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As Others See Us, 1960.

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AS OTHERS SEE US

The Image of America in the World's Eye

THE TEMPLE March 6, 1960

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

An angry wave of anti-American protest surged through the Japanese islands in the Spring of 1954, while the Americans were conducting the first atomic bomb tests in the South Pacific. Japan had a better reason than any other nation to know the devastating portend of these tests. And then radioactive contamination was found in the tuna catch of that Spring. Subsequent to this a fishing boat orew was found to have been showered with radioactive fallout. The reaction was intense. Daily demonstrations took place in front of the American embassy and our American Armed Forces Far Eastern Command. All over the islands, in the smallest hamlet and the largest city, the walls were defaced with those ideographs which spelled out "Yankee, go home".

I remember asking, that Spring, a Japanese newspaper correspondent why it was that when North Korea had invaded South Korea, a crime certainly in degree, in magnitude, in character far different from that of which the Americans were being accused, why there had been no similar outcry of national indignation. His answer I shall never forget. It was simple and it was direct. He said, "True. But then, we expect better of you." A competent teacher grades the exceptional student more strictly than he does the average scholar. Men of good will throughoutout our world grade and judge the United States more zeverbity than almost any other nation. And this severe judgment implies a compliment, for we are a nation founded on liberty and on the principle of the imalienable rights of individual men, and we have in history attempted to make our foreign policy a reflex of these elementary to us domestic first principles. And all in all we have not been unworthy of these principles and the world knows our record. The world knows that we have seldom harbored aggressive designs against our neighbors, that we have been among the most enthusiastic proponents of the United Nations and the consort and cooperation of the world family, that we have been anything but vindictive to our erstwhile enemies, that we spent freely and selflessly large sums of money to rehabilitate the devastated economies of Europe, and that we are even now spending equally staggering sums of money to develop the so-called under-developed nations of our globe.

All in all, the American international record has been one surprisingly idealistic and unselfish, and the world well knows this. And so it is that when we are untrue to these principles the world becomes disappointed, and their disappointment is far greater than in would be if it saw signs of pure selfish power politics among any other nation. Why was it, after all, that our Vice-President was so roundly jeered and attacked two years ago during his trip to Latin America? Was it not largely because he represented a nation which had preached good neighborliness, which had practiced good neighborliness, but which, during the last decade or so, had forgotten the elementary requirements of friendship -- concern, mutual copperation, and respect. Was it not that during the last decade or so we had spoken publicly time and again of human rights, but that in private conversation with the diplomats of these nations we had insisted upon special commercial privilege. We spoke of economic cooperation, and we insisted upon military bases and military alliances. And so Mr. Nixon resped the whirlwind. These nations expected better of us. We had not lived up to their expectations. And why was Mr. Eisenhower so well received during his last trip? Was it not that he voiced these expectations -- that he said to these people quite simply and quite directly, "Your hopes in us are not misplaced. We will

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abide by our ideals. We will come to you in an unselfish way. We will cooperate with you not only for the advantages of our national security as in the past, but for the advantages of hemispheric security and the economic progress of all nations in this hemisphere."

If one wishes to understand the rising tide of anti-American sentiment throughout our world, I think we have only to concentrate on this simple equation. Since the end of the Second World War the nations of the world have expected more of the United States than we have shown and evidenced. It is all right for a Germany or a France or an England to play oil politics. This is expected. Historically it has always been so. But it somehow was difficult for the nations of the world to understand an America which played this oil diplomacy. We had never done so in the past. They could not understand why we needed to do so in the present. In the 1920s America had been the prime mover of world plans for disarmament. In the 1950s the United States was the most militarily proccupied nation in the world, and the world could not balance, in its own mind, these two images. In European politics it is commonplace to see strange international bedfellows, but until the end of the Second World War the United States had seldom accepted marriages of convenience. But now, all of a sudden, the world saw the sad spectacle of the United States married politically to some of the most malddorous of world despots. And the world saw, and the world wondered, and the world was disappointed.

