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WHICH WAY, AMERICA?, NEXT TUESDAY ?

A Pre-Election Sermon

October 31, 1952

This is ~~obviously a~~ sermon ^{is presented} ~~preached~~ with the election ~~in~~
^{obviously in mind}
~~mind~~ next Tuesday, and yet I want you all to understand that this
is not a partisan, political appeal. I have attempted to keep my
thinking on as lofty and non-partisan ^a basis as is possible, and
I have attempted to ^{concern} ~~direct~~ myself rather ^{with} ~~to~~ the moral and spiritual
issues which I feel are involved in this election, than ^{with} ~~to~~ the
immediate candidates. Because I have done this, I feel that there
is no impropriety in my using the pulpit as the forum from which
to direct to you these remarks.

I am a stranger to Wisconsin, ^Yet the famous tradition of
this state is not unknown to me, or, for that matter, to any student
of government in America. There was a time when this state led the
nation in much of the social engineering that has so immeasurably
benefited the life of the average citizen. There was a time when
^{one called "The Ideal Commonwealth" by Lincoln Steffens,}
this state actually gave its name to an idea - THE WISCONSIN IDEA -

which we studied in the text-books of political and economic science as an exemplar of progressive government.

You know better than I the full meaning of THE WISCONSIN IDEA. It represented a combination of the best brains in the classroom and in the State House. President Adams of the University said, in 1894, "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless shifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

Governor LaFollette took advantage of this attitude of intellectual freedom and constantly sought the advice of members of the faculty. In his "Autobiography," LaFollette recounted how an informal group of state officials, legislators and faculty members met regularly for lunch every Saturday to discuss the problems of the State. It is curious to reflect that Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted the same technique thirty years later in his "brain trust". Thus, according to Edward Doan, author of "The LaFollettes and the Wisconsin

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Idea", THE WISCONSIN IDEA was the joint effort of the politician and
the professor to serve the common interest of all the people rather
than the special interest of particular groups. This was democratic
"realism in practice.

And it really worked. By the time LaFollette finished his
governorship and went on to the United States Senate in 1905, Wisconsin
had a state civil service law, a corrupt practices act, an anti-lobby
provision, a railroad commission with full power to regulate not only
railroads but other public utilities as well, a forest conservation
program, advanced legislation in the field of social services, a
workman's compensation law, and many other things. This was the full
flowering of the WISCONSIN IDEA - the recognition that democracy must
be brought to life by such acts and measures as would constantly
enhance the welfare of the citizenry. Wisconsin led the nation, quite
literally, and other states, as well as the federal government, looked
here for inspiration.

Was all this possible simply because the University and the

State House worked so well together? Obviously, one other ingredient was required - the cooperation of the voting public. LaFollette used to appeal for support to what he called "the intelligence and moral sensitivity of the people of Wisconsin." He was a very powerful orator and he used to make the rounds on the old Chautauqua circuit explaining what he was trying to accomplish. In all these speeches he would pay his respect to the intelligent electorate as the firm foundation of democracy. This was the theme Thomas Jefferson stressed so often in the early days of our Republic - and this was the fact that contributed so heavily to the success of THE WISCONSIN IDEA - an intelligent and morally sensitive citizenry.

What happened to this same citizenry of this same Wisconsin only seven weeks ago? On September the 9th the people were given the opportunity to exercise intelligence and moral sensitivity with regard to the one man and the one issue now agitating the nation. Wisconsin was again in the position of offering moral leadership to the nation - and Wisconsin failed. The sons upheld not the arms of their fathers, for Joseph McCarthy was renominated to candidacy for

office by an electorate so large as to be frightening.

There was no question of confusion as to the issue. The Milwaukee Journal had done a splendid job of reporting the record of McCarthy as a man, and pointing out the danger of McCarthy as an "ism". An excellent document had been produced by a group in Madison, thoroughly reliable and factual, called "The McCarthy Record". There was no dearth of out-of-state material, national journals and magazines, to illuminate the question. Yet, in the face of all this, he was given an overwhelming vote of confidence by more than one-half million people of this State.

There are only two possible explanations. Either people understand what McCarthyism is and approve of it - or they do not yet understand it and must again be warned. As for the first alternative, I do think there is an element of our citizenry so morally insensitive as deliberately to want to use the tactics of McCarthyism. This mood is reflected in the ^{remark made} ~~story told~~ to me last Sunday by a fine lawyer who quoted his neighbor as saying "We need to have someone who can hit below the belt." This appraisal shows a fine appreciation of the

unique talents of our junior Senator. It is shocking to think that an American, nurtured on the ideals of fair play, would deliberately want to violate that most sacred trust. "Hitting below the belt" is a phrase which has come to mean everything foul, crafty, cheap, unfair. We teach our children to avoid such social behaviour and to boycott persons who employ it. Yet today, there are adults who consciously embrace the best practitioner of the art and applaud him for it.

If I thought the number of persons in this category was legion, I would immediately begin to sound the alarm. For I would interpret such a conscious willingness to shelve ideals as a sign that democracy had truly crumbled and naked, ugly, brute-force fascism was on its way.

I still have enough faith in America to believe that the greatest number of McCarthy supporters are not the deliberate fascist type, but rather those who honestly have not yet come to sense the awful dangers with which this man and his method are so pregnant. Most of those who support his goal - crusading anti-communism - feel that the communist menace is so acute and severe that almost any method

of extirpation is legitimate. Herein, I submit, lies the clue to the salvation of America, both from Communism and from Mc Carthyism. For if people were to be convinced that Communism cannot be defeated by McCarthyism; but only free democracy can be destroyed by McCarthyism; that Communism can be checked and halted in other ways; then I think people would repudiate McCarthyism. I choose to believe that if the clear and present danger is pointed out, the good sense of the American people will ultimately prevail.

McCarthyism is a state of mind, an attitude, a type of thinking based upon the premise that any method employed in the ferreting-out of Communists is legitimate. It makes no difference whether half-truths or half-lies are spewed forth. Exaggeration, irresponsible accusation, sly implication, guilt by association, unfounded charges, quoting out of context, are the techniques of this method called McCarthyism. I really believe that these un-American devices will eat away at the vitals of our free democracy as quickly as even the conspiratorial communism they are intended to eradicate.

Let me say that there may have been a certain softness in the past in recognizing the true nature of the conspiracy of Communism, which could actually persuade men to be traitors. But this softness and this failure to recognize ^{its} the true character ^{well} ~~was~~ a result of the circumstances of the times. In the world-wide depression of the nineteen-thirties, many intellectuals felt that the Communist promise of equalitarianism was the only honest answer to the hunger and misery inflicted by the break-down of capitalism. In the world-wide war of the nine-teen forties, many staunch ^{patriots} ~~patriarchs~~ prayed for Russia's strength, for the Eastern front was the other half of the vise in which we ground Hitler to defeat. Even General Eisenhower gave his word of testimony to the American-Soviet Friendship Committee, whose war-time purpose was to build good relations between allies. In these tense atom-years of the nineteen-fifties, when some men are apparently willing to betray themselves and their countries, no softness is *any longer* possible or even permissible.

✓ Conspiratorial Communism must be eradicated and members of the

conspiracy must be exposed. But this must be done in accordance with due process of law. Vague accusation cannot take the place of legal indictment. Slander of character cannot substitute for factual evidence. Guilt by smear cannot replace our honored premise of innocence until proven guilty. These are the techniques, I repeat, which will more quickly destroy the precious rights and freedoms of democracy than they will uncover a few Communist traitors here and there.

I will tell you frankly that I am afraid of McCarthyism because I see in it the storm-trooper mentality. What manner of man is this who says that if he were put aboard Governor Stevenson's campaign train with a slippery elm club he might "be able to make a good American out of him"? Do we teach Americanism with a club? Is there any difference between pounding sense with a club and plucking out toe nails or branding with hot irons or any of the other terroristic methods of the Nazis? What madness is abroad in the land that a man should seek to save America by handing her over to bestiality? The minute anyone starts pounding anyone else with a club

we have surrendered democracy to dictatorship. ^{And} If we ever slide into that pit of hell, we shall make the Hitler or Stalin dictatorships look infantile. For with our genius in efficiency and machinery, police control, thought control, state control of an American dictatorship would be a thousand-fold more efficient than any of its European predecessors. Senator Lehman, one of the calmest and most respected elder statesmen of our country, describes McCarthyites as being "pseudo anti-communists for whom totalitarianism holds no horrors."

For me, totalitarianism is the ultimate horror. *No one will teach me my Americanism with a club.*

I'm afraid of McCarthyism, secondly, because I see it taking on all of the tricks of the demagogues, who seek to sway the emotions of men and to reduce the critical use of mind and brain. In the much-heralded speech last Monday whose intent was to expose Stevenson's unworthiness and red associations, McCarthy attacked on the front of patriotism. He waved the flag, figuratively speaking, by waving the letter-head of a world citizen's organization, whose purpose apparently was to promote world government. After indicating that Stevenson was on the central committee of the organization, he asked "now why is this

significant? Simply because you are asked to elect a Presidential candidate who proposed to fly the flag of a super world-government above the Stars and Stripes".

My mind's eye flashed back to a scene in the Denver Auditorium several years ago, when ^{General} Joel L. K. Smith, then at the height of his popularity, was holding several thousand people spell-bound with similar demagoguery. Smith simply went one step further than McCarthy did. Whipping an American flag from his pocket, he rhapsodized and eulogized over the purity of the white and the blood of the red. Then with a snarl he thrust forth a United Nations flag and brought his audience ~~with~~ into foaming rage at the mere suggestion that any banner should ever wave above the Old Glory. Smith's purpose in this display was not to love America more but to destroy the United Nations.

I do not say this is McCarthy's intent, nor is it relevant for the moment what one's personal opinion is on the subject of ~~the~~ ^a world government under world-law. The point I make and that which gives me fear, is that ~~the temptation to~~ ⁱⁿ adopt the method of the demagogue will lead to the actual playing of that role. Wave the flag wildly,

~~whip~~ ^{sh} the crowd into a frenzy, ^{of the Apocalypse,} find yourself a scapegoat, establish a cause
~~cause~~ - and before these four horsemen, ~~the single brain, the balanced~~
~~mind is bound to fall.~~ ^{reason will be the victim;}
^{the mind will fall before the whip.}

And I'm afraid of McCarthyism lastly, because I sense that it has captured a large segment of the Republican Party. There was a certain nervousness on the Eisenhower train last Monday, ^Tthere was a desire to disassociate from the right wing elements sponsoring the McCarthy speech that night. General Wood, of ~~the~~ America First fame, was the Chairman of the meeting in Chicago. Eisenhower, in whistle-stop speeches across Pennsylvania that day, promised that the innocent would not be hurt in the drive to get rid of subversives. I'm sure Eisenhower believes this. I'm sure there is no tendency on his part to compromise with democracy. But I am equally sure that he has made a compromise with a man whose concern for the essentials of democratic conduct is so far below the General's, that the association of the two men produced the first great shock of doubt about Eisenhower's much-vaunted independence.

And not only is it Eisenhower, but the Republican Party in many states of this Union, has felt it advantageous to invite McCarthy to speak on behalf of local or national candidates. Far from shunning ^{him} ~~McCarthy~~ as a pariah, he has been solicited and invited and welcomed as an asset in these several campaigns. As a matter of fact, since his renomination in Wisconsin on September 9th, he has not made a single speech within this state, until just last night, but has been campaigning indefatigably in many states from one end of the nation to the other. This is serious, for it means that the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln is being replaced by a Republican Party of Joseph McCarthy. It has been said by the columnist Marquis Childs that McCarthy wants to be President. If that is true, he would seem to be fashioning an instrument in 1952 for his further use in 1956.

The electorate of Wisconsin was once morally sensitive and supported a program of legislation which filled the needs not only

of this state but eventually of the entire nation. I ask that ^{If we were once called "The Ideal Commonwealth"} ~~Wisconsin~~ ^{we become so again.}

I ask that Wisconsin once again lead America in quelling the voice of hysteria and establishing

the voice of reason. I ask that Wisconsin once again try to understand what America needs and offer leadership in the struggle toward those needs. ~~I would submit to you my needs. I would submit to you~~

~~America's needs as I see them - America's needs as we should try to satisfy them.~~

America needs calmness and sobriety with which to work out her delicate problems as prime world power. She does not need the shrill voice of the demagogue.

America needs to speak in accents of clear truth as she carries her message to other peoples in this present world competition for the souls of men and nations. She cannot afford the luxury of permitting the voice of smear at home to becloud the voice of truth she is attempting to send abroad.

America needs a most disciplined sense of responsibility as she seeks to broaden her democracy at home. She cannot submit to irresponsibility which will weaken her moral fiber. The undocumented, capricious, untrue accusation cannot be permitted.

America needs to protect her patriots and uncover her traitors. She cannot do either if the normal processes of investigation, careful search, conscientious sifting of evidence, are beclouded by the loud rantings of self-appointed crusaders.

America needs constantly and ever more quickly to find the highest level of mature and sober statesmanship. She cannot achieve this if even one of her Senators is a man of doubtful character, bent on sensationalism, guilty of reckless conduct. *This is not statesmanship.*

America needs more than anything else to regain the free enterprise of mind and spirit which have enabled her so brilliantly to provide nourishment for the free soul of man. She can ill afford to let this greatest asset wither under an attack which strikes fear into the heart, causes retreat of the college professor and civil servant, public speaker and common laborer. When men become afraid to speak, when untrammelled expression is inhibited by the fear of ~~individuals within themselves~~ of reprisals or attack, then it is only a short path to the barren and sterile field of stony silence.

if men continue to be afraid to talk, for fear of being labelled This or That,
America ~~would~~ ^{will} die in the silence of her great cities and far-flung
plains. Only the voice of McCarthy ~~would~~ ^{will} then be heard in the land.
And freedom ~~would~~ ^{will} be dead.

I cannot tell you, nor do I presume to, what you should do with
your precious right of ballot. I can only say that in loving America
you must love her in terms of her future and potential capacity for
good, as much as for her present form. You must also love her for that
which went into the making of her greatness. You must think of the
Bible with its passion for justice; the Hebrew traditions of equality
and righteousness which the Pilgrims brought here; the ^{words} ~~songs~~ of Thomas
Paine and Thomas Jefferson, Roger Williams and Benjamin Franklin.

These are the spiritual fathers of democracy as we understand it. ~~I~~
~~repeat that I cannot tell you how to vote.~~ I can only say that I would
~~hate~~ to see these men, these sources of ideals, and one hundred seventy-
five years of fumbling but steady growth in this land toward greater
freedom for all, betrayed by one man who should, ~~in my judgment, not be~~

~~returned to office next Tuesday.~~ ^{in my judgment} ~~Who is a demagogue.~~ ^{Further} ~~and I would~~

~~hope to see Eisenhower dismiss him before next Tuesday, so that~~
~~McCarthy will stand in the splendid isolation we usually provide for~~
~~the dangerously infected.~~ (over)

~~This is the~~

These Rings are said in
the House of God - I ~~am~~ ^{hope}
~~and~~ they are said in the
spirit of God.



WHICH WAY AMERICA, NEXT TUESDAY?

A Pre-Election Sermon

October 31, 1952

This sermon is presented with the election next Tuesday obviously in mind, and yet I want you all to understand that in my thinking this is not a partisan, political appeal. I have attempted to keep my thinking on as lofty and non-partisan a basis as possible, and I have attempted to concern myself rather with the moral and spiritual issues than with the immediate candidates. Because I have done this, I feel that there is no impropriety in my using the pulpit as a forum from which to direct to you these remarks.

I am a stranger to Wisconsin. Yet the famous tradition of this state is not unknown to me, or, for that matter, to any student of government in America. There was a time when this state led the nation in much of the social engineering that has so immeasurably benefited the life of the average citizen in America. There was a time when this state, once called by Lincoln Steffens, "the ideal commonwealth" actually gave its name to an idea - THE WISCONSIN IDEA - which we studied in the text books of political science as an exemplar of progressive government.

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the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found." These are glorious words.

Governor LaFollette, as you know, took advantage of this attitude of intellectual freedom and constantly sought the advice of members of the faculty. In his "Autobiography", LaFollette recounted how an informal group of state officials, legislators and faculty members met regularly for lunch every Saturday to discuss the affairs of the State. It is curious to reflect that Franklin D. Roosevelt, 30 years later, adopted the same technique in his "brain trust". Thus, THE WISCONSIN IDEA was the "joint effort of the politician and the professor to serve the common interest of all the people rather than the special interest of particular groups. This was democratic realism in practice."

And it really worked in this state. By the time LaFollette finished his governorship and went on to the United States Senate in 1905, if you please, Wisconsin had a state civil service law, a corrupt practices act, an anti-lobby provision, a railroad commission with full power to regulate not only railroads but other public utilities as well, a forest conservation program, advanced legislation in the field of social services, a workman's compensation law and many, many other things. This was the full flowering of the brilliant WISCONSIN IDEA - the recognition that democracy must be brought to life by such acts and measures as would constantly enhance the welfare of the citizenry. Wisconsin led the nation, quite literally, and other states, as well as the federal government,

came here in those days to look and be inspired.

Was all this possible simply because the University and the State House worked so well together? Obviously, one other ingredient was required and that was the cooperation and understanding of the voting public. LaFollette used to appeal for support to what he called "the intelligence and moral sensitivity of the people of Wisconsin". He was a very powerful orator, as you know, and he used to make the rounds on the old Chautauqua circuit explaining what he was trying to accomplish. In all these speeches he would pay his respect to the intelligent electorate as the firm foundation of democracy. This was the theme Thomas Jefferson stressed so often in the early days of the Republic.- and this was the fact that contributed so heavily to the success of THE WISCONSIN IDEA - the intelligent and morally sensitive citizenry.

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If I thought that the number of persons in this category was legion, believe me, I would immediately begin to sound the alarm. For I would interpret such a conscious willingness to shelve ideals as a sign that democracy is crumbled and naked, ugly, brute-force fascism was on its way.

I still have enough faith in America to believe that the greatest number of McCarthy supporters are not the deliberate fascist type, but rather those who honestly have not yet come to sense the awful dangers with which this man and his method are so pregnant. Most of those who support McCarthy's goal - crusading anti-communism - feel that the communist menace is so acute and so severe that almost any method of extirpation is legitimate. And, herein, I submit lies the clue to the salvation of America, both from Communism and from McCarthyism. For if the people can only be convinced that Communism cannot be defeated by McCarthyism; but only free democracy can be destroyed by McCarthyism; and Communism can be checked and halted in other ways; then I think people would repudiate McCarthyism. I choose to believe that if the clear and present danger is pointed out, the good sense of the American people will ultimately prevail.

