us if we failed to take to heart its deeper meaning, its stern admonition implied, even if not spoken. What we have of the material blessings are the gifts of God. What we have produced for our good has been produced by labor and intelligence and enterprise and initiative, by courage and vision - moral qualities, all, whose roots are in character. What we enjoy today of freedom and human rights have come to us down through the ages as a result of the struggles and the sacrifices of pioneers and pilgrims, of revolutionary idealists, and champions, of soldiers who

died on the battlefields of their own country and of distant countries. What we have builded can be destroyed, and what we have inherited can be lost, if these moral qualities of American life are dissipated, if our character disintegrates, if our spiritual vigilance is fatally relaxed, if - as someone put it - we remain ethical infants in a world of nuclear giants. In this troubled world of ours, menaced as it is, we have been striving to win peace for ourselves through strength - peace through strength is the slogan of our day. But I am afraid that we are thinking too much of strength through arms, and not enough of strength through ideals, through character, a strength which comes to a people out of a life of justice, of equality, of tolerance and brotherhood, unity, of moral character.

What was most characteristic of the Pilgrim fathers, what made them endure the rigors and the bitterness and the tribulations of their wilderness existence, the grim and grisly poverty which was theirs, and what qualified them as the true progenitors of a new nation, the builders of a new world, was their moral ruggedness, their spiritual integrity, their firm standards of right and wrong. They were Bible folk, these humble artisans and laborers, steeped in its mood of reverence, uplifted by its moral passion for justice, for liberty. And these humble folk resolved to build in this Canaan of the new world a commonwealth under God which will be based upon these moral principles and upon the essential democracy of their sacred book, their never-failing guide - the Bible.

And I believe that it is this same moral quality which has sustained and developed our beloved country. To be sure, we have had periods of moral slump and of political corruption time and again. To be sure, we never attained to a degree of unsullied perfection in our national life. But these slumps, these instances of

corruption were never permanent. They did not go unchallenged by the better nature of the American people. Demands were made for correction and reform, and the trend towards moral decadence was soon checked. The moral sense of the American people soon revolted against practices in government or among the people themselves which menaced the security and the stability of American life and its institutions of freedom.

Now, we have been experiencing in our day and quite recently, dear friends, such a moral slump in public and private morality. We have been drifting, I am afraid, into dangerous seas of declining national morality and vanishing national freedoms. The American people is being shocked and aroused today by manifestations of moral corruptions within, while it has been focussing its interests and watching the threat of military dangers from without.

A few short months ago we were all startled by the Kefauver investigation into the tie-up between organized crime and government, of collusion between police and criminals in our big cities, of the ramified empire of lucrative crime which we found established in our midst. The American people in their millions through the dramatic channeling of the story into their homes by means of television, were startingly made aware of the evil that was eating at the very heart of America, of the worm in the apple, of the dangers which lurked in every community and around every home. But more than that, they were left to ponder by these disclosures of how they themselves were involved in all this, and to what degree they themselves were responsible for it. For it was not the criminals alone whom the Kefauver Committee exposed. There are criminals in every country - lawless and anti-social elements which prey upon every community. There are grafters and corruptionists everywhere in the world, but it is the size of their numbers, and the extent and the persistency of their operations which disclosed the strength or the weakness of the social fabric, the social framework within which they operate, the firmness or the laxity of the laws of the people as a whole, the quality of its law enforcement,

its discipline or lack of discipline - in a word, the moral tone and temper of a nation as a whole.

It was the American people which was exposed by the Kefauver Committee, and in a sense, indicted. If there exist wide-spread gambling syndicates in our country whose profits into the millions and the tens of millions, perhaps the hundreds of millions of dollars annually, it is because good and respectable citizens in vast numbers are not averse to gambling and betting. The gambling institutions which exist in almost every large community in our nation are patronized by good and respectable citizens. They look upon it as an innocent amusement, a harmless sport, a pasttime. But what to them is a harmless sport is to the professional gambler serious, very serious, business - an evil and dangerous business, which spreads like a cancer throughout the body politic. It was the good and respectable citizens of our country, you will recall, who made bootlegging profitable, and thereby helped to bring into existence a vast empire of criminals and hoodlums and killers who have since that time uninterruptedly battered upon every community in our country. If incompetent and characterless and corruptible public officials exist in our midst, is it not due to the fact that our good and respectable citizens do not adequately exercise their duties and responsibilities of citizenship, do not actively participate in state and local and national politics, are not members of political units and groupings which pick and select and campaign for candidates for office? Is it not due to the fact that they are not politically vigilant - in a word, that they are not intelligent voters? How many good citizens actually take time out to see that the right kind of people are nominated and then elected for office? The Costellos do, always. They make sure, doubly sure, as to the names which appear on a ballot. They are very much concerned as to who is to be elected. They organize for it. They plan for it. They are alert politically.

