



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel
78

Box
27

Folder
1711

Willkie, Wendell, campaign, 1940.

Wendell L. Willkie

An Exclusive Interview with the Republican Nominee for the Presidency

By JOSEPH H. BIBEN

Editor and Publisher of THE AMERICAN HEBREW

FIVE years ago I first called upon and met Wendell Willkie, the meteoric Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States. I found him buried in a pile of law books, coat hanging over the back of his chair and shirt sleeves rolled up. He was tired. His elbows rested upon the desk and his face was cupped in his hands. His eyes were closed. He was resting after an arduous morning and, perhaps, daydreaming. But whatever his daydreams were, certainly they were far removed from the vision of a Wendell Willkie of 1940 becoming a candidate for the highest office in the land.

"Oh, I say," I exclaimed, "I'd better not bother you now. I can see you're not in the mood for visitors."

Immediately he straightened up, his manner alert—friendly. He smiled that winning smile of his, now famous, and waved me to a chair as though rest were the farthest thing from his mind, and we talked about the business at hand.

On Wednesday of last week I called again upon Wendell Willkie. This time, too, he was the epitome of informality, but his hardy, virile six feet two inches of manhood gave no hint that he could ever tire. In his outer office were congregated scores of prominent business and national leaders, campaign workers, reporters, friends and all the usual coterie that attend the man who rises to great heights in public affairs.

I was ushered into his office at 20 Pine Street in New York and cordially greeted. Mr. Willkie wanted to know how THE AMERICAN HEBREW Permanent Commission on Better Understanding Between Christians and Jews, of which he is a member, was coming along. We reminisced for a few moments about our past meeting and then I bluntly broached the question I had come to ask.

"We all know your liberal record," I began. "We are aware of your keen grasp of world affairs and of the understanding and efficiency you naturally bring to everything you undertake. We remember, too, that you

fought and defeated the Ku Klux Klan in Akron in 1924-1926. But now that you are a candidate for the Presidency, I wonder whether you would crystallize for all the millions that compose the minority groups in this country your attitude on their problems."

Wendell Willkie smiled. His eyes seemed to say that it would be easy for what he had to declare had been a part of him for a lifetime and was not merely the statement of a man who was trying to be elected.

"I know just what you mean," he replied. "I have always been opposed to anything that smacks of prejudice, intolerance or hatred. It is my sin-

tunity. His parents, the late Herman and Henrietta Willkie, had both been lawyers in Elwood, Ind. Young Willkie worked as a farm hand during harvest season in Minnesota and later as a laborer in California. His contact with working people has been intimate and close and explains his friendly, democratic manner and his great personal popularity. As a matter of fact it has been hinted that as long ago as 1909 he was a Socialist, but there is evidence that this is probably a legend based upon an attempt he made to get up a class to study Socialism.

During his college days at Indiana University he became a devoted follower of the older LaFollette, and in spite of clashes with the younger LaFollette on utility matters, he is still considered a LaFollette Liberal.

The records show that while Willkie was still in college, pursuing a law diploma, he helped his father with the defense of some labor pickets against whom an injunction had been issued. They won the case. He joined the army in 1917, on the day that war was declared, and after he received his discharge went into law practice. He became a corporation and trial lawyer in Akron, Ohio, where he fought and won the battle against the Ku Klux Klan.



Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for the Presidency, and Joseph H. Biben, editor and publisher of THE AMERICAN HEBREW, shaking hands after their conference at Mr. Willkie's office last Wednesday

cere belief that any machinery set up for hate must envelop ultimately those we love."

HE paused and looked squarely into my eyes. Then he made the following unequivocal statement:

"I will uphold and defend minority rights as well as religious liberties in America, because our country was founded upon these principles and the perpetuation of democracy depends upon them."

Wendell Willkie could not have spoken otherwise. His liberal training goes all the way back to his early boyhood. His grandparents, Willkie, had fled from oppression in Germany a century ago, political refugees, who started anew in this land of oppor-

IN one of his public addresses, Mr. Willkie gave the following definition of a liberal: "The liberal is a man who believes in freedom for himself and for other people."

His statement on minority rights and religious liberties is but an elaboration of this definition. And yet, at a time when so many people preach hate and intolerance, it impressed me with its promise for the future of America. No one could have stood by and heard Wendell Willkie utter those solemn words without being moved by his sincerity. It is a fine commentary on the state of public opinion in this country that a great political party has had the vision to name a candidate so imbued with the spirit of liberalism and tolerance.

The American Hebrew

FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING

BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

JULY 12, 1940



ANY machinery set up for hate must envelop ultimately also those we love. I will uphold and defend minority rights as well as religious liberties in America, because our country was founded upon these principles and the perpetuation of democracy depends upon them."

WENDELL L. WILKIE, *Republican nominee for the Presidency, in an exclusive interview with Joseph H. Biben, editor and publisher of THE AMERICAN HEBREW.*



THE NATIONAL WEEKLY OF JEWISH AFFAIRS



The Cleveland Press

August 1, 1946

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
Haines Landing, Me.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I hope I am not intruding upon your vacation with this letter. However, since your secretary told me that you will not return for another month, I thought I would take the liberty of writing you.

The other day I recalled that last March 30 you told the congregation of The Temple:

"It is not the law but tradition that there should be rotation in the office of chief executive every four or eight years. In this case, the tradition or custom is more powerful than a law."

Now that the two parties have met in convention and now that Mr. Roosevelt has been nominated for a third term and has accepted that nomination, we are wondering whether you would like to express yourself on the candidates, or on Mr. Roosevelt's third term try, or on Mr. Wallkie.

If you care to, we shall be happy and willing to carry any statement you may want to make. I would appreciate it if you would mail or wire me collect any comment you may care to make.

Sincerely

Robert D. Maher
Politics Editor

Office of the Rabbi
270 West 89th Street

Phone: Schuyler 4-1400
4433

Temple
257 West 88th Street



CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN
NEW YORK CITY
Founded 1825

August 9, 1940

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 St. & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I notice in "The Day," the announcement of your support of Wilkie.

A number of people in my Congregation have been asking me about Wilkie's record with reference to his attitude toward the Jews, before his nomination as a Republican candidate.

I have no doubt that you went into that question before making up your mind, and I should be grateful to you if you would let me have whatever information you have on that subject---specifically, what statements Wilkie has had occasion to make, and what attitude he has had occasion to show during the earlier years of his career, and what Jews have thought of him in the communities where he lived and worked.

While I personally intend to support Roosevelt, in spite of the third term, I should like to be in a position to answer the above questions in the affirmative.

I trust that you and your family are having a restful summer. My own summer hardly offers relaxation. I am in town most of the time. That naturally subjects me to most of the routine, Congregational and extra-Congregational, which makes life so hectic during the rest of the year.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Israel Goldstein
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

ig;heg

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
100 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Colorado Springs
August 11, 1940.

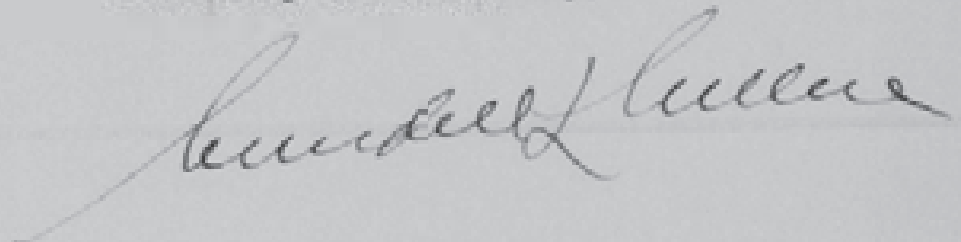
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am most appreciative of your statement released in the Cleveland Press of Tuesday, August 6, announcing your support of my candidacy for President of the United States.

As one of the outstanding Jewish rabbis in the country, as well as a noted liberal and leader in the Zionist movement, I am proud to have your support, and I am deeply grateful for all you are doing in my behalf.

Cordially and sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Wendell L. Willkie". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Wendell L. Willkie".

JEWISH *Digest*

CHickering 4-6039

August 13, 1940

11 West 42nd Street
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Rev. Dr. A. H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

We have read with great interest your statement in support of Wendell Willkie and should very much like to have an article from you on "Why I Am for Willkie" for the first - October - issue of the JEWISH DIGEST, which will have a very wide distribution. The enclosed circular will give you some idea as to the nature of our magazine and we are attaching to it a copy of the revised table of contents.

As a digest, our magazine will take no stand on the presidential candidates, but we do wish to run this article by you and another article by some other outstanding Jew on "Why I Am for Roosevelt" in the November issue. We have discussed this matter with Judge Proskauer, and he also thinks you are the person to write this article on Willkie. Besides, we believe you owe it to the Jewish public to explain your deviation from the general attitude.

If you agree to give us such an article, you will naturally be free to say what you like and you will find yourself in good company. Among the contributors to our first issue are Henry A. Wallace, Pierre Van Paassen, Wickham Steed, Stefan Zweig, and Dr. Louis Finkelstein.

The article need not exceed two thousand words in length, but we must have it by August 26. Please let us know immediately if we may have your cooperation in this matter.

Cordially yours,

B. Z. Goldberg
B. Z. Goldberg
Editor

BZG/MM

THE JEWISH WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY

Publishers Of

THE JEWISH DAILY WORLD

Cleveland, Ohio

Executive Offices
10600 Superior Avenue

August 13, 1940

Direct all correspondence to
executive offices for acknowledgment

Rabbi A. H. Silver
Mooselook Meguntive Inn
Haineef Landing, Maine

Dear Rabbi:-

This is with reference to the statement issued by you opposing the reelection of President Roosevelt, as reported in the papers.

Needless to say that it is not my intention to argue with you on this question, regardless of our editorial attitude and my own opinion. I found, however, that your statement created a lot of interest and commotion in the Jewish community and especially among our readers. I also found that the political groups supporting President Roosevelt's opponent, including the Republican National Committee, are trying to capitalize on your stand.

Taking the above into consideration I would appreciate very much if you could see your way clear to make a statement at your earliest convenience for the JEWISH WORLD and its readers in connection with this question.

Hoping that you enjoy your vacation and assuring you of my high esteem for you, I remain,

Very truly yours,

THE JEWISH DAILY WORLD

by

H. Horowitz
Editor

ep

Dear Honor Guest:

The National Committeeman and Committeewoman for Indiana, the Indiana State Committee and the Elwood Arrangements Committee, cordially invite you, and one, to be their guests at the Indiana Luncheon at 12:30 o'clock on Notification Day.

Luncheon guests will assemble at the Park Pool and will later go directly to the Notification address.

(YOU ARE URGENTLY REQUESTED TO REPLY TO
THIS INVITATION ON THE ENCLOSED CARD)

The Wendell L. Willkie Arrangements Committee
of Indiana

requests the honor of the presence of

Rabbi A. H. Silver

at the ceremonies attending the notification of

Wendell L. Willkie

of his nomination by the Republican National Convention

for the office of

President of the United States of America

at Elwood, Indiana

on Saturday afternoon, the seventeenth of August

Nineteen hundred and forty

Office of the Rabbi
270 West 89th Street

Temple
257 West 88th Street

Phone: Schuyler 4-1400
4433



CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN

NEW YORK CITY

Founded 1825

August 20, 1940

Dr. Abba Hilbl Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

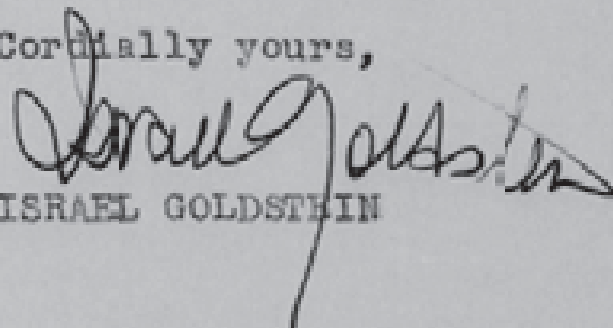
Thanks for your letter and enclosures. You may want the clippings back.

I still believe that it would be of interest to know all the details of Mr. Willkie's record before the time that he became a Presidential candidate. If any information comes to me, I shall gladly forward it to you, and I should be grateful to you if you would similarly communicate with me.

I trust you are accumulating maximum stores of energy during your vacation. You will need it in the year which is before us. I dread to think what it may bring. You may recall our chat around the U. P. A. table after the capitulation of France. Your date line for England, fortunately, has not materialized, but how long can England hold out? It would be one of the miracles of history if it succeeds in staving off disaster.

With best wishes, and looking forward to a year of co-operation with you, I am

Cordially yours,


DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

IG:heg
Encl.

SONGWOOD
CASCO, MAINE

Aug. 21, 1940.

Dear Dr. Silver:-

The connection from Portland was none too clear yesterday when I spoke to you, and you may not have heard clearly all I said. For that reason I'm writing to you.

Mr. Wilkie has seen your statement to the Cleveland papers, and wants to talk to you. I understand from you that you will be in Maine until the 27th, and will then return to Cleveland. I spoke to you on behalf of the Republican National Campaign Committee. Mr. Wilkie

will confer in New York on itinerary.
He will either come to Maine
before the 27th or not at all. In
that event, I shall to see up other
arrangements with you.

I do not know whether you
remember me. I introduced you
in January, 1939 at the public
meeting in Cincinnati when the
Union had its convention there.
Max Tierney was on the program
with you. I also provided a
WPA dinner in New York a
year or two ago when Dr. Wise
introduced you. I am a member
of the Executive Committee of the
Union, and a Trustee of the
Hebrew Institute of Religion. I
was also Chairman of the Board of
the Menorah Ass'n. I stress
these affiliations rather than
others, because you would want

SONGWOOD
CASCO, MAINE

to know my views on Jewish life.
I am also a Republican, who has
seen something of political life.
If your talk with Mr. Wicks
eventuates as I hope it will,
it is likely that you will
see me at close range. Therefore,
I refer you to Dr. Wise, Ben
Goodman, and for personal
side to Marc Grossman. You
might also talk to Bob Szabo.

I hope you've had a restful
summer, and are returning to
Cleveland your usual vigorous
self.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Fred Greenman

ASSOCIATED WILLKIE CLUBS OF PENNSYLVANIA

WM. H. HARMAN
CHAIRMAN

STATE HEADQUARTERS
731 LAND TITLE BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RITTENHOUSE 9610

August 23, 1940.