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Let me say that there may have been a certain softness in the past in recognizing the true nature of the conspiracy of

Communism, which could actually persuade men to be traitors. But this softness and the failure to recognize its true character were a result of the circumstances of the times. In the world-wide depression of the nineteen-thirties, many intellectuals felt that the Communist promise of equalitarianism was the only honest answer to the hunger and misery inflicted by the break-down of capitalism. In the world-wide war of the nineteen-forties, many staunch patriots prayed for Russia's strength, for the Eastern front was the other half of the vise in which we ground Hitler to defeat. Even General Eisenhower gave his word of testimony to the American-Soviet Friendship Committee, whose war-time purpose was to build good relations between war-time allies. In these tense atom-years of the nineteen-fifties, when some men are apparently willing to betray themselves and their countries, no softness is any longer possible or even permissible.

Conspiratorial Communism must be eradicated and members of the conspiracy must be exposed. But, by God, this must be done in accordance with due process of law. Vague accusation cannot take the place of legal indictments. Slander of character cannot substitute for factual evidence. Guilt by smear cannot replace our honored premise of innocence until proven guilty. These are the techniques, I repeat, which will more quickly destroy the precious rights and freedoms of democracy than they will ever uncover a Communist here and there.

I will tell you frankly that I am afraid of McCarthyism because I see in it the storm-trooper mentality. What manner of

man is this who says that if he were put aboard Governor Stevenson's campaign train with a slippery elm club he might "be able to make a good American out of him"? Do we teach Americanism with a club? Is there any difference between pounding sense with a club and plucking out toe nails or branding with hot irons or any of the other terroristic methods of the Nazis? What madness is abroad in the land that a man should seek to save America by handing her over to bestiality? The minute anyone starts pounding anyone else with a club we have surrendered democracy to dictatorship. And if we ever slide into that pit of hell, we will make the Hitler or Stalin dictatorships look infantile. Because with our genius in efficiency and machinery, our kind of police control, thought control, state control of an American dictatorship would be a thousand-fold more efficient than any of its European predecessors, and don't you forget it. Senator Lehman, one of the calmest and most respected elder statesmen of our country, describes McCarthyites as being "pseudo anti-communists for whom totalitarianism holds no horrors." For me, totalitarianism is the ultimate horror. No one is going to teach me Americanism with a club.

I'm afraid of McCarthyism, secondly, because I see it taking on all of the tricks of the demagogues, who seek to sway the emotions of men and to reduce the critical use of mind and brain. In the much heralded speech last Monday whose intent was to expose Stevenson's unworthiness and red associations, McCarthy attacked again on the front of patriotism. He waved the flag, figuratively speaking, by waving the letter-head of a world citizen's organization, whose purpose

apparently was to promote world government. After indicating that Stevenson was on the central committee of that organization, he asked, "now why is this significant? Simply because you are asked to elect a Presidential candidate who proposed to fly the flag of a super world-government above the Stars and Stripes."

As I read those words, my mind's eye flashed back to a scene in the Denver Auditorium several years ago, when Gerald L. K. Smith, then at the height of his popularity, was holding several thousand people spell-bound with similar demagoguery. Smith simply went one step further than McCarthy, who is pale by comparison - waving only a letterhead. Whipping an American flag from his pocket, he rhapsodized and eulogized over the purity of the white and the blood of the red. Then with a snarl he thrust forth a United Nations flag and brought his audience into foaming rage at the mere suggestion that any mongrel U.N. banner should ever wave above the Old Glory. Smith's purpose in this display was not to love America more, but to destroy the United Nations.

I do not say this is McCarthy's intent, nor is it relevant for the moment what one's personal opinion is on the subject of a world-government under world-law. The point I make and that which gives me fear, is that adopting the method of the demagogue will lead to the actual playing of that role. Wave the flag wildly, stir the crowd into a frenzy, establish a cause, find yourself a scapegoat - and before these four horsemen of the Apocalypse, reason will be the victim; the mind will fall before the whip.

And I'm afraid of McCarthyism lastly, because I sense that it has captured a large segment of the Republican Party. There was a certain nervousness on the Eisenhower train last Monday. There was a desire, I think quite genuine, to disassociate from the right wing elements sponsoring the McCarthy speech last Monday night. General Wood, of America First fame, was the chairman of the meeting in Chicago. Eisenhower, in whistle-stop speeches across Pennsylvania all during that day, promised that the innocent would not be hurt in the drive to get rid of subversives. I'm sure Eisenhower believes it. I'm sure there is no tendency on his part to compromise with democracy. But I am equally sure that he has made a compromise with a man whose concern for the essentials of democratic conduct is so far below the General's, that the association of the two men produced the first great shock of doubt about Eisenhower's much-vaunted independence.

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Childs that McCarthy wants to be President. If that is true, he would seem to be fashioning an instrument in 1952 for his further use in 1956.

The electorate of Wisconsin was once morally sensitive and supported a program of legislation which filled the needs, not only of this state, but eventually of the entire nation. If we were once called the ideal commonwealth, I ask that we become so again. I ask that we once again lead America in quelling the voice of hysteria and establishing the voice of reason. I ask that Wisconsin once again try to understand what America needs and offer leadership in the struggle toward those needs.

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America needs more than anything else to regain the free enterprise of mind and spirit which have enabled her so brilliantly to provide nourishment for the free soul of man. She can ill afford to let this greatest asset wither under an attack which strikes fear into the heart, causes retreat of the college professor and civil servant, public speaker and common laborer. When men become afraid to talk, when untrammelled expression is inhibited by the fear of reprisals or attack, then it is only a short path to the barren and sterile field of stony silence. If men continue to be afraid to talk, for fear of being labeled this or that, I am sure America will die in the silence of her great cities and far flung plains. America will die and only the voice of McCarthy will then be heard in the land. And freedom will be dead.

I cannot tell you, nor do I presume to, what you should do with your precious right of ballot. I can only say that in loving America, you must love her in terms of her future and potential

capacity for good as much as for her present form. You must also love her for that which went into the making of her greatness. You must think of the Bible with its passion for justice; the Hebrew tradition of equality and righteousness which the Pilgrims brought here; the words of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, Roger Williams and Benjamin Franklin. These are the spiritual fathers of democracy as we understand it. I can only say that I would hate to see these men, these sources of ideals, and one hundred seventy-five years of fumbling but steady growth in this land toward greater freedom for all, betrayed by one man who is, in my judgment, a demagogue. Further, I would hope to see Eisenhower disown him before next Tuesday, so that McCarthy will stand in the isolation we usually provide for the very seriously and dangerously infected.

Amen

These things are said in the House of God. I hope they are said in the spirit of God.

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THE COMMUNIST THREAT TO AMERICA

by
The Honorable Martin Dies
Former Member of Congress from Texas
Southern Gas Assn., Inc.
Convention, Galveston, Texas
March 24, 25, 26, 1948

Democracy and Christian civilization are more gravely menaced throughout the world today than ever before in history. At long last, many of our people realize that fact. Unfortunately, however, they realize it imperfectly and incompletely, and there are still millions of people in the United States who have no conception of the methods, tactics, and purposes of communism. All of us, however, must have some understanding of what has happened in the world about us.

It has been a short time since World War II was over. At least we thought it was concluded. You recall that when we asked our boys to serve in our armed forces that the President of the United States and other leaders assured them that this was a war to end all wars. We were told that if and when we defeated Adolph Hitler, we would establish a just and lasting peace.

Now, today, the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin is a greater menace to our security and to our freedom than ever was the dictatorship of Adolph Hitler. Hitler occupied a country with 70 millions of people, limited in natural resources. Joseph Stalin has a country with a territory larger than the United States and Canada, with more natural resources than any country on earth, and 200 million people. He has succeeded, without firing a gun; acquiring 650 thousand square miles and 110 million subject people. Now, how did that happen? Certainly there ought to be some people in America that are deeply interested in finding out what happened, because never in the history of the world has one country made such tremendous strides toward world domination as the Soviet Union.

Only a few years ago, Russia was looked upon as a third-rate power. Today, all of us must concede that Russia is the most powerful country on earth. Now, how did that happen? I propose to answer that question. And in answering it, I am going to tell you some of the intimate details of conversations and conferences between me and President Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Madam Perkins, Eleanor Roosevelt, John L. Lewis, and others.

It all began in 1938. I was a member of the Immigration Committee and also a member of the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives. I became intensely interested in communist infiltration of labor unions, and in government service. I decided the time was appropriate to investigate and expose communists' activities in the United States. So I introduced a resolution and the Committee on Rules approved it and the House of Representatives, on May 26, 1938, established the Committee.

Immediately after the Committee was established, I encountered strenuous opposition. When I went to the Committee on Accounts to secure an appropriation to finance the work of the Committee, I found that the Democratic members were hostile to every suggestion that I made. They finally, upon instructions from the White House, reduced the requested budget from 100 thousand dollars to 25 thousand dollars. I began the work with the paltry sum of 25 thousand dollars.

I recall that my uncle, Jack Dies, who was then with the Humble Oil and Refining Company, and is now dead, came to Washington and I discussed it with him. He said, "Martin, you know I hate to advise you to abandon this project, but I have seen enough to know that you are now preparing to antagonize powerful forces in this country and that you will be harassed as few men have been harassed in this country."

Well, I had started it and I cannot back up. I telephoned the Attorney General of the United States and said, "Mr. Attorney General, I want to secure the services of some competent and reliable investigators to assist me in this work." He sent me two men. I received a telephone call, however, an anonymous call, shortly before their arrival, telling me both men were members of the Communist Party. I never knew who gave me that valuable information, but I acted upon it.

When they arrived, I began to question them. I put them through the third degree, in the presence of the entire Committee, and finally they broke down and admitted that they were members of the Communist Party who worked for the Department of Justice and the Attorney General wanted to plant them on the Committee which I headed.

Immediately I knew what was in store for me. When a responsible cabinet officer was willing to plant two eagles of Moscow on my Committee to sabotage it, I knew that the Administration was under the control of Moscow propaganda.

Then I began to accumulate evidence before opening public hearings, and I got a lot of evidence about the infiltration of the C.I.O. by communist leadership. I was able to trace a number of communists who went to Leningrad, at the expense of the Moscow government, and received special instructions in labor agitation and returned to the United States. When John L. Lewis broke from the American Federation of Labor, he turned to these well trained communist agitators to form the rank and file of his organizers throughout the industrial field. I got their names and the evidence, which was clear and convincing, showing that some 50 thousand of them had joined the labor unions to seize strategic positions in the union. They controlled 21 of the international unions affiliated with the C.I.O. Eighteen members of the Executive Board of the C.I.O., the governing board, the most powerful organization within the C.I.O., were members of the Communist Party.

Unions such as the Seamen's Union and the Maritime Union, which control the American shipping, unions that vitally affect our whole economy and security were under the control of men and women who had been trained and educated in Leningrad for the express purpose of returning to the United States, obtaining positions of importance, so that they could promote the ideology and revolutionary program of Joseph Stalin.

When I got that information, I telephoned John L. Lewis and told him I wanted to talk with him. I went to his office the following day at ten o'clock. I walked in and Lee Pressman stood to his right with some of the lieutenants of John L. Lewis in attendance. I knew that Pressman personally was a member of the Communist Party. He was the Chief Attorney for John L. Lewis. I said, "Mr. Lewis, I have received considerable information from reliable sources that many communists have entered your union. They are shop stewards, presidents of local unions, organizers, and so forth. It is our duty to investigate and expose them. I have come to you to find out if you, as an American citizen and labor leader, will be willing to cooperate with the Committee without publicity to the end that these agents and stooges of a foreign dictator can be expelled from their positions of leadership."

Mr. Lewis became very angry. His face was flushed. He struck the desk with his fist and said to me, "Mr. Congressman, the C.I.O. does not need you to tell us how to run it. Yes, we have communists in the C.I.O. We have Baptists, we have Methodists, and we have Democrats and Republicans, but we don't need a Committee of Congress to tell us who we are to hire and fire."

I said to Mr. Lewis and his lieutenants, "Mr. Lewis, you have evidently overlooked the vast distinction between ordinary members of political groups and communist eagles of a foreign power. All of the evidence, without exception, shows that communists are disciplined to be servants of Moscow. They have no independence; they sacrifice their citizenship when they become members of the Communist Party, and surely you will not compel us to openly and publicly expose these people when you could get rid of them. We have their names and you can get them out."

Well, the conversation grew hot and furious, and finally Mr. Lewis invited me to leave his office, which I cheerfully did. I announced through the press that I intended next morning to open hearings and give the American people the truth.

I received a telephone call from President Roosevelt who asked me to come to the White House at ten o'clock the next morning. I went to the White House. Senator Sheppard was there. Evidently the President thought Senator Sheppard might influence me. The President then began in his magnificent way to undertake to persuade me to abandon my resolution to expose communism in

the C.I.O. He said to me, "You know, Martin, I have been watching you for a long time. You have a promising future. You are an able speaker and a young man and I want vigorous, able, young men in the New Deal, and you can go a long way working with me." He continued, "You have got to be loyal to me. I can't work with men that I can't depend upon. You can't go through with this investigation." And I said, "Why can't I go through with it, Mr. President?" Of course, I was somewhat weakened, to tell the truth. It sounded awfully good to me, what he was telling me, and being human, I am not going to represent myself as any hero because I wasn't. I was just plain scared.

He said, "Well, if you expose the communists in the C.I.O., the C.I.O. will turn against the Democratic Party. If we lose the C.I.O. support in the eastern states, we cannot win." Well, I said, "Mr. President, do you mean to imply that the communists have so completely taken over the C.I.O. that exposure of them will result in antagonism to the Democratic Party?" He said, "Yes."

Well, one thing led to another, and finally the President became somewhat impatient and angry with me, and he turned to Senator Sheppard and said, "Senator, what are we going to do with Martin?" Senator Sheppard was a very genial, pleasant man and a good friend of mine. He said, "I don't know. I knew his dad, and when one of these Dies makes up his mind to do something, he usually does it. I am afraid you are going to have trouble in persuading him not to do it."

Well, the interview lasted about 45 or 50 minutes, and finally, I looked at the watch and said, "Mr. President, I have to go because the Committee meets and I have to be there to open."

And I began the hearing, exposing the C.I.O., and showing very clearly that a majority of the unions were dominated and controlled by Moscow. Then began the fight.

I recall for instance, that a man by the name of General Sevinsky, a very able young man who had served with Stalin for a long time, had become disgusted with the brutality of the communist practice and had fled to the United States. I discovered his whereabouts and went to see him. He told me an amazing story of what Stalin had told him a long time ago, about the plan to infiltrate the Balkan states, to build secret armies in every country, to spend millions of dollars for propaganda purposes. He told me the ultimate goal of Stalin was the conquest of Europe and then the conquest of the Americas.

I said to him, "Why don't you come to Washington and testify?" The American people ought to have that information." He said, "Mr. Congressman, if I were to come to Washington and testify and if they discovered my identity, the OGPU which is now the NYVD, the secret army of the Politico Bureau, would assassinate me in two days."

I said, "Surely they are not that powerful in the United States." I was very skeptical about it. He said, "Mr. Congressman, I was chief of the Western Division of the Soviet Intelligence and I know that there isn't a country, there isn't an industry, there isn't a town of industrial importance that members of the OGPU are not there listening, getting and using information and transmitting it to the Soviet Union. They have their agents in the Embassies - even the ambassadors do not know the members of the OGPU."

At any rate, I talked to him at some length and finally, upon the promise that I would protect him and conceal his identity, he agreed to testify.

I called up the Secret Service and I said, "I am undertaking a rather perilous thing. This man is fearful of his life." I undertook to get a commitment from the government that they would help me protect him, but the government didn't want him to testify. He did testify. His name was not given then to the press. Within two weeks after his startling revelations, which predicted almost one hundred percent accurately the progress the Kremlin has made within the last two years, within two weeks after his testimony, he was found shot in his hotel room in Washington, D.C., and not one arm was raised by the Federal Government to discover and apprehend the man or men responsible for his death.

Another former agent of the Soviet Union, in New York, was persuaded to testify. Shortly after his testimony, he was found dead. They said it was a heart attack. I demanded another examination and discovered that he had been shot with a fine steel bullet through the eye which had entered his brain and brought about his death.

Still another man who testified before our Committee in Chicago was mysteriously run down by a hit-and-run driver.

I say these things because my purpose is to show you upon this occasion what happened in the United States and which resulted in the sacrifice of the fruits of victory won by our boys on the battlefields. I am at a loss to understand why men in public affairs are not now clamoring for publication of the secret agreements made with Joseph Stalin by our government. I have been amazed that people have received with such indifference and unconcern the startling revelation that all of the men who fought and died in vain because they were betrayed. And I shall show you here and now how they were betrayed.

They were betrayed because the Soviet Union built up in this country the greatest propaganda machine the world has ever seen. They spent millions of dollars to entertain congressmen and senators and cabinet officers. The brother-in-law of Molotov, operating a chain of filling stations in New Jersey, was investigated by our Committee. We trailed him for a long time. We discovered he visited a certain banker in New York and that after each visit to that bank, he was able to bribe some official. Finally, we met him there one day when he opened a safety deposit box and we discovered 250 thousand dollars in thousand-dollar and hundred-dollar bills in his box. We brought him before the Committee. He admitted that his brother-in-law, Molotov, had given him a credit of 200 million dollars to be spent in the United States, in order to obtain information about the construction of battleships. The government of the United States never raised a finger against him although he admitted that five national committeemen of the Democratic Party had been paid cash by him. That was a matter of record, and they did not deny it or contest it, but said it represented legal fees.

Think of it! Think of the stupidity and indifference of a country when a foreign power can spend American money to bribe our own officials. The facts are admitted, and no one has any interest in it.

Yes, they spent money and they spent it lavishly in the United States. The Soviet Embassy in Washington operated on a 24-hour schedule, and they were able to dupe, to completely dupe such nitwits as Henry Wallace and Claud Pepper.

I shall not give you anything which is the result of surmise or opinion, but information that I know to be correct. I had agents watching the Soviet Embassy day in and day out, and I noted the presence of so-called liberal New Dealers who were present there day in and day out, completely duped by Stalin and his machine. Yes, you know how it is - the caviar and champagne that flowed in the Soviet embassy had a profound effect on some of our budding statesmen.