The world, my friends, strangely has a higher estimate of our national character, of our faith in first and fundamental principles than we ourselves seem to have. I had striking confirmation of this recently as I read a series of twenty essays collected in a little book entitled, "As Others See Us". These encays have no propagandistic purpose. They were not assembled or asked for by the United States State Department nor our Office of Information. Rather, they who has

who has been studying the national images of various nations in the minds of the world's people. He asked only one thing of his correspondents, that they be utterly honest in their appraisal of the United States. Now, I have no way of knowing how representative these twenty views are of world opinion or even of the opinion of the nation which each of the correspondents represents. Strikingly. there is no representative here of Russia or China or of any of the satellite nations. Presumably, it was believed that they would preach and be propagandistic rather than personal and honest. But if I were to sum up for you, to synthesize for you in a single sentence the basic emphasis of this book, it would be a surprising one. For this book exudes confidence in the American character. These men are thrilled by the American experiment. These men state. time and time again, that America stands for something unique, something special, something wonderful in the family of nations. And reading this book, an American jaded by his blessings, an American who sometimes takes for granted the boons of democracy and liberty and freedom is given pause. How easily we accept a government of laws rather than a government of men. How quick we are to carp and to criticize when some piece of legislation does not go as we might wish it to go, when some man is elected to public office whom we deem unworthy. Here we read a Turk, an Iraqui, who are amazed at the American political experiment. Theirs is not a government of laws, but a government of men, and they know, they know the extent of the American blessing. Here we read also of men who do not take our social progress for granted. We are given to criticize business giantism, labor abuses, a lugubrious tax structure. Day in and day out we find reason to complain and to criticize. But these men see the overwhelming accomplishment, and these men are enthusiastic about our American social progress, and they remind us quite correctly that no nation in the history of the world has been able to give so much economically or socially to its citizens. As one Near Eastern observer puts it quite simply in this book: "In my country we simply

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hope and pray that by 1975 we will have achieved for our citizenry that level of social progress which America had achieved already in 1910." And they do not take our educational and our cultural institutions for granted. How often in the last two years we have seen criticism heaped upon criticism of our system of public education. Admirals and statesmen and businessmen have become experts in pedagogy, and they have prescribed for every ill, real or imaginary, of the American school system, and we have in part lost confidence in that system. They have told us that the Russian system, the German system, the English system is superior to ours. But here in this book we have the English correspondent. Professor Dennis Brogan, reminding us that the American public school system is the most successful educational experiment in the history of the world in molding character and citizenship, and that the American school system has been able to achieve one purpose which has not been achieved by any other system of education, and that is to weld the intellectual and the citizen into a single compact whole, to avoid the creation of a single intellectual self-conscious elite who feel themselves above, beyond, who require that they be catered to by the rest of the citizens.

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And what of our universities? We somehow presume that they are inferior. We know that time and again they are given to intellectual faddism, but the Swiss correspondent in this book quite correctly reminds us that whatever be their lapses of judgment or of curriculum, the American university system is the only one in the world which is more concerned with temorrow than with yesterday, and it is the only system in the world where knowledge must be wedded to understanding, where the amassing of facts must be paralleled by a growth of critical judgment, where examinations are not simply a regurgitation of the teachers' views but must reflect in part the views of the individual schelare And so, point after point which we are given to criticize, which we are given to take for granted, assumes a fresh aspect. We are proud of our prosperity in America, but, you know, you and

I tend to be apologetic about, to take it for granted. It's part of the richness of the American continent. Our forefathers were fortunate enough to find here virgin, untapped natural resources. But the Frenchman and the Italian quite correctly remind us in this book that America's wealth is America's creation. that it is in large measure a reflex not of luck, but of American industry, of American diligence, of American determination and American character, and that we are one of the busiest and the most determined people on the face of the earth. And we are prone also to say that the rather equitable distribution of wealth in our society is a product of the excessive wealth of our society. Seven percent of the population of the world enjoying fifty percent of the wealth of the world. Well, correspondents who come from nations which once controlled equal proportions of the world's wealth -- the Spaniard and the Italian and the Frenchman -- remind us that their civilizations were not able to achieve such an equality of distribution, and that the American citizen is one of the few in the world who assumes it as a matter of first principle that he must be generous and great-hearted, and that the man who possesses wealth is not necessarily a man who must be respected, that there are no intrinsic class lines between "have" and "have not". And they talk time and again in wonderment that here alone of all the free nations of the world there is no political division between capitalist and worker, between the "haves" and the "have nots".

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All that I have been saying -- all of this extremely high valuation of our American way of life, of our American character, of our American determination -can be synthesized by the views of a Turkish professor of economics, Professor

Omar Salal Sarak, who, writing in this book says simply:

And now the third question I have raised: the relative positions of material and spiritual interests in the American society. While formerly the fine arts were much less regarded in the United States than in other countries, it appears that they are now receiving growing attention, a trend that has probably been furthered by the large increase in incomes: in fact, material and aesthetic interests are not mutually exlusive, rather they are to a large degree interdependent. Interest in the social and natural sciences has always been strong in America, and here she has great achievements to her credit. Furthermore.

