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ADLAI E. STEVENSON III  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY  
SPRINGFIELD

MEMORIES OF ADLAI II - AND ANOTHER TIME

RICHARD NORTON SMITH AND THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN LIBRARY DESERVE OUR HEARTIEST COMMENDATION FOR ORGANIZING THIS SYMPOSIUM. MY FAMILY IS GRATEFUL TO HIM AND HIS ASSOCIATES AND TO THE GOOD FRIENDS WHO HAVE GATHERED TO SHARE RECOLLECTIONS OF ANOTHER POLITICS AND TIME. MINE START WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AN INSPIRATION OF MY FATHER AND A CONSTANT PRESENCE IN MY FAMILY.

GRANDFATHER ADLAI I, THEN A STUDENT AT WESLEYAN IN NORMAL AND LATER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, RECORDED GRANDFATHER JESSE FELL'S PROPOSAL TO SENATOR STEPHEN A DOUGLAS FOR A JOINT DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES WITH A LAWYER LEGISLATOR NAMED ABRAHAM LINCOLN - AND DOUGLAS'S SKEPTICAL RESPONSE: WHAT PARTY DOES MR. LINCOLN REPRESENT? GRANDFATHER FELL: THE WHIG PARTY, OF COURSE, TO WHICH DOUGLAS REPLIED: WHEN I CAME HOME FROM WASHINGTON I WAS ASSAILED IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE STATE BY AN OLD LINE ABOLITIONIST, IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE STATE BY A WHIG, AND IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS BY AN ANTI - NEBRASKA DEMOCRAT. I CANNOT HOLD THE WHIG RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT THE ABOLITIONIST SAYS, NOR THE ANTI NEBRASKA DEMOCRAT RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT EITHER OF THE OTHER SAYS, AND IT LOOKS LIKE DOGGING A MAN ALL OVER THE STATE. DOUGLAS WAS UNENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE PROPOSAL, BUT GRANDFATHER FELL'S FRIEND, MR. LINCOLN, ARRIVED. THE GREETINGS WERE ACORDIAL, ADLAI I RECORDED. LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS TRADED STORIES, AS POLITICIANS DO, AND FINALLY DOUGLAS ACCEDED TO FELL'S PROPOSAL. AFTER THE LINCOLN DOUGLAS DEBATES BROUGHT HIM THE ANTICIPATED NATIONAL ATTENTION, LINCOLN WROTE HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY FOR GRAND FATHER FELL WHO USED IT TO PROMOTE LINCOLN'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY IN THE EAST. LINCOLN BECAME A PRESENCE IN THE FAMILY.

ADLAI II WAS KNOWN TO FRIENDS AS THE GUV. HIS ROOTS, NOURISHED IN POLITICS, FARMING, THE LAW AND JOURNALISM, RUN DEEP HERE IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS. BUT THE GUV'S UNIVERSE WAS THE WORLD. FROM STUDENT IN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR AND CORRESPONDENT IN RUSSIA AND EUROPE IN 1926 FOR A HEARST PAPER, HE WAS A PERIPATETIC STUDENT OF THE WORLD, EXPLORING ITS MARKETS AND FAVELAS TO LEARN HOW PEOPLE LIVED, RUMMAGING IN RUINS AND MONUMENTS TO DISCOVER THEIR PAST, ALWAYS LISTENING AND ABSORBING HISTORY. HIS PERSPECTIVE WAS FROM NO IVORY TOWER OF SCHOLASTICISM FOR ARM CHAIR STRATEGISTS AND POLEMICISTS. IT WAS FROM HISTORY AND THE REAL WORLD, ON THE GROUND AND OFTEN THE FRONT LINES. IT WAS DEVOID OF IDEOLOGY AND RELIGIOSITY. THE EGGHEAD WAS HARD BOILED.

IN 1947 THIS NEW DEAL BUREAUCRAT, VETERAN OF THE STATE AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS IN WORLD WAR II, A STRATEGIC BOMBING SURVEY AFTERWARDS AND ARCHITECT OF THE UN HAD RETURNED TO HIS HOME NEAR LIBERTYVILLE, ALWAYS KNOWN AS THE FARM, AND RESUMED A FITFUL PRACTICE OF LAW IN CHICAGO. THE LAW WAS FOREVER A REFUGE FOR ADLAIS BETWEEN PUBLIC DUTIES. HE HAD NO CONSTITUENCY IN THE DEMOCRATIC

PARTY. LIBERTYVILLE'S TOWN FATHERS DECLARED THE DEMOCRAT A NON RESIDENT. BUT FRIENDS PROMOTED HIM TO A NEEDY DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION. 1948 WAS SHAPING UP TO BE A BAD YEAR FOR DEMOCRATS.

