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Thoughts on the coming elections, 1956.

Sunday Morning Service
The Temple
October 28, 1956

"THOUGHTS ON THE COMING ELECTIONS"

by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

My dear friends, there are two things which I will not tell you this morning - whom to vote for, and who will be elected.

There are two things I will tell you this morning - be sure to vote, and be assured that whoever is elected, our country and our world is not coming to an end.

There has been considerable heat engendered, in spots, in this political campaign. Some of it is, of course, the customary synthetic emotionalism incidental to every political campaign. If one were to listen to all the high-pitched and frenzied voices on the air, in the press, and on the platform, one would really come to believe that the American people is today confronted with the choice of one of two alternatives of disaster.

Some people have somehow persuaded themselves, in this campaign, that there exist vast irreconcilable differences in the two parties, in their platforms, in their candidates and they have talked themselves into believing, or permitted others to talk them into believing, that somehow American destiny is at stake -- that the American way of life is in the balance.

In all modesty I should like to say that all this seems to me to be considerable "shtuss" and nonsense. It is either pure political auto-intoxication or the result of some very clever and calculated propaganda. I don't know of any campaign in recent years in which there has been less involved of decisive significance between the two major parties, than this one. I don't recall a campaign where there has actually been more agreement on major issues, and great similarity as to program

and platform, as in this campaign. I, for one, would like to get excited about this campaign, but I don't know how and I don't know what about.

I am inclined to believe that an outsider, who is not acquainted with the American political tradition and campaigns, are listening to the statements and speeches of the candidates and the spokesmen of the parties and their platforms -- the things they want to do for the American people -- that these would come to the conclusion that both President Eisenhower and Mr. Adlai Stevenson would make excellent running-mates on the same ticket.

Well, in a few days now, the tumult and the shouting of this campaign will be over; a President of the United States will have been elected, or re-elected; a new Congress - a new State and local officials -- and then our world will settle down again to its quiet, normal pace -- if our world has a quiet, normal pace today at all -- and the radio and television will be restored to their customary programs and commercials. Newspaper headlines will resume reporting national crimes and international crimes, instead of sensational political speeches, and our streets will be cleared of their banners and their hand-bills and their dodgers; campaign buttons will have been put aside or thrown aside, as the case may be, and on Wednesday morning, November 7th we shall all wake up with a sharp awareness that we have to go back to work, earn a living, in order to pay our bills and our taxes, regardless of who is elected.

It has been an interesting civil war going on in the last few months, but a civil war of speeches; a war which will be decided not with bullets, thank God, with ballots, and this is the glory and the miracle of our Democracy. We can change our public officials, if we wish; we can throw out one party and bring in another if we choose; we can decide upon this issue or that issue, without ever firing a shot and when it is all over and the vote is all in and counted, the loser facilitates and the winner -- the ranks are closed and the American people ~~are~~ united, indivisible, carries on and marches on.

We sometimes may grow weary of campaigns' fulminations and hocus, but we ought to be tolerant of it. We ought to remember that that period of a campaign is the

kitchen where the food and the drink of American Democracy are prepared, and the kitchen is not always tidy, as the living room or the living room. You ought to bear in mind that this is ~~the~~ how an open form of democracy functions -- this is the apparatus and the technique of a free people. It is how a free people determines its way of life - insures its freedom - keeps the reign of government in its own hands. There is, of course, another way, if the people choose it -- that's the way that you see illustrated today in Hungary, two weeks ago in Poland, next week perhaps in Roumania -- who knows -- but its another way, a way of terror, bloodshed fighting. And when there is no ~~othe~~ democratic way, that is the only other way in which a people can reach out for that which is more important to it than food or drink. Freedom - Liberty. So we ought not to get cynical upon the techniques, the apparatus which are frequently employed in our campaigns. That's the way - that's the only way it can be done in a free society.

I go back to what I said, that the platforms of both political parties are very much alike. Their principal difference has to do with length - one is longer than the other -- or words, more words or different kinds of words - to explain the same thing. There are of course new answers. There are of course stronger emphasis on this or that issue, but there are really no fundamental issues on which citizens need to tear themselves apart as it were. There are no electrifying issues in this campaign.

Both platforms are in favor of Civil Rights, increased social security, price support for the farmer, more federal aid to education, more assistance to the small business man, tax reductions, conservation of our natural resources -- both party platforms oppose inflation, favor the reduction of cost in government. Both platforms and parties and candidates favor peace, adequate national defense, international disarmament, support of the United Nations, aid to the backward countries, peacetime use of atomic energy. An amazing similarity in their programs. And I for one do not deprecate - I rather applaud this close similarity of party platforms. It augurs

well for the peace and the stability of our country. Were the issues really irreconcilable we would be in a desperate plight indeed. It is clear that both parties are moving in the right direction -- greater service to the American people, the advancement of its life, the protection of its citizens. One party may be slightly more conservative in its tactics and techniques, another more liberal, but they are moving along parallel and not divergent lines, and that is a sustaining and heartening thought to bear in mind.

Both Presidential candidates, as I had occasion to say four years ago, are men highly qualified for the exalted office. I said then, and I repeat now, whichever man is finally chosen by the American people, the rudder of our ship of state will be in strong, competent and faithful hands.

On November 6th the American people will pass judgement on the past administration. If it is satisfied with it, by and large, if it is satisfied with the record which it made, it will re-elect it to office, for another term of four years. If it is satisfied with the things which it wants, and which both parties promise; if it is satisfied that the party in power will effectively, or more effectively, achieve these objectives, it will re-elect that party. Otherwise it will reject it. And if there is sufficient dissatisfaction -- if there are sufficient groups in the country who have not prospered under the present administration, and have lost, therefore, confidence in it; or are distrustful of its handling of its foreign affairs -- ^{if there is} ~~either a~~ sufficient of a protest vote, it will be rejected.

The personality of President Eisenhower is of course an important factor in the election. Strong and appealing personalities always are. The Democrats may well recall how much of a personality cult there developed around President Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Eisenhower, by common consent, is stronger than his party in this election. But this personality strength of the President is considerably reduced by the appeal deficiency of his running mate, and by the health factor involved. And the President will have to overcome both of these factors in this election.

I have been of the opinion, right along, ever since the party conventions

last summer, that as the campaign developed, the Democratic Party would have to come to concentrate its major attack - the fire of its attack - not on the domestic record of the present administration, but on the foreign affairs - conduct of the foreign affairs, by this administration.