You know the average congressman in the United States comes from little old towns. I have known them and I have served with them for fourteen years, and I have seen the typical congressmen, Joe Doe - Joe lives in a town with a filling station and a drug store and he and his wife lived a rather monotonous existence until finally he was successful in being elected to congress. He goes up there and is soon surrounded by the flattery and the propaganda machines that were working, working inside the government day in and day out to influence America. Well, you know, Joe gets to thinking about it and he don't like the idea of going back home. Who wants to go back home anyway to corn whiskey and chitlings when he can drink champagne and eat caviar. They worked on them in the most insidious way I have ever known.

Whenever Henry Wallace spoke in Madison Square Garden, the communists packed it. When I spoke in Madison Square Garden, they booed and jeered and it required almost the entire police force of New York to maintain order. The communists work at their business of revolutionizing the world, of spreading their ideology while we sit idly by.

Our Committee struggled on. Then we began to investigate the reporters who reported our proceedings, because they wrote so many false stories and sent them out on the wire, to the AP, the UP, the INS, that it became necessary that we investigate the very men charged with the responsibility of reporting the proceedings. You know what we discovered? The New York Chapter of the Newspaper Guild was completely communist controlled. Our Committee was assigned communist reporters, and, of course, they garbled the accounts to make the Committee appear ridiculous and to discredit and undermine it, because they were working hand and foot with the Administration in power.

Yes, we continued, continued giving the American people the truth. Finally, we discovered that some 25 hundred communists, agents and stooges and servants and minions of a foreign dictator, were on the government pay roll, occupying in many instances key positions in the State Department, in the Justice Department, and in the Interior Department. So, I wrote to President Roosevelt and told him I wanted to see him about it, and he said, "All right."

I went down to the White House. I said, "Mr. President, we have got to do something about this. Here is a list of these people. We have raided the organization and we have their membership records. There can't be any doubt about it. If you understand the communists as I understand them, you will know they are in the government for one purpose and one purpose alone, and that is to steal the important governmental secrets to transmit them to Moscow."

The President was furious. I was amazed at his anger. He said to me - he got to calling me Mr. Congressman - he had called me Martin before - he said, "Mr. Congressman, you must see a bugaboo under every bed." I said, "No, I never look under the bed, Mr. President." "Well," he said, "I have never seen a man that had such ideas about this thing. There is nothing wrong with the communists, some of the best friends I have got are communists." Mind you, that is a truthful account. He made that statement.

I made that statement before the House soon after President Roosevelt made it and he did not deny it. Everything I tell you, I told to the Congress, and no one to this day has ever denied any statement I ever made, and no one has sued me for libel, though I published a book in 1940 and revealed the activities of leading government agencies in behalf of Joseph Stalin.

Well, the President refused to discharge the communists and finally I went before the House and induced Congress to withhold appropriations to pay their salaries. The Executive Department then defied Congress and refused still to fire them. They were kept on the government pay. Yes, they were on the government pay roll when we were working on the secret of the atomic bomb. And still there are people in America so dumb as to believe Stalin doesn't have the secret of the atomic bomb. How could he have kept from getting it with men in every Department of the government, influential men who wouldn't hesitate a moment to give that information to Stalin. They got it in Canada, didn't they, and Canada wasn't one-twentieth as well organized by communists as the United States. We were taken in, lock, stock and barrel, by communist propaganda. You may not realize it, but in the White House itself, one of the secretaries of the President was a communist.

There was a little fellow by the name of Joseph Lash who was head of the American Youth Congress. Joseph Lash had been very active in communism and we exposed him. One day I got a telephone call from Mrs. Roosevelt asking me to have dinner with her. Well, I knew something was up and I had heard that Mrs. Roosevelt was undertaking to persuade the Naval Intelligence to give an appointment to Joseph Lash. He had never been inducted into the armed services. Well, I went to the White House and there seated in the ante-room, were six or eight well known communist youth leaders waiting for Mrs. Roosevelt. They sat at the table and ate with me and Mrs. Roosevelt.

At the table, she said to me, "Mr. Congressman, I presume you know why I asked you to eat dinner with me." I said, "Well, I have got sort of an idea about it. Is it about Joseph Lash?" And she said, "Yes." I said, "Mrs. Roosevelt, here is the record of Joseph Lash. I have brought it with me. He perjured himself before our Committee." She said, "Yes, he told me he did, but he is very sorry." "Well," I said, "did he tell you he was a member of the communist party?" She said, "Yes, he was just an idealistic, venturesome youth and he hastily embraced communism, but now he wants to repent." I said, "Mrs. Roosevelt, how do you know he has repented? How can you afford to ask to put him in the Naval Intelligence?"

Well, we sat around there and discussed it pro and con, and I went back to the office and ordered the Committee to meet and brought Joseph Lash and some of the New Dealers who appeared as his counsel before it, and there asked him if he had not perjured himself before a former meeting of the Committee, and he admitted he had. Then I asked him why he wasn't in the army and he was unable to give any explanation. We called up the draft board in New York and found on intervention of the White House he had been kept out of the army. We demanded his induction and he was inducted. And shortly thereafter, I saw Gene Tunney at the home of some friends, and Gene said to me, "Martin, I have something that will be amusing to you. Do you know out at our camp they have a fellow named Joseph Lash, and a few days ago the boys were out marching. Here came the White House car, and out stepped Mrs. Roosevelt and sent for Joseph Lash. He broke rank, went to the White House car, and Mrs. Roosevelt carried him to town and there he stayed for two or three days before he reported."

I had a member of the Secret Service who worked in the White House give me reports every week on what happened in the White House. I knew that leading communist agents had access to the White House, were going there and were using their influence to affect our domestic and foreign policy. Now, I know this is difficult for you to believe, but every bit of it is the truth. I am telling you these incidents so that you may have some faint idea of how thoroughly Stalin was able to dupe the United States of America.

Now did it pay a dividend? I ask you. He got 13 billions of your money - not your money because you will never earn it. He got it from your great grandchildren. He got your great, great grandchildren's 13 billions of dollars. By the time it is paid off, it will probably be 50 billions, if you count the interest. And that wasn't all he got. He had built such a clever machine in this country that he controlled the C.I.O. for a long time. Some of the leading strikes were called by communists for communist purposes. Now the C.I.O. can't deny that. If they deny it, why is it they are now expelling the communist leaders we exposed in 1938? Why did they wait ten years to expel them? Can they deny we were right when I can show you they are now currently engaged in a campaign of expelling from the C.I.O. all of the leaders, the communist leaders we exposed in '38 and '39? And what is the answer of the Administration, if it is necessary to make an answer? You know the truth of it is politicians are getting by with murder, and the reason they get by with murder is because you and I are not interested. Talk to me about government of a country - if you showed one-tenth of the interest in your government you do in your business, you wouldn't send weaklings to Washington.

When you get ready to hire a president of a gas company you are most careful to secure the services of a competent man, and you do get competent men, for the most part. But when you come to elect a politician, you and I and the majority of us are indifferent and we think anybody can govern a country, even Harry Truman.

So, my fellow citizens, here was Moscow in full swing in the United States. They were influencing our domestic policy by preaching public ownership. They formed innumerable organizations which were lobbying actively in Washington for this purpose. Of course, they didn't say this was communism. They didn't say these organizations were controlled by communists, like the American League for Peace and Democracy. There was an organization - seven million, gullible Americans, completely controlled by communism. Every officer in it was a communist leader. And yet, seven million of our great, heart-bleeding idealistic public joined it and contributed their money and influence to the support of it. These organizations were making inroads on the economic system of America, acquiring land, acquiring business, narrowing the field of competition, building up the monopoly of public power, which is as dangerous as monopoly in business, if not more dangerous. And Stalin was working on the foreign policy.

Do you remember before the World War. People were parading, shouting that we intervene to defeat Germany? There wasn't a day that they weren't lobbying with members of Congress to stop Hitler. Why stop Hitler? Because he has taken these little innocent countries. The newspapers were shouting it and the radio commentators were shouting it. That is all we heard, we members of the Congress. Why? They wanted us to get in it two years before we did, to stop aggression. They said, "Why, America cannot sit idly by and permit Hitler to expand his empire."

Perhaps they were right. But where are they now? Why have they become so silent when Stalin has absorbed far more territory than Hitler ever absorbed? What has brought about the change of Henry Wallace and Pepper and all that group? They were shouting for war to stop Hitler, but are they shouting for war to stop Stalin? It was bad for Hitler to seize Czechoslovakia and Rumania, but it is perfectly permissible for Stalin to seize them. Why? I will tell you the difference. For ten years, communist agents were working on Henry Wallace and Pepper and numerous other men in the New Deal Administration, entertaining them, flattering them, working shrewdly, cleverly, even to the Supreme Court.

One day I got an urgent call to go to the home of a friend of mine in Washington because Justice Murphy had to see me instantly. My wife was present when we went to the home. Murphy was prancing up and down in a high state of emotional excitement, and I was at a loss to know what he wanted with me. Finally, he opened up and said, "Mr. Congressman, I have sent for you to tell you that the communists are going to take over this country. They are in our government; they are all about us." He was highly agitated.

I thought, well perhaps we have a convert here, and I said, "Justice Murphy, I am acquainted with that situation and any help or any information you can give us I will deeply appreciate and will keep it confidential." He talked like an insane man. My wife will tell you, he would walk up and down the floor. His face broke into sweat, and all the time I saw him I thought, "What is America coming to when that kind of a man can occupy a seat on the highest judiciary tribunal in the land."

Yes, I want to bring you pictures, to show you how completely you have been duped, because you must pay the bill. Of course, some of you will say that is "spilt milk," "water over the dam." Well, maybe so, but if you are going to fight another war, you must know how to preserve the

fruits of victory. And you lost this war. You think you won it, don't you? But you didn't win it. Oh, you whipped Hitler, but you didn't whip the idea of a powerful central government controlling and dominating your lives and your business and your religious and political thought, did you? Now why didn't you win it? Why is it when General Patton advanced to the borders of Czechoslovakia, he received an order from the White House telling him to hold his army, and why did his army stand there cooling their heels for three weeks, waiting for the Russian army to advance and take over Czechoslovakia and to be hailed as the liberators of Czechoslovakia? Why was it that we sat in conference in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam and entered into secret agreements delivering to Stalin the great breadbasket of Europe? Why? Why did we agree to a clause in the Potsdam agreement that gave to Stalin all of the industries in the occupied area that belonged to the Nazi government without investigating the fact that when the Nazis had taken over those countries by official decree, they had seized all property. By our own solemn agreement, this agreement that Truman is ashamed to be made public today, by that agreement, we gave to Stalin all of the properties of the peoples of those countries, and now we must feed them.

I hate to talk this way because I know it sounds pretty bad, but the time has come for frank discussions, and I tell you from my personal information and knowledge that I know that our government was completely duped by Stalin, that Stalin governed and controlled our foreign policy and wrote everything that he wanted to write.

Now, what are you going to do about it, friends? What are you going to do about it? Well, you are in a bad pickle, aren't you? There are some nitwits that tell you we can whip Russia in three weeks by using the atomic bomb. Well, you may believe that. The Northern boys said they were going to whip the South in three weeks. It took them four years. I remember we had an Assistant Secretary of the Navy that said we could whip Japan in three weeks. Well, my boy served all through the Pacific and he can tell you that we didn't whip the Japs in three weeks. And I am here to tell you we can't whip Russia in three weeks or in three years, and I will tell you why you can't. Napoleon thought he could, and he had a great military machine. He was the greatest military leader the world had ever seen, up to that day. Well, he didn't take Russia. The Russians retreated and he froze his troops - the carcasses of horses and the corpses of human beings literally strewed the retreat of the French army.

Hitler tried to take them. You know Hitler wanted to do business with Stalin, and for three years they were working together. At the very time that Roosevelt thought that he was doing business with Stalin, Stalin was doing business with Hitler.

To show you how completely the President was deceived - and I say that not in exultation - the President for his first two terms was a magnificent leader. I sat close to him when he made that memorable speech in which he said, "We have nothing to fear but fear." And as a young legislator, I looked upon his face and said, "God has given to America a great leader." But the President loved power. He clung to his office, clung to it with a desperation born of vanity. And he held it in the third term, and all he had to do was to dish out these smooth words to you and me and we swallowed them, because we are easily duped in America.

When he got through Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam, he was not the man he had been when he took the oath of office in his first term. There he was completely duped, and you and I must now pay the price.

It is important that you and I understand that if we fight Russia, we have a long war which will leave America exhausted. Oh, we have the idea that we can spend indefinitely. I know, we throw money away so much in this country that there are actually respectable people who think you can just keep on issuing spurious paper money and get by with it. Well, I have known young men that thought they could get by, by getting drunk every night, and they did get by for ten years. They finally ended up with cirrhosis of the liver, the palsy and the DT's. You will come out of the next war exhausted, and furthermore, my fellow citizens, this government is going to regiment you up to the hilt next time.

You think you knew what war was last time. Why, that was a panic for you and me who stayed at home, if it wasn't for our sons. We made a lot of money out of it, didn't we? Of course, we did. Well, I will tell you it won't be that way again. It is going to require sacrifice and unselfish citizenship and courageous leadership. Americans everywhere must begin to emulate the enthusiasm and zeal which the communists manifest throughout the whole world.

You cannot defeat this flaming ideology, this new religion based on atheism and materialism with an indifferent and selfish citizenship. The communists mean business, and they are prepared to make every sacrifice to extend their ideological religion through the world.

Not since the days when the Mohammedans threatened Christianity have we been confronted with so great a menace. Our America can only survive in this age and time when you and I revitalize democracy, rededicate ourselves to the fundamental principles that made our country great.

You think we can buy peace and security. We are to the point where we think whenever an emergency arises in America, all we have to do is to appropriate 10 billion dollars of our great, great grandchildren's money. We are down now to about the tenth generation to be born. I say to you that you will never defeat Russia by those tactics.

For instance, Russia will avoid open warfare as long as possible. Her strategy is to win nations without firing a gun, and she has done a good job. If you think for one moment that this clever, shrewd Joseph Stalin and his lieutenants intend to commit the issue to a trial of arms, you are mistaken. He will take every country he wants to take without firing a gun - he takes them from within. He takes them with people like Henry Wallace. They are the kind of people who betrayed their countries to him. He's got his Henry Wallaces and Claud Peppers all over the world. Why, he only got 16 per cent of the votes in Bulgaria, but within a few months, he took Bulgaria. He only got 37 percent of the votes in the free election of Czechoslovakia, but within two months, he took Czechoslovakia. No, he doesn't need to use guns. He is too smart; his propagandists are too smart. He can infiltrate our government; he can influence our foreign policy; he can dupe and deceive our leadership.

The only answer is for you and all America to awake. You have been asleep, my fellow citizens. You must drop the scales from your eyes and realize that no one can be happy or prosperous or secure under a bad government. The first business of every citizen is the business of self government, and unless we in this generation make a success of our business of government, we will have miserably failed. You and I must become zealous, fanatical citizens of America. Let us arise, my fellow citizens, and shake off sloth. Let us say that no longer will we tolerate open treason against our country - the idea of permitting 200 thousand so-called Americans to enjoy the protection of our flag when we know that there are traitors to that flag. Since when have we come to the time that we cannot deal with known traitors in America? Every man whose primary allegiance is to Russia or any other foreign power ought to have his citizenship revoked and he should be branded for what he is.

That, my friends, is the challenge to you, a real challenge. No longer can you sit idly by. You, as American citizens must come to love your country with all your heart and all your mind. You, as American citizens, must put aside the selfishness that holds to your business, day in and day out. You must realize that the gas industry wouldn't be worth a dime to you under totalitarian government. Your industry can only survive and serve humanity under a free economy.

Your business is government, my friends. Are you carrying out that business. Do you ever speak out against the frauds that hold public office throughout our land, or are you afraid to do it? Are you afraid that if you get active in a campaign that it will hurt your industry in Austin or Washington? If you are afraid, then you are not a good citizen of these United States. I say to you we must fight. We Americans who value this great heritage won by the blood of brave men and the tears of devout women, we want this America preserved for our children. We must band ourselves together as American citizens and say to the Henry Wallaces and the Claud Peppers and the Cohens and the Cochrans and all of the other aggregation of individuals who want to substitute Russian totalitarianism for American freedom, we must say to them, "You have gone far enough. We Americans are determined to preserve this heritage. If you want Russia, then we are going to give you a magnificent opportunity to go there." In fact, I would like to help put old Wallace and a bunch of them on a steamboat and send them to Moscow.

My friends, I would talk to you another hour, but I know you want to eat. I have enjoyed this opportunity to deliver this message. I hope that I have said something that will make a fighter out of you so that when you go back home you will take your coat off and the first time a mealy-mouthed lying, hypocritical politician comes around to you and tries to carry water on both shoulders and tries to utter platitudes and avoid controversial issues, I hope you will stand up in your Legion Hall or your Rotary Club or wherever you are and say, "I am an American citizen and I stand for the preservation of my country. I am prepared to fight and die for it if need be. I will go to the polls and I will go to a political meeting and hear the candidates."

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

October 14, 1952

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
1595 Pearl Street
Denver 5, Colorado

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

A few weeks ago, Stephen A. Mitchell, Chairman of The Democratic National Committee, asked me if I would be able to drop my own activities and work with him on varied matters in the campaign to elect Governor Stevenson as President of the United States. I readily agreed to this because I am convinced that the future of our country as a free, prosperous nation is dependent upon the election of this wonderful man, who has demonstrated such great statesmanship, intellect and enlightened liberalism.

My work in this campaign has been a source of deep satisfaction. All the individuals associated with Governor Stevenson and Chairman Mitchell believe strongly in progressive social legislation, in a strong civil rights program, in honesty and integrity in government. I have seen eye to eye with them on every major issue facing our country. My own observation on the manner in which this campaign is being conducted convinces me that Adlai Stevenson will be one of the truly great Presidents in American history.

I have been impressed with the contrast of Governor Stevenson's firm adherence to the principles he holds dear, and which I share with him, and the compromise of principle by his opponent. In West Virginia, Governor Stevenson's opponent urged the election to the Senate of former Senator Chapman Revercomb, co-author of the 1948 Displaced Persons Act, which President Truman rightfully declared "cruelly discriminated against Catholics and Jews" and which indicated "a pattern of discrimination and intolerance wholly inconsistent with the American sense of justice." Governor Dewey, in 1948, was so repelled by the bigotry of Revercomb that he refused to enter the State of West Virginia so as not to be associated with Revercomb. Fortunately, Revercomb was defeated in 1948, but is now running for election with the blessing of the Republican Presidential candidate.

The endorsement by Governor Stevenson's opponent of men like McCarthy, defender of the Nazi murderers at Malmedy, Belgium, men like Jenner of Indiana and many other individuals in Federal and State Government of similar views causes me tremendous concern for the future of our country should the Republicans be victorious in November.