THE ILLINOIS REGULAR DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION, MORE PARTICULARLY THE COOK COUNTY DEMOCRATIC MACHINE, NEEDED RESPECTABLE CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND U.S. SENATOR TO HEAD OFF A DEBACLE AT THE POLLS. FOR THE SENATE THE ORGANIZATION, THEN LED BY JACOB (JACK) ARVEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE COOK COUNTY DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, ENDORSED PAUL DOUGLAS, DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND A REFORM MEMBER OF THE CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL (SOMETHING OF AN OXYMORON) FOR THE U.S. SENATE AND ADLAI II FOR GOVERNOR. BETTER TO PLACE THE SPOILS OF THE GOVERNORSHIP WITH THE UNKNOWN QUANTITY, THE GUV, THAN WITH THE KNOWN REFORMER, DOUGLAS, IN CASE THEY DID WIN. LIKE MOST GREAT PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS AND SENATORS OF THE AMERICAN CENTURY, STEVENSON AND DOUGLAS WERE CANDIDATES OF THE ABOSSSES, MEN WITH SOME KNOWLEDGE OF THE CANDIDATES, THE DEMANDS OF PUBLIC OFFICE AND THE ISSUES. OURS WAS A MORE REPRESENTATIONAL DEMOCRACY. PRIMARY ELECTIONS WERE OFTEN A FORMALITY IN ILLINOIS.

MY COUSIN, TIM IVES OF BLOOMINGTON, AND I WERE THE GUV'S DRIVERS THAT SUMMER OF 1948. THE CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND SENATOR EACH HEADED A CARAVAN OF CANDIDATES WHICH TRAVERSED THE STATE DAY IN AND DAY OUT, OCCASIONALLY CONVERGING FOR LARGE RALLIES. THEY TOOK NO POLLS. THEY HAD LITTLE MONEY. THE GUV'S CAMPAIGN COST \$154,000, ACCORDING TO HIS METICULOUS RECORDS NOT THEN REQUIRED BY STATUTE. FROM ONE END OF THE STATE TO THE OTHER, AT COUNTY FAIRS AND COURT HOUSES, AT FACTORY GATES AND CHICAGO WARD MEETINGS, THE CANDIDATES PRESSED THE FLESH AND RAILED AGAINST THE CORRUPT REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR GREEN IN SPRINGFIELD, THE DO NOTHING REPUBLICAN CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON AND THE FLESH, THE DEVIL AND ALL THE OTHER ENEMIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. PEOPLE RESPONDED. EVEN BLOOMINGTON HOSTED A TORCH LIGHT PARADE. (WE ALWAYS HAD MORE FRIENDS THAN VOTERS IN MCLEAN AND LAKE COUNTIES.) POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND VOLUNTEERS RAISED MONEY DOOR TO DOOR, GOT PEOPLE REGISTERED AND OUT TO VOTE THE A STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET - A REFRAIN THROUGH MY DAY.

THE GUV WON BY THE LARGEST PLURALITY IN ILLINOIS HISTORY AND WITH DOUGLAS NOT FAR BEHIND HELPED HARRY TRUMAN CARRY ILLINOIS AND WIN THE PRESIDENCY. IN LIBERTYVILLE, THE TOWN FATHERS CONVENED AND CONCLUDED THE GUV WAS A RESIDENT AFTER ALL.