(and this surprises all Americans) furthermore, Americans are strongly religious, and have a very pronounced philanthropic spitit. In allegedly less materialistic countries one often finds a certain indifference towards the lot of other countrymen, but in America one is struck by the great interest people take in the conditions of others. Many persons devote much of their time and energy to charity and to activities aimed at providing some betterment to their community, their country, or humanity as a whole. Large donations are made for schools, research, museums, churches, hospitals, and similar projects, in the country itself and abroad. Not only the rich but also the lower-income groups are never thrifty when it comes to help. Some drives for humanitarian purposes are financed mainly by the small contributions collected from the general population.

I am aware (he continues) that in politics most of what is attributed to idealistic motives has an economic background, yet nevertheless I think that purely moral motivations have influenced government policy in America to a larger extent than abroad.

In short, material welfare is probably more strongly appreciated in America than in other countries, but this in no way implies a greater selfishness. Rather, there are indications that there is generally less selfishness in the United States.

American policy has to a larger extent than abroad been motivated by purely moral considerations. And an Italian newspaper editor, who had studied here in his youth and had returned to Italy, sums up the theme of this whole book when he says quite simply, "The secret of American success is the American moral heritage. They are proud of that heritage, a heritage which we sometimes think unsophisticated or naive and equally sometimes take for granted."

Where do they fault America? What are our failings in their eyes? The answer can be quite simply made. We fail in their eyes when we are unable to abide by our first principles. Domestically we fail when they see evidence in our country of racial discrimination. Nameteen of the twenty essays mentioned Little Rock and all that conjury of ideas which Little Rock implies. The only essay which avoids any mention of this is by an editor from South Africa. They are concerned -- concerned that a nation whose laws are color blind, whose traditions are traditions of equality, whould not have been able to eradicate by this moment in its history all evidence of color barrier. And these writers admit quite freely and openly that at home, in their own nations, there are barriers of class and caste and race, but they say equally that America here must take the lead. We have pioneered a new social experiment. It is up to us to find the ways and the means to integrate our population in terms of housing, in terms of schooling, in terms of hiring, in terms of transportation. The Indian public servant, Mr. A. D. Gerwala, says this quite simply:

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The Negro still remains in many ways a second-class citizen, even in regions where full political rights have long been conceded to him. In other areas his position is worse, though the highest legal pronouncements have consistently gone in his favor over the last few years. In any ordinary country (notice the words) -- in any ordinary country the situation of the Negro vis-a-vis the rest of the population would perhaps be understandable, though of course it could never be justified. But in the oldest democracy in the world, dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, the thought cannot be avoided that after all these years this problem ought to have been solved.

When we are an ordinary nation, then they find fault. They find fault with us politically when our system of government under law breaks down. All twenty of these essays refer to the McCarthy episode, the government by slander to justice, by innuendo and insinuation, to that attempt of a small minority of super-patriots to impose their will, their wish and their whim upon the American polity. And each was amazed that the American democratic tradition was not strong enough immediately to overwhelm these demagogues, to push them out of the path, to say "We will have no truck with you". The Canadian professor of political science, Mr. James , says this quite dimply:

A second cause of anti-American feeling in Canada in recent years has been the malaise of McCarthyism. Great as its effect was in Western Europe, I believe it was even more disturbing in Canada. Most Europeans, prevented by distance and a shortage of foreign exchange from conducting investigations at firsthand, necessarily relied on the image of America that found its way across the Atlantic, often blurred and distorted in transmission. Canadians, however, had in countless ways the opportunity for more intimate assessment. We knew better than most that beneath the frothy vaporings there lay the vast reservoir of American opinion, deep and decent. And when our closer scrutiny disclosed the extent to which the pollution had spread across the great republic, our sense of shock was all the greater for having been born of better knowledge. With mounting dismay we came to fear that America's capacity for leadership was being atrophied by a frightening national paranoia that no institution or individual seemed able or willing to cure. When the movement of which Senator McCarthy was cause or symbol lost its momentum, our relief was as great as our previous concern.