Rabbi Abba H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

There are many of our people who are of the opinion as stated by you regarding the endorsement of the candidacy of Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for President, and those of us of like mind are truly elated that our great Zionist leader publically adopts such a stand. We truly feel that your assistance may be of great help, and in that respect I am requesting of you that you write for us an article addressed to a noble people, which will be in the nature of a message of greeting from you testifying to the support of the Willkie candidacy and your beliefs in his true liberal make-up, as judged by his public utterances and the features of his life.

It is our desire to publish such an item for the Jewish readers in Pennsylvania.

Will you kindly give this your immediate consideration, and I trust that you will consent to our request.

Respectfully yours,

Nathan I. Miller
NATHAN I. MILLER

NIM:dg

WIN WITH WILKIE

SONGWOOD
CASCO, MAINE

Aug. 25, 1940.

Dear Dr. Silver:-

As Mr. Hickie's plans at the moment do not call for a trip to Maine, I am writing to advise you that I shall take up with you the subject of a conference with him shortly after your return to Cleveland. I plan to return to New York at the end of the week, and will communicate with you next week.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
F. F. Greenwood.

P.S. His plans may change on short notice. If they do, I will telephone.

135 CENTRAL PARK WEST

Aug. 31, 1940.

Dear Dr. Silver:-

I missed you
by just a few minutes
at the Commodore on Friday.
I came to New York on
Thursday at the request
of Mr. Roper, the Eastern
Manager of the Wilkie
Campaign, and it was not
until Friday morning
that I learned you had

These verbose and high
sounding titles I pass on to
you so that you may know
that I am authorized to
do what I undertake.

I am very anxious to
have you and Willie
meet under circumstan-
ces where you can have
a heart to heart talk,
and an understanding of each
other. I had hoped this could
be brought about in Maine.
But he cannot come there
and his plans when he
commences to travel will
not take him East to Portland

Come to New York from Maine.
It would have been so
happy if I could have
had a talk with you here.

Suppose I call you on the
telephone some time on
Monday night. I hope I should
not be at home. Could
you leave word as to
where I could reach
you.

I am now Vice Chairman
of the Republican National
Committee, Eastern Division
and assistant to Samuel F.
Pryor, Jr., Eastern Campaign Manager.

but Mrs. Under the circum-
stances a conference at
Rusbridge, I d. would be
the occasion. I would
come to Cleveland, for there
are some things I would
want to say to you before
^{and accompany you.} you see Willie. It should
be an historic meeting.
I would want you to probe
pretty deep into certain
future convergences
in which you and I are
interested. I mean your
conference to be no mere
handshaking ceremony.
I do hope you can make
the trip. It will mean a

135 CENTRAL PARK WEST

great deal to all Jews in
this and other lands, if
Mellon is elected in November.

I am confident he is
all we want him to be
but I think it will keep
him and you to have a
clear understanding which
goes beyond the mere ques-
tion of tolerance and
observance of constitutional
rights.

We are very fortunate that
a Jewish leader has your way

guide his sentiments enable
him to endorse Wilkie-
Byrne - I mean, the Republi-
cans and the Jews.

I am looking forward
to seeing you soon. With
kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
Ed Greenman



Air Mail Special Delivery

To
from N.Y.
Sept 24-1



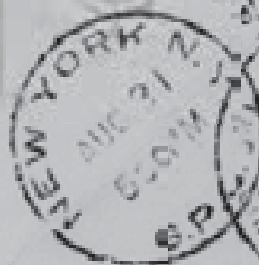
Dr. A.H. Silver,

246 East 105th Str.,

Cleveland, Ohio

F. F. Greenman
135 Cedar Park W.

NY



DR. A. PESKIND

2409 EAST FIFTY-FIFTH STREET
CLEVELAND, O.

September 3, 1940.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, O.

My dear Rabbi:

Not a few of my Jewish patients have recently come to my office with Willkie buttons in their lapels and Willkie talk on their lips. These same people but recently were "Roosevelt men."

As most of these people are members of your flock, I wonder, whether some of them at least, were not influenced by your anti-third term attitude.

You know my sincere esteem for your influential leadership, and, because of this, I take the liberty, in a most friendly way, to ask the question, whether dwelling on political polemics, as the third term disputation must be regarded, does not lead to obscuring the main issue that confronts our people who believe in and adhere to democratic principles.

Is there, at present, a basis for the fear that the third term may lead to dictatorship? Where can we find cases on record where leaders, who whole heartedly served their fellowmen, who have striven persistently to enhance the welfare of their people and to secure peace and contentment among them and among their neighbors, suddenly turned into despotic tyrants while still possessing sound minds. Are dictators wont to act thus? Certainly not.

These are bold adventurers, who find in times of social upheavals and prevailing poverty and misery pabulum for their unsatiable sadistic lust, who seize predatory powers to enslave their helpless fellowmen. Such dictators cater to no terms, sanction none, but dictate their own terms prompted by instinctive brutal passions.

Does it not behoove us to concentrate all our thoughts and efforts on countering promptly the horrifying onslaughts that are now overwhelming democracies and are threatening with extinction all free peoples, by choosing men of known fitness and leadership during the pending crisis.

But, as the choice by the vote of the people is limited to the election of one of two men to lead our people, does not the question confine itself to this: Which of the two men is the fitter, - I do not say the fittest, - to assume this function, - the nominee Willkie with the known records of his public services or the nominee Roosevelt with his long known leadership under trying conditions of public service. This calls for immediate decision, leaving no time for hair-splittings about conventionalities, especially when we have to think in terms of humanity.

With sincere and deepest regards for you as a friend, with earnest appreciation of you as a leader, I remain, dear Rabbi,

Sincerely yours,

A. Peskind

LAW OFFICES

ALBERT A. WOLDMAN

CHERRY 2311

1410 ~~and~~ STANDARD BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO

September 17, 1940

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Enclosed is a copy of my article, THE TRUTH ABOUT THE THIRD TERM, which was published in The Democratic Year Book.

My article differs from your own views on the third term question, which incidentally has created quite a furor, especially in Jewish circles. I have heard your statements on the issue discussed by leaders of B'nai B'rith from St. Louis, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Lorain whom I had occasion to meet recently.

I understand that the Temple Men's Club is planning a "political" night for one of its early programs. Because of the great interest aroused by your pronouncements on the question, I suggest that it would be extremely interesting and thought-provoking to hold a forum or round table discussion on the third term issue. (Your statements up until now have allowed for no discussion having been made from the pulpit or in newspaper interviews.) If you agree that this would make a good program, you might pass on the suggestion to the Men's Club.

Sincerely,

Albert A. Woldman

ALBERT A. WOLDMAN

AAW:AHF

Encl.

September 18, 1940

Mr. Albert A. Woldman
1410 Standard Building
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Albert:

Thank you so much for your letter of September 17 and for the article which you enclosed, "The Truth About the Third Term", which I read with great interest. It is persuasive, but not convincing.

I shall be happy to turn over the suggestion for a political forum to the Temple Men's Club. I regret, however, that I shall not be able to participate in any debate on this subject. You may recall that I never participate in debates. All I can do is to express my convictions. Other people have other opportunities and occasions to express theirs. As you yourself indicate in your letter and in your article, proponents of the Third Term do not lack opportunities to make their views heard.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

MAX M. DREPKOFF

SALES OFFICE

7100 EUCLID AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DUNDEE
FURNITURE
CO.

BEDROOM & OCCASIONAL
FURNITURE

MANUFACTURED AT
WARSAW, INDIANA

September 21, 1940

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel and East 105 Street
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I am a temporary resident of Cleveland, having, heretofore, been engaged in the practice of law and manufacturing in Illinois and Indiana. I had the pleasure of hearing you a number of times at various conventions in Chicago, and have always admired your liberal point of view. In fact, I consider you one of the most outstanding Rabbis in the country.

I was in Washington recently for a period of about a month, and while there, I noticed in the press, that you were in favor of the election of Wendell Willkie and opposed to the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, on account of your objection to a third term. This came as a severe, unexpected shock to me as it, no doubt, came to many other American citizens.

You, of course, are indeed privileged, as a free American citizen, to advocate the election of any candidate you choose. But, to base your objection to the re-election of President Roosevelt, the greatest President this country has ever had, and one whom liberals like yourself should cooperate with, on the basis of a third term tradition, seemed to me to be somewhat unreasonable.

I beg to take issue that this so-called tradition is really not a tradition at all. I prepared a memorandum on this question, both from an historical and practical point of view, which I am, herewith, enclosing, and I sincerely hope you will find the opportunity to read it. I am also enclosing a memorandum on Willkie's economic philosophy, based on facts and statements made by Mr. Willkie.

I cannot see how one can be consistent in objecting to the re-election of President Roosevelt on account of a tradition, and, at the same time, as a reformed Rabbi, disregard and ignore Jewish traditions and dogmas which have existed for a period

of over two thousand years. Rabbi Moses Mendelsohn, founder of reformed Judaism in Germany, and Dr. Wise, who, perhaps, may be called the founder of reformed Judaism in this country, both recognized the fact that traditional Judaism and restrictions must be adapted and changed to meet conditions under which we are living. Rules and regulations made by the Talmudists which were, perhaps, suitable during the period in which they were made, cannot be properly applied to our present daily life. I am justified in saying that, perhaps, ninety per cent of Jewish tradition and dogma has been disregarded and completely ignored by the Jewish Reform Movement, and wisely so, because such restrictions are incompatible with our modern way of life.

It occurs to me that if this is true of our religious traditions, does it not equally as well apply to a baseless tradition of a third term, which may have a tendency, if followed at this time, to arrest progress and nullify what this administration has endeavored to do in the last eight years?

Look at the men who are flocking to the banner of Wendell Willkie: Henry Ford, who can be credited as the founder of modern anti-Semitism in this country, every Nazi, every Bundist, every reactionary, I will almost be justified in saying, every enemy of American freedom and social justice can be found in the camp of Wendell Willkie. Are you, as a liberal, reformed Rabbi justified in joining such company?

I had occasion to talk to a number of intelligent Jews in Washington, Chicago and Cleveland ever since you are supposed to have made the remark against the re-election of President Roosevelt. They all deplored your attitude. May I refer you to pages six and seven of my memorandum on Wendell Willkie, his praise of "Capitalism, the Creator", by Mr. Carl Snyder. These are excerpts from the book, giving the page numbers. I am sure the economic philosophy of Mr. Snyder which has been so approved by Mr. Willkie, is not your economic philosophy. You have had the occasion of hearing Mr. Willkie in the last few weeks and, no doubt, realize how incompetent and unfit the man is to be President of the United States.

A wise man reserves the privilege to change his mind. The mere fact that you might have opposed the re-election of President Roosevelt on account of a baseless tradition, which should not and ought not to be followed, is no reason why you should remain silent at this time. I sincerely hope you will be courageous enough to renounce publicly your endorsement of Mr. Willkie and your opposition to the re-election of President Roosevelt. You have sufficient reason for doing so.

3- Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

May I hope that the two memoranda on Willkie and the Third Term which I am enclosing, herewith, will assist you in clarifying your mind. I shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Max M. Degroot

MMD:sb
enc-2



OLD HANTUCKET

BOND

JUVENILE & DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT

COURT HOUSE, UNION COUNTY

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY

HENRY S. WALDMAN
PRESIDING JUDGE

September 24, 1940.

Rabbi Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

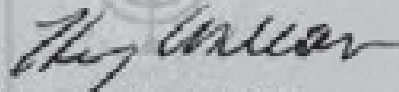
My dear Rabbi Silver,

May I ask you if you will be kind enough to please send me a copy of your statement advocating the candidacy of Wendell L. Willkie.

May I also ask you if in your opinion both candidates for the Presidency are sincere friends to the Jewish people.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



HENRY S. WALDMAN,
Judge.

HSW CJE

Kindly address reply to:
#286 N. Broad St.,
Elizabeth, N.J.

September 26, 1940

Judge Henry S. Waldman
Juvenile & Domestic Relations Court
Court House, Union County
Elizabeth, N.J.

My dear Judge Waldman:

In reply to your note of inquiry, permit me to say that I have not issued any statement advocating the candidacy of Wendell L. Willkie. My statement reiterated a position which I took frequently in the past year opposing a Third Term for any president.

As regards your second question, I have no doubt that both President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie are broad-minded and tolerant people, and are sincere friends of the Jewish people. The President of the United States has given evidence of it more than once, and Mr. Willkie has made some splendid and forceful utterances on the subject, particularly the one in which he repudiated the proffered aid of anti-Semites of the type of Coughlin.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

AHS:BX



STATE OF MARYLAND
STATE TAX COMMISSION
UNION TRUST BUILDING
BALTIMORE

COMMISSIONERS
HARRY O. LEVIN, CHAIRMAN
THOS. W. KOON
J. DEWEESE CARTER
ALBERT W. WARD
SECRETARY

September 26, 1940

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland,
Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I was delighted to read in the public press that you are supporting the candidacy of Wendell Willkie, as is the writer. I am in charge of many activities in connection with an attempt to secure as many of our people to support Mr. Willkie's candidacy as possible. I have arranged for a large mass meeting to be held in Baltimore about the 24th of October (although this is indefinite and can be changed to suit your convenience) at which no less than ten thousand citizens, principally of our faith, will be present. The meeting will be broadcast over the networks and will undoubtedly receive national attention.

We have a very serious problem in Baltimore, in that our people who ordinarily support the Republican candidacy nationally are inclined to vote for President Roosevelt. We had a similar situation here in 1928 when Herbert Hoover was opposed by Alfred E. Smith, and I prevailed upon the beloved Louis Marshall to do the same thing which I am requesting you. He came, saw, and conquered and the State and City were carried by a large majority by President Hoover. I think the same thing could be accomplished with your help.

Will you be good enough to give this your earnest consideration, keeping in mind the high purpose of our cause, and advise me by telegram if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Harry O. Levin

HOL:bb

WENDELL L. WILLKIE
100 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

September 28th, 1940.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver:

Pursuant to our long distance conversation today, I am sending you the proposed letter which I briefly discussed with you at the time. The letter speaks for itself.

We have had letters come into these headquarters from all over the United States, urging that fair play be shown to Mr. Willkie. We intend to have this letter signed by approximately six outstanding Jewish men in various walks of life in our country. All who have conferred upon this subject matter unanimously hoped that you would consent to the use of your name as one of the signatories thereto.