On the other hand, Governor Stevenson has made clear exactly what he would do if he were faced with a similar situation. In response to the Eisenhower endorsement of Jenner, he declared in one of his major speeches: "Nothing could have persuaded me to be here to-night if any of the local Democratic office seekers had called General Marshall a 'front man' for traitors".

This will be a close election. Its outcome will depend upon the energy and devotion with which men and women who believe in enlightened progress, who believe in no compromise with bigotry and intolerance, will put their shoulders to the wheel to work for the election of Governor Stevenson.

I hope that you will join not only in voting for Governor Stevenson but in urging your friends and neighbors not to neglect this important duty on November 4th.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jerome M. Pines

Rabbi Jerome M. Pines

JMP:m

JACOB J. WEINSTEIN Rabbi K. A. M. Temple

October 14, 1952

Dear Colleague:

I send you a statement of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson's views on religion, as well as a statement advocating his election to the Presidency of the United States by a Committee of Illinois Clergymen. You may want to read them from the pulpit or quote them in your bulletin. I am sure that you have been impressed as I have with the high intellectual quality of the Governor's utterances on all public issues.

I can testify from having worked with him in Illinois that he matches his professions with his deeds. He has been a constant fighter for high standards of integrity in government, for justice in economic relations and for equality and fairness in race relations. He believes that it is the function of government to release the potential strength of the citizen so that he can fulfill himself as a child of God.

I am confident that so much of what you and I are striving for in the building of the good society will be realizable under the national leadership of Adlai E. Stevenson.

Sincerely,

Jacob J. Weinstein
Jacob J. Weinstein

EXCERPT FROM ADDRESS GIVEN BY GOVERNOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON AT
DEDICATION OF NEW COMMUNITY HOUSE OF K.A.M. TEMPLE, MAY 18, 1952

* * * * *

And I am refreshed here tonight because my life, like many of yours, is too busy - too busy with action at the price of thought and reflection. It seems to me a sad commentary on contemporary life, and certainly public life, that we are so busy doing much that is transitory we give all too little time to the intransitory and enduring. Perspective is the victim of pressure. Yet the truth lies in reflection and meditation.

Hence there is the precious nourishment of balance in the ceremonial dedication of a temple to the everlasting and eternal. Hospitals, schools, great industrial plants; all these I have dedicated over and over again. It is good to have a part in the founding of something for the heart and spirit of mankind, which is all that really matters.

More than an architect's creation of stone and mortar, steel and wood, your new Community House represents something enduring and indestructible. Plato long ago maintained that everything which occurs in time and space is but an instance of an idea. He held that only by penetrating through the events to the ideas to which they are invariably related can we gain an understanding of the actual course of affairs.

Judaism is by many centuries the oldest of the three great religious traditions that have helped to form Western culture. Christianity's lofty ethical idealism, its theistic faith, find their source in the Old Testament.

Throughout its long history Judaism has exhibited a marked conformity to a persistent pattern of life. Most institutions which endure for even a few centuries change in character; Judaism has to a remarkable degree circumvented the transforming hand of time. Dispersal and centuries of persecution have threatened but never extinguished. Hitler, "a king worse than Haman," arose in our time, and instead of the final extinction, American Jews are flocking back to the faith of their fathers, new synagogues are being built, new congregations formed, and the ancient dream of Israel has come to pass.

And so we celebrate the completion of this new edifice which has risen here in its true light - as a blending of the old and the new - a link between the traditions and treasures of the past and the plans and hopes of the future. In a still larger sense we recognize here impressive evidence of America's answer to the moral and material crisis of our time; the determination of this and all religions to strengthen and perpetuate those fundamental ideals of our society and culture that are rooted deep in our faith in God and in divine love. This spiritual resurgence, this growing conviction that we must preserve the ethical and theological values of the past while facing the future with fresh, inquiring, receptive minds is, I think, the brightest hope that free society will triumphantly survive its era of doubt and trial, even as the Jews and their heritage have survived persecution and affliction, yes, and doubt, for so many centuries.

Ours is a time of torment, trial and challenge - a time in which the Jews have been the worst sufferers. In the tense struggle for peace on which rests peace itself, the mighty and mightily neglected power of the verities of religious faith is our shield and sword. We need that power, that weapon, on the battlefields of peace now, just as surely as we needed it on the battlefields of war.....

If there is anything that the whole idea of liberalism contradicts, it is the notion of competitive indoctrination. When we start with the premise that we want human brotherhood to spread and increase until it makes life safe and sane, we must also recognize that there is no one true faith or path by which it may spread. We must forever banish the notion that there can be universal brotherhood just as soon as everyone gives up his faith and accepts ours.

That day will never come. The richness of human diversity cannot be abolished. It can be resented and fought, but only at appalling cost. Difference is in the nature of life. It is part of our moral universe. There is nothing wrong with the fact of difference. What is wrong are our futile efforts to abolish it. Abolishing diversity is as frustrating a process as abolishing Mars or Jupiter.

To convince ourselves and others that there is nothing to fear in difference; that this is in fact one of the healthiest and most invigorating of human characteristics without which life would become lifeless, is a great task. Here lies the power of the liberal way - not in making the whole world Catholic, or Jewish, or if I may suggest it, even Unitarian!; but in helping ourselves and others to see some of the possibilities inherent in viewpoints other than our own; in encouraging; in welcoming fresh approaches to the problems of life; in urging the fullest, most vigorous use of critical self-examination.

I think if any one of us was asked to define the basic essentials of a truly free society we would put tolerance at the top of the list. I am speaking now of tolerance in the broad sense - the spirit of live and let live, of give and take, of tolerance in social and economic as well as religious things, of, in short, the subjugation of envy and hate.

That kind of tolerance is founded on mutual respect derived from the common ethical principles of our Judaeo-Christian tradition. It is from this same ethical tradition that Thomas Jefferson took the basic principles upon which our government was founded. In the light of this same ethical background the founding fathers realized the necessity of restricting the authority of government in order to protect these basic natural rights. From this flowed the Bill of Rights.

I am sure that tolerance is essential to a free society, but I am even more convinced that no free society can continue to exist unless the great majority of its citizens have religious beliefs and subscribe to ethical principles and a moral code that develops self-respect, self-discipline on the part of individuals, and recognition of the individual citizen's basic obligation to others.

STATEMENT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BY A COMMITTEE
OF ILLINOIS CLERGYMEN

As clergymen we are members of a non-partisan profession. The Church is universal and the pulpit must constantly strive to speak in the most inclusive terms. Still the Church is part of a real world where choices must be made and commitments given to courses of action which best promise to realize the ideals of the good life.

In making such commitments, the minister must ever be mindful of his role as representative of his Congregation and of the special prestige given to utterances from the pulpit. He must be scrupulously careful to indicate where he speaks as an individual and where he speaks as the guardian of the faith.

Mindful of these considerations, the undersigned in their capacity as men and citizens and, in no way speaking for our Congregations, advocate the election of Adlai E. Stevenson for these reasons:

He has demonstrated as Governor of Illinois that he can achieve honest and efficient government. The issue of honesty in government is of paramount importance to us as ministers. The whole tone of public morality is determined by the ethical climate of government. We who have been fortunate to know the work of Adlai E. Stevenson in Illinois are confident that he will effect major changes in the personnel and methods of national governmental affairs and will help bring about equally necessary changes in the political morality of the citizens who countenance corruption by giving bribes and by tolerating salary schedules for public officials which place undue pressure on them. We note the example in our own history of President Calvin Coolidge, who was able to clean up a major part of the corruption of his Republican predecessor, Warren Harding.

As ministers we are concerned not only with the moral problems involved in actual corruption in public office but with the equally vital ethical choices implicit in the theory of government. We believe that government must mobilize the resources of the nation and so help to distribute them as to give the largest degree of opportunity and security to our citizenry. The Judeo-Christian tradition holds that government immoral which stands idly by while men suffer from illness, old age and unemployment. Governor Stevenson, while cognizant of the dangers of over-centralization and mindful, also, of the dangers of pauperizing the individual has amply demonstrated that he would use the vast resources of federal government to mature and coalesce the separate sentiment of charity in the breast of every American into effective instruments of social justice. His record in Illinois testifies to this:

He has extended the benefits of Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment benefits and has speeded up the processing of Accident and Injury claims.

He has vastly increased State aid to our public schools.

He has improved the care and treatment of the 49,000 patients in our mental hospitals.

He has extended job protection through civil service and has introduced fair and orderly merit promotions in State employment.

He has aided and promoted public housing and State-aided private housing throughout the State.

He has given intelligent direction and constant encouragement to the agencies of child welfare to reduce juvenile delinquency and other dislocations of the American family.

He has encouraged the State Department of Labor to refuse its services in job placement to employers who discriminate against racial, religious or Nationality Groups.

Adlai Stevenson has been loyal to the Judeo-Christian tradition of the inalienable dignity of Man by defending civil rights and academic freedom. His veto of the Broyles Bills is a good omen of the stand he will take when attempts are made by hysterical or totalitarian legislators to choke off discussion of public issues and the right to disagree with majorities. He recognizes in the Bill of Rights the true defender and key safeguard of the American Way of life.

He has in the present campaign shown profound respect for the thinking power of our democracy by discussing important issues with engaging candor, factual competence and large perspective. He has brought the complex issues of our day from the ivory tower and the smoke-filled rooms to the porch and the parlor. He has inspired confidence that the resources can be found among us to meet our most difficult problems. His addresses have lifted the standards of political discussion and have been a major contribution to the adult education of America.

Above all, Adlai E. Stevenson has shown profound statesmanship in his evaluation of the forces engaged in our century's titanic struggle between Communism and the variant democracies for the souls of Men. Knowing the historic roots of Communism, he maintains that this colossal power can be defeated primarily by a system of government which proves more effective in satisfying the basic spiritual and material needs of men. He calls upon us to meet the Red Challenge not by abandoning our political freedoms but rather by eliminating the holdovers of racial prejudice, economic injustice, and public ignorance which hide the true face of democracy. He calls upon us to find the true balance between security and freedom, between initiative and anarchy, between local and federal authority, which will assure the fullest life for the greatest number of our citizenry.

He calls upon us to search for the political instrumentalities adequate to an atomic age - both in our domestic and our foreign relations. His long experience in civilian administration, his masterful work in the legal and administrative groundwork of the United Nations makes it more likely, we believe, that he will find peaceful ways out of the present crisis than would a man whose life training has been with military personnel in army administration. The Clergy has generally doubted the ability of professional soldiers to free themselves from their training sufficiently to develop the mental resilience, the margin of tolerance for non-conformity and the vast patience for the peaceful resolution of conflict which democratic statesmanship, especially in times of world tension, demands.

For these reasons, among others which limitation of space prevents us from listing, we advocate the election of Adlai E. Stevenson. We are confident that in him we will have a president who will help make our country a stronghold of justice and an advocate of peace in the Council of Nations.

Stevenson Rips Ike for Use of 'Big Doubt'

Says Responsibility for Speeches by McCarthy Lies With General; Defends Hiss Deposition

Cleveland, Ohio (AP)—Gov. Stevenson lashed bitterly Thursday night at Gen. Eisenhower, accusing him of directing a campaign full of "sly insinuations"—one which accepts "calumny and the big doubt as its instruments."

Stevenson, the Democratic presidential nominee, declared Eisenhower—his GOP opponent—must accept full responsibility for attacks made on Stevenson by other Republicans in the Alger Hiss case.

It was by all odds the most scathing attack the Illinois governor has loosed against Eisenhower, who he said has been in effect encouraging men like Senator Nixon, the general's running mate, and Senator McCarthy (Rep., Wis.) to dwell on the Hiss case.

Speaking to a cheering crowd of 10,000 in the Cleveland arena, Stevenson also reached out on TV and radio to what his campaign manager, Wilson Wyatt, said was the governor's largest audience of the campaign. The speech originally was scheduled for only local television and radio, but Wyatt made a last minute decision to make it nation-wide.

Full Text Is Given

Following is the complete text:

The hour is growing late in this autumn of our political decision. But I find it necessary to talk here tonight of things which are more fundamental than the immediate political questions before us. I cannot enter the final weeks without speaking my heart about aspects of this campaign which are disturbing to anyone who thinks seriously about the future of our country and its institutions.

For three months now I have done my best to talk sense to the American people. I have not talked soft talk nor made false promises nor raised false fears. Nor have I changed my views to suit my itinerary. I have said what I meant and I have meant what I said. I have tried to do my part toward making this campaign an orderly discussion between the opposing parties so that the American people can

understand and judge the major issues of the day.

I can say in all candor that I was one of those who thought that the nomination of Gen. Eisenhower would make this kind of sensible discussion possible. I believed with many of you that his hard won victory in the Chicago convention was a victory of the constructive and progressive men in the Republican party over its bitter and reactionary elements.

"Program of Innuendo"

I believed that an educational and elevating national discussion would result. But, instead, in the last two months the general has, one by one, embraced the men who were so furiously against him at Chicago. He has lost the support of men like Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and has sought the support of men like Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune.

Meanwhile, his vice-presidential candidate and other principal speakers on his behalf have given the Republican campaign its distinct shape and pattern.

It is not a campaign by debate. It is a systematic program of innuendo and accusation. It is aimed at sowing the seeds of doubt.

The Republican candidate for vice-president himself has set the pace. This week and next—in these last crucial days before the election—the Republican high command is counting heavily on this kind of campaign.

General "Makes Decisions"

Next Monday night, for example, the junior senator from Wisconsin is going to make a highly advertised speech—the man who said last week that, if he were put aboard my campaign train with a club, he might be able to make a good American out of me.

Now plainly I have no concern about what the junior senator from Wisconsin as such has to say about me. As an isolated voice he would be unimportant. But he has become more than the voice of a single individual who thinks the way to teach Americanism is with a club. He appears next Monday night on nation-wide radio and television as the planned climax of the Republican campaign—as the very voice of the wing of the Republican party that lost the nomination but won the nominee. You will hear the voice of the senator from Wisconsin, with the permission and the approval of Gen. Eisenhower.

The general must accept full responsibility. Only last week when stung by charges that he had surrendered to the Old Guard he said that the decisions in this campaign "have been and will be mine alone." He added: "This crusade which I have taken to the American people represents what I, myself, believe." Crusade, indeed!

Claims Declaration of Conscience Spurned

The Republican party did not have to accept the voice of the senator from Wisconsin nor encourage the excesses of its vice-presidential nominee—the young man who asks you to set him one heartbeat from the presidency of the United States.

In 1950 a group of Republican senators, headed by Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, issued a declaration of conscience denouncing the tactics of smear and slander. The general might have endorsed that declaration of conscience. He might have made it the testament of a real crusade. He might have surrounded himself with those who signed his statement or others of his party like them—and there are many Republicans who have a high regard for the ethics and the function of the two party system. Instead, by ignorance or choice, he has turned not to them but to the Republican senator who called Senator Margaret Smith a thief and defender of Communists.

I had not expected that the general would ever countenance such a campaign by his "crusaders." But this was before I observed the general giving his hand to Senator Jenner of In-

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L. W. NIEMAN, Founder, 1882

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Eisenhower or Stevenson?

Following the Chicago conventions, The Journal said it believed that two good men had been nominated for the presidency.

That still seems to be the case today. We believe that both Gen. Eisenhower and Gov. Stevenson are able, sincere and patriotic men. We do not believe that the country will collapse under the leadership of either. Nor do we believe that a Democratic victory will mean surrender to "socialism" or any other "ism" or that a Republican victory will mean turning of the country over to a much maligned "Wall Street."

As an independent newspaper, The Journal is not allied with nor beholden to either political party. We try to concern ourselves with men and issues, not parties. Following that course, we have endorsed both Republicans and Democrats for the presidency in late years (Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, Willkie in 1940, no choice in 1944 and Dewey in 1948).

At the start of this campaign we had the highest hopes in Gen. Eisenhower's potentialities for leadership of our country. We hoped that before election day, we could endorse him without reservation and with enthusiasm.

Like many Americans, we felt there was a need for a sweeping change in national administration after 20 years of Democratic rule. The Democrats, under Roosevelt and Truman, had led the nation to triumph over depression, to victory over nazism and fascism, and had rallied the free world against the even greater menace of communism. But they had grown weary, bureaucratic, officious and sometimes corrupt.

"We need a change" is the kind of a statement, however, that raises an inevitable question. A change to what?

The Republican party, too, has vulnerable points. It is torn by dissension. Many of its current leaders have shown shocking irresponsibility in foreign affairs. Some have trafficked heavily in the risky areas of fear and prejudice. Republican congressmen, as well as Democrats, have been caught in the Washington mess with dirty fingers.

Gen. Eisenhower, we thought in August, might be the man to revive the weakened GOP, heal its schisms, and turn it from the path of hindsight and obstructionism to the way of vision and responsibility.

Even more important, Gen. Eisenhower offered the possibility of leadership that would unite the country. He offered the prospect of a president in the model of George Washington—an impressive figure above partisanship and petty politics, equipped to lead the nation through times no less stormy than those of 1789.

Gen. Eisenhower had been one of the nation's greatest military leaders. He had acquired experience in the diplomatic field as leader of Allied forces in World War II and as commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces until last June. He knew the European international scene. He had dealt with the leaders of our friends and our foes. He had taken part and accepted responsibility in many of the most important foreign policy decisions of recent years. This

aggressive and humanitarian legislation and has voted with special interests against the public interest.

Gov. Stevenson, meanwhile, has talked plainly to the American people. This is just as he promised he would in his memorable acceptance speech. He has done it clearly and straightforwardly. He has been ably seconded by Senator Sparkman.

Gov. Stevenson, who is 52, has shown a broad understanding of the nation's problems, both foreign and domestic. He has discussed those problems in considerable detail, without evasion and without equivocation. He has stated his ideas as to how we can meet those problems. He has said that we must meet them all the hard way; he has emphasized that he offers no quick and easy solutions. He said at Chicago that "it would be better to lose the election than mislead the people" and he has hewn consistently to that line.

He has shown a courage, rare in politicians, by taking unpopular positions and telling voters things they may not want to hear. He told the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor and farmers gathered at Kasson, Minn., that there will be no special privilege for "pressure groups" if he enters the White House—that he will be a president of all the people.

He told southern states' righters that he would stand squarely on the civil rights planks of the Democratic platform; he thereby forfeited much support from this group. He stood firm on the tidelands issue—declaring, as the supreme court has said, that the oil resources off the coasts belong to all the people, not those of a few states—and powerful economic and political forces deserted his banner, as he knew they would.