- It is not that we are bad citizens. We are not. It is not that we do not love or appreciate our country and its free institutions. We do. But the trouble is that we just take them for granted. We are thoughtless. Our principle interests lie elsewhere. Citizenship is just not a vital part of our lives. We spend very little time on it. We spend very little time educating our children up to it. And yet, citizenship is the most important enterprise in the life of a citizen.

We are all convinced that our country is sound. Nothing can hurt it. It does not need our personal attention. Here is where we make the great mistake. The political bosses and the grafters and the corruptionists - they do pay personal attention to government. They do take time out. In fact, the major time of their careers. And in a struggle between the active dark forces and the passive and indifferent forces of light, ~~in~~ in a community the dark forces will always win out.

The task of maintaining a free country, of running a democracy is a very difficult, a very exacting task. It is a day-by-day job. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." And unless that eternal vigilance expresses itself in action, a democracy slips very quickly into lawlessness, into chaos and dictatorship. The corroded, rotted, eaten away from within, undermined by the negligence and great democracies of the past which perished were first corrupted from within. ~~They~~ ~~WERE~~ the indifference and the moral laxity of its citizens. These prepared the way for the vicious elements to step into the vacuum and to take over, the dark elements - those who are gross of heart and grasping of hand, who are always there lurking in secret places, waiting for their moment and for their opportunity.

Since the Kefauver investigation of a few months ago, we have been treated to numerous other evidences of a spreading moral malaise, of a moral breakdown among our people. Instances have come to light of corruptions in departments of our federal government, of favoritism, of bribery, of fixing, of nepotism. Recently we were abashed, all of us, at the scandal at West Point where so many cadets were found guilty of violating their honor code. Recently we were all made heartsick to read of so many instances of scandals and corruption and degradation in college

sports and of young American athletes corrupted by commercialism and gambling.

Judge Saul S. Streit, whose sad duty it was to pass sentence on the fourteen former members of the Long Island University and New York University and of City College basketball teams, who together with professional gamblers conspired to fake the games for gain, to rig the scores, in sentencing these men said, among other things:

My investigation discloses that the corruption of basketball players is not local by any means....nor are these vices related solely to basketball. Analysis will show that football first became infected with this contagious disease and then transmitted it to basketball. It seems to follow a nation-wide pattern....

The exposure before me is only the lifting of the curtain for a small glimpse of intercollegiate football and basketball, fired by commercialism and determination to win at all costs. I find that it has come to pass that college fame depends less and less on education as a center of learning and more and more on the prominence of its football or basketball teams...

Commercialism and over-emphasis in intercollegiate football and basketball are rampant throughout the country. It has become big business. Large moneys are involved. ... Scouting, recruiting and proselyting in violation of amateur rules is almost universal. The average undergraduate student without athletic ability has not the remotest chance of making the varsity team. Scholastic standards are evaded and resorts are had to trickery, devices, frauds and forgery to overcome entrance requirements.

And so the Judge catalogues a shocking array of instances of corruption in our educational institutions upon which the American people has relied as upon citadels of integrity. Our educational institution which we had hoped to become the training ground for the highest standards of conduct for the youth of our nation.

We are drifting into dangerous seas as our national morality declines in our government, universities, the home - the American home. The same moral disintegration one finds in the growing number of divorces, of broken homes, and as a result of the increased number of juvenile delinquents right across our nation. The sharp and ominous increase in divorce is not evidence of a progressive and healthier society.

But rather, of a declining society, of a decadent society. It is not that men and women are becoming more emancipated or better adjusted or happier, but in most instances are becoming only less responsible, less disciplined, more self-centered and weaker in their moral fibers.

America needs a moral reawakening. It is not the enemy from without who will overthrow us, but only the enemy from within. In the same sense it is not the foreign foe who will rob us of our liberties, but we ourselves. We have been moving in recent years very rapidly, I am afraid, under the impact of the unsettled world situation and the need for strengthening our defenses - we have been moving into headlong measures of repression which do violence to the spirit of our free institutions and which may destroy the very things which we wish to preserve.

My dear friends, what distinguishes a free society from a ~~xxx~~ slave society, a free society from a totalitarian society, is just this. The presence or the absence of an inviolate procedure in law, to protect the individual in his rights. When a totalitarian government feels itself threatened, as it does all the time, for it does not rely upon loyalty but upon fear, it stops at ~~xxx~~ no self-restraining procedures in getting rid of the undesirable individual. But a free and democratic society, even when it feels itself menaced, observes such self-restraining procedures to the utmost of its ability, not merely for the sake of the individual, but for its own sake, for its own preservation.

The trend today seems to be in the ~~direction~~ of ignoring these procedures, these safeguards of free men which our founding fathers wrote into the Constitution of the United States. Men are being persecuted today not for disloyal acts performed, but for unorthodox opinions which are held and even for association with those who hold such unorthodox opinions. Public men of records of long service to their country are being subjected to baseless slander on the floor of Congress, or in Congressional hearings where their accusers enjoy immunity from suits of slander or libel.