You will note, that in no manner or form does the letter contain a political partisan view. It is an approach to the subject matter in the interest of our people for we do not want our people classified or grouped as a block vote. Whether Willkie wins or loses, we want him and his party to feel that we have dealt fairly with him.

I would greatly appreciate your giving me your response at as early a date as possible due to the shortness of the time. I hope to have the privilege of meeting with you in the near future.

With kindest regards, I remain

Very respectfully yours,


Walter I. Sundlun

Member of Wendell L. Willkie's Personal Staff

WIS
SP

P.S. Enclosed find statement he gave to Der Tag as reproduced in the New York Times.

Dear Rabbi:

An apparently systematic effort is being made to influence our people most unfairly in connection with the present presidential campaign. A whispering campaign is now under way against Wendell L. Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States, and our people are being linked with it. Professional politicians are eager to utilize the tragedy of the Jews in the world for political purposes.

The truth is that Wendell Willkie has been, is today, and, we are sure, will be in the future, a friend of the Jewish people, as he is of all people who have been downtrodden and oppressed. He proved his friendship for Jews and for other victims of tyranny and persecution long before he ever dreamed of becoming a figure in the political arena. At a time when he had no thought of the Presidency of the United States, he raised his voice against Hitler and Hitlerism, against Fascism and all the forces of darkness in the world.

The Jewish people has always stood for truth and justice. The purpose of this letter is to submit certain essential facts to your consideration, in the hope that, after you will have weighed them carefully, you may be disposed to use your influence to the end that a grave injustice may not be done by our people to a man who has convincingly demonstrated his fairness, impartiality and complete freedom from religious and racial bigotry, and has even not hesitated, when the need arose, to champion actively the cause of the Jewish people. We do not expect you to enter the political contest in any way, nor do we ask you, as a Rabbi, to urge anyone to support Mr. Willkie. That is a matter of your private concern, and we respect that inalienable right.

The political opponents of Mr. Willkie are trying to frighten our people by the claim that his forebears were born in Germany and that he himself is therefore anti-Semitic. They know that our people are easily disturbed, and thus are trying to make capital of our heavy and troubled hearts. The charge is definitely false. Please read the following proof.

Years ago, Mr. Willkie led a fight against and defeated the Klu Klux Klan. His was a two-fisted battle against bigotry and intolerance. Later at a large inter-faith meeting sponsored by Jews, Protestants and Catholics, held at Carnegie Hall in New York City on _____, and therefore long

before he became a candidate for the office of President of the United States, he, as a chief speaker, over a national broadcast, denounced Hitlerism, anti-Semitism and all such un-American programs. He urged our people to keep our chins up in our hour of grief. On July 6th, 1940, he was interviewed by a noted Jewish journalist of the Yiddish newspaper, Der Tag, and spoke freely from his heart and defended our race against the inhuman attacks of Hitler and his kind. No man could have spoken more respectfully or with more feeling for our people than did Mr. Willkie then. His statement was published in all leading newspapers of the country.

In his acceptance address, he again clearly disclosed his state of mind towards our people as citizens of this great country. You will note in that address that his own forebears fled Germany because of religious persecution. He pleaded in that address for the cooperation of every Jew, Protestant and Catholic in his present fight to protect our "American Way of Life". He recently publicly repudiated Father Coughlin, stating that he does not wish his support or support from his kind. (See enclosed reprinted statements.)

We, as loyal American citizens of Jewish birth, are indeed fortunate to have in our great democracy at the present time, two candidates for the office of President, in whom full reliance can be placed in so far as religious issues are concerned. Both are true Americans, free from bigotry and unalterably opposed to those subversive and un-American forces that foster anti-Semitic purposes and programs; both have condemned Hitlerism, Facism and Communism. There is in this respect no difference between Willkie and Roosevelt. Therefore allegiance to either candidate should be based upon all grounds except that of religious concernment.

Numerous letters have come to us from fellow-Jews in all parts of our country, informing us of this whispering campaign and expressing their concern as Jews about it. They feel that not only is a grave injustice being done to a worthy man, who is an honored candidate for the highest office of our nation, but also that this does violence to the principles of justice and fair play basic to Jewish life and doctrine, and also that a grave danger to Israel in America is inherent in this procedure. They urge that something be done to stem the evil of this pernicious campaign. But what is there which might be done beyond informing our Jewish brethren in America of this issue and asking them to realize its import and be on their guard against it? It is just this cooperation, and no more, which we ask of you, as Rabbi and leader in Israel.

We submit this final consideration: If Mr. Willkie be elected as President of the United States, certainly we Jews in America would deplore utterly if he and his associates should have reason to feel that he was elected despite the opposition of the Jews of America, resulting from a false and

insidious campaign among them. And still more would we deplore, should Mr. Willkie not be elected, that he and his associates should have the slightest grounds for believing that this was due in any part to such Jewish opposition.

A serious situation, not of our own creation or choice, and which we condemn, confronts the Jews of America in this election. Surely you will agree that now in particular they must be wisely taught and led.

We respectfully submit this statement of fact to you and ask you, as one of our leaders, to place before our people the truthful facts and thus help maintain the dignity of our race and our reputation for justice and truth.

Very sincerely yours,



P.S. Should you perhaps deliver an address or a sermon on this or a related theme, will you please send a copy to Mr. Walter I. Sundlum, who is of our faith, and who has been appointed by the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie as a member of his personal staff. His office is located at Mr. Willkie's personal headquarters, eighth floor, Commodore Hotel. We would like to present a copy of your address to Mr. Willkie. We are most certain he will appreciate it.

September 29, 1940

Mr. Harry O. Levin, Chairman
State Tax Commission
Union Trust Building
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Mr. Levin:

Let me thank you for your kind letter of September 26. I have made it a practise not to participate actively in any political campaigns, and I am therefore unable to avail myself of your kind invitation.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BX

Twenty-five Broadway
New York City

October 1st, 1940

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland
Ohio

Dear Doctor Silver:

I hope that you will remember me from Wheeling days. Of course, I often read of your activities and as one of your first confirmees, I follow them with a great deal of interest and indirect pride.

My reason for writing you at this time is because of the way that the Jewish question is being injected into the present Presidential Campaign. I fear that it is fraught with tremendous possibilities of danger for the Jews of this country and I am, therefore, appointing myself as a committee of one to inquire of you, one of the leaders of Jewish thought in this country, if there is not some way to set a movement on foot toward the end of eliminating this particular question from the campaign.

I have spoken to many Jews, as no doubt you also have, and many of them have been frank to admit that ~~they~~ intend voting for Roosevelt because "he has been good to the Jews." Many of my Gentile friends who have been working in the campaign have received the same reaction and just today one of them, who, incidentally has Jewish partners in his business, remarked that he felt it was very shortsighted for our people to take pains to let it be known that they were voting solely on a racial basis.

To me, it is all too plain what the possibilities are of this narrow mindedness on the part of our people. For myself, I have yet to see any evidence of any sort that either candidate is anything but a tolerant, broadminded individual with deep respect for American tradition in the fullest sense of that term, despite the pernicious whispering campaign furthered by self seeking politicians.

Twenty-five Broadway
New York City

(2)

I am appealing to you to find out if there is not some method by which the Rabbis and other Jewish leaders of this country cannot be awakened to the horrible fact that American Jewry is making of itself a political issue with all of the dire risks connected therewith. They, more than anyone else in this country, should realize the tremendous importance of doing everything in their power to exhort their following individually and collectively to vote as Americans, not as Jews, for that man they think best qualified to be President of the United States. Since it is my firm conviction that both men are completely devoid of any bigotry in their make-up, it strikes me as being nothing short of racial suicide for the Jews, themselves, to make their own religion an outstanding issue in this campaign and to boast of the fact that that is their basis for making their selection.

I would be very happy to hear of your reaction to this at your earliest convenience because of the shortness of time between now and election. Naturally, your reply will be kept in deepest confidence if you so desire.

I trust you will realize that I have no desire to be presumptuous in addressing you at this time in this manner.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Most Sincerely Yours,

Joseph Klee

JK:MV

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

(49)

WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENTNEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARDJ. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

Received at

HW133 84 DL 4 EXTRA DUP OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM= 1940 OCT 1 PM 2 53
WASHINGTON DC 1 209P

REV ABBA HILLEL E SILVER=

TEMPLE EAST 105 ST & ANSEL RD=

WILL YOU JOIN ME AND A GROUP OF OTHERS WHO HAVE MADE
STATEMENTS ON THE THIRD TERM ISSUE AND WHO FEEL AS WE DO
TO SPONSOR A QUOTE NO THIRD TERM DAY UNQUOTE AND TO INVITE
THE CANDIDATE TO SPEAK BY RADIO TO QUOTE NO THIRD TERM
UNQUOTE RALLIES THROUGHOUT THE NATION ON THAT DAY. YOUR
NAME AS A MEMBER OF OUR GROUP AND YOUR POSSIBLE
PARTICIPATION AS A RADIO SPEAKER WILL BE VERY HELPFUL
AND DEEPLY APPRECIATED BY ME=

EDWARD R BURKE U S S.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

NA36 207 NT 1/160=ZG NEWYORK NY 30

1940 OCT 1 AM 12 47

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

CLEVE=

DEAR RABBI SILVER I HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION TO UNITED STATES SENATE. FOR THREE YEARS I HAVE BEEN ONLY REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN FROM NEWYORKCITY AND AM THE ONLY REPUBLICAN WHO REPRESENTS A DISTRICT LARGELY JEWISH. I THINK ANY RABBI IN NEWYORK WILL TELL YOU THAT I HAVE THE RESPECT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND AM REGARDED BY THEM AS A LOYAL AND FIGHTING FRIEND. DURING THE CAMPAIGN I INTEND TO MAKE A SPEECH POINTING OUT THAT THE THIRD TERM WHICH IS A STEP TOWARD ONE MAN POWER OUGHT TO BE RESISTED BY ALL AMERICANS BUT BY RELIGIOUS MINORITIES MOST OF ALL. JUDGE PROSKAUER WILL MAKE SEVEFAL SUCH SPEECHES. WHETHER WILLKIE AND I WILL WIN ELECTION WILL DEPEND ON THE JEWISH VOTERS OF THIS STATE. I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE FELT IT IMPOSSIBLE AND PERHAPS IMPROPER FOR YOU TO MAKE ANY RADIO ADDRESSES. I AM ASKING WHETHER YOU WOULD FEEL LIKE MAKING A SINGLE EXCEPTION FOR A SPEECH OVER THE RADIO TO=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

WESTERN UNION

1970

SYMBOLS

DL - Day Letter

NL - Night Letter

LC - Deferred Cable

NLT - Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.NA 36 2/47=

940 OCT 1 AM 12 47

THE JEWS OF NEWYORK. I WOULD NOT ASK THIS FOR MYSELF BUT
DO NOT HESITATE TO ASK ANY FAVOR OF ANY AMERICAN IN WHAT
I REGARD AS THIS GREAT NATIONAL CRISIS. I WILL APPRECIATE
IT IF YOU WILL WIRE ME AT 383 MADISON AVENUE AT MY EXPENSE=
BRUCE BARTON.



October 1, 1940
1206-A

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Oct. 1940

Edward R. Burke
United States Senator
Washington D.C.

Regret exceedingly by unable to accept your kind invitation. I have already expressed my position on the Third Term clearly in public. That is as far as I wish to go.

Abba Hillel Silver

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

1206-A

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 1, 1940

Bruce Barton
383 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND TELEGRAM AND INVITATION. I WISH THAT I COULD COMPLY WITH YOUR REQUEST BUT IT HAS BEEN AN UNVARYING PRACTISE OF MINE NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

(COLLECT)

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

Address
of
Joseph M. Proskauer

Former Justice of the
APPELLATE DIVISION NEW YORK
SUPREME COURT

Former President of
"NEW YORK FEDERATION OF
JEWISH CHARITIES"
AND
"YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION"

Delivered Over the Radio
Friday Evening, October 4, 1940,
in New York City

Wendell Willkie has no more sympathy with the bigotries of Hitlerism than Governor Lehman or myself. . . . I stand for Willkie, who points the way by character and by achievement to a real new birth of teamwork and American productivity. There is no comfort for Hitler in the prospect of substituting Willkie efficiency for New Deal waste.

—JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER.

Distributed by
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Address of Joseph M. Proskauer

"I YIELD to none in my regard for Governor Lehman. But as a Republican candidate for the office of Presidential Elector, I now discharge a duty to the voters to express my conviction that the speech of the Governor injecting into this campaign the thought that ~~Willkie~~ Willkie's election was, in the language of the *New York Times*, 'unjust, reckless and capable of doing great harm to the very cause which Governor Lehman has at heart.'

"By his speech, as any man in the street might read it, he suggested what has been a whispering campaign in this city, even though I acquit the Governor of knowledge of it and gladly accept his disclaimer of intention to impugn the Americanism of Mr. Willkie.

"Wendell Willkie has no more sympathy with the bigotries of Hitlerism than the Governor or myself. From a letter from the President of the Synagogue in Akron, Ohio, I read of the Willkie of 1923:

" 'He lived here during the Ku Klux Klan regime. He did a fine job of fighting this outfit. It was mainly through his efforts that the Klan members of the Board were defeated.'

"I have corroboration of this from Catholic and Protestant sources. Thousands remember that in 1924 at the Madison Square Garden Convention he recorded his vote in condemnation of the Klan. He wore his country's uniform and bore its commission on the battlefields of France. Add his brave utterance repudiating the support of all bigots:

" 'I have no place,' he said, 'in my philosophy for such beliefs. There is no hedge clause about that. I want to make it completely and absolutely clear. I don't have to be President of the United States, but I do have to keep my beliefs clear, that is, in order to live with myself.'

"This is the very opposite of anything that Hitler could wish for. This is a true American. Now, that the Governor admits that, let us have an end of whispers.

"The Governor now says that he meant only that Mr. Roosevelt could better prepare us for defense against dictators.

"I take that challenge. The three things necessary for defense are: (1) *Unity as against an*

aggressor; (2) *Industrial strength*; (3) *Political freedom*.

"*As to Unity*: In foreign affairs, party lines end at the water's edge. So we all support the draft and the aid to England. That does not mean, however, that millions of voters shall surrender their conviction that the third term is a blow at American Democracy. Under the specious reasoning of the Governor, we would have to come to a one-party system in America. That, indeed, would be Nazism, hateful alike to the Governor and to me, and yet he suggests that we blind ourselves to domestic controversy and like dumb cattle vote New Deal.