On foreign policy issues, he has refused to hedge, to make empty promises, to depart from principle, in the quest for votes.

What about corruption in government? Gov. Stevenson has said repeatedly that he will dig it out of federal government whenever and wherever he finds it. He has had experience in this field. He resolutely cleaned out the state government of Illinois following one of the most corrupt Republican administrations in the state's history.

The statement is heard that Gov. Stevenson is "Truman's man" and that as such he would not be able to move against corruption in Washington. Anyone who followed the Democratic convention, and events preceding it, knows that Stevenson won the nomination without making entangling commitments to Harry Truman or to anyone else. He is one of the few real presidential draftees of American history. He came out of the convention as captive of no one. That has been evidenced many times—by the establishment of separate headquarters in Springfield, by the newness of his advisers, by the independence of his campaign.

On the evidence of the campaign at this hour it seems to The Journal that with Adlai Stevenson in the White House there will not only be a house cleaning in the national capital but a decided change for the better in the over-all moral tone of government.

Gov. Stevenson has proved his abilities in government as executive and administrator of Illinois for the last four years. His regime was businesslike and progressive. He proved that he could work well with a legislature, even though a majority of its members were of the political opposition.

In recent American history—and we think this is an important point—we seem to have drawn our best presidents from the ranks of state governors. State capitals seem to be the best training grounds for able presidents.

seemed to give assurance that these policies would be continued. He was a popular figure and he promised a crusade for office on the highest level.

In winning the nomination at Chicago, he triumphed over the violent opposition of all those forces in the GOP that have combined to make the party sometimes seem irresponsible and untrustworthy.

* * *

For many weeks now we have watched the Eisenhower campaign unfold.

The general has seemed to appease the forces he defeated at Chicago. He has appeared to embrace a good many of their doctrines. He has supported party leaders whom he previously had scorned. He has allowed himself to be buffeted by conflicting forces within his party to the point of public contradiction and confusion. He has occasionally assailed foreign policy actions that he himself helped formulate. His unfamiliarity with domestic issues has frequently been on parade—probably even more so than was to be expected from a man who had long led a busy and successful military life.

Instead of dynamic and constructive leadership, and solutions to our problems, Gen. Eisenhower has offered exaggerated criticism and denunciation of the administration but has spoken largely in generalities and platitudes about what the nation should do now to meet its many problems.

The great soldier and leader of men, which he has in fact been, has come to resemble too much a compromising politician. Many who support him and know him best are confident that, once elected, Gen. Eisenhower would make his own decisions. After watching the campaign, we are not so sure that he would—or could.

His crusade has appeared more and more as just another commonplace campaign for office and power. And his running mate, Senator Nixon, has displayed little concern with any of the nation's problems except communism. He has shown no qualities to fit him for the presidency should anything happen to the 62 year old general—the oldest candidate ever nominated by the Republican party. In his year and three-quarters as a senator, Nixon has opposed nearly all pro-

Gov. Stevenson, it must be admitted, does not have the amount of experience in the foreign field that Gen. Eisenhower has, but he is far from inexperienced. He held responsible posts in the navy department and the state department during the war years. He served twice as American delegate to the United Nations. In 1947 he won the highest praise from the late Republican Senator Vandenberg of Michigan for his work in the United Nations.

Finally, and it probably should not be entirely overlooked, Gov. Stevenson is a civilian, a student and practitioner of civilian government.

Gen. Eisenhower himself said, in January of 1948: "Nothing in the international or domestic situation especially qualifies for the most important office in the world a man whose adult years have been spent in the country's military forces." And he added: "At least this is true in my case." It seems to us that as the general's campaign has unfolded, this has been somewhat demonstrated.

The choosing of a national leader for the next four years is a matter of utmost importance to every American citizen. The decision will influence not only this nation's destiny, but that of much of the whole world. It is scarcely necessary to say that this decision deserves the gravest consideration. The Journal has sincerely tried to give it that. We cannot guess, and do not choose to try, who may win the presidential election. But we wish to go on record that we believe the interests of the United States and of all free people would be served better by the election of Adlai E. Stevenson than by the election of Gen. Eisenhower. We believe that if Gov. Stevenson should be chosen by the people, he would be a good president.

He might be a great one.

otic grip on Dixie, Gen. Eisenhower has made in photo shows him addressing a throng in Atlanta, Ga.



Stevenson Says Ike OK's McCarthy's Talk

Tells Cleveland Crowd 'Let Us Be Clear Responsibility Lies' With the General

From page 1, column 2

diana who had called Gen. George C. Marshall a "living lie" and "a front man for traitors"—Marshall the architect of victory and Gen. Eisenhower's greatest benefactor. It was before I had observed Gen. Eisenhower strike from the speech that he was to give in Wisconsin words of praise for Gen. Marshall because such words might be offensive to the junior senator from Wisconsin who had termed Marshall "so steeped in falsehood" that he "has recourse to the lie whenever it suits his convenience." And it was before I observed Gen. Eisenhower last week quietly reinsert the words of praise for Gen. Marshall in Newark once he was safely out of McCarthy and Jenner territory.

[Eisenhower has denied that he deleted the praise of Marshall at McCarthy's request. He said he struck it out of his Milwaukee talk Oct. 3 because it wasn't germane to his subject.]

Places the "Responsibility"

If the general would publicly embrace those who slandered George Marshall, there is certainly no reason to expect that he would restrain those who would slander me.

The Republican vice-presidential candidate has been going around the country attacking me for saying in a court deposition that the reputation of Alger Hiss was good. The junior senator from Wisconsin will doubtless continue and expand this attack. And let us always be clear who is directing this attack and where the responsibility lies. As the Republican vice-presidential candidate put it last Monday, Gen. Eisenhower "is the captain of the team." Senator Nixon added significantly: "With due regard for his team members and their abilities, he is calling the plays."

Now what are the facts about my deposition? In the words of Al Smith, "Let's look at the record." I had known Alger Hiss briefly in 1933 when I worked about five months for the agricultural adjustment administration in Washington, where he was also employed. I did not meet him again until 12 years later, in March of 1945 in the state department. I saw him intermittently from March of 1945 to March of 1946 in the course of our official duties. He never entered my house and I never entered his. I saw him twice in the fall of 1947. I have not seen him since.

can minority leader, testified that "his reputation was very good."

"Never Doubted Verdict"

It is obvious that my testimony in the Hiss case no more shows softness toward communism than the testimony of these Republican leaders shows softness toward corruption.

At no time did I testify on the issue of the guilt or innocence of Alger Hiss. As I have repeatedly said, I have never doubted the verdict of the jury which convicted him.

But while the brash young man who aspires to the vice-presidency does not charge me with being a Communist, he does say that I exercised bad judgment in stating honestly what I had heard from others about Hiss' reputation. "Thou shalt not bear false witness" is one of the Ten Commandments, in case Senator Nixon has not read them lately. And if he would not tell and tell honestly what he knew of a defendant's reputation, he would be a coward and unfit for any office.

The responsibility of lawyers to co-operate with courts is greatest of all because they are officers of the court and Senator Nixon is a lawyer.

"Plain and Simple Facts"

He has criticized my judgment. I hope and pray that his standards of "judgment" never prevail in our courts, let alone our public life in exalted positions of respect and responsibility.

These are the plain and simple facts of my connection with the Hiss case. I would suggest to the Republican "crusaders" that if they were to apply the same methods to their own candidate, Gen. Eisenhower, and to his foreign affairs adviser, John Foster Dulles, they would find that both these men were of the same opinion about Alger Hiss, and more so. And more important, I would suggest that these methods are dangerous, not just to the Republican candidate, but to the very processes of our democracy.

The facts are that the general and Mr. Dulles both demonstrated a continued personal faith in Alger Hiss in circumstances which imposed on them—as circumstances never did on me—the obligation to make a searching examination of his character and background.

Reads Dulles' Defense

In December, 1946, Hiss was chosen to be president of the Carnegie Endowment (for International Peace) by the board of trustees of which John Foster Dulles was chairman. After Hiss was elected, but before he took office, a Detroit lawyer offered to provide Mr. Dulles with evidence that Hiss had a provable



—United Press Telephoto

On his way to the Cleveland Arena, where he made a major speech to about 10,000 persons Thursday night, Gov. Stevenson, the Demo-

cratic presidential nominee, was flanked by the city's mayor, Thomas Burke (left), and the state's governor, Frank J. Lausche.

merely themselves, but the integrity of our institutions."

I would remind Gen. Eisenhower of the wisdom of yet another general. One day, after inspecting his troops, the duke of Wellington said: "They may not frighten the enemy, but gad sir, they frighten me."

I might observe to the general that although his troops do not frighten us they ought to frighten him.

Warned Against Reds

I do not suppose that the Hiss case exhausts the arsenal of accusation with which the general's high command hopes to obtain victory. But these things I can tell you about myself and they are on the record. In 1943 during the war after leading an economic mission to Italy I warned against the spread of Soviet influence in the Mediterranean. In 1945 and 1946, just after the war, I engaged in constant and heated debate with Soviet representatives in the United Nations in support of the interests of the United States. At the same time I made many speeches to groups throughout the country urging that America arm and grow strong to check the menace of Soviet imperialism. I repeatedly pointed out that appeasement doesn't work. In March, 1946, for example, I said to an audience in Chicago that: "Russia and communism are on the march. . . . We must forsake any hope that she is going to lie still and lick her awful wounds."

This was not long after Gen. Eisenhower had told a house committee: "Nothing guides

Russian policy so much as a desire for friendship with the United States." As late as June of this year he said, "There is no more reason to fear the 190 million backward people living on the Eurasian continent than there is to fear pollywogs swimming down a muddy creek."

"This Is Not War"

I would never have believed that a presidential contest with Gen. Eisenhower would have made this speech necessary. I never would have thought that the general in the closing days of this great campaign would have chosen such voices to speak for him.

It may well be that the general has been misled by his lack of experience in civil life. This is not a war; it is a political contest in a free democracy; and the rules are different. We have always considered it to be the responsibility of candidates to promote wider understanding of the true issues—and not to stir fears and to spread suspicions.

I resent—and I resent bitterly—the sly insinuations and the innuendos of the campaign that is being waged in behalf of the general, and I am deeply shocked that the general would lead a so-called "crusade" which accepts calumny and the big doubt as its instruments.

"Such Tactics Aid Reds"

Because I believe in freedom, I am opposed to communism. And I think I know more about it and more about the Soviet Union than most of these self-appointed Republican custodians of patriotism. I even went to Russia more than 25 years ago to see for myself. Before,

I dare say, some of these crusaders even knew what was going on in the world. And I have negotiated face to face with the Russians and their satellites in San Francisco, London and New York.

We are opposing communism abroad, where its relentless pressure seeks further to narrow the area of freedom. We are opposing it at home, where its agents and converts seek to undermine our society and corrupt our government. As I have repeatedly said, the federal government must use all its resources to expose and identify communistic activity, to remove Communists from places of position and prestige in our society, and to protect our free institutions from Communist espionage, sabotage and subversion.

I know and you know that we do not strengthen freedom by diminishing it. We do not weaken communism abroad or at home by false or misleading charges carefully timed for election purposes. For I believe with all my heart that those who would beguile the voters by lies or half truths, or corrupt them by fear and falsehood, are committing spiritual treason against our institutions, for they are surely doing the work of their enemies.

In the end such tactics serve directly the interests of the Communists and of all other foes of freedom.

Even worse, they undermine our basic spiritual values.

For in one final accounting, "What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

"Requested to Appear"

In the spring of 1949 I was requested by the lawyers for Alger Hiss to appear at his first trial and testify as to his reputation. I refused to do so because of the burden of my official duties. I was then requested to give a sworn, written statement, taken under order of the court, with regard to his reputation as I had learned it from others.

I said his reputation was "good"—and it was. I didn't say it was "very good"; I didn't say he was a great patriot; I didn't say any of the things the Wisconsin senator says I said. I said his reputation was "good" so far as I had heard from others, and that was the simple, exact, whole truth, and all I could say on the basis of what little I knew of him.

This was his reputation as the general, himself, has good reason to know.

These same spokesmen have challenged my sworn statement that I didn't believe that I had seen Alger Hiss between March, 1945, and the fall of 1947. At this late date they say that I had introduced him to an audience in Chicago on Nov. 12, 1946. All of the records make clear that my recollection was accurate. For on Nov. 12, 1946, I was in official attendance as a delegate to the United Nations in New York, and was not in Chicago at all.

Points Out 22 Lawyers Endorsed Deposition

I am a lawyer. I think that one of the fundamental responsibilities not only of every citizen but particularly of lawyers is to give testimony in a court of law and to give it honestly and willingly. It will be a sorry day for American justice when a man, particularly one in public life, is too timid to state what he knows or what he has heard about a defendant in a criminal trial for fear that the defendant might be later convicted. I would point out that 22 of the most distinguished members of the American bar declared last week that in giving this deposition I had "done what any good citizen should have done under the circumstances." In this list are several leading supporters of Gen. Eisenhower.

And I might add that here in your own state of Ohio a Republican congressman was recently convicted for unlawfully receiving political contributions from his employees. Before his conviction, your own Senator Taft appeared and testified that this man's reputation was "excellent without question." Senator Bricker appeared and testified that his reputation was "very, very good," and Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republi-

Communist record. No such report or warning ever came to me. Under date of Dec. 26, Mr. Dulles responded. Listen to what Mr. Dulles said:

"I have heard the report which you refer to, but I have confidence that there is no reason to doubt Mr. Hiss' complete loyalty to our American institutions. I have been thrown into intimate contact with him at San Francisco, London and Washington. Under these circumstances I feel a little skeptical about information which seems inconsistent with all that I personally know and what is the judgment of reliable friends and associates in Washington."

That, my friends, was John Foster Dulles, the general's adviser on foreign policy.

"Board Stood by Hiss"

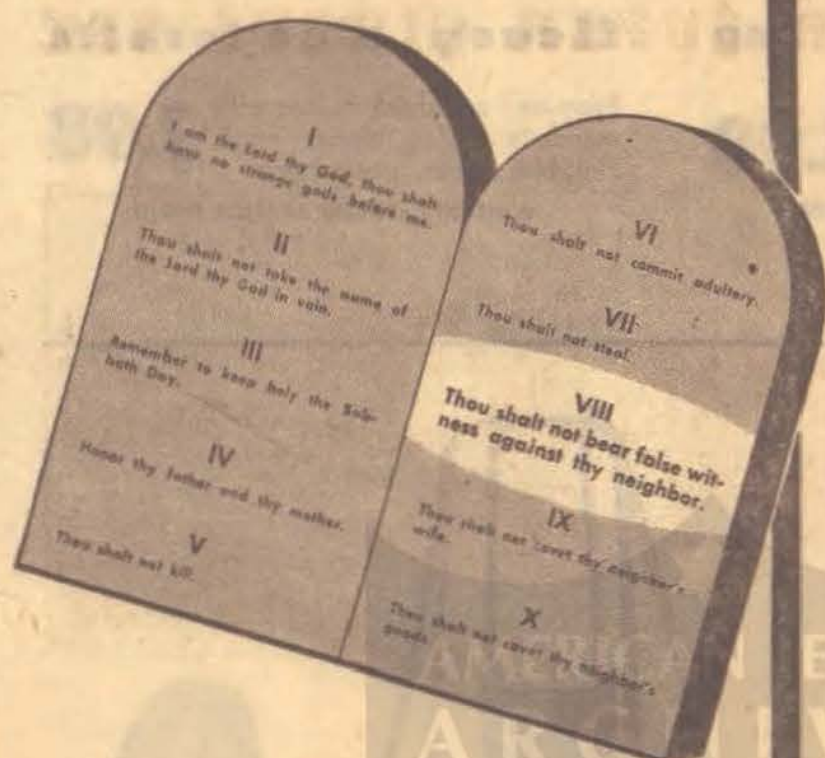
In May, 1948, Gen. Eisenhower was elected to the board of trustees of the Carnegie Endowment at the same meeting at which Hiss was re-elected president and Dulles was re-elected chairman of the board. This was months after I had seen Hiss for the last time. I am sure the general would never have joined the board of trustees if he had any doubt concerning Hiss' loyalty.

After he had been indicted by the grand jury, Hiss tendered his resignation as president and trustee of the Carnegie Endowment. The board of trustees, of which Gen. Eisenhower was a member, declined to accept his resignation and granted him three months' leave of absence with full pay so that he might defend himself. The general was not present at the meeting, but I do not find that he ever voiced disapproval of this concrete expression of trust and confidence. In May of 1949, the month in which I gave my deposition, and again in December, 1949, after the first trial of Alger Hiss, the board of trustees, of which Gen. Eisenhower was still a member, again voted to reject Hiss' resignation as trustee.

Attacks 'Innuendoes Employed in Crusade'

Alger Hiss, Gen. Eisenhower and Dulles continued as fellow members of the board of trustees until after the conviction of Alger Hiss.

I bring these facts to the American people not to suggest that either Gen. Eisenhower or John Foster Dulles is soft toward Communists or even guilty of the bad judgment that the general's running mate charges against me. I bring them out only to make the point that the mistrust, the innuendoes, the accusations which this "crusade" is employing, threatens not



Do You Believe in Moral Principles?

THEN WHY NOT DEMAND MORAL DECENCY OF YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES?

As college and university teachers, *we would ordinarily prefer not to lend our names to partisan statements during an election. But as citizens and responsible individuals, we feel obliged to speak out . . .

We Are for STEVENSON

- 1. BECAUSE** we believe in his high moral character and personal integrity, despite the recent attack by the junior senator from Wisconsin.
- 2. BECAUSE** we admire his refusal to indulge in character assassination. We call to your attention the statement of the Catholic Bishops of the United States that, "Dishonesty, slander, detraction and defamation of character are as truly transgressions of God's commandments when resorted to by men in political life as they are for all other men."
- 3. BECAUSE** we approve of Christian Justice and American Civil Rights. As thinking members of college faculties, we, like Governor Stevenson, strongly oppose communism and just as strongly oppose adoption of its methods.
- 4. BECAUSE** we know he respects the public intelligence and continues to "talk sense to the American people."

*The signers of the statement—Democrats, Republicans and Independents—all of whom have contributed to the cost of this ad, are acting in their capacity as voters and citizens. They do not, and cannot, with propriety, speak for the several schools, or all of their members.