Reputations are being smeared and all in the name of patriotism - smeared to a point where, and I quote now Mr. George Kennan, who as you know, is now being considered as Ambassador to Moscow - certainly not a man tainted with any suspicion of Communism. I say that reputations are being attacked and smeared and undermined today to a point where Mr. Kennan declared:

The atmosphere of public life in Washington does not have to deteriorate much further to produce a situation in which very few of our more quiet and sensitive and gifted people will be able to continue in office... The margin of safety with which our country moves in the world today is not great enough to permit us to be reckless and wasteful with the talents and the idealism of those people we depend on for the generalship of our peacetime battles.

People who do not like to be crucified in public will soon avoid offering their services or accepting the offer of service to their country. We are intimidating our teachers in our schools, in our colleges with loyalty oaths, loyalty oaths which never check the disloyal teacher because he works underground. He never acknowledges that he is a Communist or that he is disloyal, and an oath doesn't stop him! But these loyalty oaths do surround our loyal teachers with vague fears and with suspicions. The label of Communism, as things stand today, can be pinned on anyone whose economic viewpoints are not quite orthodox or are looked upon as objectionable or as radical. Every evidence of dissent, every evidence of criticism can be branded as un-American, and orthodoxy is quickly made synonymous with loyalty. And thus, criticism and independent thought can be silenced. What is it that we want of our teachers and of our schools? Do we want in our schools and in our colleges and in our universities men and women, teachers of strong and vigorous and independent minds, who are not afraid to seek the truth and to speak the truth and to teach our youth to think freely and courageously? Or do we want the type of teachers, such as they have in Communist countries and in Fascist lands - puppets, automatons, intimidated and regimented educational lackies?

Thomas

When the great/ Jefferson founded the University of Virginia, he declared: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error as long as reason is free to combat it."

I ask whether it is this spirit of Thomas Jefferson which animated the gag-rule at our Ohio State University, or at the University of California, where a compulsory loyalty oath was responsible for the dismissal or resignation of nearly 40 members of the faculty, not one of them a Communist, who refused, because of their infringement of their academic freedom, to accept such an oath. Artists in our nation are being blacklisted, purged from stage and screen and radio, denied a chance to exercise their art and to earn their livelihood for being identified not with Communism, but with views or organizations whose platforms to some people seem to be controversial. Before long books and authors will similarly be censored, not necessarily officially, but what is even more thorough and dreadful and horrible to contemplate, by an intolerant and terrorized mood among our people, which is today being stimulated in the name of national security.

It is these piece-meal encroachments upon our basic liberties which ultimately will destroy them. And the loss, my dear friends, will accrue not merely to the individual but to the nation as a whole. Our country needs freedom for its progress and its security. Its very survival is predicated upon keeping the minds of its citizens unshackled and uninhibited, their loyalties eager and voluntary, and the institutions of our national life amenable to change and adjustments to satisfy the advancing needs of our people.

America has grown strong through freedom. American is not communist today just because its citizens have been free, because for 160 years their freedom has been sheltered in a Bill of Rights whose very first article reads: "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble...."

No democratic state of long standing has in our day succumbed to dictatorship. What is it that we are afraid of? What we need to fear is not so much communist penetration, but the loss of faith on our part in the strength of our own free institutions to the point where we are in danger of destroying them by frantically trying to save them.

I conclude with these words of a great American, a great teacher, Professor Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., of Harvard University. And this is from his book, "Free Speech in the United States".

Behind the dozens of sedition bills in Congress last session, behind teachers' oaths and compulsory flag salutes, is a desire to make our citizens loyal to their government. Loyalty is a beautiful idea, but you cannot create it by compulsion and force. A government is at bottom the officials who carry it on: legislators and prosecutors, school superintendents and police. If it is composed of legislators who pass shortsighted sedition laws by overwhelming majorities, of narrowminded school superintendents who oust thoughtful teachers of American history and eight-year-old children whose rooted religious convictions prevent them from sharing in a brief ceremony - a government of snoopers and spies and secret police - how can you expect love and loyalty? You make men love their government and their country by giving them the kind of government and the kind of country that inspire respect and love: a country that is free and unafraid, that lets the discontented talk in order to learn the causes for their discontent and end those causes, that refuses to impel men to spy on their neighbors, that protects its citizens vigorously from harmful acts while it leaves the remedies for objectionable ideas to counter-argument and time.

That is a larger vision. That is a true perspective. That is a point of view not dictated by hysteria, by momentary fear or exigencies. That is a long-range view which ought to dominate our thinking and our actions in these times. We are drifting into dangerous seas. Let us be on our guard.

1/1. Rounding out our Thanksgiving Week-End.

We have been reminded of how much we have to be thankful for -

for material blessings - in free institutions - in opportunities for an even more abundant life.

In the midst of a hungry world - of mounting austerities - and deprivations - our people have not gone hungry.