"*Industrial Strength*. War today means machines more than men; preparedness means tools, then machines, then armament.

"The blight of the New Deal has been on our industries for seven years. That is why today we are industrially weakened, and in the hectic excitement of making tools, to make machines, to make armament, the Governor says that to change would be to lose time. Not so—we have already lost time by not making a change.

"Bernard Baruch was a man above all others who prepared us in 1917. On April 29, 1938, he filed a memorandum in Washington.

" 'You are aware,' he said, 'of the condition of the American Navy and of the Army. Everyone knows what it is except the American people.'

"He continues to ask for the making of the special machinery to create powder. Next to be remedied, Baruch says, should be the shortage of anti-aircraft and anti-tank and semi-automatic shoulder rifles with a reserve of special machinery. 'Then airplanes and more airplanes.' The President neither told this to the American people, nor followed this advice.

"On the 13th of October, 1938, Mr. Baruch stood before the White House and said:

" 'Adequate preparedness is the most important thing facing this nation today.

" 'I hope that we will never be in the humiliating position in which Chamberlain found himself when he faced the totalitarian states at Munich.

" 'Had England and France been prepared, there would have been a different story at Munich, just as there would have been a different story in connection with Ethiopia.'

"On the 15th of September, 1939, after a conference with the President two days before, he said:

" 'We are in graver danger than we were at the start of the last war.'

"Certainly, the President did not act effectively on this warning. As late as last June, he expressed the view that Congressional sessions this summer were not essential.

" 'Isolationists,' says the Governor.

"Why both parties have their share of them. Their existence could not hamper Willkie any more or less than the President. They furnish no alibi for inaction. The voters should know these truths. They explain why today we have airplanes on order and not in the hangars, why our National Guard is mobilized without modern arms and our maneuvers show vans masquerading as tanks.

"Willkie with his energy and demonstrated executive ability could never have remained idle during these three years in the face of these warnings. The best way to re-create industrial power against Hitler and thus to make the machines of war, is not to continue the man who tore down industrial creativeness by New Deal destruction. If the Governor and the President ask American voters to be guided by what they think Hitler thinks, I call to your attention the words which Winston Churchill said: 'The Washington administration has waged so ruthless a war on private enterprise that the United States, with none of the perils and burdens of Europe upon it, is actually at this moment leading the world back into the slough of depression. Those who are keeping the flag of business and free government flying in the Old World have a right to ask that their comrades in the New World during these years of exceptional danger set an example of strength and stability. The well-being of the United States may spell not only its well-being, but the safety of all sorts and conditions of men.' I stand for Willkie, who points the way by character and by achievement to a real new birth of team work and American productivity. There is no comfort for Hitler in the prospect of substituting Willkie efficiency for New Deal waste.

"*Political Freedom*: It was Jefferson, the Governor's political teacher and mine, who said:

" 'What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all powers into one body.'

"Of this, I indict the New Deal. In violation of its 1932 platform, to decentralize relief to the States, it has brought under direct Federal control relief payments that affect twenty million people. A committee of a Democratic Congress reported that the New Deal diverted relief funds, I quote: 'for political ends.' It has thus imperilled the very foundation of democracy, which is not only an uncorrupted ballot, but a ballot not primarily affected by how much the voter is going to get from his government.

"In violation of its 1932 platform, it has herded into the payroll of the government nearly one million employees engaged in non-productive labor. With a multiplication of bureaus and commissions, it has fastened on the body politic a group of petty tyrants who have substituted a government of men for a government of laws. It has sapped the national stability by ruinous taxes and the largest public debt ever known. It has fastened this burden on every man and woman who toils. It has shown contempt for constitutional restraint. I read from a message of the President which asks favorable consideration of legislation even if there exists 'doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable.' It has sought to destroy the restraining power of the Supreme Court. It has resorted to a Presidential purge of every Democratic senator or congressman who dared to invoke the principles of true Democracy against the vagaries and experiments of the New Deal.

"And now, the Governor suggests that Hitler would like it if the American people decided to reclaim their country for democracy. On this specious plea voters are asked to perpetuate by a third term this dynasty of bureaucrats eating into the vitals of our national well-being.

"I give you Jefferson's warning as timely today as when he spoke it:

" 'If the principle of rotation be sound, as I believe it to be, no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there will never be a time when real difficulties will not exist and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation.'

"And this pretext of what Hitler wants is not even a plausible one.

"I make my plea to the voters in these words of the founder of the Democratic Party:

" 'Should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust that he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.'

"I do not know what Hitler's preferences are—and I assume that the Governor knows no more about that than I do. But I do know this, if by a violation of the precedent against the third term, the New Deal yoke is perpetuated in this land, every man who hates and despises democracy will have his laugh. For he will then have seen the failure of democracy to protect itself from the ambitions of those who have fattened on its excesses. But I am sure that is not to be.

"American Voters, I call you to the colors! Destroy this third term ambition. Save the America of our love from the internal foes who would destroy its pattern. Then, and then only, as a strong, a united, and a free people, we can, without fear, and with complete confidence, face every foreign dictator. Let us put our house in order. If we do that by the election of Willie, then indeed we shall have done our part to answer the prayer, God bless and save America."



October 9, 1940

Mr. Joseph Klee
25 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of October 1. Of course I remember you though it is many years since I have seen you. I trust that you are well, and I wish to extend to you my best wishes for a happy New Year.

The question which you have put to me has been put to me by many other people - as you may well imagine. And my answer to you is the same answer which I gave them. Every responsible Jewish organ of public opinion has gone out of the way, in the last few weeks, to point out that there is no Jewish angle involved in this campaign, that both candidates are tolerant, broad-minded Americans, that their foreign policies are practically the same, and that Jews will vote this year, as in previous years, on the basis of their predilections and economic interests, their political convictions, and not on the basis of their race or religion. Many prominent Jews have expressed themselves as being in favor of the election of Mr. Willkie. You may recall that I, personally, went on record, some time ago, as being opposed to the Third Term. In my own congregation I know of considerable number of people who will vote the Republican Ticket this year as they have done in previous years.

To be sure many Jews will vote for President Roosevelt. So will many non-Jews. And from present indications, there will be many more, both Jews and non-Jews, voting for Mr. Roosevelt than for Mr. Willkie. Please bear in mind also that the majority of the Jews of the United States voted for Mr. Roosevelt also in 1936 (just as the majority of non-Jews), when anti-Semitism was not nearly as much of a menace as it is today.

Just this morning, I received in the mail a letter sent broadcast by the Anti-defamation League of the B'nai B'rith enclosing the very fine statement of the Hon. Bruce Barton, "The Mythical Jewish Vote", which appeared in the Congressional Record. The Anti-defamation League clearly states in its letter that the "Jewish

Mr. Klee

-2-

October 9, 1940

vote is mythical, and it does not exist."

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:EK



WENDELL L. WILLKIE
100 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

October 14th, 1940

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

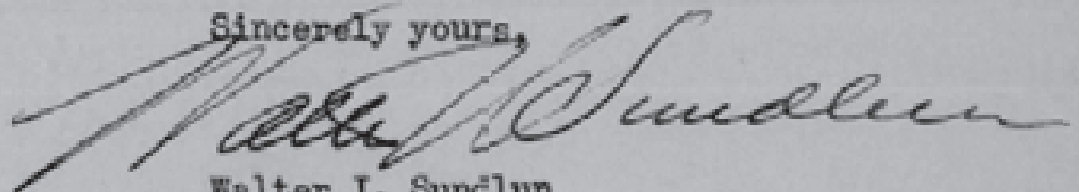
Dear Dr. Silver:

With regard to the letter that was sent you under date of September 28th, I thought you would be interested to know that at a conference between myself and certain noted members of the Rabbinate, it was decided after careful consideration, that this letter should not be used.

I have not received your own observations in respect thereto. However, I did want you to know that there is no need now to give it the requested consideration.

With kindest regards, and wishing you a very happy New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Walter I. Sundlun', written in a cursive style.

Walter I. Sundlun
Member of Wendell L. Willkie's Personal Staff

Oct 16, 40

Ethel dear

Just a line to
welcome you to
Cleveland, especially
as my Willkie
"Ambassador of Good-
will"

I wrote Nucle
Nate but the letter
was mailed before
I had a chance
to add a word

to you. If you really
won't mind speak-
ing to Rabbi Silver,
here are the facts:-

Mr Willkie is
coming to Brooklyn
Sat Oct 26th. The
time is 10.30 P.M.
The place, Ebbets
Field. Attendance,
about 50,000.

We will probably
have other speakers,
such as Bruce Barton

for instance, to a steak
from 9 to 10.30. It was
my suggestion, however,
that Rabbi Silver introduce
Mr Willkie with a ten
minute address. The
party leaders are all
enthusiastic about the
idea and, if Rabbi Silver
would volunteer to come,
I will then see that he
receives a personal invitation
from either Sam Pryor, his
Eastern Manager, or Russell
Davenport. Please let me
know as soon as you can.

Is there any chance of
getting you to come too?
We sure would love to
have you. All fine here.
Best love from Peggy
and Ben

SAMUEL L. SHULMAN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
504 UNION BUILDING
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

October 17, 1940

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi:

I, as a member of the Jewish people of Syracuse, New York, am very desirous of helping the campaign of Wendell L. Wilkie for election as President. Numerous Jewish people, although Republicans, have expressed their desire to vote for President Roosevelt for re-election because of his foreign policy and his attitude towards the Jewish people.

About a month ago, an article appeared in the newspapers which quoted you as backing the candidacy of Wendell L. Wilkie for President, although you backed President Roosevelt in 1933 and 1936.

May I have a statement of your reasons for this position you have taken? And may I have your consent to use this statement in discussing Wilkie's candidacy with others of our faith; and may I also have your permission to use this statement in a political advertisement to reach all our people?

I am intensely interested and doing everything in my power to help the campaign of Wendell L. Wilkie, and any assistance you may render me will help tremendously.

Respectfully yours,

Samuel L. Shulman

SLS:S

RECEIVED BY PRIVATE
WIRE FROM
POSTAL TELEGRAPH

STANDARD TIME INDICATED
IN THIS MESSAGE

Postal Telegraph

(42)

Mackay Radio
Commercial Cables



All America Cables
Canadian Pacific Telegrams

THIS IS A FULL RATE TELEGRAM, CABLE-
GRAM OR RADIOGRAM UNLESS OTHERWISE
INDICATED BY SYMBOL IN THE PREAMBLE
OR IN THE ADDRESS OF THE MESSAGE.
SYMBOLS DESIGNATING SERVICE SELECTED
ARE OUTLINED IN THE COMPANY'S TARIFFS
ON HAND AT EACH OFFICE AND ON FILE WITH

Form 18 PW

PHILADELPHIA PENN 18 359p

E50 20 6 EX SER(DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM=PXX

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

:THE TEMPLE E105 & ANSEL RD=CLVD=

1940 OCT 18 PM 5 07

:URGE YOU TO WIRE 500 WORD EDITORIAL ON NO THIRD TERM FOR
PENNSYLVANIA DISTRIBUTION=

:E A ROSE PUBLICITY DIRECTOR ASSOCIATED WILLKIE CLUBS OF
PENNSYLVANIA=

500

FRIEBOLIN & BYERS
LAWYERS

2002 N. B. C. BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO

MAIN 7883

CARL D. FRIEBOLIN
EDGAR S. BYERS
ARTHUR W. FRIEBOLIN

October 26th, 1940.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

You may consider this presumptuous but I know that you will not think me insincere.

Of all people who have turned their backs upon the cause of decency in government and social progress in this country, to my mind you are the only one whose action is not explicable. To me it is incredible that a political abstraction should rule your mind in the very face of all that you have said and been and done in this community.

Last night John Lewis turned back to his allegiance to the Republican Party. I listened to him carefully and I have re-read what he said. It is because of this that I am presuming to write this letter. Because this one thing he said is so much a part of the campaign of misrepresentation, of resort to every ignoble device, to every slander and the insensate abuse which have characterized this tremendous effort to return the keys of the White House to Wall Street from whence Franklin Roosevelt took them to Washington.

In his speech Lewis said:

"You members of the Christian church, why should you vote for and support the man who ignores home considerations and practices the modern sorcery of war mongering?

"Labor and the Christian church are the first victims of the social and political convulsions which follow war and one-man government."

I think there can be no question about the significance of that, and there is further no question but that in common with every other possible effort to create prejudice of every kind, this sort of thing is being done to very large extent. Against Roosevelt is every Stalinist, every Bundist, every Fascist in this country. How men of good will can march with them is more than I can understand.

ESB/E

Sincerely yours,

Ed. S. Byers

FRIEBOLIN & BYERS
LAWYERS

2002 N. B. C. BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO

CARL D. FRIEBOLIN
EDGAR S. BYERS
ARTHUR W. FRIEBOLIN

MAIN 7613

October 30th, 1940.

Rabbi Hillel Silver, D.D.,
c/o The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

It is very good of you indeed to have taken time to answer my letter.

With many things you say I am in agreement. I cannot find myself in agreement, however, with your idea that the question of the third term tradition is of very much consequence in the present emergency.

Mr. Willkie is a fraternity brother of mine, so that I should feel kindly toward him, and I should feel kindly toward him, too, because of the fact that he is reputed to have been an opponent of Klan activities in Summit County, and to have been for LaFollette in 1924. Those things were synonymous in 1924. I ran the LaFollette Campaign in Cleveland in 1924 and what state activities there were were also largely financed and operated from our headquarters. I never heard of Wendell Willkie in that campaign but I should be glad to believe that he was active in it. However, I am better informed as to his associations with Martin Davey which neither you nor I should regard so favorably.

The simple fact is that he was a personal injury lawyer in Akron, otherwise without a record of any kind of notable accomplishment either in his profession or out of it. I have made the challenge publicly, printed in the letters to the editor's column of the Cleveland Press, and over the radio, that no man could be found in the United States of America who could point to a single outstanding accomplishment of Wendell Willkie having to do with the welfare of his fellow citizens and which could be pointed to as a thing which would warrant any man in asking for political preferment of any kind, not to speak of his presumption in seeking the presidency of the United States.