Here the administration seems to be far more vulnerable and its achievements far less impressive. There undoubtedly are some domestic issues on which the democratic party may capitalize, and will undoubtedly capitalize, in this campaign, the less favorable position of the American farmer, the plight of the small business man, the unequal distribution of tax production and other domestic issues. But the indubitable fact remains that the country on the whole is very prosperous. There are people out of work, but unemployment is very minimum and the standard of living of our people is very high. The social security measures have been expanded. The taxes have been cut. The government spending has been reduced and industrial production has been at record levels.

The picture of course, domestically, is not all idyllic. But it is sufficiently bright that one fails to sense a clamor for change on the basis of economic conditions; on any widespread economic depression and suffering which usually cause a clamor and a demand for change.

On the issue of Civil Rights, and especially on the issue of integration in our schools in the South, the Eisenhower administration has made rather considerable and commendable progress. Integration is now an accomplished fact in our armed forces and ^{it was} ~~with~~ this administration which argued before the Supreme Court of the United States that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional, and ⁱⁿ ~~its~~ historic decision of May 1954, the Supreme Court maintained this position. That was a dramatic and historic forward step in the direction of extending basic American rights to all of our citizens, regardless of color. Much remains to be done, of course, to translate this decision into actual fact, and as you know, there has been considerable resistance to it in certain parts of our Southern States, although some have complied however reluctantly with the decision. The Federal Government can do much to accelerate the process, and the President, in his office, because of the moral authority which he

possesses, can do much -- much more than has been done -- to accelerate the process.

But, in my judgment, it is doubtful whether a Democratic President, head of a Democratic Party which has such a considerable Southern contingency in it, so vital to the Party (which contingency was responsible so much for the tacking and the veering which took place at the time of the drafting of this Civil Rights plank at the Democratic Convention) that a Democratic President would be, let me say, more aggressive in the direction of doing what needs to be done, than a Republican President. Civil Rights are moving forward in this ^{our} country. And I believe that Ralph J. Bunche is entirely right, when he said that

"Implicit in the decision by the highest tribunal in the land against segregation in the public schools is a new and reassuring confirmation that in the American way of life, under our democratic creed, what is right will, in the end, always be done. The process may be slow, it may be halting, and it may encounter formidable obstacles and determined if misguided opposition; but in the end, under American democracy, right and decency and fairness always prevail...."

and they will prevail, under a democratic administration as well as under a Republican administration.

It is on the record of foreign policies, I believe, that the Eisenhower Administration is most open to damaging criticism and attack. American prestige in the free world, and in the neutral world, is lower today and not higher. NATO is weaker today and not stronger. We have lost ground in the Far East. If the reunification of Germany was a major objective of the American Foreign Policy under the Republican Administration, it has not been achieved and the position of Chancellor Adenauer, as a result, is weaker today, than it was. Soviet power and influence has penetrated the whole Middle East and much of the Arab world is swinging into the Moscow orbit.

The Baghdad Pact has been a ~~power~~ factor, not for peace, in the Near East, but for strife.

The role we played in connection with the illegal seizure of the Suez Canal by Nasser has weakened, not strengthened the free world. It has built up the power

and the prestige of another dangerous dictator.

And the position of the one democratic state in the Near East, Israel, which the United States helped to establish and which it was the first to recognize under a democratic administration, has not been strengthened, or made more secure, either by a mutual security pact, such as we have ^{with} ~~in~~ so many other countries, nor has it been directly helped with arms for defense at a time when a dangerous imbalance of arms was created by the huge acquisition, by Egypt, of arms from the Soviet Union, so that Arab intransigence has grown stronger, not weaker, and the threat of war in the Near East has become more real, rather than less.

Mr. Stevenson has been concentrating on these weaknesses in our foreign policy. On the issue of Israel, I should like to say, I think it should be said in all fairness, I doubt whether Mr. Stevenson is any greater friend of the State of Israel than President Eisenhower. We had to wait until two weeks before election for a clear, unequivocal statement from Mr. Stevenson about arms for Israel. ^{And} ~~in~~ his earlier statements ^{and} there may have been some, were neither fully understanding nor fully sympathetic. But I am glad that he is now solidly on the right side of the issue.

I am inclined to go along with Mr. Stevenson on much of his criticism of our foreign policy. Mr. Stevenson has introduced another important issue in this campaign -- the matter of the testing -- of the continued testing -- of the Hydrogen Bomb, and that has developed into perhaps the major debate in this campaign. Mr. Stevenson maintains that we should enter into an agreement with the Soviet Union to stop the further testing of what he calls the "ghastliest killer" yet invented by man. Such ~~test~~ testing, he maintained, endangers the health of humanity. The fall-out of radioactive particles is a definite threat to civilization which may contribute to bone cancer of human beings -- to deform children - to sterility. We can discontinue the further testing of the H-bomb, he maintains, without endangering our national defense, or weakening our fighting strength, for you do not require an elaborate system of detection or inspection to make certain that the Soviet does not break such an agreement. With present ^{ing} ~~monitory~~ facilities, explosions of an H-bomb can

be immediately detected, and again we can continue our research in our laboratories in this field, and in the development, without tests. We already have an arsenal of H-bombs and other nuclear weapons, sufficient to wipe out mankind - to deface the earth, and our stock-pile continues to grow.

Bulganin expressed to the President of the United States the Soviet readiness to enter such an agreement. President Eisenhower brushed it aside as insincere, and an unwarranted interference in a domestic political campaign. Mr. Stevenson feels that such a brusque rejection is not called for, and that the door should be kept open. The ending of all further testing of H-bombs, Mr. Stevenson believes, offers mankind a wonderful opportunity to break out of the deadly vise of this catastrophic arms race which is going on and the cause of world peace ^{will} therefore ~~will~~ be greatly advanced.

President Eisenhower's position is, that desirable as such an agreement may be, it is not safe for our National security, inasmuch as it does not provide for adequate controls and inspection. The Soviets have time and again, he maintains, resisted any effective system of inspection and safeguards, which the American Government proposed, in connection with the control of nuclear weapons. The more powerful weapons we develop, he maintains, the surer will be our capacity to dissuade the Soviets from the temptation of aggression. If we fail to hold our superiority in these weapons -- our power to deter aggression -- and thus to guard the peace of the world, would be a danger, and we cannot be certain of the superiority of our nuclear weapons until they have been tested. And he maintains That "the continuance of H-bomb testing does not imperil the health of humanity." President Eisenhower quotes as his authority the study of some one hundred and fifty scientists of the first rank, to the effect that the radiation exposure, from all weapon tests to date, and ^{from} ~~for~~ many continuing tests at the same rate, is and would be only a small fraction of the exposure that individuals receive from natural sources, and from medical X-rays during their lives."