American leadership, a country that is anything but ordinary, these are the measures of judgment against which American action is weighed. And internationally, internationally these men and women find fault according to what one of the correspondents called "America's overwhelming preoccupation with international security". One of them observed that "in the last decade and a half Americans have made the false philosophic equation between anti-Communism and moral righteousness". They have tried to make a saint out of many of the world's most despicable despots and demagogues. Time and again America has soiled her skirts with marriages of convenience with nations, with individuals, with dictators with whom she should not have even been in conversation. This they found to be destructive of faith in American moral leadership. They had looked to an America strong, yes, but avid for peace, avid to forge the bonds of cooperation between nations. And looking about them in this world, these people had found an America avid for what? For international security, military security against Communism, to weld not economic alliances but military alliances, seeking not world cooperation but a division of the world into two great entities warring cold or hot against one another. And these men were here frankly disappointed.

I have tried to give you a sense of the mood of this book, a mood which in my opinion is a good and calculated reflection of world opinion, a mood which Americans ought to take to heart if we would understand why we have not been able to weld true friendship in the world and why our friends so often turn around and laughed and jeered at us when the immediate need for which they entered into

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alliance with us has disappeared.

Now let me preach a very short sermon.

What do these men expect of us? Is it really anything but what we expect ourselves? We have been told from many quarters in American life in the last decade that we are like all other nations, that it is not beneath American dignity to play power politics, that we ought not to worry that we must enter into alliance with individuals whom we would certainly not invite to our dinner tables. We have been told time and time again that we are ordinary people. Our columnists have told us this. Men in our State Department have emphasized it. The military certainly has been full of it. The world rejects it. In our hearts of hearts we reject it too. We are different. We are different because our moral heritage is one which will not permit us to arrange matters of convenience, compromise and accomodation with evil. And we have now watched, you and I, for a decade and a half these accomodations, this military preoccupation, this inability of America to assume the moral leadership of America because we were not willing to pay the price of moral leadership. And assessing it, can we say that it has made us more secure? that it has achieved the very ends for which it was designed? No. Quite the contrary. We have alienated our friends, and those who are now allied to us we know are allies of convenience and not of conviction.

What then remains for us to do? It seems that the way is clear. Domestically, we must move forward to complete the unfinished business of democracy. We must eradicate from the American picture all evidence of discrimination based on color or class or creed. On February 2nd of this year, students from the North Carolina Agriculture and Technical School began a sit-down strike in Greensboro, North Carolina. As you know, these strikes have spread throughout the South. They are the vocal, verbal, visible protest of the young Southern Negro that they will not accept any longer second or third rate citizenship that has been allotted to them. These students who took part in this first sit-down strike wrote a letter which every American ought to read. It was addressed to the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina, and it said quite simply:

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For the past few years, you have strongly advocated the use of the "no trespass law" on the part of business establishments involved in our activities. It is highly evident that you have failed to realize the devastating effect this could have on the state of North Carolina.

It is a known fact that industry tends to shy away from those areas where there is macial unrest.

And here is the heart of the matter:

We would like to make it clear that this mass movement was not begun to bring economic suffering to the state but to bring to the realization of the citizens of North Carolina that the Negroes, who are also citizens of North Carolina, can no longer remain quiet and complacent and continue to accept such gross injustice from those who desire to see no change in old customs and traditions solely for the purpose of personal gain or because of the warped ideas which have been instilled in the minds of many so-called responsible citizens.

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As long as North or South, East or West, the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the migratory worker, the Catholic, the Jew is discriminated against in business, in industry, in housing, in transportation, in convenience, so long is our business incomplete, and so long is our task clear. Only as we succeed in eradicating, in leveling these barriers, only then will we succeed in raising again the estimation of America in the eyes of the world. And politically -- politically the atmosphere of Senator McCarthy has been mitigated but has certainly not disappeared. It is still true that descent is looked askance upon, that there is little free debate in the public arena of crucial national issues. You will recall that just last month our Air Force was found to have issued a manual attacking the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the largest body of liberal Christian denominations as having been infiltered by the Communists. And has the Air Force ever rescinded this statement? It has said simply that it has called in the manual and it has not punished those who wrote it. It has not punished itself for having had the temerity, the audacity to conduct this campaign of vilification. Rather it has said in self justification that of the first one thousand letters received, nine hundred and twenty supported the charges, as though this was any

proof of their truth or any justification for an agency of government to issue slander against any American individual or institution. The atmosphere of political coersion is still with us, and it is a tragedy that the statement of pure Americanism must come from those attacked, as it did in this case, from Dr. Harold Blake, Coadjator Bishop of the Presbyterian Church,

writing simply:

In liberty we have a right to know the truth, to judge the rightness of public policy for ourselves. The critic is not a communist because he is a critic. Descent is not disloyalty. Indeed, it may be the highest form of loyalty.