You and I know how and by whom Mr. Willkie was nominated. The story is told, and this is the true story, by the enclosed editorial from the Cleveland News of June 23th, the day of the night on which Mr. Willkie was nominated.

FRIEBOLIN & BYERS
LAWYERS
2002 N. B. C. BUILDING
CLEVELAND OHIO

CARL O. FRIEBOLIN
EDGAR S. BYERS
ARTHUR W. FRIEBOLIN

MAIN 7663

October 30th, 1940.

Rabbi Hillel Silver, D.D.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Page 2.

If there is danger of misuse of the powers of government of the United States, and of course there is in view of the other dangers which confront us, I want to ask you in all candor whether you would not agree that that danger would be greater if political power is again lodged in the hands of the chosen instrument of the Graces, the Morgans, the Girdlers, the Weirs, and the Fords, than if it remains in the hands of such a man as you know Mr. Roosevelt to be.

You see, Rabbi Silver, I have been a New Dealer from the time when Tom Johnson appeared on the scene in Cleveland. To me the New Deal is simply an expression of the hope for an America such as this should be; and I think you would agree, too, that never before in the history of this country, if indeed in all history, has there appeared a political and social leader having that kind of aspiration and at the same time having the ability which Mr. Roosevelt has to transform his ideals into action. We have never seen such a leader before and I doubt whether in many generations such a leader will appear again.

Certainly there is nothing in Mr. Willkie's career, in his words, nor in his thinking, in so far as it is indicated by the confusion of his expressions of his philosophy and of policies, to indicate that he could be a leader in any direction except backward.

I have often been impatient with Roosevelt's failure to take positions which seemed to be manifestly right, as, for example, in connection with the Spanish Revolution, but I think again we would have to agree that a leader, however well-intentioned, cannot long continue a leader in our Democracy unless the sentiment of the people will enable him to take forward steps.

We have seen such social progress made not only in practice but in our mode of thinking in the past eight years as you and I have not seen in our lifetimes before. To my mind this genuine progress and the promise of its continuance are so tremendously more important than the observance of a tradition

FRIEBOLIN & BYERS
LAWYERS

2002 N. B. C. BUILDING
CLEVELAND OHIO

CARL D. FRIEBOLIN
EDGAR S. BYERS
ARTHUR W. FRIEBOLIN

MAIN 7662

October 30th, 1940.

Rabbi Hillel Silver, D.D.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

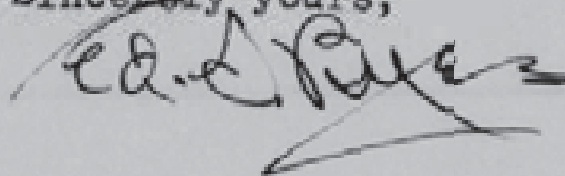
Page 3.

even, although we might recognize the tradition as a well-founded one that I just never could agree with you in your position about this. This is regrettable because I usually find myself in very sincere agreement with just about everything I have heard you say.

The real danger of dictatorship in this country, Rabbi Silver, will come when, in another depression, which of course we shall have, the forces of privilege are in control of our government as they were from 1920 to 1932.

Again, please pardon this presumption. I appreciate your advice very much indeed.

Sincerely yours,



ESB/E

Enc.

November 1, 1940

The undersigned believe that differing religious beliefs have no part in an American political campaign. It is mocking religion to use it to persuade people to vote for a candidate by the statement that he has favored Jews or to scare Jews from voting for a candidate on the ground that disadvantage will result from voting preponderantly in favor of any candidate.

There is no Jewish issue in this campaign. Both candidates are outstanding and uncompromising foes of intolerance and bigotry, and Jews will, and should, cast their votes as Americans, paying no attention to any considerations affecting them as Jews alone.

Some of the undersigned will vote for one candidate and some for another. This is a non-partisan statement.

MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG

BENJAMIN J. BUTTENWIESER

BERNARD FLEXNER

FREDERICK F. GREENMAN

MRS. DAVID M. LEVY

GEORGE Z. MEDALIE

DAVID L. PODELL

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER

WILLIAM ROSENWALD

HUGH GRANT STRAUS

ROGER W. STRAUS

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

PAUL FELIX WARBURG



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JOHN HAMILTON

S. F. PRYOR, JR.
EASTERN MANAGER

EASTERN HEADQUARTERS
75 EAST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK

November 2, 1940.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
East 105th Street and Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing to you herewith a copy of a statement released to the press, signed by prominent Jewish leaders who are voting for Roosevelt and Willkie (not on the same ticket, of course). It expresses the principles which have guided us in this campaign, as I am certain it does of all those persons who have publicly endorsed Mr. Willkie for President.

While I am writing to you, I want to express to you our eternal thanks for your endorsement of Mr. Willkie. The first sentence of it both Judge Proskauer and I regard as the outstanding literature achievement of the campaign. That is the statement which reads:

"The 'no-third term' tradition has been vindicated by a century and a half of American experience, and it is particularly important in these days, when the indispensable-one-man rule is exalted in so many parts of the world at the expense of the democratic faith in laws and institutions rather than in persons, that it should not be repudiated."

We have repeated it over and over again, and I suppose it is almost a household word now. We all respected your determination not to champion any further any individual candidate. I was called upon to deal with that subject as the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee at the Union Convention which you addressed in 1939. It was then my conviction, and still is, that the matter is one of personal preference, not of principle, but I cannot quarrel with anybody who expresses either view. You, no doubt, have noticed that Dr. Stephen S. Wise has adopted a different course of action even in this campaign. I have no criticism

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JOHN HAMILTON

EASTERN HEADQUARTERS
70 EAST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK

S. F. PRYOR, JR.
EASTERN MANAGER

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,

-2-

November 2, 1940.

to make of it, although as to some other things, I may have something to say after the election is over. I do not think that elections are the occasions for the expression of opinion on personalities.

With best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,



T. F. Greenman

FFC:H

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NT=Overnight Telegram
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

KC20 72 25 EX NT=CANTON OHIO 10

1940 NOV 11 AM 1 51

RABBI ABBA H SILVER=

2 EAST 105TH ST CLEVELAND OHIO=

WE SINCERELY URGE YOU TO WIRE MR WILLKIE TO EMPHASIZE UNITY
IN HIS SPEECH MONDAY NIGHT ELEMENTS ALL AROUND HERE ARE
ORGANIZING TO USE THE RESULTS OF ELECTION TO KEEP
PERMANENTLY THIS COUNTRY DIVIDED WE ARE SURE THAT A WORD
FROM YOU WILL CARRY WEIGHT AND INFLUENCE =

MR AND MRS HARRY AXELROD MR AND MRS JULIUS AXELROD
MR AND MRS LOUIS MEYERS MR AND MRS JACK ABRAMSON MR
AND MRS CHAIN OSTROWSKY MR AND MRS HARRY GORDON.

CHAIN. .

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

My dear Mr. Waher,

~~I thank you for~~ In reply to your letter permit me to say that my convictions as to the ^{3rd} Term remain unchanged, and does my great admiration for the policies & achievements of Pres. Roosevelt. What I expressed in my March ~~address~~ ^{addresses} represents a settled conviction. Only one consideration would have warranted a ~~in changing~~ change of ^{attitude} ~~opinion~~; if the opposition candidate in the case Mr. Wilkes would have been an isolationist, representing a foreign policy at sharp variance with the sound & courageous ~~and one~~ which Pres. R. has been prosecuting. In such a case the vital interests of civilization now being threatened would have outweighed any other consideration. Fortunately, Mr. W. has expressed

himself, clearly & unequivocally ⁱⁿ
~~the need~~ ^{favor} of rendering maximum aid
to G.B. short of war -

If I recall correctly, my ^{was} ~~had~~
was reported in fuller detail in the
P.D. You may wish to refer to it.

With all good wishes I remain
very cordially yours -

WRHS



The ^T ~~no~~ ^T ~~third~~ ^T tradition has been
vindicated by a century & a half of
American experience & it is particularly
imp. in these days when the ~~Indispensable~~
One-Man rule is established in so many
parts of the world, as the defense of the democratic
faith in laws & institutions rather than in
persons. ^{had it} should not be repudiated.

We Are for Willkie



WENDELL L. WILLKIE

●
Uncompromising foe of dictators
and valiant defender of democracy

●
Lifelong enemy of
Intolerance and Bigotry

●
Distributed by
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE



STATEMENTS have been made by numerous persons on the candidacy of Wendell Willkie and have received publicity from time to time. We have been asked what specifically do outstanding Jews think of Wendell Willkie. Therefore, in this pamphlet we present to you some of the statements made by leaders since the nomination of Wendell Willkie for the Presidency.

Note: The statement of the affiliations of any person carries with it no idea that the organization mentioned either endorses or favors Wendell Willkie.

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Cleveland, Ohio, joint chairman United Jewish Appeal and United Palestine appeal, and Vice President Zionist Organization of America.

"The 'no-third' term tradition has been vindicated by a century and a half of American experience, and it is particularly important in these days, when the indispensable-one-man-rule is exalted in so many parts of the world at the expense of the democratic faith in laws and institutions rather than in persons, that it should not be repudiated.

"Only one consideration would have warranted a change of attitude if the opposition candidate, in this case Mr. Willkie, would have been an isolationist representing a foreign policy at sharp variance with the sound and courageous one which President Roosevelt has been prosecuting.

"In such a case, the vital interests of civilization, now being threatened would have outweighed any other consideration.

"Fortunately, Mr. Willkie has expressed himself clearly and unequivocally in favor of tendering maximum aid, short of war, to Great Britain."

●
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, New York, N. Y. former Justice of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, former President New York Federation of Jewish Charities, and of Young Men's Hebrew Association of New York.

"To build National defense I must have an administrator who does not expect to fight the enemy with planes 'on order' and blue prints of tanks. I am through with mere politicians. I have seen France and England suffer from them. Willkie is a great and liberal executor. To save my country from the threat alike of the third term and of foreign aggression, I must vote for Willkie."

●
BENJAMIN BUTTENWEISER, New York, N. Y. President New York Federation of Jewish Charities and treasurer Jewish Welfare Board.

"Among the issues in this, one of the most vitally important campaigns in all our history, are: whether to preserve or destroy our traditional American principle against a third term for President, with all that its violation implies and whether our national defenses are to be built up promptly and adequately to a point commensurate with our position as the leading nation in this troubled world, or whether there are to be continued delay and division of responsibility in meeting this dangerous emergency.

"Predicated on an objective analysis of these issues and the record and utterances of the two candidates, I think our country's future is the better safeguarded through the election of Mr. Willkie, whose very rise in life typifies the success still attainable in this land of oppor-

tunity by one possessed of his qualities—integrity, intelligence and courage with which to cope with the stupendous problems, both national and international, which now confront our country and which, unfortunately, the President and his Administration have so dismally failed to solve.”

●

WILLIAM WEISS, President of Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Member Executive Committee of Mizrahi.

“The No Third Term tradition is more than a convenient political slogan. It strikes at the essence of the future of American democracy and freedom. Just as a breach of moral laws tends to break down respect for statutory laws, so the deliberate disregard of a sacred American tradition will in my opinion, be a signal for permissive concentration of political power in the hands of one individual.

“Willkie’s background and expressed policies should lead to the restoration of tolerance and cooperation between capital and labor, and among the various racial and religious groups in this country. Industrial cooperation and a spirit of brotherhood are the first requisites for national unity and a virile America.”

●

LESSING J. ROSENWALD, former chairman of Board of Sears Roebuck and Co., and former President of Philadelphia Federation of Jewish Charities.

“I am supporting Mr. Willkie primarily as a protest against the third term. Affairs abroad have demonstrated what can happen as a result of perpetuation of an individual in office.

“Democracy is sufficiently strong to make it unnecessary to adopt such a dangerous practice for its own preservation. No dictatorship can result from rotation in office of the principal executive.

“This is no time to break a time-honored precedent. A change is indicated to preserve those procedures which have proven to be the best and safest for democracy to follow.”

●

HENRY HENDRICKS, New York, N. Y. President Spanish Portuguese Congregation founded in 1655.

“Although usually a Democrat, I propose to vote this year for Willkie because of my opposition to the doctrine of the indispensability of any man, which has caused the President to seek re-election.

“I am greatly disturbed by the suggestion that I should vote for Roosevelt because certain elements reported to be supporting Willkie are claimed to be anti-semitic. I am firmly convinced that to vote as a Jew is distinctly anti-democratic and un-American. The sole defense against the foreign isms is the perpetuation of the American form of

government and way of life. The minute one votes as a Jew, he immediately justifies the other fellow in voting as a non-Jew, and the American system is destroyed."

●

ROGER W. STRAUS, New York, Co-chairman National Conference Jews and Christians, and trustee Hebrew University of Palestine.

"I am supporting Wendell Willkie's candidacy for President because he is a true liberal, neither a reactionary on the one hand nor a radical on the other. His liberalism is in keeping with the American ideas of individual liberty and free enterprise.

"He has proven his ability as an administrator and organizer. Increase and acceleration of production present our greatest problems and in such a field he provides inspired leadership."

●

ARTHUR I. LEVINE, New York, President of Beth Jacob Hospital.

"As a businessman, I fervently hope that Wendell Willkie will be elected President of the United States. His election will mean confidence that increased production can be sold, that a profit can be made which will enable such increased production to be undertaken, and that labor will receive its just share of the improvement in business. I look forward to more jobs, increased work, and greater pay, when he is elected."

●

CECILE LEHMAN, Mrs., New York, Trustee Montefiore Hospital and Trustee New York Federation of Jewish Charities.

"Although I am a Democrat, who voted twice for President Roosevelt, I shall vote for Wendell Willkie this year, because I believe he is better equipped than Roosevelt for the Presidency in these critical times.

"Being primarily a self-made business man of wide experience and free of political commitments, Willkie will put government on a business basis, place the country in an adequate state of preparedness and employ only the most competent men for that purpose. And, above all he will be a democrat in the finest sense of the word—a democrat as understood by the great patriots of the U. S."

●

EDGAR J. NATHAN, New York, President New York Society of Jewish Theological Seminary and Vice President Spanish Portuguese Synagogue.

"The following are the reasons I shall vote for Willkie:

"1—Your vigorous disavowal of all forms of intolerance.

"2—Your candor and frankness in making your position on important controversial issues unequivocally clear.

"3—Your stand in upholding the basic principles upon which our government rests.

"4—Your views with respect to restoring confidence in government and business so that our country may be strong in peace and prepared for war."