ILLINOIS' GOVERNOR ELECT RECRUITED CIVIL SERVANTS, PROFESSIONALS AND ACADEMICS FROM OUTSIDE PARTISAN POLITICS. A FEW LIKE WALTER FISHER, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMERCE COMMISSION, WERE REPUBLICANS. CITIZENS, DOING THEIR DUTY ENLISTED IN STATE GOVERNMENT AS THEY HAD THE NEW DEAL AND WOULD THE NEW FRONTIER. THEN PROFESSOR WILLARD WIRTZ OF THE NORTHWESTERN LAW SCHOOL, RECALLS A TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE GOVERNOR ELECT WHO ASKED HIM TO CHAIR THE ILLINOIS LIQUOR CONTROL COMMISSION. AT THE WHAT? WIRTZ RESPONDED. I KNOW NOTHING ABOUT LIQUOR CONTROL. TO WHICH THE GOVERNOR ELECT RESPONDED, YOU KNOW HOW TO KEEP YOUR FINGERS OUT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S POCKETS DON'T YOU? THAT IS ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW. FEW OF THESE RECRUITS TO STATE

GOVERNMENT BORE THE ENDORSEMENTS OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS AND POLITICAL LEADERS THOUGH STATE SENATOR RICHARD J. DALEY MAY HAVE BEEN SOMETHING OF AN EXCEPTION, RECOMMENDED, I SUSPECT, BY JACK ARVEY. DALEY SERVED WITH DISTINCTION AS DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE. THE GUV LATER SUPPORTED HIM IN A CONTESTED PRIMARY ELECTION WITH INCUMBENT MAYOR KENNELLEY OF CHICAGO. DALEY AND ARVEY BECAME THE GUV'S LOYAL SUPPORTERS.

THE GUV'S GROUNDING IN THE REAL WORLD WAS SOUND FOOTING FOR STATE GOVERNMENT. ITS ISSUES ARE OF NUTS AND BOLTS AND PRIORITIES, FISCAL RECTITUDE AND RESISTANCE TO SPECIAL PLEADING. THE JOB OF GOVERNOR REQUIRES DISCIPLINE AND, AS GOVERNOR JOHN PETER ALTGELD, THE EAGLE FORGOTTEN, PUT IT, THE COURAGE TO BE RIGHT, AN ABILITY TO SAY NO. THE GUV SAID NO TO MANY. BUT WITH 30,000 JOBS TO FILL WITH HUNGRY DEMOCRATS, HE WAS ALSO IN A POSITION TO SAY AYES AND REWARD THE FAITHFUL. ONE GRATEFUL DEMOCRAT ASSURED HIM HE HAD BEEN A LIFE LONG DEMOCRAT EVER SINCE HE GOT HIS STATE JOB. PATRONAGE WAS EMPLOYED TO GOOD EFFECT BY LARRY IRVIN OF BLOOMINGTON.

BLOCKED IN THE LEGISLATURE, HE APPEALED TO THE PEOPLE IN WEEKLY RADIO PROGRAMS, WINNING SUPPORT FOR A GAS TAX INCREASE AND BETTER ROADS. REGULAR DEMOCRATS DEVELOPED RESPECT FOR THE LITTLE GUY, EVEN AFFECTION. BILL WIRTZ CALLED IT IDEALISM WITH MUSCLE. PAUL POWELL, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, WAS FORCED TO GO ALONG WITH INCREASED TRUCK LICENSE FEES. THE GUV THANKED HIM FOR THE SUPPORT TO WHICH POWELL REPLIED THAT HE WAS GLAD TO HAVE THE THANKS BECAUSE IT COST HIM \$50,000. CLEANLINESS, THE GUV EXPLAINED, WAS NEXT TO GODLINESS, EXCEPT IN THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE WHERE IT WAS NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE.

HE WORKED 16, 17 HOUR DAYS. THE HOME IN LIBERTYVILLE WAS RENTED OUT. THE EXECUTIVE MANSION WAS HOME AND OFFICE. STATE AID FOR EDUCATION WAS DOUBLED, MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT MODERNIZED. MINE SAFETY WAS IMPROVED. APPALLING CONDITIONS IN MENTAL INSTITUTIONS WERE CORRECTED, A STATE REFORMATORY ESTABLISHED. THE WAY WAS PREPARED FOR A FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. CIVIL SERVICE WAS STRENGTHENED. THE STATE POLICE WERE PUT UNDER A MERIT SYSTEM. GAMBLING WAS SHUT DOWN. IT'S A LONG LITANY OF ACHIEVEMENT. HE WAS A TIGHT MAN WITH THE PEOPLE'S MONEY. SCOTCH IRISH, THE SCOTCH PREDOMINATED. AT NIGHT HE WENT ABOUT THE MANSION TURNING OUT THE LIGHTS. THE STATE BUDGET REFLECTED HIS PARSIMONY.