Until our government evidences this essential American faith in its every activity, so long is the business of democracy incomplete, and so long will the image of America in the eyes of the world be marred.

And what of our international relations? The world has taken heart, in the last year and a half, as our President has spoken in a new term, no longer in the voice of the power-politician, the voice of Brinksmanship, of containment, no longer preoccupied solely with national security, but with the voice which the voice which the world delights to hear, a voice which does not compromise essential needs in American security, but a voice determined to exploit every avenue of economic and political cooperation. And the world has been enheartened. For the world also knows that line of Genesis, "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau." The voice is often a beautiful, an enheartening voice, but the hands are often dirty and grasping and self-seeking. Until America finds the ways of translating into every area of political decision, until our State Department finds the ways of showing, on the level of day to day activity, that it abides and agrees with our President (and I must say that it has not as yet), unless the American political system turns and begins to assert its every energy as our President says it will for the achievement of the objective of peace, so long will the image of America be marred throughout our world.

The world thinks better of us than we do ourselves. It is a tragedy that we

need to be reminded by foreign observers of the uniqueness, of the value, of the correctness, of the truth, of the idealism of our American tradition. We can be grateful for having been reminded, and what will we return to the world in answer? Will it not be a simple answer? "As you expect better of us, so we pledge better of ourselves."

And now the third question I have raised: the relative positions of material and spiritual interests in American society. While formerly the fine arts were much less regarded in the United States than in other countries, it appears that they are now receiving growing attention, a trend that has probably been furthered by the large increase in incomes; in fact, material and aesthetic interests are not mutually exclusive, but are to a large degree interdependent. Interest in the social and natural sciences has always been strong in America, Queriums) and here she has great achievements to her credit. Furthermore, Americans are strongly religious, and have a very pronounced philanthropic spirit. In allegedly less materialistic countries one often finds a certain indifference towards the lot of other countrymen, but in America one is struck by the great interest people take in the conditions of others. Many persons devote much of their time and energy to charity and to activities aimed at providing some betterment to their community, their country, or humanity as a whole. Large donations are made for schools, research, museums, churches, hospitals, and similar projects, in the country itself and abroad. Not only the rich but also the lower-income groups are never thrifty when it comes to help. Some drives for humanitarian purposes are financed mainly by the small contributions collected from the general population. (he continues)

I am aware, that in politics most of what is attributed to idealistic motives has an economic background, and nevertheless I think that purely moral motivations have influenced government policy in America to a larger extent than abroad, as is exemplified by Woodrow Wilson.

In short, material welfare is probably more strongly appreciated in America than in other countries, but this in no way implies also greater selfishness. Rather, there are indications that there is generally less selfishness in the United States.

A second cause of anti-American feeling in Canada in recent years has been the malaise of McCarthyism. Great as its effect was in Western Europe, I believe it was even more disturbing in Canada. Most Europeans, prevented by distance and a shortage of foreign exchange from conducting investigations at firsthand, necessarily relied on the image of America that found its way across the Atlantic, often blurred and distorted in transmission. Canadians, however, had in countless ways the opportunity for more intimate assessment. We knew better than most that beneath the frothy vaporings there lay the vast reservoir of American opinion, deep and decent. And when our closer scrutiny disclosed the extent to which the pollution had spread across the great republic, our sense of shock was all the greater for having been born of better knowledge. With mounting dismay we came to fear that America's capacity for leadership was being atrophied by a frightening national paranoia that no institution or individual seemed able or willing to cure. When the movement of which Senator McCarthy was cause or symbol lost its momentum, our relief was as great as our previous concern. The most widespread outburst of popular indignation against the United States within living memory was caused by the reappearance of these un-American activities in the tragic episode of the Norman affait. 0650

Kaddish

Friday March 4, 1960

Sunday March 6. 1960

Those who passed away this week

HELEN COLBERT

ROSIE WEISKOPF RUTH G. KLAUS JOSEPH H. BENSON CLARA SCHAFFNER DAVID F. BERLAND PHILIP DAVID KENDIS CHARLES H. MANDELKCRN PHILIP LESTER STERN RAY WIEDDER FANNIE LEVINE MAX SCHER

Yahrzeits

ISAAC PREEMAN FRANK I. KLEIN ROSE SCHAFFNER LIEBENTHAL ESTHER MEYER MINNIE FORSCH GREENSTEIN

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 15 (UPI)

Negro students at North Carolina A & T College who originated the sit-down demonstrations in Greensboro drafted an open letter today to State Attorney General Malcolm Seawell. It said in part:

"For the past few days, you have strongly advocated the use of the 'no mutactivities trespass law' on the part of the business establishments involved." It is highly evident that you have failed to realize the vest-devastating effect this could have on the state of North Carolina and other states located here in the South.