●

ISAAC D. MAGNES, brother of Judah L. Magnes, Chancellor Hebrew University in Palestine.

"After a great deal of thought, I have decided to cast my vote for Wendell Willkie, although I have been a lifetime democrat.

"The reason for my changing over to the Republican party is a firm conviction that what this country needs is a genius at organization, a talent the President does not possess. My study of Mr. Willkie's record and character has convinced me that he is the man to accomplish the almost superhuman task of co-ordination of which this country is sadly in need.

"With the election of Willkie, I feel, will come a new hope and rejuvenated spirit to animate the people and carry them to a future with a firm base of work and prosperity."

●

LEWIS L. STRAUSS, New York, President Temple Emanuel, and President Jewish Agricultural Society.

"I am supporting Wendell L. Willkie for many reasons—some economic, some sociologic, a few purely personal—but principally and above all because I believe that his election is necessary to reaffirm the precedent against a third term in the presidency and the false doctrine of indispensability which could lead us into dictatorship."

●

BERNARD FLEXNER, New York, President Palestine Economic Corporation.

"Mr. Willkie's forthright and unequivocal statements on foreign policy, on aid to Britain, on the fundamental questions in our domestic situation and as I knew they would be on all forms of racial intolerance, lead me to offer him my help.

"I know from intimate work with the victims of racial intolerance who have found refuge here, that his expressed attitude will bring them hope and encouragement."

JACOB J. KAPLAN, Boston, Mass. Co-Treasurer United Jewish Campaign of Boston, member of Executive Committee United Palestine Appeal.

"The lessons which Wendell Willkie learned in the humble surroundings of his early days have created in him an enduring and complete sympathy with, and understanding of, the real needs of the American people, as well as a fine spirit of tolerance. His later experiences have developed great clarity of vision supported by an unbounded courage and energy and impelled by a determination to do right and deal justly between man and man. For these reasons, I believe him to be best fitted to hold the office of President of the United States."

JAMES MARSHALL, New York, President Board of Education of New York City, Director of Jewish Education Committee.

"The two things in our National Administration most necessary to successful treatment of the present crisis are: 1. Competence; 2. Intellectual honesty.

"In my opinion, Mr. Willkie can supply both and the President failed on both accounts. The third-term issue is important also, representing a sensible tradition commenced by Washington, who could have had a crown and saw the dangers of a long term for the head of the state. It is a tradition respected, too, by Jefferson who had faith in popular government."

WILLIAM J. SHRODER, Cincinnati, Ohio, President National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

"I intend voting for Mr. Willkie because I believe his election will end wasteful experimentation, danger of one man power, disregard of constitutional and traditional rights of the legislative and judicial branches of our government, a foreign policy based on provocative threats with preparation and power to back them up and the intentional fostering of class hatred. I believe that he will do all this and at the same time preserve the social gains—even increase them through less political and bureaucratic and more economical administration."

RABBI MICHAEL AARONSOHN, Cincinnati, Ohio, former National Chaplain of the Disabled War Veterans of America.

"Wendell Willkie sees our problems in their fullest manifestations. It is not enough to hate the social evils of bigotry, malice or religious and racial slander. They must be understood in their relation to the millions of young people educated in our schools and then denied the opportunity to earn an honest livelihood. He knows that it is not enough that men should vote, that it is not enough that they should

be regarded as equal before the law. They must be able to enjoy the fruits of their toil. Either this or the nation, now mighty in arms and arts, will become the helpless prey of barbarians.

"This then is his chief goal. Wendell Willkie has already dedicated himself to the supreme task of economic recovery, and has caught the vision of true democracy."

●

JOSEPH COHEN, Kansas City, Mo, a governor of Greater Kansas City Jewish Welfare Federation.

"Wendell Willkie personifies the type of successful business man with legal training that is so essential at this time, when the fiscal affairs of our country are in a bad state and getting increasingly worse due to governmental mismanagement. I believe he can be best depended upon to prepare this country militarily and economically for the grave period that lies ahead."

●

JAMES H. BECKER, Chicago, Illinois, Vice Chairman Joint Distribution Committee, Member of Jewish Agency of Palestine.

"Because I believe in the Republic, believe that a free economy is an indispensable condition of the freedom for the individual, which the Constitution established and guaranteed and believe that a controlled economy inevitably spells death to individual liberty, I shall support the candidacy of Wendell Willkie."

●

JAMES DAVIS, Chicago, Ill., Member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee.

"Our country is beset by difficult problems at home and abroad. In this grave time, the country is fortunate in having as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, Mr. Wendell Willkie. He sprang from the soil, worked as labourer, teacher, soldier, lawyer and successful business man. He knows the American people, is liberal, forceful and a deep thinker. He believes in the future of America and its people, and when elected, he will lead us to happiness and prosperity in the American way."

●

HENRY A. LOEB, New York, Former Chairman of the Jewish Welfare Fund Drive in San Francisco.

"I believe that Mr. Wendell Willkie should be elected President of the United States. His entire record in private and public life shows that he is fitted for this high office. Everything that he has said and

done show that he appreciates and will do all in his power to protect the traditional American way of life from enemies, both from within and without the country. His liberal, courageous and honest outlook, both before and after he was nominated, shows that he can do effectively the job in which the New Deal has failed."

●

LEO GOTTLIEB, New York, Second Vice-President of Mount Sinai Hospital.

"I intend to vote for Wendell Willkie. My principal reason for voting for him is that I believe that it will be possible to prepare more effectively against the threat of the totalitarian countries under the administration of Mr. Willkie than under a third term for Mr. Roosevelt.

"I regard national defense as of such great importance as to overshadow all other questions confronting the country. I should be willing to swallow a third term if I thought that national defense would be promoted thereby. On the contrary, however, I believe that a tremendous stimulus to defense would be furnished by the election of Mr. Willkie."

●

NATHAN A. HELLER, President of Young Men's Hebrew Association of Boston, Member of Executive Committee of Jewish Welfare Board.

"I shall vote for Wendell Willkie primarily because I feel keenly the threat to democratic government of granting any three terms as President to man, no matter how disinterested benign. The tradition against a third term is not an empty form based upon a profound understanding of human nature and its weakness. I am not impressed by the highly emotional plea often advanced as a counter-argument in behalf of President Roosevelt that he is a great defender and protector of minority interests, because it ignores the indisputable fact that there has never been any President of the United States who was not a defender and protector of minority rights and interests. Mr. Willkie's ability and humanitarianism are beyond reasonable challenge. In my judgment, our democratic way of life will be assured under Willkie as President."

●

FRANK L. SULZBERGER, Chicago, Illinois, President Jewish Charities, Trustee Julius Rosenwald Fund.

"I intend to vote for Mr. Willkie. My reasons for voting for him are expressed much better by the recent editorial in the 'New York Times' than I could possibly express them myself.

"That is a clear and detailed summation of my feelings in the matter."

MORRIS WOLF, Philadelphia, Pa. 1940 Chairman of Allied Jewish Campaign and Vice President National Refugee Service.

"I am planning to vote for Willkie in the coming election. My main reason is that I believe the first essential to an adequate defense program is complete harmony among the defenders. I think that Mr. Roosevelt by his attacks on certain groups has created such bitterness among them that he cannot unite them even for a defense program with nearly the success that Mr. Willkie, who is trusted by all groups, can."

●

EUSTACE SELIGMAN, New York, Member of the Law Firm of Sullivan and Cromwell and Member of the Joint Distribution Committee.

"Three reasons why Mr. Willkie should be elected are:

"1. While there is no difference between the two candidates in their recognition of the fact that it is to the interest of the United States to give all possible aid to England, Mr. Willkie's ability to organize this country to give effective aid is far greater.

"2. The New Deal's great error has been to sacrifice recovery to reform; Mr. Willkie recognizes that recovery and reform are equally important to our national well-being.

"3. If we are threatened with or actually at war in 1944, the arguments now advanced for a third term will be even more strongly urged for a fourth term, and so on indefinitely. Especially now when democratic institutions throughout the world are being destroyed, the greatest democracy must jealously guard its unbroken tradition that no man is so indispensable that he should be re-elected President for a third consecutive term."

●

BENJAMIN F. LEVY, Elmira, N. Y. President of Federation of Social Service.

"I am supporting Wendell Willkie for president for two reasons: First, I am definitely opposed to the "Third Term."

"Second, I am for Willkie by reason of his actual experience in the business world. I believe in his honesty and frankness, and that he is equipped to meet every domestic and foreign situation and make an effort to solve the same promptly."

●

ARTHUR K. KUHN, New York, President of Juliaeans.

"I certainly do intend to vote for Mr. Willkie. I am opposed to a third term for any man, Democrat or Republican. I believe Mr. Willkie is unusually qualified to undertake the gigantic task of

getting us out of the mess which New Deal policies have gradually created for us. He is a great organizer and has great experience in the industrial and labor problems which must be solved before we can accomplish a really adequate and coordinated defense."

●

ALBERT HURWITZ, President of New England Region of American Jewish Congress and Former President of the Associated YMHA and YWHA of New England.

"Wendell L. Willkie's condemnation and repudiation of those who seek to foment racial hatred and class antagonisms and his outspoken denunciation of Hitler and all that he stands for mark him as an avowed enemy of totalitarianism.

"To break the precedent of no third term for any president constitutes the greatest possible menace to our democracy. This issue outweighs all others. I shall, accordingly vote for Willkie for president."

●

GEORGE Z. MEDALIE, former President of Jewish Board of Guardians, Chairman of 1939 campaign New York Federation of Jewish Charities.

"I intend to vote for Wendell L. Willkie because I believe that the country's greatest need today is the energy, vitality and enthusiasm which he possesses. I regard the National Defense as the outstanding need of this country today, and he has the requisite qualities to meet that need.

"I am also impressed with his uncompromising opposition to intolerance and bigotry. That he manifested these qualities early in life, when he could have had no thought of being a candidate for the Presidency, is to me an indication that his tolerance is not of recent date; that it is deep seated, and that no turn of events could destroy it."

●

S. J. KORNHAUSER, Cleveland, Ohio, Former President District Grand Lodge No. 2 Bnai Brith.

"Among the many reasons that actuate me, two are outstanding. Unless Roosevelt and his crew are eliminated, the safeguards to self-government established in the Constitution will be seriously impaired, and perhaps shattered. Secondly, the inclination to venture capital in industrial enterprises has been eradicated because of Roosevelt's hostile attitude toward business. Thus representative government and private property, individual liberty and economic well being are confronted by the direct menaces in all our history."

SAMUEL PLATT, Nevada Representative on American Jewish Committee.

"I heartily endorse the candidacy of Mr. Willkie and I am doing everything in my power to capture Nevada's electoral vote for him."

●

LEONARD M. WALLSTEIN, New York, N. Y. President New York Guild for Jewish Blind.

"I shall vote for Willkie because the paramount and vital need of the day is the unification of all the people and the mustering of all their resources under competent, unselfish and trustworthy leadership. With that achieved, we shall be so strong, in combination with heroic Britain, that foreign tyrants will not dare molest us."

●

AARON FINGER, Wilmington, Delaware, Member of the law firm of Richards, Layton, and Finger.

"I shall vote for Mr. Willkie because:

"Our most urgent need is adequate national defense, and I believe we can get it more quickly with Mr. Willkie as President. With the facilities at the command of the Administration, our defense needs should have been foreseen and made known much sooner than they were, but the Administration apparently has been attempting to follow public sentiment rather than to lead it."

"In the second place, the failure of the Administration to solve the unemployment problem after seven years has been due fundamentally to policies that militated against free enterprise, and I believe that Mr. Willkie will pursue a much sounder course in matters pertaining to our economic welfare. Last, but by no means least, I am opposed to a third term for any President."

●

NORVIN H. RIESER, President of National Nations Association.

"I urge my friends to support Mr. Wendell Willkie because I have investigated his record. I feel that he is an outstanding American who will bring the country back to a democratic basis—who is capable of controlling both the racketeers in business and in labor—who will co-ordinate the defense program and make the United States strong."

●

LEO KAMINSKY, Indianapolis, Ind., Director of Jewish Community Center Association of Indianapolis.

"I shall vote for Wendell L. Willkie in the coming election for the reason that I regard him honest, forthright, and fearless. It was

my pleasure to see and hear him at Elwood when he was frank enough to say that under his leadership the peoples' lot would be one of 'toil and sweat'. Later he rejected the support of any clique that plotted against minority groups on religious grounds, indicating that he would rather go down to defeat than ride to victory on the vehicle of intolerance."

●

WILLIAM NEWCOEN, Plainfield, N. J. Honorary President, Jewish District of New Jersey, President United Hebrew Charity Organization.

"My reason for supporting Mr. Willkie's candidacy is that I am opposed to experimentation and exploitation at the public expense, as well as the stagnation of industry by class legislation."

●

NATHAN D. SHAPIRO, Former President of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities.

"I am for Willkie for President because we need a man of sound practical ideas to end our depression.

"Mr. Willkie's business experience is an assurance that we will have a sound business administration and that no special privileges will be granted to any group, whether it be labor or capital. These special privileges are morally, legally and financially wrong. Labor and capital must cooperate and act together for their common good and the strengthening of our democracy and not be pitted against each other.

"Let us put a business man in Washington who will put the country back to work."

●

MARCUS C. SLOSS, San Francisco, Cal., former Justice of Supreme Court of California (highest Court), President of Jewish National Welfare Fund:

"I am supporting Mr. Willkie because I consider him the candidate best qualified, in character and ability, to administer the office of President in such manner as to promote the general welfare, and for the further, and to my mind, more important, reason that I am convinced that a third term for Mr. Roosevelt would place the survival of our democratic processes in peril, in that it would aggravate and tend to perpetuate the concentration of ever-growing power in the executive branch, and the use of that power for influencing elections and for other partisan political ends; would promote the further increase of bureaucratic control, without proper restraint of law, over the lives and activities of citizens; would

encourage and extend the fostering of division and conflict between groups of our people and would encourage the Administration to persist in the lack of candor which it has displayed in its dealings with the people and with their elected representatives."

●

PAUL FELIX WARBURG, New York.