Our national wealth has increased and so has the average income, the American family - while 2/3 of the world's population has an income of less than \$100 - a year.

We have not reached the optimum in housing and clothing, in shelter and security, in education and recreation for our people - but we have certainly made steady progress and reached levels hitherto unattained by any people in the whole history of mankind.

In the midst of a world of crumbling free governments and institutions, and the spread of tyranny and dictatorship, we have shielded and preserved our precious freedoms - and we have even assumed leadership in a global defense of it.

Most assuredly we have grounds for thanksgiving in spite of inflation, in spite of Korea, in spite of patent and main/old national shortcoming and imperfections.

York, based upon these ~~essential~~ moral principles and the essential dimensions, the Bible.

4/ I believe that it is this moral quality which has sustained and developed our beloved country. To be sure we have had periods of moral slump^{and} of political corruption, and we never attained to a degree of unsullied perfection in our national life. But they were ~~not~~ permanent. They did not go unchallenged by the better nature of the American people. Demands were made for correction and reform and for a return to the fundamental moral decisions which were ~~checked~~ checked. The moral sense of the American soon revolted against practices in government or among the people which menaced the ^{stability and} security of American life and ~~freedom~~ its institutions of freedom.

5/ We have been experiencing such a ^{moral} slump in recent years, in public ~~moral~~ and private morality. We have been drifting into the dangerous seas of declining national morality and vanishing national freedom. The American people is being shocked and aroused by manifestations of moral corruption within which it has been intent upon watching the threat of military danger from without.

A few months ago we were startled by the Refounder investigator into the tie-up between organized crime and government; of instances of police corruption of collusion between police and criminals in our big cities, of the rampant empire of lucrative crime established within our midst.

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The American people, in their millions, through the dramatic
channeling, the story into their homes by means of television, and
startlingly made aware, the evil that was eating at the heart
of American life, of the horror within the apple, the dangers which
lurked in every community and around every home.

But more than that! They were left to ponder by these
disclosures of how they themselves were involved in all
this, and to what degree they themselves were responsible
for it.



community and around every home, to have disturbed and awakened and aroused the American people to that extent, the Kefauver investigation rendered a great service to our nation. And if it will lead to soul-searching on the part of our people, on the part of all of our people. If it will lead to action, to the mending of our ways - for the ways of the criminals will not be mended by the investigation - to new attitudes on our part towards practices which are tolerated and indulged in by good and respectable citizens, which unintentionally feed and finance and nourish the underworld, which in turn corrupts government - if this will come about as a result of the investigation, then the investigation will have proved to have been a great boon to the American people. For it is not the criminals alone whom the Kefauver Committee has exposed. There are criminals in every country - the lawless and the anti-social elements which prey upon every community. There are grafters and corruptionists everywhere in the world, but it is the size of their numbers and the extent and the persistency of their operations which disclose the strength or weakness of the social framework within which they operate, the firmness or the laxity of the laws of the people, the quality of law enforcement, the discipline or lack of discipline, of the people - in a word, the moral tone and temper of a nation.

It is the American people, too, which has been exposed by the Kefauver Committee, and in a sense, indicted. If there exist wide-spread gambling syndicates in our country whose profits run into the millions and tens of millions of dollars - perhaps into hundreds of millions of dollars annually - it is because good and respectable citizens in vast numbers are not averse to gambling and betting, and the slot machines and all other forms of gambling devices. The gambling institutions which existed in the almost every large community of our country for a large number of years - I don't know whether they have ceased to exist now - were patronized by good and respectable citizens. There was hardly a day or an evening, I am told, that a respectable minion of our people was not present there. They attended it far more faithfully and regularly than they did their churches or their synagogues. They looked upon it as innocent amusement,

harmless sport, a pasttime. ~~To them it was just that.~~ But what to them ^{is} ~~was~~ a harmless sport ^{is} ~~was~~ to the professionals ^{Gambler} serious, very serious, ~~dangerous and evil~~ business ^{an evil and dangerous business} which spreads like a cancer ^{then} to the body politic. It was the good and respectable citizens of our country who made bootlegging profitable, and thereby helped to bring into existence ^a ~~the~~ vast empire of criminals and hoodlums and killers who have since that time uninterruptedly battered upon every community in our country. ~~It was these~~ good and respectable citizens, in their millions, who helped to bring law as such into disrepute by their gentle disregard or flaunting or defiance of the law, a law which they had helped to enact. If incompetent and characterless and corruptible public officials exist in our midst, is it not due to the fact that our good and respectable citizens, ~~ourselves~~, do not adequately exercise their duty and responsibility ^g ~~towards~~ citizenship, do not actively participate in state and local and national politics, are not members of ~~these~~ political units and groupings which pick and select and campaign for candidates for office, are not politically vigilant, are not intelligent voters? ~~Let us be frank with ourselves.~~ How many ^{good citizens} ~~of~~ actually take time out to see that the right kind of people are nominated and then elected for office? ~~Many of us go through the motions at stated intervals, of mechanically voting for a slate of officers whose names are hardly known to us and who have been selected by people practically unknown to us. Most Americans do not ever take the trouble of voting in primaries or in elections. I mean the good and respectable citizens. They don't trouble themselves about it.~~ But the Costellos do. They make sure, doubly sure, as to the names which appear on a ballot. They are very much concerned as to who is to be elected. They organize for it. They plan for it. They are alert politically.