But Mr. Stevenson quotes the Federation of American Scientists, a body made up of more than two thousand eminent scientists and engineers, non-political in

character, which has called, even before the present campaign, for an international agreement to ban H-bomb testing, without waiting for a complete inspection system for the reasons which Mr. Stevenson gave and I tried to digest for you.

So there you have a major debate on a tremendous issue. But I am afraid that it is difficult for a layman -- any layman who is going to vote ^{next} November 6th -- to decide who is right and who is wrong. The subject is too involved, too far reaching, to be resolved intelligently in the heat and controversy of a political campaign. I for one, am inclined to believe that the best of the argument is with Mr. Stevenson, but I would be most reluctant to have a decision of this matter dependent upon a judgment of mine, which must necessarily be based on the inadequate information which is made available to me and to other ^{lay} citizens - private citizens - of our country, prior to an election campaign, where vote-getting is as much a motive as truth-seeking. I question whether such an issue legitimately belongs to an election campaign and whether it should not be left to the responsible, deliberative bodies of our government - legislative and executive - for careful study and circumspect action, and I am wondering whether President Eisenhower would not have been better advised, if instead of meeting this issue head-on -- saying no -- would have said that this matter naturally requires careful, searching analysis and study which we hope to make. And I think that is what he is really planning to do, Because this issue cannot be side-stepped indefinitely.

Action is certainly called for, in the field not alone of the control of nuclear weapons, but in the field of disarmament generally. Here very little progress has indeed been made since the end of the war under both democratic and republican administrations. Both parties, of course, sincerely want peace. But our arms budget is today the highest in our peace-time history. We are not only arming ourselves to the teeth, but sending arms all over the world to arm our friends and allies -- everybody, of course, but Israel. We are in the deadliest and costliest arms race in our history. We of course hold the threat of aggressive communism responsible for this fact. It may be so.

But in view of this dangerous global arms race, and the tensions and the inter-

national strains which accompany it, and living as we do, daily under the grim shadow of the Hydrogen Bomb -- it is, in my humble judgment, unrealistic and unintentionally I am sure, deluding, to dwell on the wonderful peace which we enjoy today -- achieved by the Republican party. It is unrealistic! There is a danger of lulling our people into a false sense of complacency about the condition of the world today! The world is sitting on top of a powder keg! And the dangers of war are all around us! And there is urgent, pressing need for international agreements, of all kinds, and for the strengthening of the one international agency for peace in the world, the United Nations, which has been progressively ignored in all the major issues which have divided the East from the West.

Action is called for -- bold and courageous actions -- calculated risk must be taken for peace -- as we are taking risks for war. And whatever party will come into office, as a result of the coming election, it will immediately be confronted with these issues, and this is not the time for indulging in paens of triumph and for celebrating peace! Peace is still far off.

This is not a partisan issue. This is an American issue -- this is a world issue. And because I am persuaded that both political parties, and both candidates, seeking election or re-election, are sincere in their devotion to the cause of international peace, and will earnestly seek ways of approximating a condition of peace in the world, that I face the coming election, not with any trepidation at all, I assure you, but with considerable equanimity. Both President Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson speak with conviction about their confidence in the future -- the future of America -- they want a better America -- they want a better world -- they believe that it is possible to achieve these objectives. And because their objectives are the same, and their sincerity, in my judgment, unquestioned. We may look forward to the next four years as years of progress for our beloved country, in the field of world leadership, I hope also in the field of domestic progress.

It is to me an inspiring thing to be able to speak, in these dread days,

against the background of what you read in the news this morning - what you have been reading these last two weeks - it is heartening to be able to speak to a free people about the issues which confront them and to say to them you are free to make your decision. Whatever decisions you make will be final -- and whatever decision you will make, there is confidence in our hearts that America will move forward, in peace and in security.

Amen.



Sermon 901 1

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Part I

October 26, 1952

My dear friends, there are two things which I will not tell you this morning - whom to vote for, and who will be elected. (Recently someone called me a poor Rabbi and a worse politician. Well, I am not that poor of a Rabbi to imagine that my congregation will take my advice on the election, and I am not that poor of a politician to go out on a limb where the wisest of pollsters in the past found themselves ignominiously suspended.)

There are two things I will tell you this morning - be sure to vote, and be assured that whoever is elected, ^{our country as we} ~~the~~ world is not coming to an end.

(I have been going through my lecture files during the last few days. I keep a stenographic report of all my Sunday morning lectures, and have for the last 35 years. I have always devoted a Sunday morning lecture before a national election to giving observations on the campaign and on the issues. In reading over my lecture of October 26, 1940, on the eve of the Roosevelt-Willkie election, I find the following, and I submit that with the substitution of the names of Stevenson and Eisenhower for Roosevelt and Willkie, this thing could have been said this morning. I declared twelve years ago on October 26, 1940:)

There has been considerable ~~bitterness and~~ heat engendered in the political campaign this year. Some of it, of course, is the customary synthetic emotionalism incidental to every national campaign. If one were to listen to all the high-pitched and frenzied voices on the air, in the press and on the platform, one could come to think of the American people today as being confronted with the dread choice of one or ^{another} two alternatives of disaster. ~~If you vote for Mr. Roosevelt,~~ you vote for disaster. That is the Republican opinion. ~~If you vote for Willkie, you vote for disaster.~~ That is the Democratic opinion. ~~If you vote for Mr. Roosevelt, you vote for a man who has already ruined the United States; if you vote for Mr. Willkie, you vote for a man who will ruin the United States.~~

Roosevelt and his backers, according to the super-heated political campaign - those who believe in him are Reds and war-mongers. On the other hand, Willkie and his backers are Fascists and appeasers. Partisanship has run riot in this campaign, more than is customary in political campaign. Many people have become exceedingly intolerant, have lost their own sense of proportion and perspective.