"Having looked into and studied the qualifications, background and records of both candidates for the presidency of the United States, I believe that Mr. Wendell L. Willkie has all the requisites necessary for coordinating all forces in the re-establishment of our country along sound democratic and economic lines and the preservation of our American way of life. He merits the confidence of the labor groups as well as the industrial heads of our country. This confidence is generally lacking today and must be restored before we can embark on an efficient defense program. The rattling of empty saber scabbards makes us the laughing stock of the Cretator nations. A foreign policy is useless unless all factions are harmoniously working together for one united cause and for this we need a truly democratic leader. Mr. Willkie has proven to me that under his leadership the American spirit of democracy will continue with justice for all and malice towards none."

●

MRS. OSCAR S. STRAUS, New York, widow of the late Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor under Theodore Roosevelt.

"I will vote for Wendell L. Willkie. I am convinced that he represents the truly modern liberalism which was first formulated by Theodore Roosevelt. The downfall of liberal democratic principles has been due too often to reckless and bankrupting financial policies.

"Furthermore, I am certain that Mr. Willkie will carry forward his foreign policies in accordance with Theodore Roosevelt's formula 'Speak softly and carry a big stick.' He will operate this formula to protect our American Way of Life by providing for effective military preparedness and by supporting the British Empire in every material way short of war."

"THE GREAT GAME OF POLITICS"

Regardless of their party affiliations and personal predilections, men who deplore racial prejudice and despise religious intolerance are shocked as well as apprehensive at the kind of thing now being done in New York to array the big Jewish vote of the state - in excess of 900,000 - against Mr. Willkie on the ground that the Germany-Italy-Japan axis is interested in this campaign and anxious for the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt.

The inference of course, is that the opponent of Mr. Roosevelt is the candidate of the dictators, and a calculated attempt to create that impression among the less informed Jewish voters is being engineered and fostered by various ardent third-termers, some of whom are active in the management of the campaign and closely affiliated with the Administration. It is, of course, being done under cover and surface denials are ready and vigorous. Nevertheless, it is a fact, and those who know what is going on here regard it as the most degraded and dangerous campaign move which has taken place in a good many years.

There is, of course deep resentment among many intelligent Jews, who feel that a cruel and criminal thing is being done in misleading unthinking and credulous people. It is the chief topic of conversation among the practical politicians in both camps at this time. While Mr. Roosevelt and his national chairman, Mr. Eddie Flynn, carefully keep themselves in position to repudiate all personal responsibility for or even knowledge of - the work being done for the third-term candidacy along these lines, the whole effort is draped around utterances of the President and various conspicuous third-term spokesmen.

Apparently, the start of this movement to make Mr. Willkie seem pro-Hitler and anti-Semitic was Mr. Henry Wallace's speech of acceptance, in which he tried to brand the Republicans as the "appeasement" party. Its speed was accelerated by Governor Lehman, whose speech brought a heated and indignant comment from Mr. Willkie, who referred to it as false, cowardly and malicious. But the real impetus was given by Mr. Roosevelt himself at his recent White House press conference when in reply to a question from one of his newspaper stooges, he tried to pin the Hitler tag on his opponent. The whole thing was cleverly staged, and that it was deliberate no one disputes and it has been branded by some of the President's shocked friends as an ignoble and unworthy political trick. Certainly it has served to stimulate the whispering campaign against Mr. Willkie. Thoughtful leaders of the Jewish people here are tremendously concerned over the situation. For one thing, they know that the insinuations against Mr. Willkie are wholly false. They know that Mr. Willkie is as strongly anti-Hitler and pro-British as Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Wallace or Governor Lehman. They subscribe, too, to the argument that if Hitler and his allies had any interest in this campaign logic would put them on the side of Mr. Roosevelt, rather than on that of Mr. Willkie, on the ground that the latter could do a far more effective job of preparing the country for war.

To them it seems a dreadful thing to drag an issue such as this into the campaign - to drag it in needlessly and without any justification whatever. They know that it does a fine man a grave injustice and that it is as foul a blow as has been struck. For these reasons, and because so many of their people are being misled, Jewish leaders here are revolting at what is going on. But there is another and a deeper reason why they look with dread upon the tactics.

Chamberlain Union Square

They know well that if through such an appeal to prejudice the Jews form themselves into a racial political group, instead of voting as individual American citizens, which of course thoughtful Jews will do, the inevitable and unavoidable result will be the formation of other racial and religious groups of a hostile nature. Nothing, they think, could more greatly promote and increase anti-Semitism in this country than the effort to solidify the Jewish vote for Mr. Roosevelt now being made in New York. The forces of intolerance rejoice at the attempt; the forces of tolerance are dismayed.

by FRANK R. KENT

(Taken from Wall Street Journal, Saturday, October 12, 1940)



Gifted by Union Skin

A RECORD OF

WENDELL WILLKIE AND FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Presidential Campaign this year is, without a doubt, of more significance to the people of this country than any other campaign since the Civil War. The crisis which we are facing today in our national and international affairs is of such vital importance that our future as a nation may depend upon the consequences of this election.

The people have always been looked upon by their self-chosen supermen and Industrial Aristocrats as a sort of necessary evil, useful on Election Day to help put them in office. They pay them lip-service, flatter them before election and ignore them afterwards. This year the opposition has discovered that it has no real issue to present, hence it is necessary to create one. They believe they are so clever that the people will not detect them. Fortunately, falsehood and deceit evaporate when exposed to the light of rational analysis. The people have learned to demand proof and are not satisfied with accepting empty promises.

It is unfortunate that we cannot rely upon newspapers for accurate information. The purpose and intent of our Press is to confuse and to mislead. The New Deal and President Roosevelt have not had and do not now have the reliance of an unbiased Press to champion their cause. The Press is owned and controlled by the same vested interests who want to see Willkie as the next President of the United States. The Newspaper Business is Big Business, seeking special privileges for itself. Newspapers do no longer express the hopes and aspirations of the people. Their presentation of the news is colored and one-sided. They express the viewpoints of their wealthy owners and advertisers. They endeavor to form and to mold public opinion, rather than to express it.

One of the ablest and most honorable Republican newspaper editors, Mr. William Allan White of the Esperia Gazette, several years ago said, "The people have a keen and accurate sense that much of the editorial enmity about Freedom of the Press arises out of editorial greed." He continued, "I suppose, in the end, newspapers cannot be free in the light and best sense until the old social and economic structure of American life is open to the free interplay of democratic processes."

Another of America's ablest editors, Mr. Irving Brand of the St. Louis Star Times, in a talk on "Press and Political Leadership" said, "I hope that the Press may not be written down in history as a stumbling block over which our American Democracy is to fail."

The election this year will carry with it greater consequences than it did even in the years of 1936 and 1932. Our existence as a free nation is at stake. The next four years may decide whether this country is to remain a democratic republic with freedom for the individual, or whether it is to follow in the footsteps of the Dictator States of Europe. We have our choice as to whether we want to be ruled by a small minority group, represented through one of their own Wall Street men whose record is anti-social and anti-labor, a stooge for conservative bankers and reactionary industrialists; a man without experience in either national or foreign affairs; a man who has

devoted his lifetime as a front-man for public utilities and who now, in order to gain the office of the President of the United States, is masquerading as a farmer; one who, like a magnet, attracts to himself those who have shown their disgust and contempt for the interests of the common people. Or

Or we have the choice, on the other hand, to reelect a man whose record of achievement for the interest of the common man is the most outstanding in the history of our country; one who has earned for himself a name, not only as a great leader of the American People, but who is honored and respected today as the true leader of the world; in whose hands we know from experience we can safely trust our liberties. Roosevelt has not deserted us. And from his record, we know that he will not desert us in the coming four years. We owe him a vote of confidence, a reward for the efforts he made in our behalf. Let us, individually, show by our votes on November 8 that, while our industrial masters have, until now, succeeded in controlling the wealth of our country, they cannot control our votes. They can no longer threaten us with the loss of our jobs. We are an independent people and shall vote as we please.

During a period of almost eight years, the interests of the farmer, the laborer, the unemployed, and the small businessman have been looked after and protected. The small businessman can only prosper when labor is satisfied, when the farmer has an opportunity of getting a fair price for his crops.

Our Industrial Aristocrats and the House of Morgan who sponsored the nomination of Wendell Willkie, consider him a safe and sound man who can be relied upon to carry out their selfish plans. They disregard the fact that their candidate is not prepared by experience to hold such a great office. Wendell Willkie can hardly be called a businessman. He never had any business experience, unless we are willing to call a utility lobbyist a businessman. What William Jennings Bryan said in 1912, during Woodrow Wilson's campaign is as true today as it was then. He said, "I cannot support anyone under obligation of Morgan, Ryan, and Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-seeking, favor-hunting classes." Mr. Willkie has so well served the House of Morgan, that they rewarded him by electing him a Director of their First National Bank in New York City.

Mr. Willkie believes that our welfare as a nation depends entirely on private enterprise, what he calls "the American Way", and as a corollary, that it should not be interfered with by the Government. This has been his philosophy ever since he became identified with public utility interests. On January 21, 1935, before the Economic Club of New York City, he said, "I do not like to make a personal reference, but I want to say that no duties have ever come into my life EVEN IN THE SERVICE OF MY COUNTRY which have so appealed to my sense of social obligation, patriotism and love of mankind as this my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities, privately owned." Mr. Willkie has dedicated his life, as he says, to the interests of public utilities, privately owned and objects to government regulation. He and his group have apparently not been influenced by recent social changes. They still believe in the theory of laissez-faire.

We are able to make an appraisal of Willkie's character and what he believes in from his expressions and conduct during the last ten years. In scrutinizing his record, we can readily see that he, like the vested interests in industry and banking, believes that the common man is merely a puppet who can be made to dance by simply pulling a string. He seems to forget that, while the common man may not have the intelligence to weight the facts carefully, he, nevertheless, possesses infallible human instincts, qualifying him to tell good from evil, to distinguish the genuine from the imitation.

Willkie's campaign, unlike others in the past, is controlled and managed by expert advertising men, some of the best in the country. They have undertaken a daring adventure. They believe that, as long as people are susceptible to the influence of advertising, as long as they have succeeded in selling to the public special brands of ham and special drinks, why couldn't the same method be applied in selling to the public Wendell Willkie, the farmer, as a candidate for President of the United States? It makes no difference to them whether their candidate has or has not the necessary merits qualifying him to occupy this office. All you have to do is advertise him sufficiently, give him the proper build-up and the people will be fooled! Of course, in giving Willkie this build-up, they are very careful not to disclose that the House of Morgan, and its partner Mr. Lamont in particular, instigated and promoted Willkie's candidacy for President. They are trying to make the people believe that Willkie was the "People's Choice."

Willkie, from his past record, appears, to any person willing to investigate it, as an unscrupulous adventurer, willing to sell and serve for a price. It is an insult to the intelligence of the American voters to ask them to vote for a candidate for the President of the United States, who, for many years, has strenuously opposed the interests of the American people.

In 1927, prior to the time Wendell Willkie was elected President of the Commonwealth and Southern, when Senator Walsh of Montana sponsored a resolution to investigate the utilities industry, Mr. Willkie, in behalf of some utilities, bitterly opposed such investigation. The Brief, filed in the Senate, opposing the investigation, was signed by the firm of Mather, Nesbitt and Willkie, of which firm Willkie was then the junior partner. From 1927 to 1933, he did his work in behalf of the utilities so skillfully that he was rewarded by being elected in 1933 President of the Commonwealth and Southern, a Holding Company, indirectly controlled by the House of Morgan. Mr. Willkie was not satisfied to confine his activities to the presidency of a large Holding Company. He thought he could serve the manipulators of public utilities still better by opposing the Government's Electric Power Program. He opposed the TVA, sometimes openly, and at other times, secretly.

In his acceptance speech, Willkie said he was in favor of Rural Electrification. His record shows that he has fought Rural Electrification and the TVA bitterly and uncompromisingly. The companies he represented contributed, upon one occasion, the sum of \$20,000 to a stooge Citizens' and Taxpayers' League of Chattanooga, Tennessee. When George Ford Milton, editor of the Chattanooga News and advocate of publicly owned power companies, opposed their program, Willkie's companies, for a while succeeded in ruining his newspaper by some of the shadiest and filthiest methods seldom attempted even by public utility companies. Willkie's companies set up spite power lines crisscrossing the territory where farmers had shown a disposition to buy power from the TVA. They did not want the TVA to be used as a "yard-stick" to prove that power rates could be materially reduced without reducing the profit-making possibilities of public utility companies. It has been shown that, after Willkie's companies were forced to reduce their rates, the increased consumption made it possible for his companies to earn more than they had ever earned before.

Mr. Willkie, in his acceptance speech, added that he was in favor of "collective bargaining" for Labor. The record of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee shows that many of Willkie's companies hired spies, stored tear-gas bombs, promoted company unions, coerced

and intimidated company employees. Mr. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers, at a recent convention in St. Louis, described Mr. Willkie as a "streamlined version of Herbert Hoover, slicker and more clever and more charming; but, underneath, the synthetic build-up, there is still the manner and outlook of a public utility manipulator and enemy of Labor." The United Auto Workers assisted the employees of Mr. Willkie's Consumers Power Company in winning three strikes against Willkie's company in the last three years. Mr. A. H. Liston of Montgomery, Alabama Center Labor Union says, "The Alabama Power Company, a subsidiary of the Commonwealth and Southern, has fought unions. I do not think Labor has any use for Mr. Willkie."

Some of Mr. Willkie's advisors apparently believe it necessary to gain the confidence of organized labor for Mr. Willkie. They knew they could not induce any honorable, true friend of labor to come to Mr. Willkie's assistance. They selected Big Bill Hutchinson of the Carpenters and Joiners Union, who served as Presidential Elector from the State of Indiana for Herbert Hoover. Hutchinson has been the most outstanding reactionary labor leader in the American Federation of Labor. At a conference with Big Bill Hutchinson, it was apparently arranged to have a group of phony Republican Labor men from Michigan visit Mr. Willkie at his headquarters in Rushville. Willkie's advertising men thought it a good stunt to give this visit publicity, thinking, perhaps, that some Union men might thereby be hoodwinked. It is useless for Candidate Willkie to deceive labor by claiming now that he is their friend. His record and the record of his companies prove that he has fought Labor by unfair and foul means.

The man who nominated Mr. Willkie, Congressman Charles A. Halleck, now acting as one of Mr. Willkie's leading advisors, served as a member of the Smith House Committee investigating the Labor Board and the Wagner Act. Mr. Halleck joined in the report of the committee having for its object the emasculation and destruction of the usefulness of the Labor Board. This report was condemned by both the CIO and the AFL.