It is not that we are bad citizens. We are not. It is not that we do not love or appreciate our country and its free institutions. We do. We just take them for granted - that's all. We are thoughtless. Our principles interests lie elsewhere. Citizenship is just not a vital part of our lives. We spend very little time on it.

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We spend very little time educating our children to it. And yet, citizenship is the most important enterprise in the life of a citizen.

We are all convinced that our country is ~~so~~ sound. Nothing can hurt it. It does not need our personal attention. ~~And~~ ^{the} here is where we make a great mistake. The political bosses and grafters and corruptionists - they do pay personal attention to government. They do take time out; in fact, the major time of their careers. And in the struggle between the active dark forces and the passive and indifferent forces of light, the dark forces win out, ~~inevitably~~.

~~Now~~, the task of maintaining a free country, ~~of~~ running a democracy is a very difficult and exacting task. It's a day-by-day job. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Unless ~~there is~~ that eternal vigilance, ^{as} expressing ~~it~~ ^{and} itself in action, a democracy slips ~~back~~ very quickly into lawlessness, ~~into~~ chaos, ~~into~~ dictatorship. The great democracies of the past which perished were first corrupted from within. They were not overthrown by external forces, ^{by} enemies from without. They were corroded, rotted, eaten away within, undermined ~~first~~ ^{first} by the negligence and the indifference and the moral laxity of their citizens, ~~which~~ ^{and thus} prepared the way for the vicious elements to step in and to take over - those who are gross of heart and grasping of hand, who always are there lurking in secret places, waiting for their opportunity.

One thing which Mr. Costello said in the hearings struck me very forcibly because it was not merely an indictment of himself, but of so many of us. He just blurted it out. He was asked whether at any time he rendered any service to his country, the country which had given him so many opportunities, that he had served in war, in civic services of all kinds, to all of which he answered, of course, in the negative. He was finally asked - I don't recall the exact words - whether he had ever done anything for his country. And he said, "Certainly, I've paid my taxes." Well, I'm afraid that's what many good and respectable citizens may have to reply if they were closely questioned and they were honest with themselves. Yes, they pay their taxes. But that is not enough for the preservation of a democracy and a good society. We

Since the ~~shocking~~ Kefauver investigation we have been
witnessed to numerous other evidences of a spreading moral malaise
~~shaking~~ among our people. Instances have come to light of
corruption ^{in different} ~~in~~ ^{any} ~~in~~ ^{federal} government, of favoritism, bribery,
fixing, nepotism - We were shocked at the scandal
at West Point when so many cadets were found guilty of
violating their honor code - We were heart-sore to read of
so many instances of basket-ball ~~and football~~ scandals, of the
corruption and degradation of college sports and young
American athletes ~~thereby~~ ^{by} crumpling and paunching.

Judge Saul S. Streit, whose ~~was~~ ^{was} the sad duty it was
to pass sentence on the 14 former members of Long Island
University, New York University and City College basketball
teams who together with professional gamblers conspired
to rig scores and to fake the games - declared (Juste) -

There are shocking things to contemplate - Our educa-
tional systems are relied upon by our people to be the
citadels of integrity, the training-ground of ^{high} standards of
conduct for the youth of our nation.

He had, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement
of Teaching - properly observed the other day (Juste) -

We are drifting into dangerous seas as our
national morality - declines -

The same ^{unhappy} disintegration is found in the growing
number of ^{divorces and} broken homes, and as a result, ⁱⁿ increased
juvenile delinquency.

The sharp and ruinous mirror in which, as we see (9)
evidence of a progressive and healthier society but
of a decadent one. It is not that men and women
are becoming more emancipated, better adjusted and
happier - but in most instances, less responsible, less
disciplined, ^{more self-centered and} of a weakening moral fibre.

America needs a moral re-awakening.
It is not the enemy from without who will do
things us - but only the enemy from within.
For the same reason, it is not a foreign foe who
will rob us of our liberties - but we ourselves.
We have been moving very rapidly, I am afraid, under the
impact, the unsettled world situation and the need for strength -
we are driving into headlong measures of repression,
which do violence to the spirit of our free institutions - and
may destroy the very things which we wish to preserve.