^{Some} People have somehow persuaded themselves in this campaign that there exist vast, colossal and irreconcilable differences between the parties, platforms and candidates, ~~that no campaign in the last 50 or 75 or 100 years has been so critical and so momentous.~~ They have ~~somehow~~ talked themselves into, or permitted others to talk them into believing that American destiny is at stake, that the American way of life is in the balance.

Permit me to say, friends, in all modesty ~~and in all reverence~~ ^{that}, all this is "shtuss" and nonsense. It is either pure political auto-intoxication or the resultant frenzy of clever and calculated propaganda. I don't know of any campaign in recent years in which there ~~was~~ ^{has been} less involved of decisive significance between the two major parties than this one. I don't recall a campaign where there has been more agreement on major issues, and great similarity as to program and platform as in this campaign. I would like to get excited about this campaign, but I don't know how and I don't know what about.

~~And I concluded that part of the address by saying,~~

I am inclined to believe, good friends, that an outsider who is not acquainted with American political tradition, on listening to the statements and speeches of the candidates and the spokesmen of the parties, would come to the conclusion that both President ~~Roosevelt~~ ^{Eis.} and Mr. ~~Willkie~~ ^{Stearns} would make excellent running-mates on the same ticket.

I suspect that it is due largely to the fact that there is so little essential difference between the platforms or the programs of the two parties in the present campaign that so much emphasis is being put on what, in my judgment, are the unessential and the matters which are immaterial and only distantly related to basic issues. It is well known that people who are far apart seldom hate one another and fight one another as viciously as close neighbors. Proximity breeds contempt and bad manners, also in political parties.

I suspect, too, that a good bit of the acrimony and bitterness of this campaign and of other campaigns are due to the length and the duration of the campaign. The tone lowers perceptibly as the campaign drags on. The candidates simply run out of arguments. How many issues are there, after all, in a campaign, and once you have

SOME MORE OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMING ELECTIONS

November 2, 1952

In a few days now, ~~dear friends~~, the tumult and the shouting of this campaign will be over; a ~~new~~ President of the United States will have been elected; a new Congress, ~~and~~ ^{or re-elected;} new State and municipal officials, (certain bond issues will have been approved or not approved, certain constitutional amendments will be voted or voted down) and our world will settle down to its quiet, normal pace. The radio and television will be restored to ~~its legitimate owners~~ ^{their customary owners}; newspaper headlines will resume reporting sensational crimes instead of sensational political speeches; ~~our streets will be~~ ^{our streets will be} cleared of the banners, ~~and~~ the handbills, ~~and~~ the dodgers and the confetti; campaign buttons will have been either put aside or thrown aside, as the case may be; and on Wednesday morning ^{Nov. 7th} we shall all awake with a sharp awareness that we have to go back to work, earn a living in order to pay our bills and our taxes, regardless of who is elected.

Those who know the difference between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic pronunciation will appreciate the story told of a Jewish refugee who came to Israel ~~finally~~ after years of wandering about all over Europe, and as he landed upon the shores of the new State of Israel, he said, "Thank God, thank God. From now on, no more tsouris; from now on, nothing but tsarot."

It has been an exciting civil war during the last few months, but a civil war ^{of peace and will be decided not by} not ~~with~~ ^{by} bullets, but ballots. That is the glory and the miracle of our democracy. We can change our public officials, if we wish; we can throw out one party and bring in another ~~party~~ ^{to} in control of our government, if we choose; we can decide upon this or that issue as we wish without firing a shot; and when it is all over and the vote is ~~in~~ ^{counted}, the loser facilitates the winner, the ranks are closed, and the American people ^{is} ~~is~~ one ^{united} people, indivisible, carries on and marches on.

We sometimes grow weary, as I have grown weary, of this protracted campaign which lasts all too long and exhausts both the speakers and the listeners, the candidates and the voters needlessly, I might say, and it is well to remember in the midst of all

We sometimes find many / campaigns looking like
these unpleasant noises and fulminations, ^{but we should bear in mind that} that this is the open forum of a democracy.
It is the apparatus and the technique of a free people ^{by means of which it is its course,} to determine, to insure its
freedom, ^{can} to keep the reins of government in its own hands. There is no other way, ^{of course.}
^{Look to Poland - Look to Hungary - term of fighting and blood.}
Campaigns may be a little shorter and candidates may be a little more restrained in
their utterances - and they should be from the President of the United States down -
but after all, it is ^{The} free and full expression of one's political views and prefer-
ences and are the very essence of a democracy. The only other alternative is that of
dictatorship where you have only terror and submission and silence.

I want to recapitulate briefly some of the things which I said last Sunday morn-
ing in giving my observations on the present political campaign so that it will be
tied up with what I am going to say this morning. I suggested that in my judgment
there is little real difference between the two party programs and platforms, and that
is why so much stress and emphasis is being laid on unessentials in this campaign and
on the things only distantly related to the real issues. I suggested that in a two-
party system, as ours, fortunately, we have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that
there will be in both parties certain candidates of whom we cannot entirely approve.
It is inevitable. And we cannot really expect the standard bearer of either party,
who is called upon to keep his party united and lead them to victory, to begin to
screen and to purge and to select one candidate from another. That is to disrupt the
unity of his party on the eve of an election. I suggested that there were reaction-
aries in both parties and undesirable candidates. The question which the American
voter will have to decide on this coming Tuesday is whether in his judgment the indi-
viduals of whom he does not approve are of such weight within the given party that
they may determine the policies of the party, and again, whether the candidate at the
head of the party, the Presidential candidate, is of sufficient independence and cour-
age that he will be able to drop these undesirable individuals and carry on according
to his program, his will. And on that score I indicated last Sunday morning that ~~that~~ the
American
~~the~~ people have reason to congratulate themselves on both candidates, the Republican

3). The Platform of both parties differ principally in length. One is longer than the other - says practically the same things as ^{a different} ~~more~~ words. There are nuances, g-cues, choices, emphases or that issues. But there are no fundamental issues ~~over~~ which citizens need see themselves apart. Nor are there any ideological issues.

Both platforms are in favor of Civil Rights, inward social
security, price support for the farmer - more federal aid to education
more assistance to the small business - tax ^{+ reduction in cost} reductions -
conservation of our natural resources - Both oppose inflation -

Both platforms parties & candidates favor peace - Adequate
nat. defense - inter. disarmament - support for U.N.
Aid to back-ward countries - Res. true use of atomic energy.