"It is a known fact that industry tends to shy away from those areas where there is racial unrest.

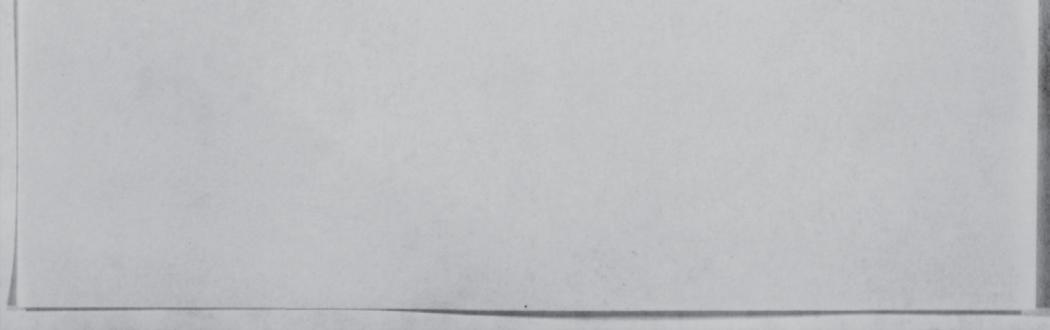
and here is the fast of the matter "We would like to make it clear that this mass movement was not begun to bring economic suffering to the state but to bring to the realization of the citizens of North Carolina that the Negroes, who are also citizens of North Carolina, can no longer remain quiet and complacent and continue to accept such gross injustice from those who desire to see no change in old customs and traditions solely for the purpose of personal gain or because of the warped ideas which have we called been instilled in the minds of many responsible citizens."



Pr 12 medo Bacaro

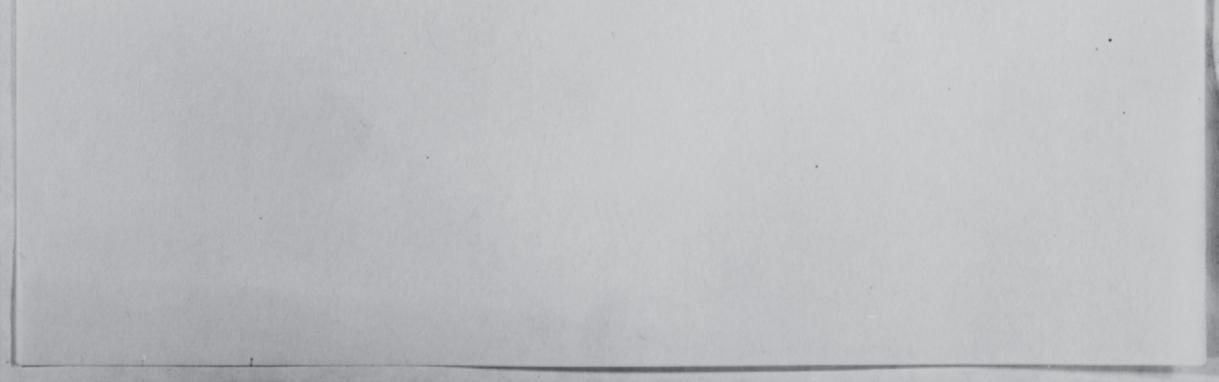
In liberty we have a right to know the truth, to judge the rightness of public policy for ourselves. The critic is not a communist because he is a critic. Decent is not disloyalty. It may be the highest form of loyalty.





The Negro still remains in many ways a second-class citizen, even in the regions where full political rights have long been conceded to him. In other areas his position is worse, though the highest legal pronouncements have consistently (noteethermal) if gone in his favor over the last few years. In any ordinary country, the situation of the Negro vis-á-vis the rest of the population would perhaps be understandable, though of course it could never be justified. But in the oldest democracy in the world, dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, the thought cannot be avoided that after all these years the problem ought to have been solved.





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Mr. mijer recped the enhillend. The years he hand a and munitalisted Herebed lean Ded to syree & latter gyree " - I we what die m. Enerland a og to lean prople on no lust trig wele I moule al ag me some for - kanf that their spectrum men met hopelan - clut me syrected better y oundren "

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