What distinguishes a free society from a totalitarian
society is the presence or absence of an inviolate procedure
to protect ^{the rights of} the individual ~~when rights are being endangered~~.
When a totalitarian state feels itself threatened, as it does
all the time, for it relies not upon loyalty but upon
fear, it ~~resorts to~~ ^{stops at} ~~no~~ ^{self-restraint} procedures in getting rid of
an undesirable citizen or rather subject -

But a free and democratic state - even when it feels truly
menaced, observes such procedures to the utmost, it abides.

The trend today seems to be in the direction of ignoring these procedures - these safeguards of free men which ~~was~~ our founding fathers wrote into the constitution of our country.

They are being persecuted not for disloyal acts performed, but for unwar theories opinions held, and even for association with those who hold such opinions.

Public men & long service to their country are subjected to baseless slanders in the press & Congress, or in Committee hearings when their accusers ~~are~~ enjoy immunity from suits of slander or libel.

Reputations are secured in the name of patriotism
to the point where, and I quote Mr. George Kenner,
who is now being considered as an Ambassador to Moscow:

"The atmosphere of public life in Washington does not have to deteriorate much further to produce a situation in which very few of our most brilliant and sensitive and gifted people will be able to continue in office... The margin of safety with which our country moves in the world today is not great enough to permit us to be reckless and wasteful with the talents and the wisdom of those people we depend on for the general ship of our peace time battles."

place this ~~barrier~~ ^{intrusiveness} on teachers in our schools
- which do not check the ~~loyalty~~ ^{disloyalty} of teachers but only surround
and ~~collaborate~~ ^{collaborate} with ~~loyalty~~ ^{loyalty} ~~talks~~ ^{talks} ~~and we do not understand~~
them with "vague fears" and ~~suspensions~~ ^{suspensions}. The label of
communist, as things have developed, can be pinned on ~~to-day~~ ^{to-day}
on any one whose economic viewpoint is ~~leftist~~ ^{unreasonable, unorthodox} ~~or radical~~

Every evidence of dissent & criticism can be handled (11)
as un-American, and orthodoxy can be made synonymous
with loyalty - and thus, ^{orthodox} ~~orthodox~~ ^{and independent thought} ~~can be~~
~~silenced~~. ^{strong and vigorous minds} ~~will~~ ^{as}
Do we want ~~our~~ teachers ^{to} seek the truth and
speak the truth, and teach our youth to think freely,
courageously - or do we want them to be as ~~teachers~~
and under commitment or foreign regimes -
puppets, automata, intimidated & repressed
~~the~~ educational leaders?

Thomas Jefferson - when he founded the University
of Virginia - declared:
"This institution will be based on the inalienable freedom
of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth
wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as
reason is free to combat it!"
~~Is it this spirit~~ ^{Is it this spirit} which animates the
gag-rule at our Ohio State University?

Or at the University of California? When a compulsory
loyalty oath was required for the dismissal or reprobation
of nearly 40 members of the faculty - naming them ~~commitments~~
infringement of their academic freedom. - and other colleges?

= ~~we are~~ ^{artists} ~~have~~ ^{been} black listed, purged from stage,
screen and radio, ^{deprived of choice at their art and their living} ~~for~~ ^{being} identified with communists
but with views or organizations whose platforms are
'anti-Communist'. From books and authors will surely be

be "censored" at ^{heartily} ~~opposed~~, but as "intolerant and ~~stagnant~~" (12)
~~was present~~ word which is being stimulated away from
people in the name of natural security.

These pre-emptive overreactions upon our basic liberties
will ultimately destroy them.

And the loss will accrue not merely to the individual
but to the nation as a whole. Our country needs
freedom for its progress and its security. Its very
survival is predicated upon keeping the minds
of its citizens unshocked and unhindered, their
loyalties safe and voluntary, and ~~thus~~ ^{the} ~~can~~ ^{it}
institutions, ^{of natural life} amenable to change and adjustments
to satisfy the needs of its citizens -

America has grown strong through freedom.
It is not communist today just because its citizens
have been free - just because for ~~475~~ ¹⁶ yrs.
their freedom ^{has been} ~~was~~ sheltered in a Bill of Rights - whose
first article read in part: "Congress shall make no law
~~prohibiting~~ the ... abridging the freedom of speech or of the
press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble..."

No democratic state of long-standing has in our day
succumbed to dictatorship. -

What we need to fear is not communist ^{so much} penetration,
but loss of faith on our part in the strength of our free institutions
to the point when we ~~set about~~ ^{begin} destroying them in our effort to
save them.

Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. - "Free Speech in the U.S." (Juth) p. 1.