4). I do not deferents - I uphold - the close ^{sanitary} ~~intimate~~ / the
party papers. It argues well for our country & even for
issues irreconcilable - we could be in a dispute for let
us see. — It is clear that both parties are ^{in agreement} ~~united~~
the right direction - One may be somewhat more conservative
the other somewhat more liberal ~~is~~ But they are every day
parallel and not divergent lines.

parallel and not divergent lines.

4/. Both Presidential candidates, as I had occasion to say
4 yrs ago - are men highly qualified for the position.
I said then - ~~the~~ and I repeat now - which ever man is
freely chosen, the people, as ship, still will be in strong,
competent and faithful hands.

5. The Am. people or how. will pass judgment on ^{the present} ~~the present~~ ~~conduct~~ ^{conduct} of part -
If it is satisfied, by and large, with the ^{conduct} ~~conduct~~ of part -
it will reelect it -

If it is satisfied that the things which it wants - and which both
parties promise - will more likely or more speedily be ~~achieved~~
achieved for it by the present admin. - it will reelect it.
Otherwise it will reject it. If there is sufficient dissas-
tisfaction with it - if there are sufficient people who have
not profited under the present Admin. - who have lost confidence
in it - or who distrust its handling of our foreign affairs -
it will be rejected - a great protest vote -

6. The personality of Pres. E. is an important factor in this
election. Many a ~~personality~~ ^{personality} always are!
The Democratic way will ~~develop~~ ^{develop} how much of a personality
cult "developed around Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt - ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~stand~~ ^{stand} ~~to~~ ^{to}
Pres. E. by common consent, is stronger than his party.
But this ~~personality~~ ^{personality} is considerably reduced (~~decreased~~ - ~~diminished~~)
by the ~~physical~~ ^{physical} ~~appearance~~ ^{appearance} of his running mate - and by
the health factor. He ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~never~~ ^{never} ~~come~~ ^{come} to this!

7. I have been of the opinion right along, ever since the Party Conventions
last November, that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} campaign, developed in Democr. Party
would come to concentrate its fire of attack not on
domestic issues but on ~~for~~ ^{the} handling of foreign
affairs by the Repub. Administration -

There the Rep. Admin. is far more vulnerable, and its
achievevements far less impressive -

8/ There ~~was~~ ~~has~~ undoubtedly are some domestic issues
on which the Dem. Party may capitalize ^{has} on the ^{house} campaign -
the less favorable position of the Am. farmer today - the
plight of the small business man - the wage and distribution
of tax reductions -
The last remains - that the country as

But the indubitable facts remain - that the country as a whole is ^{exceedingly} prosperous - that our people are at work - that unemployment is at a minimum - that the standard of living of our people is high - that Social Security has been expanded - that taxes have been cut - and Govt. spending has been reduced - Industrial production has been at record levels.

and sent. Monday has been received.
back at record levels.
The picture is of course not all-ideal - but is
sufficiently bright that Americans are not likely to be
clamoring for a change, etc. ^{as they are now} ~~the~~ depressed econ. depression
and suffering. ^{claimers for change} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Pres. Truman~~ and more
civil rights - ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Pres. Truman~~ and more
of the T. A.

and suffering - I am for change
On the issue of Civil Rights - the ~~Pres. Admin~~ and now
esp. the issue of ~~Integration~~ in our Schools - the E. Ad.
has made considerable progress. Integration is now an
accomplished fact in our annual process - The ~~Attorney General~~
~~argued~~ ^{The present Administration} ~~this point~~ argued before the Supreme Court, the U.S.
that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional -
And in its historic decision, May 1954 - the Supreme Court
maintained that position. - Much remains to be done
to translate into fact - Resistance - Federal Anti-Discrimination
process - Pres. can do much by his moral authority.
But it is doubtful whether a Desegregation Admin. which
must cater to a Southern constituency which is so vital

a part of it - and which was referable for so much
tackling and veering and ^{rather} ~~seemanties~~ in drafting the plank on
Civil Rights at the Chicago Convention - would be more
appreciable in this direction.

(Ralph J. Bunche) Just

9/1. It is in its record of foreign affairs that the E. side is
most open to valid ^{and dangerous} criticism and attack.

① Am. prestige in the free world, and in the neutral world, is
lower to-day and not higher.

② Nato is weaker to-day, not stronger.
③ East played in the Far East - (3a) Soviet power and influence have penetrated the whole
Middle East.

The Arab world is swinging into the Moscow orbit.

④ The Baghdad Pact has been a factor not for peace
but for stagnation in the Middle East.

⑤ The role we played in the Suez Canal, ^{by force} has
weakened, not strengthened the free world. It has built
up the power and prestige of another dangerous dictator.

⑥ And the position of the one democ. state in the Near East, Israel,
which the U.S. helped to establish - was the first to re-
cognize under a democ. admin. - has not been strengthened
or made secure either by a Mutual Security Pact with
the Arab country - such as we have with many other
nations - or directly helped with arms for defense.
So that Arab intimidation has grown stronger -
and the threat is - more real.

10/ Adlai H. - has been concentrating on these matters on (9)
~~his~~ our foreign policy. - on the same I read -

I doubt whether Mr. S. is any further from the 1st
I read than Mr. G. We had to wait until 2 weeks
before election for a clear, unequivocal statement from St.
James for I read - His earlier statements were rather
fully understood - now fully against the line. But I am
glad that he is now solidly on the right side.

~~11/~~ I am inclined to go along with him on much of
his criticism of our foreign policy.

He has introduced another important issue in the campaign

The Testing of the Hydrogen Bomb - developed into ^{the} Major Issue
of the Campaign

Mr. St. maintains that we should enter into an agreement
with the Soviet Union to stop the further testing of what he
calls the "barbaric & killer" yet invented by man.

Such testing endangers the health of humanity.
The Fall-out of radio-active particles is a definite threat
to civilization - contributing to bone-cancer,
deformed children and sterility

We can discontinue the further testing of the H-bomb with-
out endangering our nat. defense or weakening our
fighting position.

You do not require an elaborate system of inspection to

1. We are certain that the Soviet will not break their agreement⁽¹⁰⁾
with present monitoring facilities, such explosives can be
immediately detected.

We can continue our research in this field + development
without tests.