66 Milwaukee Area Teachers Endorse Stevenson

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Dr. Ralph Aderman | Michael Maloney |
| Jerome W. Archer | Rudolph Morris |
| James Barrett | Dr. Dale Nance |
| Ernest Bellis | Dr. John Nash |
| Barbara Bixby | Dr. Frederick I. Olson |
| George Boehrer | Charles J. O'Neil |
| Valbur Borger | Dr. Orlando Overn |
| Calvin Corman | Stanley J. Peloquin |
| Giles A. Doeger | Dr. Mary Jo Read |
| John F. H. Douglas | Herbert Rice |
| John Dulka | Oral Robbins |
| Dr. Donald Emerson | Dr. Pearl Robertson |
| Dr. Maxwell Freeman | John W. Saunders |
| Dr. Norvan Gordon | Robert Schellin |
| George Goundie | Norma Schnell |
| Marc F. Griesbach | Dr. Marion Silveus |
| Dr. Herbert Haessler | Dr. Emmet Shipman |
| William Heckman | William D. Spring |
| David Host | Floyd J. Stachowski |
| Journet Kahn | John F. Stasny |
| Kelvin M. Parker | Patricia Steenbergh |
| Dr. Elizabeth Kerr | Tom Stine |
| Robert A. Kidera | Ruth Stoveken |
| Scott L. Kittsley | Alice Streng |
| Pierce Kramer | Ralph Tillema |
| John Lazenby | Nick J. Topetz |
| Lowell Lee | John P. Treacy |
| Milton Levin | Jacob Van Tuinen |
| Charlotte Major | Elsa Ulbright |
| Dr. David Malcolm | Le Roy A. Wauck |
| Dr. Lee Mathews | Dr. Max Wasserman |
| William J. McAsey | Milton Weber |
| Dorothy Miniace | Donald Woods |

World-Wide

IKE PROMISED the innocent would not be hurt in his drive against disloyalty.

The general said government must be made up of incorruptible people. But if any subversives turn up, Ike declared, they "will be uprooted in a hurry and gotten rid of, and innocent people will not be damaged in the process." There are "just and American ways" of doing the job, the general told whistle-stop crowds across Pennsylvania.

Eisenhower's remarks were made before a scheduled nationwide speech by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.), whom Democrats contend has injured innocent people with unsupported Communist-in-Government charges.

Eisenhower said he'd stand pat on his proposal to go to Korea, if elected, in an effort to end the conflict there. "I shall not be deterred by any kind of criticism that any partisan wants to bring against me," he declared.

President Truman accused Ike of being "thoroughly dishonest" about the Korean situation. The President, in a speech at Gary, Ind., also charged Eisenhower's speech in Detroit last Friday on Korea "was clearly an attempt to deceive the American people." Truman based his charges on Ike's statement that the State Department had made the decision to withdraw American troops from Korea in 1948. The President said professional military men of the U.S. recommended the decision and said the general was one of these.

In a Pittsburgh speech last night, Eisenhower asserted Stevenson has a mentality "completely untutored" to meet tough world problems. He repeated his charge that the Administration has deliberately fostered inflation policies and "treadmill prosperity" for workers.

STEVENSON SAID G.O.P. campaign promises may have delayed a Korean armistice.

The Democratic nominee reasoned that Republican pledges for "a quick and easy end to the Korean war" weakened the U.S. position. He asserted that General Eisenhower has intimated he could end the conflict but has offered no concrete proposals. Noting that the Communists see in every sign of weakness a chance to win an advantage, Stevenson declared: "In a test of will, it is dangerous to appear to falter."

Aldal promised he would deal "mercilessly" with any disloyal persons he found in Washington. "The way to find such persons," Stevenson stated, "is by the quiet, careful police work of the Bureau of Investigation and not by making noisy accusations which have little or nothing to do with finding the Communists."

Stevenson's swing through Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut finished off his New England election drive.

MCCARTHY ASSAILED Stevenson in a nationwide radio and TV speech.

The controversial G.O.P. senator from Wisconsin cited an editorial in the Communist Daily Worker and asserted the Communists have been ordered to support Stevenson. The jargon, he said, constituted a "complete endorsement" of the Democratic Presidential nominee.

In a lengthy address, McCarthy also criticized Stevenson's aids and some of the governor's past affiliations. "I do not state that Stevenson was a Communist or pro-Communist," McCarthy declared, "but I must believe that something was wrong somewhere."

Stevenson said before McCarthy's speech the senator would give "the most magnificent of all smears of all times."

European Sentiment Turns to Adlai After Ike's Early Big Lead

Both Left and Right-Wing
Newspapers Show Pref-
erence for Stevenson

By A. E. JEFFCOAT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PARIS—"The European press has elected Stevenson."

That headline appearing in the Paris-Press, a moderate newspaper, shows how far the swing to Stevenson has carried in Europe, as the Continent watches the last week of the American election campaigning.

Most European newspapers adopted "prudent neutrality" throughout most of the United States' campaign, after acclaiming the Eisenhower victory over Senator Taft at the Republican convention. But in the last few weeks, wherever left or right-wing journals have disclosed their sympathies, they've turned to Stevenson.

"Eisenhower has deceived a number of his partisans, especially the neutral observers of the whole world," laments the Frankfurter Rundschau, German independent daily of left-wing tendencies. Echoes the rightist Gazette of Lausanne, Switzerland: "Americans would be sure to do a good job by electing Stevenson next month."

Western Europe in July was solid Eisenhower territory.

Public Opinion Less One-Sided

Adds the London Economist: "If the general hasn't lost his lead in European public opinion, at least Europeans have 'largely lost their initial partiality toward one side.'"

European interest in the Presidential campaign has mounted the last few days as the battle over issues such as Korea has intensified. According to French newspapers, one British Laborite deputy even proposed the British Parliament go on vacation until November 4.

Observers in France, who regard the American domestic problem of Communism as a minute one compared with their own experience (the Communists are the biggest party in France), have voiced disappointment at the way this issue has been emphasized in the Republican campaign.

Even the dignified London Times rapped the "excesses" of General Eisenhower in supporting "fanatic and irresponsible" elements of his party, which had attacked General Marshall. Some European newspapers also have deplored the way political capital has been made of Korea, since in general they have supported the American policy there.

See Change Since Convention

Most important, however, in turning European opinion, has been the impression created here that General Eisenhower truckled to reactionary forces which Europeans thought he had licked at the Chicago convention.

"It looks to us like the general has collected all sorts of evil straphangers since Chicago," says one London commodity trader. "Most people here think Stevenson, although quiet, has more brains and common sense on political matters."

While sentiment for Eisenhower has dropped in Europe, some newspapers on the Continent think he may regain some of the loss. Said the Paris-Press: "We Europeans recognize that after a period of concessions to the extreme right, Eisenhower is beginning to become himself. It wasn't the general who disquieted people so much as the American public opinion which obliged him to make those concessions."

Moody Ikemen

Memory of '48 Debacle Gives Some the Shakes Amid General Optimism

"Decisive" New York, Illinois,
California Get Some Final
Attention at Headquarters

Views on McCarthy Speech

BY PHILIP GEYELIN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—A psychiatrist wandering through the Eisenhower camp this week might diagnose the mood as mildly manic-depressive.

That's the term the mental doctors use to describe "alternating periods of excitement and depression." And that phrase about sums up the frame of mind of General Eisenhower's political lieutenants with the Presidential election just six days away.

The excitement stems from unbridled optimism among the general's aides about the outcome of the election. Everybody on Ike's campaign team is convinced the general will win. Depression sets in nonetheless, whenever Ikemen reflect on the nightmarish outcome of 1948's Presidential race, when "certain" victory for Dewey turned into bitter defeat.

Figures Temper Mood

These mixed emotions show up in private talks with Ike's campaign helpers. Publicly, of course, the general's high command is boldly predicting victory. Privately they say the same; but their confidence is tempered with uncertainty on the question of just where Ike is going to get the necessary electoral votes to win. They're even more cautious about forecasting his victory margin.

"We're going to beat the pants off Stevenson," says a leading light in the Eisenhower entourage. A landslide? "Well," says this forecaster, "I wouldn't want to predict the margin by which we'll win—but we're going to win. That's for certain."

A member of the Eisenhower entourage who mingles with political experts in the rear car of the general's special train gives this estimate of the mood there:

"They're confident, but not cocky. There's no pessimism. Everybody knows they've got a fight on their hands. They don't say precisely what states Ike will carry. But the feeling seems to be that Ike's popularity is so great everywhere that he can't lose."

Fighting Overconfidence

The we've-got-a-fight-on-our hands approach doesn't come easily to some of the political strategists in the Ike camp who've been perusing reports from grass-roots Republican workers, scanning private polls taken by the Eisenhower forces, and keeping up with the samplings of Dr. Gallup et al. All these point to an Eisenhower victory and the general's campaign managers have taken

evidence. The idea is to forestall the sort of overconfidence that weakened the Dewey drive four years ago.

Ikemen can't help being impressed, none theless, by evidence of their candidate's strength. "The reports we're getting are fantastic," says one Eisenhower campaign helper, adding: "They're so good they're scary." He thinks the general will be "in with a landslide if the reports and the polls are even partly right."

Though the Ike forces see victory in sight they're naturally taking no chances. The general will be campaigning hard right up to election day. Earlier this week he stumped across Pennsylvania. Yesterday, he started a three-day tour of this city. On Friday he heads for Chicago, and a flying visit to California is still under discussion before the wind-up Monday in Boston and New York.

Inside the G.H.Q.

In the general's temporary G.H.Q. here the hustle and bustle increase as the election gets closer. Telephones are constantly jangling. Visitors stream in and out. Campaign workers go about their work a little grimly. "This is one we just can't afford to blow," one worker declares.

A sign of the jitters: The reaction among the high command to Senator McCarthy's half-hour attack on Democratic Candidate Adlai Stevenson. Campaign officials on the Eisenhower special went out of their way to disclaim any responsibility or even connection with Senator Joe's handiwork. "We've had absolutely nothing to do with the McCarthy broadcast," was the quick response to all inquiries about the Wisconsin senator's speech. Afterwards, one official declared in relieved tones: "No hits, no runs and not too many errors," when asked to say how he thought Senator McCarthy's campaign contribution might effect the Eisenhower cause.

Sizing It Up

Though Ike's politicians have a lot of doubts about just where the general will compile the necessary 266 electoral votes, they are not, of course, without a pretty good idea of how the election can be won. Here's how they now size up the situation:

They expect Ike to carry the Midwest, with the possible exception of Illinois. They're counting on the mountain states, and the Northwest, except possibly for Washington. They're not depending on the general to do more than "chip"—rather than "crack"—the solid South, and the likeliest target below the Mason-Dixon line, they figure, is Virginia. Texas is rated far down the list of likely Southern conquests.

The big question marks, as Ikemen see it, are Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Minnesota, and California. They expect to carry three other states with large electoral-vote blocs: Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Beyond that, there's disagreement on just which combination of big, decisive states Ike must carry to win.

The Three Crucial States

One veteran politico in the Ike camp thinks the election boils down to Illinois, California, and New York. "Whoever can win two out of

Ikemen: The Memory Of '48 Debacle Brings The Shakes to Some

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those three will win the election," he declares. It's significant that the general should concentrate in the last few days of the campaign on New York and Illinois. It's also significant that the campaign brain-trust is toying with the idea of a junket to the West Coast.

New York State is perhaps the biggest headache confronting Ike's strategy board. It's particularly worrisome to Governor Dewey who is counted on to see that the State's 45 electoral votes go to General Eisenhower.

An indication of the closeness of the New York race is seen in the quiet campaign by Mr. Dewey to explain away the possibility of an upset in his backyard. The governor is passing the word that "no political leader can transfer his popularity to someone else." He's also critical of what he calls "a trade of New York for the Midwest." He thinks Ike's

efforts to appeal to Midwestern Taft supporters may have cost him vital support here in the East.

New Yorkers on the Eisenhower campaign team say confidently that Ike will squeak through. But it's no coincidence that the general is putting in a total of seven days of campaigning here in New York City and in the Republican strongholds upstate.

Despite concern over the way things are going in some key states, the overriding sentiment among Ike-men is optimism, and this has increased mightily in recent weeks. One big reason: There are no outward signs of any waning in Ike's popularity. He still draws big crowds most everywhere he goes, unlike his forerunner, Mr. Dewey, whose crowd appeal faded towards the close of the 1948 campaign.

The general's speech-writers are cheered also by the improvement in his platform technique. They think recent speeches, particularly those in Pittsburgh and Detroit, packed much more of a punch over television than earlier efforts.

While the optimism mounts, the anxiety grows too. The closer the election-day climax comes, the more the tension mounts, and the more General Ike's aides are haunted by the thought of a repeat of the 1948 G.O.P. disaster.

Optimism & Adlai

Stevenson Lieutenants, Once Pessimistic, Now Say They Scent Victory

Claim Near-Solid South, the
Border States, Maybe Both
New York and California

Script Gets More Familiar

BY ALAN L. OTTEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—An air of guarded optimism pervades the Adlai Stevenson special.

As the Democratic nominee tours the East in his wind-up campaign for the Presidency, many aides who formerly admitted their man was the underdog or who refused to hazard predictions are now cautiously claiming victory November 4.

"I told my wife to cash in our war bonds and to cover any bets she could get," says one of the governor's lieutenants. "She wouldn't do it, but that's how confident I am now."

"Sure we're going to win," a second aide declares. "Now it's just a question of by how much." A third Stevenson strategist says he thinks his man right now is "a darn good bet, and if the election weren't for two more weeks, I'd give odds."

"Could Go Either Way"

But another of the governor's top men says he still can't make up his mind. He feels it still could go either way.

"I didn't share the feeling of pessimism before and I don't share the feeling of optimism now," he states. But even he adds: "This I do know, though. If an Eisenhower victory is based on his carrying Texas and Illinois, then he's through. Because if I'm sure of anything, I'm sure we'll carry those two states."

The Stevenson headquarters are hoping mightily that the governor's swing will put the clincher on his chances of victory. The 15-car special train with its official party of 25 to 35 and with another 75 to 100 newspaper and radio reporters and photographers, is hitting intensively such see-saw large-electoral vote states as Illinois, Indiana, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

The governor left the executive mansion at Springfield, Ill., last Tuesday. He'll be back there, 12 days and 4,221 miles later, Saturday night. The only other active campaigning after that will be a radio-television speech in Chicago Monday night. He'll vote in Libertyville, Ill., early Tuesday, and then return to Springfield to get the sad or glad news.

Case for Adlai Win

All the Stevenson men who now are claiming victory put their case together much the same way. They say the South and border states will be carried solidly or with at most one or two defections, giving the governor right off 160 to 175 of the needed 266 electoral votes. They rank Virginia, Maryland and Florida as the worst bets, but say that the situation is looking up even there.

They maintain—despite recent predictions to the contrary by political columnists—that the governor will carry his home state of Illinois. Encouraged by the huge crowds the governor got during the last few days on his Massachusetts stops, they're claiming the Bay State and they've always claimed also Rhode Island. They think the trend is running strongly their way in New York and California, and they feel they should get at least one of those states if not both. If all this happens, they conclude, it's inconceivable the governor won't get some other votes in the Far West or the East or Midwest. "Q. E. D.," they declare, "we're in."

Mail and the Polls

To back up this appraisal, the optimists cite these factors:

Mail and other reports coming in both from local political leaders and from plain every-day voters unanimously state the governor is gaining strength, and many of the professional polls back this up.

It is asserted that Stevenson's 1948 gubernatorial campaign in Illinois followed much the same pattern, lagging far behind most of the time and then catching on in the last two or three weeks and gaining right up until election day.

"The letters and reports show a tremendous amount of switching going on," says Dick Nelson, head of the Young Democrats of America and one of the top aides to Campaign Manager Wilson Wyatt. "Even better, this sort of thing is contagious."

Nelson and other Stevenson lieutenants feel confident the "undecided" voters are going to turn out to be overwhelmingly Democratic. "In many places," one official observes, "it just ain't respectable to be Democratic this year, so they say they haven't made up their

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Optimism & Adlai: Stevenson Camp Thinks It Scents Victory

Continued From First Page

mind. They may even say they're voting for Ike, but they won't."

The Matter of Money

The optimists also claim that money is now beginning to come in in fairly sizable amounts. This is a sure sign of victory, they say, for it means the big corporations and large individual donors sense things are going Democratic. "There is an urge and disposition to contribute to the winning campaign," is the way Democratic Party Chairman Stephen Mitchell puts it.

In keeping with this same "they're seeing how the wind blows now" theory, it is pointed out that Senator Russel of Georgia, Senator Smathers of Florida and several other Southern leaders have recently become more active in supporting Adlai.

In many areas, the big-city Democratic machines have hitherto been performing indifferently—now they're really out and working, it is asserted. The big Northern voting blocs—such as the Negroes, highly-organized labor, Jewish and other minority groups—are claimed to be in line almost as solidly as in 1948. The only big defection in this category, it is stated, is among the Irish Catholics, and the governor is devoting considerable attention to combating this defection on his current trip.

Some Worries, Too

But while there are many favorable signs, there are also some major worries, Stevenson's aides admit. The problems most worrying them are three, which occasionally overlap and duplicate—the Korean war, the farm vote, and Communism.

The Korean war has become even more of a worry to the Democrats since Ike's dramatic pledge to go to Korea personally, if elected, and try to end the war. "The governor can keep talking from now until the end of time about the reasons for the war, how it's keeping the fighting in Asia rather than in Kansas or Illinois," says one assistant. "But the people only know that kids are dying."

The Democrats concede a strong trend in the farm vote back to the Republicans, and fear that recent price drops in corn, hogs and cattle aren't helping but they hope the tide will turn at the last moment, as in 1948, and that farmers will go into the voting booth, think again, and end up voting for "Democratic prosperity."

The Communist Issue

Charges that the Democrats have been "soft" on Communism, and that Adlai would continue this policy, have been especially effective among the traditionally Democratic Irish Catholic vote in the big cities, which Adlai badly needs for victory. The governor has devoted half-a-dozen major speeches on this swing to pledging his own efforts against Communism and to charging that Republican "obstructionist" policies actually do more to help Communism than anything else. He'll keep hammering away at this theme right through November 4.

So far, the trip must be accounted on balance a successful one for Adlai. While crowds have been poor at some spots, like Rome and Little Falls in upstate New York, at other cities—Pittsfield, Springfield, Boston, Cleveland, Rochester, Youngstown—they've been extremely good. Practically everywhere there is a feeling of increased activity on behalf of the Democratic candidate.

First Train Swing

Surprisingly enough, considering how late it is in the campaign, this is Stevenson's first major campaign swing by train. He spent one day whistle-stopping in California early in September, and another day in his recent invasion of Texas, but all his other campaigning has been by plane or motor.