Behind the dozens of sedition bills in Congress last session, behind teachers' oaths and compulsory flag salutes, is a desire to make our citizens loyal to their government. Loyalty is a beautiful idea, but you cannot create it by compulsion and force. A government is at bottom the officials who carry it on: legislators and prosecutors, school superintendents and police. If it is composed of legislators who pass shortsighted sedition laws by overwhelming majorities, of narrowminded school superintendents who oust thoughtful teachers of American history and eight-year-old children whose rooted religious convictions prevent them from sharing in a brief ceremony - a government of snoopers and spies and secret police - how can you expect love and loyalty? You make men love their government and their country by giving them the kind of government and the kind of country that inspire respect and love; a country that is free and unafraid, that lets the discontented talk in order to learn the causes for their discontent and end those causes, that refuses to impel men to spy on their neighbors, that protects its citizens vigorously from harmful acts while it leaves the remedies for objectionable ideas to counter-argument and time.



on College Basketball Fixing Scandal

\$3,000 in 1941 to \$12,000 in 1950 and he has been advanced to a full professorship and vice president of the university. Mr. Bee very modestly admitted to me that the prominence of the basketball team "which he created" and his efforts in a large measure contributed to the increase in the number of undergraduates from 1,500 to 4,500.

In brief, all of the players entrusted to the care of L. I. U. were openly exploited in behalf of Mr. Bee and the university. He handed out athletic scholarships at will. He admitted advancing \$75 to \$80 to Sherman White as a loan. He admitted paying Gard's tuition at the Brooklyn Academy. He stated that when the boys were scouted and recruited they were told about the advantages of playing in the Garden.

To quote his assistant, "If you come to L. I. U. you will play at Madison Square Garden and that is the big thing."

The naïveté, the equivocation and the denials of the coaches and their assistants concerning their knowledge of gambling, recruiting and subsidizing would be comical were they not so despicable.

To the credit of the Board of Higher Education and the presidents of the four municipal colleges, it should be noted that they promptly admitted their culpability in succumbing to commercialized basketball, have since changed the policy of the colleges, have taken the game back to the campus, abandoned professionalized basketball and adopted a policy of athletics for all rather than sports for the few.

My investigation further discloses that the corruption of basketball players is not local by any means.

1. At Manhattan College, two of its varsity men pleaded guilty and are awaiting sentence.

2. At Bradley University, three of its stars are still awaiting sentence before me. Their reports are not complete but the indications are that conditions at Peoria leave much to be desired.

3. At Toledo University, two players admitted fixing games in Toledo, but Ohio has no bribery statute.

4. At Kentucky University, three of its 1950 champions have just been indicted.

Nor are these vices related solely to basketball. Analysis will show that football first became infected with this contagious disease and then transmitted it to basketball. It seems to follow a nation-wide pattern.

Michigan Faculty Complaint Cited

At the University of Michigan recently, 100 members of the literary college faculty charged that a double standard was used in crediting athletes and non-athletes for extracurricular activities.

At William and Mary there is the shocking situation of the alteration of a preparatory school transcript to admit an athlete. With less than 1,000 undergraduates, William and Mary had a sixty-man football squad, costing in the neighborhood of \$100,000 a year.

At Chicago last week the Council of the American Association of Professors, which represents 42,000 instructors at 896 colleges, condemned the payment of money or the granting of its equivalent to any student where the primary

way Department and other state agencies.

At Denver, the Colorado State Industrial Commission ruled that Ernest Nemeth, a former University of Denver football player, had been hired to play football and was entitled to disability pay for his gridiron injury.

At the University of Pennsylvania football showed a profit last year of \$461,000.

At Kentucky last year the football team played to 407,000 paid admissions, with an average of \$3, for a gross of over \$1,200,000.

There is the case of Joe Terrazi, from Waltham, Mass., who said he was approached by every school in the Ivy League, Boston University, Michigan, Boston College, Annapolis, West Point and others. One of the colleges offered his father a job. He said he took a six-week cram course at West Point, but failed.

Eddie Bickford, from Little Rock, said he was approached by twenty or twenty-five schools, including representatives on behalf of Annapolis and West Point.

The son of one of the clerks of my court, now on the Princeton varsity team, five months before graduating from high school received no less than fifteen offers from various colleges, ranging from tuition alone to tuition and emoluments valued at approximately \$2,700 per year.

The annual N. C. A. A. reports show many, many more cases of flagrant recruiting, proselyting and subsidizing.

Calls Expose Only the Start

The exposure before me is only the lifting of the curtain for a small glimpse of intercollegiate football and basketball, fired by commercialism and determination to win at all costs. I find that it has come to pass that college fame depends less and less on education as a center of learning and more and more on the prominence of its football or basketball teams.

Of course there are still hundreds of excellent colleges and universities against whose athletic activities there can be no reflection and whose coaches strictly adhere to the amateur code.

But the conclusions to be drawn here are that by and large:

1. Commercialism and over-emphasis in intercollegiate football and basketball are rampant throughout the country.

(a) It has become big business. Large moneys are involved.

(b) It has become necessary to maintain a huge financial structure of sport.

2. Intercollegiate football and basketball are no longer the sport of amateurs;

(a) Athletes are bought and paid for;

(b) Scouting, recruiting and proselyting in violation of amateur rules is almost universal. The average undergraduate student with athletic ability has not the remotest chance of making the varsity team.