We already have an arsenal, H. bombs & other nuclear
weapons sufficient to defeat the South, and our stock-
piles continues to grow

Bulgarian - Soviet readiness to enter such an agreement
Pres. E. brushed it aside as irrelevant, and an
unwarranted interference in a domestic pol. campaign
Mrs. Her ~~felt~~ feels that such a brusque rejection is not
called for - that the door should be left open -

The ending of all further testing of H. bombs, would open
marked a wonderful opportunity to break out
of the deadly vise, the catastrophic arms race which
is going on - The cause, would have much to greatly
advanced.

11/ Pres. E's position is that desirable as such an agreement
may be - it is not safe for our nat. security - in as
much as it does not provide for adequate controls
and inspection.

~~and~~ The Soviet, have time and again, rejected any effective ~~system~~ ^{system} ~~program~~ ^{program} (11)
of inspection and supervision which the Am. Govt. proposed in
connection with the control of nuclear weapons.

The more powerful weapons we develop - the more will be
our capacity to demand ^{the Soviets} ~~the Soviets~~ from the superpowers / Americans.

→ If we failed to hold our superiority in this weapon, our power to deter aggression would be ~~lost~~ and ~~power~~ ^{guarantee} would be endangered.

→ we cannot be certain of the superiority of our wooden
weapons without testing them. until we have tested them

→ "The continuous, the present rate, H. bank Turkey, does not imperil the health, humanity".

→ Prof. E. Grosse as his authority the study of 150
26 entities, the first result - to the effect that the radiation
exposure from all weapons tests to ~~date~~ ^{plate} and films containing
tests at the same rate - is ^{any} ~~small~~ ^{small} be, only a small fraction
of the exposure that individuals receive from natural
sources and from medical X-rays during their lives ^{which is a very high non-natural exposure}

But the St. Louis ^{press} ~~press~~ ^{2400 St. Louis} ~~press~~ ^{for some time back} Federation, Am. Scientists which
has called for an inter. agreement to ban H-bomb testing
without waiting for a complete inspection system. ~~Such a system~~
~~can be effected at great distances - and does not require voluntary~~
~~inter inspection -~~ It further states that the U.S. would not
pull behind Russia in nuclear develop. if it stopped testing.
The ban on tests would not preclude the continuation

of the ~~the~~ research & development involved with large nuclear
weapons - short / testing!

13

13/4. It is difficult for a ~~beginner~~ ^{beginner} to decide who is right or who is
wrong - and ~~not~~ ^{tricky} ~~provides~~ ^{how} ~~an election campaign~~ ^{such an}
involved, ~~but~~ delicate and for making an ~~error~~ ^{error} can be
involved ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ a heart and controversy of a
pol. campaign! I, for one, am inclined to believe that the
best, the argument is with Mr. H. - but I must be most
reluctant to have a ~~final~~ ^{final} decision, these matters ~~should~~ ^{definitely}
upon a judgment of ~~mine~~ ^{mine} based on the inadequate information
made available to me, ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~a~~ ^a ~~private~~ ^{private} citizen, prior to an
election campaign - where vote-getting is as much ~~an~~ ^{an}
motivation as ~~truth~~ ^{truth} ~~seeking~~ ^{seeking}.



I question whether ~~such an~~ ^{such an} ~~error~~ ^{error} ~~should~~ ^{should} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~left~~ ^{left} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~corp.~~ ^{corp.} ~~deliberation~~ ^{deliberation}
in a campaign - It should be left to the ~~corp.~~ ^{corp.} ~~deliberation~~ ^{deliberation}
both, ~~part~~ ^{part} - both legislative and executive - for careful study
and circumstantial action. Mr. E. better advised if -

13/4. Action is certainly called for - in the field not alone, the
control, nuclear weapons - but of ~~disarmament~~ ^{disarmament} ~~generally~~ ^{generally}
Very little progress ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~made~~ ^{made} ~~since~~ ^{since} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~end~~ ^{end} ~~the~~ ^{the}
war - under both Dem. & Rep. Administrations!

Both parties ~~seem~~ ^{seem} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~want~~ ^{want} ~~peace~~ ^{peace} - but an arm
budget is the highest in our ~~past~~ ^{past} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~history~~ ^{history} -
We are not only arming ourselves & the world - but ~~ready~~ ^{ready}
After all ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~world~~ ^{world} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~arm~~ ^{arm} ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~forces~~ ^{forces} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~others~~ ^{others} -
We are in the deadliest & costliest arms race in history

We, of course, hold the threat, by means of reputation for
the fact. But, in view of the dangers ^{total} arms race and the
tensions & international strains which accompany it - it is now
what unrealistic to and every as we do, in the Grian shadows
the by deep bonds - it is now what unrealistic and unrealistic
travels deliberately ^{with confidence} to dwell on the wonderful peace which we
suffer ^{and} what we helped to achieve in the world.

The world is sitting on top of a powder-keg - the dangers
are all about us - the urgent need for agreements and
for the strengthening for the inter-governments for peace - the U.N.
and its program for disarmament - is urgent - the action
is called for - everywhere - circulated into the peace - wherever
party will come into the picture as a result the action is done
the time for celebrating peace - is still very far off.

~~25. I am inclined to believe that the E. admin. record as down the
affairs is far more impressive that its name as major affairs
- arm presence in the free world, and in the neutral world, is lower
to-day and not higher
Nato - is weaker to-day and not stronger -
Soviet power and influence have not been contained. They
have penetrated the whole Middle East -
We have not contributed towards permanent peace
in the Middle East: Basel Part - Peace - Ship - Port
Our ambiguities and reticence in the Suez canal - has weakened the
position, the free world - therefore the peace, the action is done~~

16/ Whichever party will win on Nov. 6 - it will have to face the /11
issues squarely + industrially - they are really not partisan issues -
American - World issues. They cannot be side-stepped.

And with both candidates devoted to the cause, peace - America -

humanity - we face the future with confidence.

For both speak the future - both dream of

17/ A Better America - A Better World -



The Temple Bulletin

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OCTOBER 28, 1956

No. 4

Sunday Morning Service

10:30 o'clock



RABBI SILVER

will speak on

"Thoughts On The Coming Elections"

Friday Evening Services
5:30 to 6:10

Saturday Morning Services
11:15 to 12:00

*Deliverance Parents
and
Troubled Teen-Agers*

Autograph

The Temple Bulletin

The Temple

Congregation Tifereth Israel
(Founded 1850)

Rabbis:

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D., Litt.D., D.H.L.

Daniel Jeremy Silver, A.B., M.H.L.