One reason, the governor was rather

embarrassed about saying the same thing over and over, a key ingredient of whistle-stopping. Aides finally talked him out of his fear, to the point where he's used some incidents in almost every single speech.

For example, a favorite is a letter from Jimmy, a one-day old baby, who said, "I was born only yesterday, but I am for Stevenson."

The governor usually remarks that this is a lad of "extraordinary character and rare discrimination." Reporters traveling with him got so fed up with the story, however, they wrote him a chiding letter. He continues to use the story, but now he prefaces it with an apology to the newsmen.

"Teeth in Their Mouth"

Occasionally, he's shown himself to be quite weary. In one speech, when he wanted to refer to Democratic efforts for a "peaceful world" he actually said "peaceful war." When he wanted to make his usual description of the Republican old guard as "one-eyed guys with knives in their teeth," it came out as "one-eyed guys with teeth in their mouths."

The tone of the governor's speeches on the current swing—and for the past two weeks or so—is markedly different from that of the earlier campaign speeches. There's still an occasional "highlevel" effort, but more and more the emphasis is "give-em-hell."

Two of the most obvious new themes are the bitter, direct personal attacks on Ike—something which was toned down or written around during the earlier campaigning—and repeated contrasting of "Hoover depression" with "Democratic prosperity," which Adlai has reluctantly come to realize is the Democrats' biggest vote-getting hope.

Over and over, Adlai plays the record of Ike's "surrender to the old guard"—the Gloomy Old Pessimists—and his "embracing" Senator Jenner and McCarthy. Repeatedly he accuses the general of "changing his views to suit his itinerary." At Akron, he charged the Republicans with operating a shell game to bilk the voters, and Ike with being "the man out in front, urging the people to come in and try their luck."

Military Mind, 1930's

At Buffalo, with its large Polish population, he quoted Polish General Bor-Komorowski as opposing any premature attempt to liberate the Iron Curtain countries. "As between General Bor and General Eisenhower," he said, "I think General Bor has a better idea of what is good for Poland. At Dunkirk, N.Y., he adopted Ike's simile of the country "needing a new bus driver," and declared that the general has good ideals, has the right destinations, but by joining the Republican old guard "he isn't on the road that leads where he wants to go—he is on the wrong bus."

The attack on Ike also plays up the military man theme. At Pittsfield, he quoted an adage that "there are three kinds of intelligence—human, animal and military." A letter to Senator Russel, thanking him for his support, emphasized that the senator, as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, had a fine chance "to grasp the vital necessity of experienced civilian direction for our Government."

The second main campaign theme recalls the horrors of the early 1930's. At Syracuse, the governor reminded his audience of the milk strikes "when angry and desperate farmers tried to take matters into their own hands." At Worcester, he urged his audience to think back "to the stock market boom and bust, to the farmer, lonely and defenseless, to the worker without the protection and dignity which strong labor organization gives him today."

Candidate Eisenhower Perturbs British Paper That Liked General

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Oct. 17.—The Economist, one of Britain's most influential weeklies, which prior to the nominating conventions showed a slight preference for Eisenhower the General, voiced some grave misgivings today about Eisenhower the candidate, and held these misgivings to be shared by many Europeans.

Disclaiming any intent to interfere in the United States Presidential elections, The Economist put it this way:

"America's allies have not turned partisans in America's election, but they have lost their initial partiality for one side."

To put it another way, the weekly said that although the Atlantic Alliance probably would be safe no matter who won, and while Europeans could still say with all sincerity, "May the best man win," the mental image of the best man "is no longer as clear a reflection as it was of one familiar physiognomy."

Solid for Him in July

The Economist said that last July Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower appeared the man of destiny to heal the schisms in American life and "lead the Republicans back to responsibility." Speaking then for those Europeans who "have no votes," but whose lives and security were directly concerned, The Economist said it then hoped that General Eisenhower would be the next President.

"Western Europe in July was solid Eisenhower territory," the magazine said in its leading article today.

At the time of his nomination by the Democrats, the article said, Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson was virtually unknown, but since then his speeches have made a great impression, "not only for their grace and eloquence, but for the evidence they have given of a man who has thought things through, who has built up his principles and will not allow himself to be pushed off them."

On the other hand, the weekly said, General Eisenhower's friends "are at a loss to understand what has happened to him."

What caused the first misgivings to the editors of The Economist was General Eisenhower's willingness to "swallow whole the crude formulation of the 'liberation doctrine' that [John Foster] Dulles put before him." This thesis that the United States should use every peaceful means to overthrow the totalitarian regimes in the satellite countries, the weekly said, sent "shivers down every European spine and seemed to confirm the

insidious propaganda that paints the clumsy Americans as the chief threat to peace."

The article conceded that General Eisenhower "put matters right" in his next speech, but it argued that a man with his experience should never have got it wrong in the first place.

Sees No Surrender by Taft

While it would be going too far, The Economist said, to suggest that General Eisenhower had surrendered to Senator [Robert A.] Taft, the magazine wryly noted that "nobody has suggested that the Senator capitulated to General Eisenhower." The weekly found the nominee's endorsement of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, his condoning of Senator Richard M. Nixon's fund, his failure to deliver his intended words of tribute to General of the Army George C. Marshall incompatible with the high hopes that were entertained before General Eisenhower's nomination.

In European eyes, The Economist said, General Eisenhower's great merit was that he "stood for something quite different in principle from Taft's purely self-regarding brand of Americanism." But since his nomination, the article said, the Republican candidate has attacked the post-war acts of the Truman Administration in "terms which not only shed a curious light on his own part in the events he described, but cast some doubt on the course he would follow if elected."

The Economist said that if the points it raised were concerned only with campaign oratory and the necessity of conciliating the Republican right wing, they could be dismissed, but it asserted they went deeper.

"What has set people wondering," the magazine said, "is the emerging signs that Mr. Eisenhower, the politician, is a different man from General Eisenhower, the architect of united victory. Part of his appeal was that he would be a President perhaps lacking in expert knowledge of the facts in many departments of public policy but solid as a rock on all matters of principle."

WHAT THE GENERAL MIGHT SAY TO THE GOVERNOR

By JAMES RESTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WITH THE CANDIDATES IN DREAMLAND, Oct. 18—Ever since General Eisenhower went through Springfield, Ill., the other day and Governor Stevenson invited him to drop into the Governor's Mansion for a talk, I keep dreaming that they actually met and that I was there.

At the start of this dream I am standing off to one side of Governor Stevenson's study on the fourth floor of the mansion. It is a little like the incident during the Democratic convention in Chicago when the correspondents lay behind a big plastic curtain in the Morrison Hotel and listened to Governor Stevenson as he was telling the Illinois delegation that he didn't want to be nominated.

In this dream, however, the Governor is talking to the General and I can see them this time and nobody else is in the room where they are, or off to the side where I am. And like all dreams, at least since Freud, this dream had a basis in reality because there are in it echoes of conversations this correspondent has heard in both camps.

Enter Taft Factor

Eisenhower: (Entering Governor's study from small elevator.) Sorry I was late, Governor. I had to ask Senator Taft's permission to come here, of course, and at first he didn't want to let me.

Stevenson: (Laugh.) I understand, General. Sit down and tell me: How do you like politics?

Eisenhower: I keep longing for the peace and quiet of the Battle of the Bulge.

Stevenson: I know. I go around telling people they never had it so good, but I've never had it so bad. I'll be glad when this is all over and I can stop smiling again.

Eisenhower: Why didn't somebody tell me it was like this?

Stevenson: Nobody can tell you, General, because nobody can remember from one Presidential election to another just how bad it is. (He suddenly looks solemn.) The speeches, and the noise, and people everywhere, shouting and shoving and pumping your hand.

Eisenhower: And the photographers—ordering you around like it was your first day in the Army.

Stevenson: I can't remember the last time I went anywhere alone. You're used to crowds and security officers, but even after I moved into this old house I could come and go more or less as I pleased, and I liked that. Now I feel shut in and watched. Sometimes I wake up at night and can still hear the sirens and motorcycles backfiring, and for a minute I can't remember where I am or why I'm here.

Eisenhower: I know what you mean, Governor, but I still think you've had it easier than I have. At least your timing was good. You chose to run when the McKellars were disappearing and the McCarrans weren't running.

Stevenson: That raises a point that really puzzles me. (He hesitates and looks hard at the Gen-

Report of an Imaginary Conversation In Executive Mansion in Springfield

eral.) Do you want to talk about the campaign or shall we merely be polite?

Eisenhower: Go ahead, Governor. We may not agree about who's talking sense to the American people but at least we can talk sense to each other.

Stevenson: Good. Let me say this: I didn't want to get into this campaign any more than you did. At the beginning of this year I even thought it would be good for this country if the Republicans were elected. I felt that all the more strongly, General, when you indicated in January that you

Republican party as if it were a private club that I invented and owned. Look, Governor, you and I are in a fight and I'm going to leave it to your imagination what I think of McCarthy and Jenner, but I'll say this:

I don't remember Franklin Roosevelt going around refusing to back stray opposition Democrats in a Presidential year, and I frankly don't think I have any right to try to blackball anybody who's running for office on my ticket. This is a federal union. The people of Wisconsin have a perfect right to nominate Joe McCarthy if they

'VICTORY THROUGH AIR POWER'



Barck in The Chicago Sun-Times

would accept the nomination. And I didn't lose that feeling entirely after the two conventions even though I knew a party nominee shouldn't have such thoughts.

Eisenhower: And now?

Stevenson: I don't feel that way any longer, General. I'm frightened of a Republican victory now. Your deal with Taft amazed me. Your endorsement of McCarthy saddened me, and frankly, I'm puzzled about why you did it.

Eisenhower: Well, let me be just as frank. It is fairly easy for you to talk. Your party has been in power for twenty years. You have a record to run on. Your party has a certain discipline, just because it has been in power, and the Democrats who control the machinery of your party are in general agreement with the policy you support.

Stevenson: I agree with all that.

Eisenhower: Now my position is quite different. The party machinery was in the hands of people who were sympathetic to Senator Taft. They were not only disappointed after the convention, they were sullen and maybe even bitter. I could understand why they were sullen, I was, after all, an interloper who had taken away Bob Taft's third—and last—chance. My job, as the party nominee, as I saw it, was to unify the party, to represent it, all of it, and not just part of it. And frankly, I think this was not only the fair thing to do but the practical thing to do. For while it's true that I can't win without help from the independents, it's a cinch I couldn't win without the regular Republicans and their organization.

Jenner and McCarthy

Stevenson: Okay, General. But why McCarthy and Jenner and all those other characters? I know how hard it is to get harmony. Incidentally, I heard a good definition of harmony the other day: A freckle-faced girl in a polka dot dress riding on a giraffe. But seriously: When you ask for the reelection of McCarthy and Jenner and all the rest of that gang you are asking for the continuation of men whose ideas you have fought against most of your life and whose policies jeopardize everything from our civil liberties to our foreign policy.

Eisenhower: You talk about the

like—or Charlie McCarthy for that matter—without advice from me.

Besides, look at the Senate. Your party has a majority of two right now. When you ask me to pick a public fight with six or seven Republican Senators up for re-election what you're really asking me to do is guarantee a Democratic Senate. So let's be reasonable. Some of my best friends are Democrats, but I'm not gonna accommodate them to that extent.

Ends and Means

Stevenson: I understand the argument, General, but I disagree. This is the old "ends and means" stuff all over again and I'm still idealistic enough to believe that the means you use determine the ends you get. If you win on Taft's arguments you will have to follow Taft's policies; if you use McCarthyism and its doctrine of "guilt by association" you will inevitably help perpetuate McCarthy and his foul doctrine.

Eisenhower: We are talking frankly, Governor, and I don't want to defend either the Senator or his doctrine, but I want to say this to you, because it has disturbed me more than anything else in this campaign. You have condemned the doctrine of guilt by association for years—and I agree with you—but it seems to me that you have come very close to using this doctrine or something very much like it—against me.

Your whole campaign is now based on the charge that somehow, because I have associated with Taft in this campaign, I'm guilty of every Tory policy he ever backed—or worse, that I'm such a knucklehead that even with the power of the Presidency at my command I would be helpless to stand out against him for the things I've fought for all my life.

Stevenson: Wait a minute, General, you went through about three red lights there. Surely there's a difference between condemning a man because he happened to belong to some organization which some fellow traveler belonged to and criticizing a man for agreeing publicly to another man's views in a political campaign. Your "association" with Taft is entirely different. He's the most powerful Republican in Congress. Everybody knows what he stands for and you've underwritten almost all of

it. Under those circumstances your association does involve a certain responsibility—I would call it guilt. After all, it isn't the President who makes the laws; it's Congress.

Eisenhower: Your approach is much more legalistic than mine, Governor. I don't believe in choosing up sides with people, putting them in neat categories and assuming that what they did and said and how they voted in the past would determine what they were going to say and how they were going to vote in the future.

You can make a wonderful argument out of this in a campaign—and may I say you are doing it very well—but you can't lay it down as a rule of life. At least not for me. Men with responsibility for governing and men without responsibility are not the same thing. They do not act the same way. Franklin Roosevelt was a budget balancer in the campaign of '32 but he did not let theories, or past promises, or even past convictions blind him to the facts of life when he had to govern. The Democrats in Congress did many things when Roosevelt came to power that they had opposed when they were in opposition to Hoover.

Stevenson: Are you arguing that Republican Senators did one thing in opposition and would turn around and do the opposite when their party was in power?

Influence of Conservatives

Eisenhower: If you want to put it that way, that's precisely what I'm arguing.

Stevenson: Well, General, as Mr. Mencken used to say: There's some truth in what you say, but not much. The basic power in your party lies with the conservatives. They are powerful. They are determined. In their hearts they believe in national solutions to international problems, in high tariffs, in the most limited alliances if any, and the most limited Federal intervention, if any. You can fight them, and sometimes you can beat them, as you did with the aid of the liberals at Chicago, but you cannot join them without being captured.

Eisenhower: (Rising to go.) If I believed that, Governor, I would have run a totally different campaign, but I don't believe it. I don't believe that the party in power determines our fate, but the facts of life. You underestimate the revolution your party devised and administered in the last twenty years. It was a good revolution, on the whole, and I think it stuck. I think the things that unite us—and I mean all of us—are now, perhaps because of that revolution, stronger than the things that divide us, especially if we don't divide everybody into heroes and villains at the beginning.

Stevenson: You have less respect for the power of institutions than I have, General, but I'm glad you came anyway.

Eisenhower: (Entering the elevator.) Thanks a lot, Governor. By the way, how about lending me a couple of speech writers for the rest of the campaign?

17 Oct 52
Wall St. Journal

REVIEW and OUTLOOK

Mr. Eisenhower and the Senators

As the Presidential campaign progresses, Governor Stevenson increasingly belabors Mr. Eisenhower for having endorsed for re-election to Congress Republican candidates for whom Governor Stevenson has a good deal less than a high regard. Senators McCarthy and Jenner lead the list but there are others.

Whether this form of attack will achieve the desired result of turning the so-called independent vote away from Mr. Eisenhower is something that will be more apparent on the morning of November 5 than at present.

But at the moment it is interesting that some of the political commentators who several weeks ago seemed to think that Mr. Eisenhower had made a mistake in accepting these political associates now are having second thoughts.

Mr. Eisenhower himself has given an explanation of his action and it seems to us that the explanation reveals that he has an understanding of the fundamentals of the American form of Government.

American parties have been in the nature of loose coalitions which have accommodated people of varying shades of opinion. They have not been tight organizations where each candidate had to toe a strict party line. To attempt to create parties in which all must agree or be expelled would be to produce the variety of splinter parties that plague Europe and make so many of the governments of Europe unable to act decisively.

Also the accredited party machinery in the various states where the senators in question are candidates has nominated these senators, in several cases after efforts to prevent their nominations. So if Mr. Eisenhower now declared against these candidates, he would be in the peculiar position of running on a platform of states' rights and at the same time telling people in the states that they were incapable of choosing their own senators.

Again Mr. Eisenhower believes that

one party in charge of both Executive and Legislative branches of the Government makes for more responsible Government. But if he turned his back on half a dozen Republican senatorial candidates, he would leave the voters who might heed him no choice except to vote a Democrat into office and give the Democrats control of the Senate.

In 1938, the late President Roosevelt attempted to purge half a dozen congressmen. His action met condemnation and the cry of "dictator" was one of the more moderate that went up. Also Mr. Roosevelt for all the power that he had as President was not successful and he later showed signs of regretting his purge attempt. The men he attempted to purge came back to Congress—with one exception—and from that time on there was a barrier between them and the Chief Executive.

Mr. Eisenhower has chosen the other course. He will attempt to work with and to persuade to his program whatever Republicans the voters of the states choose to send to Congress. It is noteworthy that this course already has produced one result in shape of a speech by Senator Jenner of Indiana saying that he is not in fundamental disagreement with Mr. Eisenhower's views on either foreign or domestic policy.

One of the considerations that caused Mr. Eisenhower to become a candidate for the Presidency was his distress at the sharp divisions among the American people. He believed that there existed quite unnecessarily a situation where men took unalterable stands from which they hurled recriminations that shut out all chance of discussion and compromise. Mr. Eisenhower's position on this matter was outlined in a Paris dispatch to this newspaper as far back as September, 1951.

To have attempted to purge the Republican Party of all elements which did not agree with him would have aggravated the very situation that Mr. Eisenhower hopes to correct.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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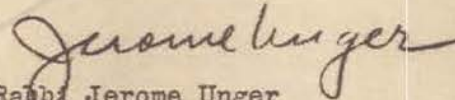
To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

The American Zionist Council is pleased to circulate to its constituent organizations the text of statements made public by the Democratic and Republican candidates for the Presidency, expressing their views on United States aid to Israel and the Near East.

The American Zionist Council is a non-partisan organization. The cause it has advocated -- the establishment and economic consolidation of the State of Israel -- has always had and continues to have the support of both political parties. Both parties affirmed their friendship for Israel in the political platforms adopted in Chicago, and both Presidential candidates have now made clear their positions.

We send these statements to you for your information and use in your community.

Sincerely yours,



Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:JK
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hapoel Hamizrachi • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
• Mizrahi Organization of America • Progressive Zionist League-Hashomer Hatzair • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut
Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America • Zionists-Revisionists of America

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ON ISRAEL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver met with General Dwight D. Eisenhower on October 18 at the latter's residence at Columbia University. Dr. Silver had written to the General on October 14, suggesting that the Republican Presidential candidate define his views on the subject of Israel. After the meeting, the following letter from General Eisenhower to Dr. Silver was made public:

October 17, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road and East 105 Street
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I was very pleased to receive your letter. I know, of course, of your profound interest in everything which concerns the State of Israel and of the unforgettable contribution which you made toward its establishment.