AT THE HEIGHT OF MCCARTHYISM, HE VETOED LOYALTY OATH BILLS THEN IN FASHION AND ANOTHER WHICH REQUIRED CATS BE KEPT ON LEASHES, OBSERVING IN THE VETO MESSAGE THAT IT WAS IN THE NATURE OF CATS TO DO A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF UNESCORTED ROAMING.

HE WAS NEVER KNOWN AS A MAN OF THE PEOPLE, BUT HE LOVED RETAIL POLITICS, LOVED PEOPLE, WAS A GOOD LISTENER, A GREAT STUMP SPEAKER AND UNAFFECTED BY HIS STATION. HE MOVED ABOUT THE STATE IN AN ANCIENT CADILLAC LIMOUSINE WITH OLD CAPTAIN VAN DIVER OF THE STATE POLICE AT THE WHEEL, MENDING FENCES AND PERSONALLY INSPECTING ALL STATE INSTITUTIONS. AT THE ENTRANCE TO ONE, THE LIMOUSINE WHICH HAD CLOCKED MORE THAN 300,000 MILES BROKE DOWN. A STATE TROOPER ARRIVED ON THE SCENE TO FIND THE GOVERNOR'S FEET PROTRUDING FROM BENEATH THE VEHICLE WHICH HE WAS ATTEMPTING TO REPAIR. INSPECTING A MENTAL

INSTITUTION DURING ITS SOCIAL HOUR, HE DANCED WITH A WOMAN INMATE AND WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THAT HER LATE HUSBAND, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SPOKE OF HIM WARMLY.

THE STEVENSON ADMINISTRATION DID NOT ESCAPE SCANDAL. JIM MULROY, AN ASSISTANT AND FORMER NEWSMAN, ACQUIRED HORSE RACE STOCK THROUGH SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE PAUL POWELL IN SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES AND WAS FORCED TO RESIGN, A VERY PAINFUL EXPERIENCE FOR ALL. HORSE RACE STOCK HAS BEEN A HARDY PERENNIAL SOURCE OF CORRUPTION IN SPRINGFIELD. HORSE MEAT WAS NOVEL AND MORE IN KEEPING WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION. THE GUV HAD APPOINTED AN APOLITICAL LIBERTYVILLE NEIGHBOR TO BE SUPERINTENDENT OF FOODS AND DAIRIES, A SENSITIVE POSITION BECAUSE OF IMMENSE PROFIT POTENTIALS IN THE ADULTERATION OF FOOD PRODUCTS. THE SUPERINTENDENT WAS IMPLICATED IN A SCHEME TO ADULTERATE HAMBURGER WITH HORSE MEAT AND FORCED TO RESIGN. A REFRAIN IN RESTAURANTS FOLLOWED: HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR HAMBURGER? WIN, PLACE OR SHOW! HE OFTEN ANSWERED THE DOOR BELL AT THE AIRY, SLIGHTLY WORN BUT COMFORTABLE OLD EXECUTIVE MANSION. IT BECAME A DESTINATION FOR ARTISTS, AUTHORS, NEWSMEN AND POLITICAL LEADERS: CARL SANDBURG, JOHN GUNTHER AND BERNARD DEVOTO; ALLEN NEVINS AND ARTHUR SCHLESINGER; JAMES RESTON, EDWARD MURROW AND WALTER LIPPMANN; RALPH BUNCHE; VICE PRESIDENT BARKLEY. FROM ARTHUR RUBENSTEIN TO BOB HOPE A SPECTRUM OF THE CREATIVE, CURIOUS AND INFLUENTIAL TREKKED TO SPRINGFIELD TO MEET THIS IMPROBABLE PRODUCT OF THE WORLD, THE PRAIRIES AND ILLINOIS POLITICS.

IN THE THIRD YEAR AS GOVERNOR WITH HIS ADMINISTRATION IN PLACE, WAR RAGING IN KOREA AND MCCARTHYISM SAVAGING OUR POLITICS AND CIVIL SERVICE, HE BEGAN TAKING NATIONAL SPEAKING EVENTS AND THUS ATTRACTED MORE ATTENTION TO HIMSELF. I SUSPECT HE HAD STARTED THINKING ABOUT RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT IN 1956.