In the La Follette Civil Liberties investigation, previously referred to, it was shown that seven out of the ten Commonwealth and Southern subsidiaries were clients of notorious labor spy agencies which specialized in the destruction of labor rights and liberties. It was shown that the Georgia Power Company spent more than \$3,100 in hiring spies from the Pinkerton Detective Agency. The record shows that the Central Illinois Light Company bought \$500 worth of tear-gas bombs and shells from the Lake Erie Chemical Company. Mr. Willkie, as president, must be held responsible for the conduct of his companies. Knowing how damaging this testimony is to his chances of getting the Labor vote, he is now denying some of these facts. Mr. Willkie did not see fit to deny this evidence when a hearing was held before the LaFollette Civil Liberties committee. Of course, at that time, he had no idea of becoming a candidate for President of the United States.

Mr. Willkie was the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Consumers Power Company of Michigan, one of the subsidiaries of the Commonwealth and Southern. This Company was brought up on charges before the National Labor Relations Board which found that the tactics of the company were such that its employees were prevented from choosing their own representatives in collective bargaining. It was shown that employees who refused to join the Company union were not only spied upon, but attempts were

even made to poison them. The company claimed that this was the action of a foreman who was punished for his conduct. The punishment consisted of giving this foreman a week's vacation with pay. The order of the Labor Board was afterwards affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and the Consumers Power Company was ordered to cease promoting illegal labor organizations and show more decent respect for the rights of its employees.

Mr. Willkie, in his acceptance speech, said he favored regulation of the sale of securities. His record indicates that he and the group he represents attempted to obstruct the passing of the Wheeler-Rayburn Act, a law designed to prevent Holding Companies from fleecing stockholders and consumers alike. When the act was finally passed, Mr. Willkie's Commonwealth and Southern refused to obey it by registering with the SEC. He told his stockholders that he was protecting their rights against "unconstitutional process of control and destruction." He, like his predecessors the lawyers of the Liberty League, considered himself fully competent to pass on the constitutionality of the law and advised his clients to disregard the law. Fortunately, in this case, as well as in the Wagner case, opposed by the Liberty League, the law was declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Willkie, in his acceptance speech, gave lip-service to some of the social laws passed in the last seven and a half years. Realizing that he was speaking to prospective voters throughout the country, he used weasel words, purposely to be vague.

Several months ago, Mr. Willkie delivered a speech, not intended for publication, before the National Press Club in Washington. Those who heard it stated afterwards that they found him advocating a sort of government for this country almost indistinguishable from the Fascist doctrine, but more suitable and palatable for American consumption, a government by Big Business, controlled by large manufacturers, utilities and banking corporations. To Mr. Willkie's way of thinking, this would mean the "American Way." And this is probably what he had in mind when he spoke of "outdistancing Hitler in any contest he chooses in 1940 or thereafter. And I promise you that when we beat him, we shall beat him on our own terms and in the American Way." We have a key to Mr. Willkie's mode of thinking from his articles and speeches prior to the time he was nominated.

We can also judge the type of economic philosophy which appeals to him from the praise he has given to a recently published book he took along with him to Colorado. He even sent for the author to have breakfast with him. This book is "Capitalism, the Creator," by Carl Snyder. The New York Times, on July 16, reports Mr. Willkie making the following statements: "In my judgment, it is the most stimulating and provocative book on the capitalist system that I know of." He added that he had urged Mr. Snyder to get in touch with his publishers and prevail upon them to publish the book in a more popular edition "so that everyone could read it." From these praiseworthy words and expressions by Mr. Willkie, we have the right to assume that Mr. Willkie agrees with the principles as expressed by Mr. Snyder.

The author of the book looks on the common man with contempt and scorn. He advocates a banking and industrial aristocracy. Perhaps, this is why the book appealed so strongly to Mr. Willkie, for it coincides with his own economic philosophy. Since Mr. Willkie has urged that this book be brought out in a popular edition so that everyone may read it, I shall cite some excerpts from it.

Mr. Snyder says on page 12 that the education of the masses is dangerous; that the workers have contributed little to advancement; that they have promoted discontent, class-feeling and envy, that unemployment is due to over-expansion of credit and that a wise banking policy will, in the near future, easily eliminate this.

On page 22

"Consumer buying and all its endless cousins are empty phrases."

On page 37

"Our industrial growth was never affected by monopolies. Monopolies were never a menace to our competitive system."

Mr. Willkie, in his fight against the Holding Company Act, expressed the same views. Mr. Snyder further says on

Page 50

"The savings of the rich cannot be used for ameliorating the conditions of the poor without imperilling the capital supply. We cannot destroy capital supply whether by taxation or by any other ill-advised policy designed to redistribute the wealth to the farmers, laborers, or idle, without paying the piper."

Mr. Snyder has a very low opinion of the American people, and Mr. Willkie should have condemned this book if he expects the American people to vote for him, instead of praising it. He says

On page 86

"An essentially Neolithic or primitive type of population constitutes the vast part of humanity now - three-fourths or four-fifths of the present human race, including our own country. In spite of schools, universities, books, newspapers, and radio, all the instruments of education, the common man's contribution to progress has been very slight."

Mr. Snyder simply hates and distrusts the masses and their leaders and, perhaps, so does Mr. Willkie; otherwise he could not have praised this book.

On page 112

"The advent to power of the masses aroused by ignorant and demagogic leaders threatens our society." He consoles himself by saying "It is well to remember that the surge of the underworld has existed throughout historic times. There is no probability that it will gain more supremacy now than in the days of Spartacus."

On page 125

"As the highest rate of saving is from the largest fortunes, the greater the concentration of income, the greater the capital supply." The owners of these great fortunes who, according to Mr. Snyder, are a blessing to humanity, are the ones who want to see Mr. Willkie elected President of the United States, so they can increase their concentration of wealth."

On page 299

"Legislation for higher incomes for farmers, higher wages, unemployment benefits and relief means the expropriation of the successful few for the benefit of the unsuccessful many, always given an attractive name, 'Social Security' or 'Economic Planning'".

Mr. Willkie, in his acceptance speech, said he was in favor of unemployment insurance and collective bargaining. If he was sincere in making this statement he would necessarily have to condemn Mr. Snyder and his book, "Capitalism, the Creator."

On page 316

"Unemployment insurance increases unemployment and adds to the difficulty of revising wages during a depression. If employers must provide unemployment insurance, and contribute to the retirement fund, the wages he can afford to pay must be less by the amount of the premiums to those funds. The cost will ultimately be shifted to the laborer."

On page 318

"The most noteworthy advances in wages and good living were made while the workers of this country were largely unorganized. If the American unions succeed in dominating industry, I think we may reasonably expect a decline in business enterprise, with a halt in progress toward higher standards of living."

The author expresses the arguments of Mr. Willkie's friends who want to see him elected. He says

On page 344

"The income tax is perhaps the most disasterous mistake in the history of our fiscal legislation, bringing untold ill."

On page 346

"The income tax and other taxes that bear heavily on those who provide most of the savings for productive capital are the most harmful that could be devised. The inheritance tax plainly destroys the strongest motive to accumulation. The same applies to the capital gains tax."

On page 421

"The unbelievably simple method of credit control will make unnecessary old age pensions and security laws. The technique of monetary stability will eliminate business depressions and reduce unemployment."

Apparently, the author and Mr. Willkie entirely disregard what has taken place since the first World War. They ignore completely social changes. Like Joshua, they feel that the sun can be commanded to stand still.

A man who believes in a definite economic theory will, sooner or later, betray his own thoughts. No amount of camouflage will conceal what is embedded deep on one's conscience. This is particularly true of a person controlled by strong emotional impulses like Mr. Willkie. He is so imbued with his economic philosophy and so worships private enterprise and the profit motive that he would even introduce it into

the defense program. What could be more praiseworthy than to raise a new crop of war millionaires in the United States in the present world crisis? For the glory of this principle he will even oppose the majority of the senators in his own party who voted for the Selective Service Bill containing the Overton-Russell Amendment. Mr. Willkie cheerfully approves the conscripting of men to render military service to their government in time of need. He is willing to have these young men serve their country for \$21 a month, but strongly objects to the Overton-Russell Amendment, giving the government the power to requisition the use of plants when necessary. Private enterprise shall not be interfered with, no matter what the emergency and no matter how great the crisis.

Mr. Willkie says that this Amendment, if it becomes law, "will further impede and disorganize the defense program." Does he mean to imply that industry will sabotage and go on strike against this government? Anyone who studied Mr. Willkie's record on labor knows how ridiculous and insincere are his remarks that the enactment of the bill containing the Overton-Russell Amendment will "Constitute a threat to American Labor and particularly to Union Labor." The man whose company sought to cripple and destroy labor unions and collective bargaining, champions the rights of Labor! According to Mr. Willkie, if the government possesses the right to requisition plants, there is no freedom left in this country to defend. The only freedom Mr. Willkie understands is the freedom of property and not human freedom.

In making this attack on the Overton-Russell Amendment to the Act, Willkie has unintentionally exposed his inner conviction that he has no hope nor chance of defeating the President in this year's election. When he made the statement, he knew that considerable time would elapse before this House passes the bill. And that there was hardly any likelihood that the President to whom these powers are granted may exercise them very shortly. Therefore, if Wendell Willkie thought that he had any chance of being elected President of the United States on November 8 of this year, he would not have feared the granting of such powers when he would be the one to exercise them. He is convinced in his own mind that no opportunity for exercising such discretion will ever present itself to him. He realized that if such power should ever be exercised, it will be exercised by Franklin D. Roosevelt as President of the United States. Hence the anxiety and fear for granting Franklin D. Roosevelt such powers. If Willkie thought for a moment that he had a chance of becoming President of the United States, he knew that the men he would select as Secretary of War and Secretary of Navy for his Cabinet would never have the occasion to be in conflict or in disagreement with private industry. His administration would doubtless see to it that private industry, even at the expense of the Defense Preparedness Program, would enjoy a Roman Holiday and get fat on preparedness contracts.

Mr. Willkie apparently is unable to throttle his strong emotional impulses. He shows complete instability. He makes a statement one day and when he realizes the harmful effect it may have on voters, he is quick to say that he was not understood, and that he really meant something else. His attack on the Overton-Russell Amendment was definite and distinct. A few days later he tried to change his tune by saying that he really did favor the conscription of industry in case of emergency, and that it should be selected and be taken over by the government, just as in the case of men, but by rules and regulations. If the Amendment says anything, it says exactly what Mr. Willkie now says he means. He is now trying to twist and change what he definitely said before.

Soon after his nomination he said that he will raise the issue of clean politics. When it was proven that he was a member of Tammany Hall, he thought it would help him to deny it. The records are there and no amount of denial will disprove it. Soon after he was nominated, he was asked in New York at a press conference, whether he had heard from Republican Boss Joseph Pew, Jr., who opposed his nomination. He answered, "No, I haven't, and as far as I'm concerned, that's only half of it." Of course, a man who wants clean politics would not think of associating with Boss Pew, or of accepting his assistance. It has recently been reported that, not only has Mr. Willkie been conferring with Mr. Pew, by long distance telephone, but he also expressed a desire to spend a weekend at Mr. Pew's Pennsylvania home at Ardmore.

We would do well to contrast this record of Mr. Willkie with that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, compare actual achievements, not promises, and actual experience. During the last seven and a half years, the New Deal has accomplished certain definite objectives. They are open. The New Deal is not an abstract term. We can definitely point to what it has done and is doing.

1. It has passed banking laws to insure deposits.
2. It created the Federal Home Loan Bank.
3. It cleared slums through the United States Housing Authority.
4. It made it possible for those who want to buy a home to get one with a small investment, through the Home Owners Loan Corporation.
5. It established the Security and Exchange Commission, designed to protect investors against fraudulent stock issues.
6. It created the Holding Company Act to restrict corporations from pyramiding their utility holdings and fleecing the public, like Samuel Insull did, which is still fresh in our memories.
7. It created the Work Projects Administration which employs workers who would otherwise need relief.
8. It created the Public Works Administration to assist states and cities in building schools, highways, hospitals and other public improvements.
9. It inaugurated conservation and flood control projects.
10. It built TVA, Grand Coulee, and Boulder Dam
11. It created the Rural Electrification Administration enabling farmers to get electric power and lights on their farms.
12. It passed the Wagner Act. It created a National Labor Relations Board to administer the Act, encouraging collective bargaining.
13. It put a bottom to low wages and a ceiling to maximum hours.
14. It enacted the Social Security Act, providing old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.
15. It brought about a Good-Neighbor Policy with Latin America.

16. It enforced anti-trust laws, resulting in lower prices and more production.
17. It started the CCC camps for hundreds of thousands of young men.
18. It helped Youth to find work or schools for unemployed young people.
19. Its agricultural program kept the farmer afloat with subsidies, conservation payments, marketing facilities and credit.
20. It brought about the Farm Security Administration with aid to down and out farmers and the Food Stamp plan to distribute food in more than a hundred cities.
21. It encouraged art and music through various Federal Arts Projects.

These are the actual accomplishments, not promises and these accomplishments have been achieved for the benefit of the masses of American citizens, not for the sole benefit of a selected few.

In international affairs, Franklin D. Roosevelt has shown himself to be a genius, more far-sighted than all the European heads of governments. Had he been listened to almost four years ago when he asked to quarantine aggressors and had the European democracies, at that time cooperated with him, there is a great probability that the war in Europe might have been averted. His far-sightedness made it possible to obtain for the United States strategic naval and air bases to protect this country more fully against any aggression. Willkie admits that the acquisition of the air and naval bases was a wise policy. He insincerely objects that it was not a democratic act on the part of the President, claiming that the President should have submitted the question to Congress, the Congress who has shown an amazing capacity for delay and procrastination of important issues, a Congress who has spinelessly delayed action on the Conscription Act, notwithstanding the fact that it was endorsed by both Roosevelt and Willkie, and has the overwhelming support of the American people. The President should be congratulated that he has shown his usual exemplary courage. He knows that the people approve his conduct and, had he submitted it to Congress, no definite, prompt action could have been assured.

Franklin D. Roosevelt has incurred hatred such as no President has ever incurred before, except, perhaps, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Jackson. But, we the people, owe him our gratitude, our everlasting thanks for his great humanitarian efforts and loyal devotion to us.