Associate Rabbi
Director of Religious Education

Ass't. Director of Religious Education
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Ansel Road and East 105th Street
SWEETBRIAR 1-7755

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

This Sunday morning Rabbi Silver will speak on "Thoughts on the Coming Elections".

The doors of The Temple open at 10:00 A.M. A recital of sacred music at 10:15 by The Temple organist, Mr. A. R. Willard, precedes the service which begins at 10:30.

The Temple conducts Sabbath Eve Services in Gries Memorial Chapel every Friday from 5:30 to 6:10 throughout the year.

Sabbath Morning Services are conducted in The Temple every Saturday morning from 11:15 to 12:00 o'clock from October through May.

The Temple Museum is open every Sunday—at the conclusion of the services.

The Temple Library is open Tuesday through Friday from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., from 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturday and Sunday and is closed on Mondays.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The flowers which will grace the altar on Sunday morning, October 28th are contributed in memory of husband and father, Ben Hibshman by Mrs. Ben Hibshman, Mrs. Charlotte Herman and Mr. Ben Hibshman, Jr.

MUSIC FOR SUNDAY

Organ	Fiat Lux	Dubois
	Barcarolle	Hollins
	Six Preludes—No. II	E. Bloch
Opening Psalm—Mah Tovu		Milhaud
Bor'chu (Congregational)		Sulzer
Sh'ma—Boruch (Congregational)	Traditional	Sulzer
Michomocho (Congregational)		Rogers
Kedusha		Thatcher
Silent Devotion—May the Words	Mr. Hakola and Choir	
Before the Address		
Recit.—Ye people, rend your hearts		
Aria—If with all your hearts	Mendelssohn	
("Elijah")	Mr. Humphrey	
Olenu—Vaanachnu	Goldstein	

Temple Memorial Book

The name of

JACOB A. KLEIN

has been lovingly inscribed in The Temple Memorial Book by his wife, Fannie.

THE MR. and MRS. CLUB

will present
the fourth meeting in the

SPECIAL INTEREST PROGRAM SERIES

Friday, October 26 — 8:15 P. M.

The Temple

Regular discussion sessions
followed by special subject

JEWISH SYMBOLS

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

will comment on the treasures
to be found in
The Temple Museum

A social get-together and refreshments will follow the meeting

The Temple Gratefully Acknowledges The Following Contributions

TO THE ABBA HILLEL SILVER CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND:

In honor of the 70th birthday of Sidney B. Rosenbaum, by Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Klein, Mrs. Myra Mitchell, B. F. Klein, Jr. and Stanley F. Klein.

TO THE FLCWER FUND:

In honor of the 70th birthday of Sidney B. Rosenbaum, by Mr. and Mrs. Leon H. Henry; in loving memory of Mrs. Dave L. Schumann, by Mr. and Mrs. Morton B. Koblitz; in honor of the 40th wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Goldstein, by Mr. and Mrs. Larry Weinberg; in honor of the 85th birthday of Mr. G. J. Federman, by Mr. and Mrs. Larry Weinberg; in memory of beloved sister, Helen Goodman Altman, by Mr. Julius E. Goodman; in memory of Mr. Alvin Adler, by Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Goldstein; in memory of Mr. J. K. Arnold, by Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Goldstein; in honor of the 90th birthday of Mrs. Ernst Altschul, by Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Goldstein; in honor of the 40th wedding anniversary on October 18, of Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Goldstein, by Mr. and Mrs. Dolf Klopfer; in memory of mother, Mrs. Charles W. Klopfer, on the anniversary of her death on October 22nd, by Mr. and Mrs. Dolf Klopfer.

TO THE HILDA KROHNGOLD MEMORIAL FUND:

In memory of Mrs. Rickie Bauer, by Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Loveman.

TO THE HATTIE D. RICH LIBRARY FUND:

In honor of the birthday of Mrs. Sarah Filston, by Mr. and Mrs. Murray A. Newburgh.

TO THE PRAYER BOOK FUND:

In memory of Jennie Bensev, by Dora Nieman.

TO THE LIBRARY FUND:

In memory of mother and father, Abraham and Lena Levine, by Mrs. Bertram A. Robbins; in memory of wife and mother, Mrs. Norman Waldman, by Mr. Norman Waldman and Charles; in memory of Mrs. Bertha Weil, by Mrs. A. Altschul.

TO THE IGNATZ ASCHERMAN MEMORIAL FUND:

In memory of Ignatz Ascherman, by Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Gerson.

TO THE SOPHIE AUERBACH SCHOLARSHIP FUND:

In memory of mother, Mrs. Lewis Kline, by Mrs. Jacob Siebert; in memory of Helen Einstein Kittner, by Miss Jean R. Cassel; in memory of Mrs. Amelia Benedict, by The Quilters of The Temple Sisterhood; in memory of Mrs. Lester Bensev, by the Quilters of The Temple Sisterhood; in honor of the 90th birthday of Mrs. Ernst Altschul, by the Misses Sadie and Camille Stone; in honor of the 90th birthday of Mrs. Ernst Altschul, by Mr. and Mrs. Carol Levison; in memory of Mrs. Ruth Davis, by Mr. and Mrs. Carol Levison.

TO THE LESLIE AND LINDA HAAS MEMORIAL FUND:

In honor of the naming of baby Patricia Dee Baron, by Mr. and Mrs. Alvin Arsham.

WELCOME, NEW MEMBERS

The Temple takes great pleasure in welcoming the following new members to its fellowship. We trust that they will derive enjoyment and spiritual satisfaction in our fellowship. We are eager to have them participate actively in all of our religious, cultural and educational activities.