BUT PRESIDENT TRUMAN URGED HIM TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1952 AFTER JUSTICE VINSON REFUSED. WITH A RECORD BREAKING VICTORY FOR GOVERNOR OF A LARGE STATE, EXPERIENCE IN STATE, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, HE WAS AN INEVITABLE FRONT RUNNER FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION. HE RESISTED IT STRENUOUSLY, EVEN WRITING A LONG MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINING WHY HE WANTED TO REMAIN IN HIS ABELOVED ILLINOIS. BUT HE COULD NOT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE ISSUE A SHERMAN LIKE STATEMENT REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

1952 WAS SHAPING UP TO BE ANOTHER BAD YEAR FOR DEMOCRATS. THEY HAD BEEN IN POWER FOR 20 YEARS IN WASHINGTON. THE KOREAN WAR WAS DRAGGING ON. REPUBLICANS WERE COMPLAINING OF A AMESS IN WASHINGTON. GENERAL EISENHOWER, THE WAR HERO, WAS RETURNING.

AFTER THE GUV'S WELCOMING ADDRESS AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, HE WAS DRAFTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION - NOMINATED ON THE THIRD BALLOT AS ONE BY ONE THE CONTENDERS WITHDREW IN HIS FAVOR. TWO OF THEM, VICE PRESIDENT ALBEN BARKLEY AND SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL, THE GUV ADDRESSED AS ACOUSIN. (MANY YEARS LATER WHEN I WAS SWORN INTO THE SENATE, SENATOR RUSSELL SAID, I AM GLAD I LIVED LONG ENOUGH TO WELCOME A COUSIN TO THE SENATE. HE DIED SHORTLY THEREAFTER.)

HIS WELCOMING AND ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES AWAKENED THE WORLD TO A

NEW AND STIRRING VOICE IN AMERICA. RETURNING TO SPRINGFIELD FROM THE CONVENTION, THE GUV WAS WELCOMED BY A CROWD OF 25,000. THAT NIGHT HE SLIPPED OUT OF THE MANSION ON FOOT TO LINCOLN'S HOME WHERE HE COMMUNED IN THE DARKNESS WITH THE MARTYRED PRESIDENT.

THE 1952 CAMPAIGN STARTED AT THE CONVENTION WITH NO STAFF, NO PROGRAM, NO MONEY. THE VOLUNTEERS FOR STEVENSON, REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS INCLUDED, WAS ORGANIZED TO RAISE MONEY DOOR TO DOOR. THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE WAS REORGANIZED UNDER STEVE MITCHELL OF ILLINOIS. AN EXTRAORDINARY COLLECTION OF VOLUNTEERS CONGREGATED AT THE ELKS CLUB HERE IN SPRINGFIELD AND SPILLED OVER INTO HOTELS AND A RENTED HOUSE. THEY WORKED ON POSITION PAPERS AND SPEECHES AROUND A LARGE TABLE WITH ADJOINING BEDROOMS FOR OCCASIONAL SLEEP UNTIL MANY DROPPED FROM EXHAUSTION.

HE TOOK OUT HALF HOUR BLOCKS OF TIME ON NATIONAL TELEVISION FOR ELOQUENT SPEECHES TO CHEERING PARTISANS AND FIVE MINUTE BLOCKS FOR FACE TO FACE TALKS WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. TO VETERANS HE DID NOT BEAT THE DRUMS OF WAR OR WAVE THE BLOODY FLAG. PATRIOTISM HAD YET TO ERUPT ON THE LAPELS OF COUNTLESS POLITICIANS. IT WAS THE TRANQUIL, STEADY DEDICATION OF A LIFETIME. HE REFUSED, UNLIKE EISENHOWER, TO SAY HE WOULD GO TO KOREA, KNOWING HIS NEGOTIATING HAND AS PRESIDENT WOULD BE COMPROMISED, OR TO INCITE UPRISINGS IN EASTERN EUROPE WITH FALSE PROMISES OF ALIBERATION. HE REFUSED TO COMPROMISE THE NATIONAL INTEREST WITH CONCESSIONS TO SECTIONAL INTERESTS. HIS REFUSAL TO SACRIFICE THE TIDELANDS OIL FORFEITED THE SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR OF TEXAS. TRUST THE PEOPLE WITH THE TRUTH, HE SAID, ALL THE TRUTH. MORE IMPORTANT THAN WINNING WAS GOVERNING. WHAT WON WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHO WON. DEMOCRACY WAS MORE THAN A MEANS TO POWER FOR THE GUV. IT WAS AN END IN ITSELF.