3. Professional coaches are engaged at salaries far exceeding professional pay. They are given artificial titles of learning and in many instances their tenure depends on winning.

4. Scholastic standards are evaded and resorts are had to trickery, devices, frauds and forgery

to overcome entrance requirements.

5. The responsibility for the sports scandal must be shared not only by the crooked fixers and the corrupt players, but also by the college administrations, coaches and alumni groups who participate in this evil system of commercialism and over-emphasis; and finally,

6. Commercialism and over-emphasis contaminates everything it touches,

(a) it has fostered bookmaking and nation-wide gambling;

(b) it produces "illegal" scouting, recruiting, proselyting and subsidization of athletes;

(c) it corrupts the athlete, the coach, the college official and the alumnus;

(d) it breeds bribery, fraud and forgery;

(e) it impairs the standards of integrity of the college; and

(f) it destroys the confidence of the public.

Properly Conducted Sports Backed

The answer is not a re-examination of morals or of values or of standards. These are fixed quantities.

No one advocates the abolition of intercollegiate sports.

Intercollegiate sports properly conducted on an amateur basis are a boon to the physical and moral well-being of the student.

The time has passed for the appointment of committees, or commissions, or reports.

The devastating racket has been exposed. The time has come to act—to eliminate commercialism and overemphasis and the evils that it breeds.

To that end, I recommend the following:

1. That the president and faculty of every college and university engaging in intercollegiate sports assume direct control and responsibility for its athletic activities, eliminating all outside influences direct or indirect.

2. Reorganize and revitalize the N. C. A. A. and the various college athletic conferences, so as to provide for:

(a) A true amateur code;

(b) A committee on grievances, expulsion and suspension, which shall be entirely independent of the colleges or of any of its officials or employees; and with power to impose sanctions.

(c) A sufficient force to police and investigate the athletic activities of any of its members;

(d) Ample financial provision to carry out the letter and spirit of this true amateur code.

This should be a final warning to the violators that should they fail to cleanse their own houses, the time is not far distant when the Congress and the state legislatures will take notice of their big business and their culpability.

Now, I come to the more unpleasant duty of sentencing the individual defendants.

What I have just said about the culpability of the colleges, the coaches and the alumni is not to be implied as any justification for the conduct of the fixers or the responsibility of the players. The fact that the students were tempted does not excuse their betrayal of their honor, their colleagues, their college and the public. Environment and the social system prevailing are elements to be considered but never a justification for crime.

York Times

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jective reasoning and at the same time instill a system of moral values.

"The recent revelations of low standards in high places, of outright corruption in public office, of widespread organization of gambling and crime, of basketball and football scandals and of honor code violations, should surely be sufficient to arouse the American people and to shock educational leaders into a re-examination of their goals and methods," Dr. Carmichael commented.

"In a country which numbers only 7 per cent of the population of the world, but which has more young men and women in college than all the rest of the world combined, the educational system can scarcely escape a share of the responsibility for the conditions revealed. These are but symptoms of a collapse of moral and spiritual values which should stir to action parents of children, leaders in public affairs, schools, colleges and churches."

As a result, Dr. Carmichael said, students have been taught to withhold judgments "until all the facts are in." Rarely is all the evidence at hand, he said, adding decisions must be made and action taken before complete knowledge can be acquired. The foundation leader held that the effective citizen cannot be a spectator, declaring that social scientists, who are in a position to point out weaknesses in society and the means of remedying them, should help faculties frame a system of moral and ethical values to be given as part of an education.

Joint Hearing Held Likely

The hearing on the City College scholastic records, it appeared yesterday, will be conducted jointly by the college and a special committee of the Board of Education. On Wednesday, Howard C. Kelly, chairman of the special the board's inves-

of the Department of the Marionette Theatre, will next Monday after Betsy Head Recreation Center and DuSable High School in Brooklyn. Thereafter, the puppeteers will play performances until March in various ground buildings, hotels, churches and schools throughout the city.

"We never lack space," said Ascanio Spolidoro, puppeteer, boasted yesterday a dress rehearsal of the production. "Last year, we had 130,000 children. I expect to do that this year, or more, I suppose. If we had a theatre, we, for our part, could fill it all the time."

Rehearsal in I

The rehearsal was held in the puppeteers' workshop, a small cottage, on West DuSable Street, opposite West DuSable Street, for a few days. Children from near-by schools are invited. This picturesque building, which was purchased from the Philadelphia City of 1876, but was not used to the puppeteers until 1940.

Now it is crammed with puppets and boxes of puppets and proper limbs and proper closets are jammed with brightly colored costumes. Lockers are filled with paint, glue and plaster. They are stacked with fiberboard, paper, plywood and so on.

The staff of ten young men and women prepare in the workshop virtually everything for the theatre. They script, speak the parts, operate the marionettes, design all the puppets, costumes, props, design and build the stage. They have constructed a stage with its elaborate system of colored lights and bewild-