I should wish you and all Americans to know that I am in complete and hearty accord with the statement on Israel in the Republican platform. This, as you well know, was not a new departure, politically motivated, but one which represented a consistently friendly and cooperative attitude on the part of the Republican party over a period of many years. You will recall how vigorously and effectively Republican Senators and Congressmen, Governors and State Legislators supported the cause which was never viewed by them as a partisan issue, but as one which commended itself to all right-thinking people because of its inherent justice and as the right solution for one of mankind's grave and pressing problems.

As Commander of the Allied Armies during the last war, I had the fullest opportunity to observe closely the tragic conditions of the war ravaged and Nazi decimated Jewish communities of Europe. It will be one of the enduring satisfactions of my life that I was privileged to lead the forces of the free world, which finally crushed the brutal regime of Hitler, with its responsibility for all those unspeakable atrocities. Our forces saved the remnant of the Jewish people of Europe for a new life and a new hope in the reborn land of Israel.

Along with all men of good will, I salute the young state and wish it well. I know what great things it has accomplished. I admire the hardihood of its pioneers and the vision and quality of the work of resettlement and reclamation which they are so energetically prosecuting. I also know something of their besetting difficulties and of the problems, both political and economic, which confront them. Foremost among these is that of establishing peace with the Arab world. Such a peace would be a boon both to Israel and to the Arab states. Such peace in the Middle East is essential to the free world. Every encouragement should be given to facilitate

direct negotiations between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbors whose independence, freedom and prosperity are equally the hope and wish of the American people.

One of the serious stumbling blocks in the way is the problem of the Arab refugees. In my judgment, both statesmanship and humanity dictate that these unfortunate refugees should, as rapidly as possible, be assisted with adequate means honorably to reintegrate themselves in the neighboring Arab countries wherever their reabsorption in Israel is either not feasible or practical.

The State of Israel has given every indication of being a progressive democracy which is desirous of cooperating with the free world in defense of human freedom and against totalitarian aggression. It is in the interest of the United States and of all peace loving nations that political and economic aid to establish their own security should be extended to Israel and to all countries in the Middle East which are similarly intentioned, to an extent consistent with a sound overall mutual aid program.

With warm regards and all good wishes,

(Signed) Dwight D. Eisenhower

* * * *

Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the American Zionist Council, received the following statement on Thursday, October 23, from Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic candidate for President, expressing his views on Israel:

"Four and one-half years ago there was born in the Middle East a new democracy, the nation of Israel, the fulfillment of a people's dream of many centuries.

"The friendship of the people of the United States for the new nation of Israel is unquestioned. We may be proud of the fact that President Truman made us the first country to recognize Israel, and that he promised his own unstinting help to the new state.

"But words are often cheap, actions come dearer. We may be even prouder that our pledge of aid to Israel has been honored. One hundred and thirty-eight million dollars in grants for the economic strengthening of Israel was voted by the last Congress. In addition, one hundred and thirty-five million dollars in loans have been granted by the United States Export-Import Bank.

"Not only has Israel received the help of our government, she has also benefited from the generosity of our people who have contributed generously to the noble cause of the United Jewish Appeal and who have invested in Israeli bonds.

"Israel both needs and deserves the continued help of our government and our people. Even as an infant nation drawing the first breath of independence, she welcomed into her midst with open arms and a warm heart all her people seeking refuge from tribulation. In four and a half years her population has more than doubled, imposing a burden which few nations in history have had to bear. America would do well to model her own immigration policies after the generosity of the nation of Israel, and we must work toward that end.

"The economy of Israel has been severely strained. Great sacrifice and stringent discipline have been demanded of her people. Yet they have carried the load willingly. They are living testimony to the strength of democracy.

"We in America are fortunate to be citizens of a democracy endowed with abundant resources and great wealth. Our debt to the ideal of democracy, which we in our time struggled to establish in this country, can be repaid in part if we as a nation and as individuals give of our bounty to lighten the load of a great people struggling to build a firm democracy in their own land.

"The platform of the Democratic Party affirms this. It pledges both 'continued assistance to Israel so that she may fulfill her humanitarian mission of providing shelter and sanctuary for her homeless Jewish refugees, while strengthening her economic development.'

"Just as the goal of our own foreign policy is to bring lasting peace to the world, our goal in the Middle East is to bring about a settled peace through the friendly solution of all its problems. Our platform is founded on a record of action. We will again translate its word into action in the years ahead."

TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER MAKE FINAL STATEMENTS ON "MASTER RACE" ISSUE

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- President Truman and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican Presidential candidate, came out last night with what seemed to be their final statements on the "master race" controversy raised by Mr. Truman in a message last Friday to the Jewish Welfare Board charging Gen. Eisenhower with condoning the "anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic" policies of the McCarran Act. General Eisenhower, in speeches on that day, called for a revision of the McCarran Immigration Act.

Replying directly to President Truman's charge that he was allied with anti-Semitic forces, Gen. Eisenhower told a gathering at Providence, Rhode Island, last night that the Democrats had "overstepped themselves" by making that allegation. "I leave the answers to those to my good friends Cardinal Spellman, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Bernard Baruch," he said. "Already, they have established those stories for the falsehood that they are."

President Truman in a statement issued last night at the White House, said that the Republicans were "deliberately distorting" his remarks about Gen. Eisenhower in order to create the impression that he had accused the general of being anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic. "I said no such thing and indeed, meant no such thing," said the President, "and any fair person who reads what in fact I did say must be as shocked as I am at the absurdities in the press of the last few days."

Truman Says Eisenhower is no Anti-Semite; Reiterates Statement

The President emphasized that he knew that Gen. Eisenhower was neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Catholic, but asked why he had given his endorsement to Republican Senators who voted for the McCarran immigration bill and who later voted to override his veto of the bill. The full text of his statement follows:

"Certain Republican leaders have been deliberately distorting my statement of Oct. 17 concerning the position of the Republican party and the position of most of its representatives in Congress on our immigration laws. Perhaps what is needed now is a calm clarification of the situation. Now, what does the record show; what precisely did I say last Friday? I repeat the exact words I used:

"Among those who voted for the McCarran bill and to override my veto, was the Republican candidate for Vice-President. Among the other Republicans were Sens. Jenner and McCarthy, together with ex-Sen. Revercomb, the champion of the anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish provisions of the original DP bill. These men have been embraced by the candidate for President.

"The Republican candidate for the Presidency cannot escape responsibility for his indorsements. He has had an attack of moral blindness, for today he is willing to accept the very practices that identified the so-called "master race" although he took a leading part in liberating Europe from their domination."

"I do not withdraw a word of that statement. But the Republicans and a few others whom they were able to persuade to help them, chose to distort the simple meaning of my words as a charge that the Republican Presidential candidate is anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish. I said no such thing, and indeed, meant no such thing; and any fair person who reads what in fact I did say, must be as shocked as I am by the absurdities in the press of the last few days.

"Certainly, people remember that I have made clear that Sen. McCarran, the principal sponsor of discriminatory immigration legislation, 'is not my kind of Democrat.' Contrast that with the Republican candidate's willing and hearty indorsement

MILLER ADVOCATES PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JEWISH PEOPLE

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- The conviction that "the Zionist movement must reassert, in clear and unequivocal terms, the historic partnership between the Jewish people and Israel," was expressed here today by Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the Zionist Organization of America, upon his return to the United States from a visit to the Jewish State.

"The Jewish State was created as a result of that partnership," Rabbi Miller said. "It will now help establish it securely and firmly as well as insure creative Jewish living everywhere in terms of those spiritual and cultural values which have and will still come from Zion and Jerusalem.

"I was happy to see that this conviction is now shared by all Israeli leaders including the Prime Minister. Indeed, this was the basis of our long and thorough discussions in the course of which we explored all possible measures to strengthen the Zionist movement in the United States by bringing about a closer degree of unity and coordination among all Zionist parties. The Prime Minister gave me his assurances that the fullest support and prestige of the State of Israel would be extended to such a Zionist movement.

"In this connection, I conveyed to the Prime Minister the sincere hopes of countless numbers of American Zionists that, in Israel too, there might be manifested a greater spirit of national unity and cooperation among all parties and groups. It was a source of regret to me--as I believe that it was to the majority of Israelis--that the latest attempt at bringing about a broader government coalition had temporarily failed. I say temporarily advisedly, for I am convinced that the vast majority of the people in Israel desire a government representative of all the forces in Israel devoted to the principle of a liberal democracy, the maintenance and safeguarding of the social and economic rights of labor and the full encouragement of private initiative and private investment. Sooner or later, such a coalition government will come into being and result in a new spirit of unity within the country," he predicted.

"The government and people of Israel are determined to build in the Middle East an outpost of political and economic and social democracy. They are deeply appreciative of the material and moral support they have received from America. Since this support has been traditionally bi-partisan, they are hopeful that whatever the results of the national election, this support will continue to be one of the keystones of American foreign policy," he concluded.

U. N. ELECTS ISRAELI AS RAPPORTEUR OF IMPORTANT COMMITTEE

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 21. (JTA) -- Mrs. Zena Harman, advisor on social affairs on Israel's delegation to the United Nations, was elected rapporteur of the U. N. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, receiving 31 votes in a secret ballot. She was nominated by Norway. A delegate from Afghanistan who was nominated for the same post by Iran, received 24 votes.

Mrs. Harman was born in London and settled in Palestine in 1940. She is a graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Science. She is the only woman delegate of any country to receive an appointment at this General Assembly, and she is the first Israeli delegate of either sex to hold any kind of office at the United Nations.

TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER MAKE FINAL STATEMENTS ON "MASTER RACE" ISSUE

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- President Truman and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican Presidential candidate, came out last night with what seemed to be their final statements on the "master race" controversy raised by Mr. Truman in a message last Friday to the Jewish Welfare Board charging Gen. Eisenhower with condoning the "anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic" policies of the McCarran Act. General Eisenhower, in speeches on that day, called for a revision of the McCarran Immigration Act.

Replying directly to President Truman's charge that he was allied with anti-Semitic forces, Gen. Eisenhower told a gathering at Providence, Rhode Island, last night that the Democrats had "overstepped themselves" by making that allegation. "I leave the answers to those to my good friends Cardinal Spellman, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Bernard Baruch," he said. "Already, they have established those stories for the falsehood that they are."

President Truman in a statement issued last night at the White House, said that the Republicans were "deliberately distorting" his remarks about Gen. Eisenhower in order to create the impression that he had accused the general of being anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic. "I said no such thing and indeed, meant no such thing," said the President, "and any fair person who reads what in fact I did say must be as shocked as I am at the absurdities in the press of the last few days."

Truman Says Eisenhower is no Anti-Semite; Reiterates Statement

The President emphasized that he knew that Gen. Eisenhower was neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Catholic, but asked why he had given his endorsement to Republican Senators who voted for the McCarran immigration bill and who later voted to override his veto of the bill. The full text of his statement follows:

"Certain Republican leaders have been deliberately distorting my statement of Oct. 17 concerning the position of the Republican party and the position of most of its representatives in Congress on our immigration laws. Perhaps what is needed now is a calm clarification of the situation. Now, what does the record show; what precisely did I say last Friday? I repeat the exact words I used:

"Among those who voted for the McCarran bill and to override my veto, was the Republican candidate for Vice-President. Among the other Republicans were Sens. Jenner and McCarthy, together with ex-Sen. Revercomb, the champion of the anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish provisions of the original DP bill. These men have been embraced by the candidate for President.

"The Republican candidate for the Presidency cannot escape responsibility for his indorsements. He has had an attack of moral blindness, for today he is willing to accept the very practices that identified the so-called "master race" although he took a leading part in liberating Europe from their domination."

"I do not withdraw a word of that statement. But the Republicans and a few others whom they were able to persuade to help them, chose to distort the simple meaning of my words as a charge that the Republican Presidential candidate is anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish. I said no such thing, and indeed, meant no such thing; and any fair person who reads what in fact I did say, must be as shocked as I am by the absurdities in the press of the last few days.

"Certainly, people remember that I have made clear that Sen. McCarran, the principal sponsor of discriminatory immigration legislation, 'is not my kind of Democrat.' Contrast that with the Republican candidate's willing and hearty indorsement

of Sens. Jenner, McCarthy and Revercomb. The first two, along with Sen. Nixon and most Republicans voted to override my veto of the McCarran bill, which is recognized everywhere as discriminatory.

"Sen. Revercomb, it will not be forgotten, championed the notorious anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish provisions of the original displaced persons bill. This is what I said, and these are the facts which nobody has yet denied. What all of this furor adds up to is that the Republicans in their eagerness to get votes are trying to find in my statement of fact something that is not there. I cannot tolerate this.

"If the Republican candidate sees fit to indorse such well-known supporters of discriminatory legislation, if he is willing to campaign on a platform that is utterly silent on the subject of amending that legislation, and if he wants people to take seriously his belated acknowledgment, just the other day, that the McCarran Act needs radical amendments, he must then explain to the public whether he accepts the practices of the men he supports or whether, by some political disclaimer, he disassociates himself from their practices.

"The practices of those Senators--the practices of the big lie and of character assassination--are identified with the so-called 'master race' theory and no amount of distortion can change that fact. I know that the Republican candidate for President is neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Catholic, but why does he give his indorsement to such men? That is what I condemned last Friday and this is what I condemn today."

McCarran Says Both Presidential Candidates are "Misled"

Earlier in the day, Senator Wayne Morse, Republican of Oregon who announced his support of the Democratic national ticket on Saturday, sent a telegram to Mr. Baruch, expressing disappointment at his "pro-Eisenhower" statement. "I do not see how you can ignore the fact that anti-Semitic forces as well as other intolerant groups who stand for discrimination against minorities are entrenched in the reactionary wing of the Republican party and are giving their vigorous support to Eisenhower," the Senator said.

Meanwhile, Senator Pat McCarran denounced as "a shameful display of demagoguery" the recent attacks on the immigration and nationality act bearing his name. Mr. McCarran said both General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson had been "misled" about immigration quotas under the immigration law. He said it used the same national origins quota system that had been the basic policy of this country since 1924.

U. S. AGENT OF GERMAN GROUP ATTACKS AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

CHATHAM, N. J., Oct. 21. (JTA) -- An attack on the American Jewish Congress was made here by Harold Keith Thompson, Jr., registered agent in this country of the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party of West Germany. Mr. Thompson said that the American Jewish Congress was one of several groups that were "actually agencies of a foreign state, the State of Israel," and should be compelled to register as agents of a foreign principal.

Mr. Thompson denied a recent charge that the Socialist Reich Party was a neo-Nazi group. At the same time, he demanded the immediate release and restoration of the property and rights of 1,045 Germans imprisoned as war criminals. Such an act, he said, would be in the best interests of the United States.

1,200 DELEGATES ATTEND WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT CONVENTION

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- The twelfth national biennial convention of the Women's ORT opened here today at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel with 1,200 delegates from all parts of the country participating. The delegates represent a membership of 30,000.

Addressing the opening session, Dr. William Haber, president of the American ORT Federation, paid tribute to the women's group through whose efforts a great deal of heavy machinery and other equipment for ORT's world-wide network of schools has been procured. Mrs. Ludwig Kaphan, national president of the Women's American ORT, delivered a report on the stewardship of the officers of the organization during the past two years.

ISRAEL MAYOR PRESENTS BIBLE TO MAYOR OF NEW YORK AT CITY HALL

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- Mayor Oved Ben-Ami of Nathanya, Israel, today presented to Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri a specially bound and inscribed Hebrew Bible sent by the citizens of his city as a token of friendship for the people of New York.

Mr. Ben Ami, who is in the United States in connection with the current drive of the United Jewish Appeal, also presented to the New York Mayor a hand-lettered and decorated scroll commemorating the fact that one of Nathanya's most important thoroughfares has been named "New York Avenue." The presentation ceremony took place at City Hall.

FEINBERG ELECTED PRESIDENT OF COMMITTEE FOR WEIZMANN INSTITUTE

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- Abraham Feinberg, New York civic leader, has been elected to the presidency of the American Committee of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Israel, it was announced today by Dewey D. Stone, chairman of the board. Mr. Feinberg, who was previously chairman of the national council of the American Committee, was inducted into office yesterday at a brief ceremony held in the home of Senator Herbert H. Lehman, who is a life-long friend of President Chaim Weizmann of Israel and has been a member of the national council of the committee since its inception.

Congratulating Mr. Feinberg upon the assumption of his new post, Senator Lehman pointed out that "the fostering of the scientific program of the Weizmann Institute of Science would accelerate the development of Israel as a true sister democracy to the United States which has done so much to facilitate its progress towards independence."

NEW YORK CITY OFFICIAL LAUDS ERECTION OF NEW JEWISH HOSPITAL

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. (JTA) -- The erection of a \$5,500,000 Jewish hospital in Long Island was lauded here today by Dr. Marcus D. Kogel, New York City Commissioner of Hospitals. A ceremony at which the cornerstone for the hospital was laid, took place on Sunday. When completed, the hospital will be five stories high and will have 205 beds with service facilities for possible expansion to 500 beds. The hospital will operate on a non-sectarian basis and will derive annual maintenance funds from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York with which it will be affiliated.

Church Council Asks Revision Of Alien Act

Special to the New York Post
Washington, Oct. 28—A general overhauling of the McCarran Immigration Act was called for today by the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A., representing 31,000,000 church members.

At the same time the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization was urged by the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to recommend the setting up of a National Immigration Policy Commission to control all phases of the problem.

Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, of the Council of Churches, said the new McCarran Act effective Dec. 24 is "an affront to the conscience of the American people." The council urged dropping of the national origin systems of admission, an end to discrimination against Asiatics and more flexible quotas.

The position of the Jewish groups was outlined by Irving M. Engel, New York attorney, who said the McCarran Act has "a one-sided flexibility—in favor of exclusion."

Pointing out that the agencies for which he spoke had long been fighting discrimination, Engel said "the whole racist tenor of our immigration laws is reflected in the new requirement of the McCarran Act that all prospective immigrants must state on their visa application their 'race and ethnic classification'."

Anthropologists, he said, have held that "race" cannot be de-

fined to the satisfaction of scientists.

"A word can mean many things to many people," Engel said, "and no word, one may almost conclude, means more things to more people than does the word 'Jew.' Science aside, here are many Jews who insist that Jews are not an ethnic group at all, but simply a religious denomination."

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