LOGISTICS WAS NOT A STRENGTH OF THE IMPROMPTU 1952 CAMPAIGN, GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. COURTING THE FARM VOTE, HE TOOK THE PRESIDENTIAL ENTOURAGE TO THE FAMILY HOME IN BLOOMINGTON AND WAIVED FOLLOW ME. WHEREUPON HE JUMPED BEHIND THE WHEEL TO LEAD THE ENTOURAGE TO THE FAMILY FARM - AND GOT LOST. HE COULDN'T FIND THE FAMILY FARM. HIS DRIVERS OF THAT SUMMER IN 1948 WOULD HAVE GOT HIM THERE, BUT THEY WERE ON THEIR WAY TO KOREA, AN AIR FORCE FIGHTER BOMBER PILOT AND A MARINE CORPS TANK PLATOON COMMANDER.

IT WAS TIME FOR A CHANGE. THAT REPUBLICAN REFRAIN WAS A PROPOSITION WITH WHICH PRIVATELY THE GUV DID NOT ENTIRELY DISAGREE. MODERATES HAD PREVAILED OVER THE ISOLATIONIST RIGHT WING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. BUT BY 1956 HE HAD LOST HIS RESPECT FOR EISENHOWER, AND VICE PRESIDENT NIXON WAS LURKING IN THE WINGS. HE ENTERED THREE CONTESTED PRIMARIES, CLINCHING THE NOMINATION IN CALIFORNIA. THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF HUNGARY AND THE FRENCH, BRITISH, ISRAELI INVASION OF SUEZ RALLIED THE COUNTRY BEHIND ITS POPULAR PRESIDENT. HE LOST AGAIN. BUT IN THOSE CAMPAIGNS HE WON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER. HE AIMED TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE HAVES AND HAVE NOTS IN THE WORLD, CURB THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE, PRESERVE THE GLOBAL COMMONS AND IN ALL THINGS RELY ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND COOPERATION TO PRESERVE PEACE. HE WAS A COLD WAR WARRIOR, BUT HIS ARSENAL INCLUDED AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC VALUES, ITS ECONOMIC

SYSTEM AND COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN WELFARE. HE DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY AND MILITARISM. THE WORLD RESPONDED.

AFTER CAMPAIGNS, THE TRAVELS RESUMED. HE WAS ACCLAIMED EVERYWHERE AS THE VOICE OF ENLIGHTENED AMERICAN INTERNATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY. WELL, NOT EXACTLY EVERYWHERE. HIS HELICOPTER WAS DOWNED OVER GUERRILLA INFESTED JUNGLES OF MALAYA IN 1953. THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION WAS FORCED BY THE ACCLAIM TO ENLIST HIM AS AN OFFICIAL AMBASSADOR OF GOOD WILL. IN THE JUNGLES OF FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA, NANCY AND I HEARD ALBERT SCHWEITZER WARN THAT THESE WERE THE MOST DANGEROUS OF ALL TIMES BECAUSE MAN HAD ACQUIRED CONTROL OF THE ELEMENTS BUT NOT OF HIMSELF. THAT WAS 1957. MY BROTHERS WERE INVITED BY PREMIER KHRUSCHEV TO REMAIN IN MOSCOW AND MARRY TWO NICE RUSSIAN GIRLS. HE KEPT WRITING AND SPEAKING, REPRESENTING AMERICA TO THE WORLD AND THE WORLD TO AMERICA. HIS PAPERS WOULD EVENTUALLY FILL 10 VOLUMES.