Dr. Alfred K. Bard
 Carl L. Becker
 Dr. Alvin L. Berman
 Leonard Bornfeld
 Albert Ira Borowitz
 Dr. Earl Brightman
 Edward J. Coen
 John B. Cohen
 Priscilla A. Cohen
 Ernest Dworkin
 Alan S. Efroymson
 George Eisenberg
 Leonard S. Ellis
 Maurice H. Finkle
 Jack Fisher
 Oscar Friedman
 M. R. Glickman
 Jack W. Gollust
 Howard Greenberg
 Jeanne Lois Groger
 Edward William Haas
 Maxwell R. Hahn
 William Halle

Sidney I. Heilbrun
 Dr. Paul L. Heller
 Mervyn R. Hirsch
 Ted Hirshman
 Sanford S. Jacobs
 Jack Kalish
 Thomas S. Katz
 Jerome Allen Klein
 Dr. Joseph Klein
 Julian H. Klein
 Melvin S. Krasnow
 Leroy C. LeVine
 Dr. Stanley Levey
 Morris Levin
 Dr. Eugene V. Linsey
 Charles Locke
 Edward L. Lux
 Robert E. Marcus
 Allan E. Morris
 William Herbert Murphie
 Harvey I. Nevins
 Allan M. Newman
 Harry B. Obstgarten

Irving E. Pape
 William S. Phillips
 Ellis J. Powell
 Sara Reich
 Robert S. Rosenthal
 Lester A. Sanders
 Ted Schermer
 Mark P. Schumann
 Aaron H. Schwartz
 A. G. Schwartz
 Henry C. Shapoff
 Dorothy Shenkelman
 James J. Shipley
 Dr. Paul Siegel
 Dr. Morris S. Silver
 Raphael David Silver
 David Silverman
 Kenard G. Strauss
 Lincoln R. Thorman
 Lawrence R. Weiss
 Jackson C. Wheye
 Donald A. Wolf

THE TEMPLE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

presents

Dr. Margarette Bitter

Sunday, October 28 - 8:30 P.M.

at the home of
GENE SPIEGLE

2995 Meadowbrook Boulevard

Social hour

THE TEMPLE MEN'S CLUB ELECTION NITE PARTY

MID-DAY CLUB

Tuesday, November 6

8:30 P. M.

Complete TV Coverage

A night of surprises, fun, good fellowship,
 entertainment and dancing with

Hal Lynn and his orchestra

Late Buffet

send your reservations now to

Mr. Leo Bamberger

The Temple

and plan to attend this "once in four years" party

Members \$6.00 per couple

Guests \$8.00 per couple

The Temple Bulletin
The Temple
Ansel Rd. at East 105th St.
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office
Cleveland, Ohio

From Generation To Generation

A generation ago the men and women of our congregation built the magnificent Temple edifice which is the pride of our community.

The present generation is now engaged in building a beautiful new Annex to it of schoolrooms, auditorium, library, etc., which the remarkable growth of The Temple has made imperative.

Many of our present members did not contribute to the cost of erecting The Temple a generation ago. Today, many of them have children or grandchildren in our religious school, or sons and daughters belonging to our various youth groups which require additional physical facilities to carry on their cultural and social activities.

The sum of \$750,000.00 is needed to complete our expansion program. With adequate and modern equipment our Temple will be able to serve the present and future generations of our people even more effectively than it has in its long and honored past.

The Temple, situated in the Cultural Heart of Cleveland—the remarkable area where so many of the art, educational and civic institutions of our community are concentrated—will continue to be a center of light and learning.

The response to our campaign thus far has been gratifying, but we are still to hear from hundreds of our members. We should like to close our campaign early next month.

Liberty is not license. It not only bestows a privilege; it imposes an obligation. A man's home is his castle, but he is not free to burn it down. A man may be the head of his family, but he may not willfully starve his children. . . .

Liberty is described for us in undying documents—the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights. It is symbolized by a cracked bell in Independence Hall, by a statue on a small island in New York harbor. It is a priceless value, to be won again and again, until all men are free."

—Robert P. Patterson

Freedom is not the absence of discipline, but it calls for discipline by internal constraint in contrast with the external police control of totalitarianism. When you throw a man in the water, his freedom does not express itself by merely splashing around. He can be free in the water only because he has learned to swim; that is to say, only because he subjects himself to a form of discipline, and a blend of self-suppression and self-assertion. The discipline of free men is not submission of one person's will to that of another, but it is anchored in a strategy of learning to balance the tensions within yourself. The ideas of freedom, self-control, and balance are inextricably interwoven.

—Harry D. Gideonse

Lincoln, who told us that no generation can escape history, used the word "responsibility" as often as he used the word "freedom." Referring to that link between freedom and responsibility in Lincoln's usage, Carl Sandburg has recently reminded us that free men might well ask themselves every day, almost as a ritual: "Who paid for my freedom, and what is the price, and am I somehow beholden?"

—*Ibid.*

Implicit in the decision by the highest tribunal in the land against segregation in the public schools is a new and reassuring confirmation that in the American way of life, under our democratic creed, what is right will, in the end, always be done. The process may be slow, it may be halting, and it may encounter formidable obstacles and determined if misguided opposition; but in the end, under American democracy, right and decency and fairness always prevail. . . . Our democracy moves steadily toward fulfillment of its promise for all of its citizens, whatever their color or creed; it never fails in the end to reward the faith of its adherents. Its unceasing concern is for the people whose well-being it is designed to serve. Its trends are forward. It does not permit fear of change to stand in the way of prog-

ress. It is dynamic. This is why democracy is sturdy and solidly anchored in the minds and hearts of most Americans.

—Ralph J. Bunche

A DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

Written for Freedom House by a committee of distinguished Americans under the chairmanship of Archibald MacLeish.

Free men must re-dedicate themselves to the cause of freedom. They must understand with a new certainty of conviction that the cause of freedom is the cause of the human individual.

Human individuality is the basis of every value—spiritual, moral, intellectual, creative—in human life. To preserve it in a world of expanding and aggressive authoritarianism there must be a determination that freedom shall be defended wherever it is attacked and under whatever color or excuse. Those who attack freedom in the name of freedom are no less dangerous than those who attack it in the name of authority and discipline. Those who profess a belief in freedom but shirk the obligations it imposes, share the guilt of its enemies.

What is freedom? Freedom is the right to choose: the right to create for oneself the alternatives of choice. Without the possibility of choice and the exercise of choice a man is not a man but a member, an instrument, a thing.

Freedom is the right to one's soul: the right of each man to approach God in his own way and by his own means. It is a man's right to possess his mind and conscience for himself. To those who put their trust in freedom, the State can have no sovereignty over the mind or soul—must be the servant of man's reason, not the master.

Freedom is the right to one's dignity as a man. In a free society no individual, no group is entitled to diminish the human dignity of any man regardless of his race, his creed, or his color.

How shall freedom be defended?

By arms when it is attacked by arms; by truth when it is attacked by lies; by democratic faith when it is attacked by authoritarian dogma. Always, and in the final act, by dedication and faith.

On what faith does the defense of freedom rest?

On faith in man; faith in the fundamental decency of man; faith in the capacity of man to make his way by his own means to the truth which is true for him.