

aristocracy of race, color, or religion, of wealth or heredity or blood or descent, but of virtue and talent--that is to say, of character and ability.

We are now developing two types of elite. One I call the commanding elite: I mean the creative groups who have positions of power, whether it be in the Government or the military in corporations or trade unions or wherever else. The other I call the intellectual elites--those who deal with science, with the word, with ideas. It is important in a democracy that we should develop both, and it is important that they should not despise each other, that they should be hospitable to each other, that they should accept and respect each other and work with each other. It is important that both of these elites should never tear up the roots that they have in the soil of the people from which they come.

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I come now to the end of what I wanted to say. I have tried to indicate a series of propositions of what I thought were strengths, some of the problems came from this pluralistic culture and the subcultures of ours. I would also like to indicate now some of the decisiveness in American life which flows from our failure to resolve the problems of living together.

We have, I think, pretty well resolved the problem of separation of church and state. We have a double wall of separation--at one end the state must not try to control the churches, and at the other end the churches must not try to intrude into the area of nonreligious life. It is crucial that we should remember both these walls that separate church and state. Some of the conflicts that arise come from the fact that we won't always live up to that.

There have been some serious religious conflicts in America. We have a history of anti-Catholicism, especially in the 19th century, with the Know-Nothing movement. We have a history of anti-Semitism that I spoke of a while ago. There was a period in our lives, especially during the rise of Hitler to power in Europe, before we got involved in that showdown conflict with the Germans and the Japanese, when I had real doubts as to whether the future of the Jews in America might not be a very dark one--real doubts as to whether the shadow of Hitlerism that had been cast upon so much of Europe might not also be cast upon America.