AS CANDIDATE AND TITULAR LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HE BROUGHT GOOD CITIZENS INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS. JOHN BRADEMAS, KEN HECHLER AND NEWT MINOW, HERE TODAY, ARE EXAMPLES OF WHOM HE WAS PROUD. HE CREATED ADVISORY COUNCILS WHICH FORMULATED PUBLIC POLICY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. HE WROTE ARTICLES AND TOOK TO THE STUMP TO ARTICULATE POLICY AND SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES. DURING THE CAMPAIGNS AND EISENHOWER INTERREGNUM, THIS OPPOSITION PRODUCED THE STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL PROCESS, FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION AND MEDICARE - AN ARRAY OF PROPOSALS WHICH LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR., A VETERAN OF THE ELKS CLUB AND KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION, HAS OPINED THAT JOHN F. KENNEDY WAS EXECUTOR OF THE STEVENSON REVOLUTION. HERE IN ILLINOIS THE COMMITTEE ON ILLINOIS GOVERNMENT WAS ORGANIZED BY DAWN NETSCH AND OTHER YOUNG PROFESSIONALS INTERESTED IN STATE GOVERNMENT BY THE GUV. IT FORMULATED POLICY FOR STATE CANDIDATES, AND THEY LISTENED. I REMEMBER GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE OTTO KERNER BLANCHING AT OUR PROPOSAL FOR A STATE INCOME TAX. IN LOSING, THE GUV WON. THERE IS A LESSON IN THIS EXPERIENCE. THE OPPOSITION CAN DO MORE THAN OPPOSE.

FOR A BRIEF MOMENT SOME HOPED THE GUV WOULD BE THE EXECUTOR OF HIS REVOLUTION. THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION AT LOS ANGELES IN 1960 WAS ENGULFED BY A HUMAN WAVE WHICH GATHERED FORCE, ROLLING ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO LITERALLY BREAK DOWN DOORS AT THE CONVENTION, FILLING IT WITH HIS PARTISANS DEMANDING A THIRD NOMINATION. HE COULD HAVE BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE BUT REFUSED TO BREAK FAITH WITH ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AND HIS DIE HARD SUPPORTERS BY SUPPORTING ANOTHER CANDIDATE THOUGH HE CAMPAIGNED VIGOROUSLY FOR JOHN F. KENNEDY IN THE CAMPAIGN TO FOLLOW.

THE GUV WAS U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN WHEN HE DIED IN 1965 A FEW BLOCKS FROM THE SITE OF OUR HOME IN WAR TORN LONDON TWENTY YEARS EARLIER. IT HAD BEEN A NIGHTLY WATERING HOLE FOR GREAT MEN EXCITEDLY CREATING THE UNITED NATIONS AND A NEW WORLD ORDER TO PRESERVE PEACE FOR ALL TIME. WE BROUGHT HIM HOME FROM LONDON IN AIR FORCE ONE, FIRST TO WASHINGTON FOR A MEMORIAL SERVICE LED BY JUDGE CARL MCGOWAN, FRIEND, LAW PARTNER AND VETERAN OF THE STEVENSON

ADMINISTRATION, THEN TO THE STATE CAPITOL WHERE HE LAY IN THE ROTUNDA AND THOUSANDS PAID THEIR RESPECTS. HIS LAST JOURNEY WAS UP OLD ROUTE 66 TO THE ROOTS IN BLOOMINGTON. ILLINOISANS LINED THE WAY, PAYING RESPECT TO THE MAN AND THE AMERICA HE REPRESENTED.

EFFORTS TO RETRIEVE THAT AMERICA ARE AFOOT. JUDGE AL LEIBLING IS ASSEMBLING AN ANTHOLOGY OF REMINISCENCES FOR PUBLICATION. GREG KOOS AND OTHERS ARE STRIVING TO MAKE THE FAMILY HOME IN BLOOMINGTON A LIVING MEMORIAL. ADLAI I STARTED THE BLACK BOOK, A LOOSE LEAF BINDER FILLED WITH PLACE CARDS, MENUS, WHATEVER WAS AT HAND, TO RECORD JOKES, APHORISMS, WISE SAYINGS WHICH EXPANDED OVER THE GENERATIONS. I HAVE BEEN INTERMITTENTLY ORGANIZING IT FOR PUBLICATION TO REMIND AMERICANS OF THE POLITICS WHICH MADE AMERICA GREAT AND THE CHALLENGES NOW PERCEIVED THROUGH THE EYES OF ANOTHER ADLAI AND PERIPATETIC STUDENT OF THE WORLD. THE ADLAI STEVENSON CENTER ON DEMOCRACY IS BEING ORGANIZED AT THE AFARM IN LIBERTYVILLE AS AN INCUBATOR OF PRACTICAL MEASURESTO ADDRESS CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT. 40 YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH THE GUV IS STILL STIRRING UP THE OPPOSITION.